THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, FROM

Our LORD'S Incarnation, to the Twelfth Year of the Emperor MAURICIUS TIBERIUS, or the Year of CHRIST 594.

As it was written in GREEK by

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS,
Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*;

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS,
Native of *Conſtantinople*;

AND

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS,
Born at *Epiphania* in *Syria Secunda*.

Made *Engliſh* from that Edition of theſe HISTORIANS, which VALESIUS publiſhed at *Paris* in the Years 1659, 1668, and 1673.

Alſo, the LIFE of CONSTANTINE in Four Books, Written by EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS; with CONSTANTINE'S ORATION to the CONVENTION OF THE SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS'S SPEECH in Praiſe of CONSTANTINE, ſpoken at his TRICENNALIA.

VALESIUS'S ANNOTATIONS on theſe Authors are done into *Engliſh*, and ſet at their proper Places in the Margin; as likewiſe a Tranſlation of His Account of their LIVES and WRITINGS.

With Two INDEXES; the One, of the Principal Matters that occur in the TEXT; the Other, of thoſe contained in the NOTES.

In this **Second Edition** are added,

I. Two MAPPS, containing all the Places mention'd in theſe Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories.

II. Some OBSERVATIONS in reference to the Geographical Part of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, and to the aforeſaid Mapps: Both by *ED. WELLS*, D. D.

III. The Order of the Preſidency of the *Patriarchs*, taken from Biſhop *Beveridge*'s Pandects.

IV. A CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX of the Popes and Emperors, taken from *Cabaſſutius*.

LONDON:
Printed by *J. M.* for AWNSHAM and JOHN CHURCHILL, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noſter-Row*. MDCCIX.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, FROM

Our Incarnation, to the Twelfth Year of the Emperor

As it was written in Greek by

Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine;

John Gee Hatter
1925
No 25

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE PUBLISHER OF THIS *ENGLISH* Tranſlation TO THE READER.

VALESIUS has ſpoken ſo fully and ſatisfactorily concerning what He has done in *His Edition* of theſe following *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians*, as to *His Amendments of the Greek Text*, as to *His Latin Verſion* of them, and as to *His Explanation of the obſcurer paſſages that occur in them*; and beſides, has added ſuch compleat *Accounts concerning the Lives and Hiſtories of theſe Authors*: (All which particulars, becauſe they were judged neceſſary to be made known to the *Engliſh Reader*, are done into His own Language, and prefix'd before each Writer whom they concern:) That 'tis needleſs to give the Reader any farther trouble here, than barely to acquaint him, for *what reaſon* this *Engliſh Tranſlation* was at firſt attempted, and by *what Helps and Aſſiſtances* this Attempt has at length been finiſhed.

IT cannot be ſuppoſed a thing unknown to any Perſon, though He may have been but meanly converſant amongſt Books, that this is not the firſt time wherein *theſe Church-Hiſtorians* have appeared *in Engliſh*. For 'tis now almoſt a Compleat (*a*) Century, ſince *Meredith Hanmer Doctor of Divinity*, firſt publiſhed *His Tranſlation* of them all; excepting only *Euſebius's Four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Conſtantine*, and the *Two Orations* ſubjoined thereto: Which, by *a Dedication to* Sir *John Lambe Knight, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the Arches of Canterbury*, ſeem to have been made *Engliſh* ſeveral years after *Doctor* (*b*) *Hanmer*'s death, by one Mr. *Wye Saltonſtall*.

(*a*) *His Epiſtle Dedicatory to* Robert *E. of* Leiceſter bears date *December the* 15th. 1584.

(*b*) He dyed at *Dublin*, of the plague *Anno* 1604. See *Fuller's Worthies of Wales. Flintſhire.* pag. 39.

After *Four Editions of Doctor* Hanmer's *Tranſlation*, *a fifth*, whereto was added Mr. *Saltonſtall's Verſion of the Life of Conſtantine and the Two Orations*, was publiſhed in the Year 1650. *Which Impreſſion* being ſold off, and the Book become Scarce; the Perſon whoſe Propriety Dr. *Hanmer*'s *Tranſlation* was, ſome few Years ſince reſolved to reprint it. This Reſolution he communicated to ſome Friends, whom He knew to be able Adviſers and Directors in an Affair of that nature. From them He received anſwer to this effect: That in Doctor *Hanmer*'s *Tranſlation* they ſaw many things that wanted Correction, which they ſuppoſed were not ſo much to be attributed to the *Doctor*, as to the Imperfection and Miſtakes of the *Greek Text* and thoſe *Latin Tranſlators*, which the *Doctor* had made uſe of: That now there was a fair way opened, whereby the Errors in the *Doctor*'s *Tranſlation* might be corrected, in regard the *Original Text* of *theſe Hiſtorians*, after it had been compared with ſeveral *Ancient Manuſcripts* of the beſt Note, (whereby the imperfections in it were

ſupplied, and the faults committed in *other Editions* amended;) was, together with an excellent *Latin Verſion* thereof, publiſhed at *Paris* by *Henricus Valeſius*, a Perſon of ſuch eminent Learning, that by the unanimous conſent of the *Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of the Gallican Church*, He had been pitcht upon and employed as the fitteſt Man to undertake a work of this Nature: And therefore their advice was, that the *Doctor's Tranſlation* ſhould be compared with *that Edition of theſe Hiſtorians* which *Valeſius* had publiſhed, and that, where-ever it differed, it ſhould be made to agree with the *Greek Text* thereof.

After receipt of this advice, 'twas reſolved it ſhould be followed. And accordingly a *Reverend and Learned Divine* was prevailed with to undertake this Work. Who, after He had done ſome *few Chapters* only of the *Firſt Book of Euſebius's Hiſtory*, for reaſons beſt known to Himſelf, deſiſted. But by this Tryal of His it plainly appeared, that (beſides its being an invidious attempt to go about to *interpolate* what another Perſon had long ſince put his laſt Hand to;) it was a work of far greater labour to bring *Doctor Hanmer's Tranſlation* to an agreement with the *Greek Text* of *Valeſius's Edition*, than to make a *New One*. On which account this latter was reſolv'd upon; and by Divine aſſiſtance being now finiſhed, is here preſented to the *Reader*'s view.

The *Reader* having been acquainted with *the Reaſon* why this *New Tranſlation* was at firſt attempted, 'tis fit He ſhould know farther, by what *Helps* and *Aſſiſtances* this attempt has at length been finiſhed.

This Verſion, as has been intimated, was taken immediately from the *Greek*, according to *that Edition which Henricus Valeſius ſet forth at* Paris: Whence this advantage will accrue, that whatever Errors are found in it, will be Errors but of one deſcent. Beſides *Valeſius's Edition*, *That which Robert Stephens Printed at* Paris *in the year* 1544. was likewiſe all along conſulted. Nor were the *Latin Tranſlators of theſe Hiſtorians* refuſed or neglected: Namely theſe four; *Muſculus's Verſion* Dedicated to *Edward the Sixth*, *King of* England, and Printed at *Baſil* in the Year 1549; the Tranſlation of *John Chriſtophorſon* (heretofore (a) *Maſter of Trinity College in* Cambridge, afterwards *Biſhop of* Chicheſter;) Printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1570; *John Curterius's Verſion*, or rather *his Emendation of Chriſtophorſon's*, *Printed at Paris in the Year* 1571; And laſtly *Grinæus's Tranſlation*, ſet forth at *Baſil* in the Year 1591. All *which Verſions* were all along inſpected; and in all places that required it, their Diſagreements or Conſents are (as the *Reader* will find,) taken notice of; unleſs the *Learned Valeſius*'s diligence had made thoſe Remarks needleſs.

(a) See *Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ*, pag. 561: and *Fuller's Worthies. Lancaſhire.*

As for the *Notes* they are in a manner all *Valeſius*'s: nor is any Remark of his left untranſlated (though perhaps ſome times made ſhorter;) that was judg'd of uſe to an *Engliſh Reader*, and becoming an *Engliſh Tranſlation*. If the *Reader* does, as now and then He will, meet with a Note that has not *Valeſius*'s name ſet at the bottom; He may conclude that not to be *Valeſius*'s; however, He generally meets with ſome intimation or other, whereby notice is given him, on what authority ſuch a Remark is grounded. But whereas in *Valeſius's Edition*, His Notes on all *theſe Hiſtorians* are placed together in a Body by themſelves, at the latter end of each Author whereto they belong: Here the Reader has them embodied with the Text, and by the Letters of the Alphabet He is ſhown the paſſages in the Hiſtory, whereof they treat

treat. In which method the Reader's eaſe was conſulted; that He might not have the trouble and interruption given Him, of turning forward and backward, from *the Matter* to *the Notes*, and from thence to *the Matter*.

How far *this Tranſlation* is beholden to *That done by Doctor Hammer*, will quickly be diſcovered by any, that ſhall take the pains to compare them. It need not be diſſembled, that the *Doctor's Verſion* has been ſeen; and 'tis as needleſs to detain *the Reader* in ſhewing Him by tedious inſtances, that He has not been, nor could have been followed, without a departure from the *Original Greek* as publiſhed by *Valeſius*.

It only remains, that the *Reader* be entreated, as He peruſes *this Tranſlation*, to excuſe and amend what Errors may have eſcaped the Preſs; which that He may the eaſier be perſwaded to, He is deſir'd to be mindful of this Excellent Saying:

Μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἴδιον Θεοῦ, καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν·
'Tis God's property to miſtake in nothing, and to correct all things.

28 SE 60

THE CONTENTS OF THE Whole WORK.

The Contents of *Eusebius* his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* in X. Books.

Book I.

Page

Chap. 1. THE *Subject of this Work.* 1

Chap. 2. *A brief Summary concerning the Præ-exiſtence and Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* 2

Chap. 3. *That the very Name of* Jeſus, *and alſo that of* Chriſt *was from the beginning both known and honoured among the Divine Prophets.* 5

Chap. 4. *That the Religion by him declared to all Nations, is neither new or ſtrange.* 6

Chap. 5. *Of the times of our Saviours Manifeſtation unto Men.* 7

Chap. 6. *That in his time, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, the Princes of the* Jewiſh *Nation who before by ſucceſſion had held the Principality, ſurceaſed, and that* Herod, *the firſt of the Aliens, became their King.* 8

Chap. 7. *Of the diſagreement ſuppoſed to be among the Goſpels about the Genealogy of Chriſt.* 9

Chap. 8. *Of* Herod's *cruelty towards the Infants, and after how miſerable a manner he ended his life.* 10

Chap. 9. *Of the Times of* Pilate. 12

Chap. 10. *Of the High-prieſts among the* Jews, *in whoſe time Chriſt Preached the Goſpel.* ibid.

Chap. 11. *What hath been teſtified concerning* John *the* Baptiſt, *and concerning* Chriſt. 23

Chap. 12. *Concerning our Saviour's Diſciples.* ibid.

Chap. 13. *The Hiſtory of the Prince of the* Edeſſens. ibid.

Book II.

Page

THE *Preface.* 15

Chap. 1. *Of thoſe things which were inſtituted by the Apoſtles, after the Aſcenſion of Chriſt.* ibid.

Chap. 2. *How* Tiberius *was affected at the Relation* Pilate *ſent him of thoſe things concerning Chriſt.* 16

Chap. 3. *How the Doctrine of Chriſt ſpread in a ſhort time over the whole World.* 17

Chap. 4. *How, after the death of* Tiberius, Caius *made* Agrippa, *King over the* Jews, *and puniſhed* Herod *with perpetual baniſhment.* ibid.

Chap. 5. *How* Philo *went on an Embaſſage to* Caius *upon the* Jews *Account.* 18

Chap. 6. *How great miſeries befel the* Jews *after their audacious Wickedneſs committed againſt Chriſt.* ibid.

Chap. 7. *That* Pilate *made himſelf away.* 19

Chap. 8. *Of the Dearth that happened in* Claudius *his time.* ibid.

Chap. 9. *The Martyrdom of* James *the Apoſtle.* p. 19

Chap. 10. *How* Agrippa, *called alſo* Herod, *perſecuting the Apoſtles, preſently felt the Divine Vengeance.* 20

Chap. 11. *Of the Impoſtor,* Theudas, *and his Aſſociates.* ibid.

Chap. 12. *Of* Helena *Queen of the* Oſdroënians. 21

Chap. 13. *Of* Simon Magus. ibid.

Chap. 14. *Of* Peter *the Apoſtle's Preaching at* Rome. 22

Chap. 15. *Of the Goſpel according to* Mark. ibid.

Chap. 16. *That* Mark *firſt Preached the knowledge of Chriſt to the* Egyptians. ibid.

Chap. 17. *What* Philo *relates of the* Aſcetæ *in* Egypt. ibid.

Chap. 18. *What Writings of* Philo's *have come to our hands.* 24

Chap. 19. *What a calamity befel the* Jews *at* Jeruſalem *on the very day of the Paſſover.* 25

Chap. 20. *What was done at* Jeruſalem *in the Reign of* Nero. ibid.

Chap. 21. *Of that* Egyptian *who is mentioned in the* Acts *of the Apoſtles.* 26

Chap. 22. *How* Paul, *being ſent bound from* Judea *to* Rome, *having made his defence, was wholly acquitted.* ibid.

Chap. 23. *How* James, *called the Brother of the Lord, was Martyr'd.* 27

Chap. 24. *How, after* Mark, Annianus *was conſtituted the firſt Biſhop of the Church of the* Alexandrians. 29

Chap. 25. *Of the Perſecution in the time of* Nero, *in which* Paul *and* Peter *were for Religion graced with Martyrdom at* Rome. ibid.

Chap. 26. *How the* Jews *were vexed with innumerable miſchiefs, and how at laſt they entred upon a War againſt the* Romans. 30

Book III.

Chap. 1. IN *what parts of the World the Apoſtles Preached Chriſt.* p. 30

Chap. 2. *Who firſt Preſided over the* Roman *Church.* 31

Chap. 3. *Concerning the Epiſtlss of the Apoſtles.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *Of the firſt Succeſſion of the Apoſtles.* ibid.

Chap. 5. *Of the laſt Siege of the* Jews *after Chriſt's death.* 32

Chap. 6. *Of the Famine that oppreſſed the* Jews. 33

Chap. 7. *Of Chriſt's Predictions.* 35

Chap. 8. *Concerning the Prodigies that appeared before the War.* ibid.

Chap. 9. *Of* Joſephus, *and the Writings he left.* 36

Chap. 10. *How* Joſephus *makes mention of the Holy Bible.* 37

Chap. 11. *How, after* James, Simeon *governed the Church at* Jeruſalem. 38

The CONTENTS.

Chap. 12. *How* Veſpaſian *commanded that the Deſcendants of* David *ſhould be ſought out.* p. 38.
Chap. 13. *That* Anencletus *was the ſecond Biſhop of the* Roman *Church.* ibid.
Chap. 14. *That* Avilius *was the ſecond Biſhop of* Alexandria. ibid.
Chap. 15. *That* Clemens *was the third Biſhop of the* Roman *Church.* ibid.
Chap. 16. *Concerning the Epiſtle of* Clemens. 39
Chap. 17. *Of the Perſecution in* Domitian's *time.* ibid.
Chap. 18. *Concerning* John *the Apoſtle, and his Revelation.* ibid.
Chap. 19. *How* Domitian *commanded that the Deſcendants of* David *ſhould be ſlain.* ibid.
Chap. 20. *Concerning thoſe that were Related to our Saviour.* ibid.
Chap. 21. *That* Cerdo *was the third that preſided over the* Alexandrian *Church.* 40
Chap. 22. *That* Ignatius *was the ſecond that preſided over the* Alexandrian *Church.* ibid.
Chap. 23. *A Relation concerning* John *the Apoſtle.* ibid.
Chap. 24. *Concerning the Order of the Goſpels.* 41
Chap. 25. *Concerning thoſe Divine Writings, which are without controverſie acknowledged; and of thoſe which are not ſuch.* 42
Chap. 26. *Of* Menander *the Impoſtor.* 43
Chap. 27. *Of the Hereſie of the* Ebionites. ibid.
Chap. 28. *Of the Arch-Heretick* Cerinthus 44
Chap. 29. *Of* Nicholas, *and thoſe Hereticks who bear his name.* ibid.
Chap. 30. *Concerning thoſe Apoſtles that are found to have been married.* 45
Chap. 31. *Of the death of* John *and* Philip. ibid.
Chap. 32. *How* Simeon *the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *ſuffered Martyrdom.* 46
Chap. 33. *How* Trajan *forbad that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſought after.* ibid.
Chap. 34. *That* Evareſtus *was the Fourth that governed the* Roman *Church.* 47
Chap. 35. *That* Juſtus *was the Third that governed the Church at* Jeruſalem. ibid.
Chap. 36. *Concerning* Ignatius *and his Epiſtles.* ibid.
Chap. 37. *Concerning thoſe Preachers of the Goſpel who at that time were eminent.* 48
Chap. 38. *Concerning the Epiſtle of* Clemens, *and thoſe other Writings, which are falſly attributed to him.* ibid.
Chap. 39. *Concerning the Books of* Papias. 49

Book IV.

Chap. 1. WHO *were the Biſhops of the Roman, and* Alexandrian *Churches in the Reign of* Trajan. pag. 50.
Chap. 2. *What the* Jews *ſuffered in this Emperor's time.* ibid.
Chap. 3. *Who, in the time of* Adrian, *wrote Apologies in defence of the Faith.* 51
Chap. 4. *Who were ennobled with the Title of Biſhops over the* Roman, *and* Alexandrian *Churches in this Emperor's time.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *Who were Biſhops of* Jeruſalem *from our Saviour, even to theſe times.* ibid.
Chap. 6. *The laſt Siege of the* Jews *in the time of* Adrian. ibid.
Chap. 7. *Who at that time were the Authors of falſe Doctrine.* 52
Chap. 8. *What Eccleſiaſtical Writers* there were in thoſe times. 53
Chap. 9. *The Reſcript of* Adrian, *that we* Chriſtians *ſhould not be unjuſtly proſecuted.* ibid.
Chap. 10. *Who in the Reign of* Antoninus *were Biſhops of the* Roman *and* Alexandrian *Sees.* 54
Chap. 11. *Concerning thoſe who were Arch-Hereticks in theſe times.* ibid.
Chap. 12. *Concerning* Juſtin's *Apology to* Antoninus. p. 55
Chap. 13. *The Reſcript of* Antoninus *to the Common Council of* Aſia, *concerning our Religion.* ibid.
Chap. 14. *Some Memoirs of* Polycarp *the Diſciple of the Apoſtles.* 56
Chap. 15. *How, in the Reign of* Verus, Polycarp, *together with others, ſuffered Martyrdom in the City of* Smyrna. ibid.
Chap. 16. *How* Juſtin *the Philoſopher, aſſerting the Chriſtian Religion at the City of* Rome, *ſuffered Martyrdom.* 60
Chap. 17. *Concerning thoſe Martyrs, whom* Juſtin *makes mention of in his* Apology. 61
Chap. 18. *What Books of* Juſtin's *are come to our hands.* 62
Chap. 19. *Who, in the Reign of* Verus, *preſided over the Churches of* Rome, *and* Alexandria. ibid.
Chap. 20. *Who then Governed the Church of* Antioch. 63
Chap. 21. *Concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Writers who flouriſh'd in that Age.* ibid.
Chap. 22. *Concerning* Hegeſippus, *and thoſe he makes mention of.* ibid.
Chap. 23. *Concerning* Dionyſius, *Biſhop of the* Corinthians, *and the Epiſtles he wrote.* 64
Chap. 24. *Concerning* Theophilus, *Biſhop of the* Antiochians. 65
Chap. 25. *Concerning* Philippus *and* Modeſtus. ibid.
Chap. 26. *Concerning* Melito, *and what he has made mention of.* ibid.
Chap. 27. *Concerning* Apollinaris, *Biſhop of the* Hierapolitane *Church.* 66
Chap. 28. *Concerning* Muſanus, *and his Writings.* 67
Chap. 29. *Concerning* Tatianus *and his Hereſie.* ibid.
Chap. 30. *Concerning* Bardeſanes *the* Syrian, *and thoſe Books of his that are extant.* ibid.

Book V.

THE *Preface* Page 68
Chap. 1. *How many in the Reign of* Verus, *underwent moſt ſore Perſecution in* France *for Religion; and after what manner* they ſuffered. ibid.
Chap. 2. *How the Martyrs beloved of God, kindly receiving ſuch as fell away in the Perſecution, wrought a cure upon them.* 74
Chap. 3. *What a Viſion appeared to the Martyr* Attalus *in his ſleep.* 75
Chap. 4. *How the Martyrs, by their Epiſtle, recommended* Irenæus. ibid.
Chap. 5. *How God, having from Heaven heard the Prayers of ſome of our Religion, ſent Rain to* Marcus Aurelius Cæſar. ibid.
Chap. 6. *A Catalogue of thoſe who were Biſhops of* Rome. 76
Chap. 7. *That, even to thoſe times, Miracles were wrought by the faithful.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *After what manner* Irenæus *makes mention of the Divine Scriptures.* 77
Chap. 9. *Who were Biſhops in the Reign of* Commodus. 78
Chap. 10. *Concerning* Pantænus *the Philoſopher.* ibid.
Chap. 11. *Concerning* Clemens Alexandrinus. ibid.
Chap. 12. *Concerning the Biſhops of* Jeruſalem. 79
Chap. 13. *Concerning* Rhodon, *and the Diſſention of the* Marcionites, *which he has made mention of.* ibid.
Chap. 14. *Concerning the falſe Prophets of the* Cataphrygians. 80
Chap. 15. *Concerning the Schiſm of* Blaſtus *raiſed at* Rome. ibid.
Chap. 16. *What has been committed to memory concerning* Montanus, *and his falſe Prophets.* ibid.
Chap. 17. *Concerning* Miltiades, *and the Books he compiled.* 82

Chap. 18. *How* Apollonius *also confuted the* Cataphrygians, *and whom he has made mention of of.* p. 82

Chap. 19. Serapion's *Opinion concerning the Hereſie of the* Cataphrygians. 84

Chap. 20. *What* Irenæus *wrote againſt the Schiſmaticks at* Rome. ibid.

Chap. 21. *How* Apollonius *ſuffered Martyrdom at* Rome. 85

Chap. 22. *What Biſhops flouriſh'd at that time.* 86

Chap. 23. *Concerning the Queſtion then moved about* Eaſter. ibid.

Chap. 24. *Concerning the Diſagreement of the Churches throughout* Aſia. ibid.

Chap. 25. *How all with one conſent unanimouſly agreed about* Eaſter. 89

Chap. 26. *How many Monuments of* Irenæus's *Polite Ingeny have come to our Hands.* ibid.

Chap. 27. *How many alſo of the Works of others, who then flouriſhed, are come to our knowledge.* ibid.

Chap. 28. *Concerning thoſe, who from the beginning were defenders of* Artemon's *Hereſie; what a manner of Perſons they were as to their Morals, and how that they were ſo audacious as to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.* ibid.

Book VI.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Perſecution under* Severus. pag. 91

Chap. 2. *Concerning* Origen's *virtuous courſe of Life from a Child.* ibid.

Chap. 3. *How* Origen *being very young Preach'd the Word of Chriſt.* 92

Chap. 4. *How many of thoſe who had been inſtructed by him became Martyrs.* 93

Chap. 5. *Concerning* Potaminæna. 94

Chap. 6. *Concerning* Clemens Alexandrinus. ibid.

Chap. 7. *Concerning* Judas *the Writer.* ibid.

Chap. 8. *Concerning the bold Act of* Origen. 95

Chap. 9. *Concerning the Miracles of* Narciſſus. ibid.

Chap. 10. *Concerning the Biſhops of* Jeruſalem. 96

Chap. 11. *Concerning* Alexander. ibid.

Chap. 12. *Concerning* Serapion, *and his Books that are extant.* 97

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Writings of* Clemens. ibid.

Chap. 14. *What Writings* Clemens *has mentioned.* 98

Chap. 15. *Concerning* Heraclas. 99

Chap. 16. *What pains and ſtudy* Origen *beſtowed about the Holy Scriptures.* ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning* Symmachus *the Tranſlator.* ibid.

Chap. 18. *Concerning* Ambroſius. 100

Chap. 19. *What things have been recorded concerning* Origen, *by the* Gentiles. ibid.

Chap. 20. *What Books are now extant of ſuch as wrote in theſe times.* 102

Chap. 21. *What Biſhops were eminent in thoſe times.* ibid.

Chap. 22. *How many of* Hippolytus's *works are come to our Hands.* 103

Chap. 23. *Concerning* Origen's *ſtudiouſneſs, and how he was honoured with the Dignity of Prieſthood.* ibid.

Chap. 24. *Concerning the Expoſitions he made at* Alexandria. ibid.

Chap. 25. *After what manner* Origen *has mentioned the Books of the* Old *and* New Teſtament. 104

Chap. 26. *How* Heraclas *ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria. 105

Chap. 27. *How the Biſhops had in him admiration.* ibid.

Chap. 28. *Concerning the Perſecution under* Maximinus. ibid.

Chap. 29. *Concerning* Fabian, *how unexpectedly he was elected by God Biſhop of* Rome. 106

Chap. 30. *Who were* Origen's *Scholars.* ibid.

Chap. 31. *Concerning* Africanus. ibid.

Chap. 32. *What Expoſitions* Origen *wrote at* Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine. p. 106

Chap. 33. *Concerning the Error of* Beryllus. 107

Chap. 34. *Concerning* Philip *the Emperor.* ibid.

Chap. 35. *How* Dionyſius *ſucceeded* Heraclas *in his Biſhoprick.* ibid.

Chap. 36. *What other Books were written by* Origen. ibid.

Chap. 37. *Concerning the Diſſention of the* Arabians. 108

Chap. 38. *Concerning the Hereſie of the* Helceſaïts. ibid.

Chap. 39. *Concerning what hapned in the times of* Decius. ibid.

Chap. 40. *Concerning what things hapned to* Dionyſius. 109

Chap. 41. *Concerning thoſe who ſuffer'd Martyrdom at* Alexandria. ibid.

Chap. 42. *Concerning ſome other things which* Dionyſius *relates.* 111

Chap. 43. *Concerning* Novatus, *what manner of Perſon he was as to his Morals; and concerning his Hereſie.* 112

Chap. 44. Dionyſius's *ſtory concerning* Serapion. 115

Chap. 45. Dionyſius's *Epiſtle to* Novatus. ibid.

Chap. 46. *Concerning* Dionyſius's *other Epiſtles.* 116

Book VII.

THE *Preface.* pag. 117

Chap. 1. *Concerning the wickedneſs of* Decius *and* Gallus. ibid.

Chap. 2. *Who about theſe times were Biſhops of* Rome. ibid.

Chap. 3. *How* Cyprian, *with ſome Biſhops which were of his mind, was the firſt that was of the Opinion, that the Converts of any Heretical Sect whatever, ought to be rebaptized.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *How many Epiſtles* Dionyſius *wrote concerning this Controverſie.* 118

Chap. 5. *Concerning the Peace which followed the Perſecution.* ibid.

Chap. 6. *Concerning the Hereſie of* Sabellius. ibid.

Chap. 7. *Concerning the moſt execrable Error of the Hereticks, and concerning the Viſion ſent from God which appeared to* Dionyſius, *and the Eccleſiaſtick Canon he received.* 119

Chap. 8. *Concerning* Novatus's *Hereſie.* 120

Chap. 9. *Concerning the Baptiſm of Hereticks, that it is impious.* ibid.

Chap. 10. *Concerning* Valerian, *and the Perſecution in his Reign.* 121

Chap. 11. *Concerning what then happened to* Dionyſius, *and to thoſe Chriſtians which were in* Egypt. 122

Chap. 12. *Concerning the Martyrs which ſuffered at* Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine. 124

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Peace under* Gallienus. ibid.

Chap. 14. *What Biſhops flouriſh'd in thoſe times.* 125

Chap. 15. *How* Marinus *was Martyr'd at* Cæſarea. ibid.

Chap. 16. *A Relation concerning* Aſtyrius. ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning the mighty Miracles of our Saviour at* Paneas. ibid.

Chap. 18. *Concerning the Statue, which the Woman who had the Flux of Blood, erected.* 126

Chap. 19. *Concerning the Chair of* James *the Apoſtle.* ibid.

Chap. 20. *Concerning* Dionyſius's Paſchal *Epiſtles, in which he preſcribeth a Canon concerning* Eaſter. ibid.

Chap. 21. *Concerning what things happened at* Alexandria. 127

Chap. 22. *Concerning the Plague which then raged.* ibid.

Chap. 23. *Concerning the Reign of* Gallienus. 129

Chap. 24. *Concerning* Nepos, *and his Schiſm.* ibid.

Chap. 25. *Concerning the* Revelation *of* John. 130

Chap. 26. *Concerning* Dionyſius's *Epiſtles.* 132

Chap. 27. *Concerning* Paul *of* Samoſata, *and the Hereſie founded by him at* Antioch. ibid.

Chap. 28. *Concerning the Eminent Biſhops of thoſe Times* ibid.

The CONTENTS

Chap. 29. *How* Paul *being confuted by* Malchion *a Presbyter, (who formerly had been one of the* Sophistæ*) was deposed.* pag. 133
Chap. 30. *Concerning the Epistle of the Bishops against* Paul. ibid.
Chap. 31. *Concerning the heterodox and corrupt opinion of the* Manichees *which sprang up at this time.* 135
Chap. 32. *Concerning those Ecclesiastick Men who were famous even in our Age, and which of them lived till the demolishing of the Churches.* ibid.

Book VIII.

THE *Preface.* pag. 139
Chap. 1. *Concerning those things which preceded the Persecution in our Days.* ibid.
Chap. 2. *Concerning the Ruin of the Churches.* 140
Chap. 3. *Concerning the various sorts of Combats which the Martyrs underwent in the time of the Persecution.* 141
Chap. 4. *Concerning God's illustrious Martyrs; how they fill'd the World with their fame, having been adorned with divers Crowns of Martyrdom for Religion.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *Concerning what was done at* Nicomedia. 142
Chap. 6. *Concerning those who were conversant in the Imperial Palaces.* ibid.
Chap. 7. *Concerning those* Egyptians *who suffered in* Phœnicia. 143
Chap. 8. *Concerning those who suffered in* Egypt. 144
Chap. 9. *Concerning those who suffered at* Thebais. ibid.
Chap. 10. *The written informations of* Phileas *the Martyr, concerning what was done at* Alexandria. ibid.
Chap. 11. *Concerning what was done in* Phrygia. 146
Chap. 12. *Concerning many other Men and Women, who suffered Martyrdom in a various and different manner.* ibid.
Chap. 13. *Concerning those Prelates of the Church who demonstrated the sincerity of the Religion they asserted by the effusion of their own Blood.* 147
Chap. 14. *Concerning the Morals of those that were the enemies of Religion.* 149
Chap. 15. *Concerning what happened to the* Gentiles. 151
Chap. 16. *Concerning the Change of affairs to a better posture.* ibid.
Chap. 17. *Concerning the Retractation of the Emperors.* ibid.

SUPPLEMENT.

A *Supplement to the Eighth Book.* pag 153
Chap. 1. *Concerning* Procopius, Alphæus, *and* Zacchæus, *Martyrs.* 154
Chap. 2. *Concerning* Romanus *the Martyr.* 158
Chap. 3. *Concerning* Timotheus, Agapius, Thecla, *and eight other Martyrs.* 159
Chap. 4. *Concerning* Apphianus *the Martyr.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *Concerning* Ulpianus *and* Ædesius *Martyrs.* 161
Chap. 6. *Concerning the Martyr* Agapius. pag. 162
Chap. 7. *Concerning the Virgin* Theodosia, *and concerning* Domninus *and* Auxentius, *Martyrs.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *Concerning other Confessors, and concerning the Martyrdom of* Valentina *and* Paul. 163
Chap. 9. *That the Persecution was afresh renewed and concerning* Antoninus, Zebina, Germanus, *and other Martyrs.* 164
Chap. 10. *Concerning* Peter *the* Asceta, Asclepius *the* Marcionite, *and other Martyrs.* 166
Chap. 11. *Concerning* Pamphilus, *and twelve other Martyrs.* ibid.
Chap. 12. *Concerning the Prelates of the Churches.* 169
Chap. 13. *Concerning* Silvanus, John, *and thirty nine other Martyrs.* ibid.

Book IX.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Counterfeited Cessation of the Persecution.* pag. 171
Chap. 2. *Concerning the change of Affairs which did afterwards ensue.* 172
Chap. 3. *Concerning an Image lately made at* Antioch 173
Chap. 4. *Concerning the Decrees of the Cities against the Christians.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *Concerning the forged Acts.* ibid.
Chap. 6. *Concerning them that suffered Martyrdom in those Times.* ibid.
Chap. 7. *Concerning the Edict against us, which was engraven on Brazen plates and hung up on the Pillars.* 174
Chap. 8. *Concerning what afterwards happened, in the time of the Wars, of the Famine, and of the Pestilence.* 175
Chap. 9. *Concerning the death of the Tyrants, and what expressions they used before their deaths.* 176
Chap. 10. *Concerning the Victory obtained by the Pious Emperors.* 179
Chap. 11. *Concerning the final Destruction of the Enemies of Religion.* 181

Book X.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Peace, which was procured by God for us.* pag. 183
Chap. 2. *Concerning the Re-edification of the Churches.* 184
Chap. 3. *Concerning the Consecration of Churches every where solemniz'd.* ibid.
Chap. 4. *A Panegyrick concerning the splendid posture of our Affairs.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *Copies of the Imperial Laws.* 192
Chap. 6. *Concerning the Estates belonging to the Christians.* 195
Chap. 7. *Concerning the Immunity of the Clergy.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *Concerning* Licinius's *Exorbitances which afterwards ensued, and concerning his death.* ibid.
Chap. 9. *Concerning* Constantius's *Victory, and concerning the prosperity procured by him to all those that live under the power of the* Romans. 197

The Contents of the *Ecclesiastical History* of *Socrates Scholasticus*, in VII. Books.

Book I.

pag.
Chap. 1. THE *Preface to the whole Book.* 209
Chap. 2. *After what manner* Constantine *the Emperor was converted to the Christian Religion.* p.209
Chap. 3. *How whilst* Constantine *augmented the prosperity of the Christians,* Licinius *his Collegue persecuted them.* 210
Chap. 4. *That there was a War raised betwixt* Constantine

tine *and* Licinius *upon account of the Chriſtians.* pag. 211
Chap. 5. *Concerning* Arius's *Conteſt with* Alexander *the Biſhop.* ibid.
Chap. 6. *How from this Contention there aroſe a Diviſion in the Church; and how* Alexander *Biſhop of* Alexandria *depoſed* Arius *and his Complices.* ibid.
Chap. 7. *How* Conſtantine *the Emperor, grieved at theſe Diſturbances in the Church, ſent* Hoſius *a* Spaniard *to* Alexandria, *to exhort the Biſhop and* Arius *to a Reconciliation.* 214
Chap. 8. *Concerning the Council held at* Nicæa *a City of* Bithynia, *and concerning the Faith there publiſhed.* 215
Chap. 9. *The Epiſtle of the Synod, concerning thoſe matters determined by it; and how* Arius *was degraded, together with them that embraced his Sentiments.* 219
Chap. 10. *That the Emperor ſummon'd to the Synod* Aceſius *alſo, a Biſhop of the* Novatian *Hereſie.* 225
Chap. 11. *Concerning* Paphnutius *the Biſhop.* ibid.
Chap. 12. *Concerning* Spyridon *Biſhop of the* Cyprians. 226
Chap. 13. *Concerning* Eutychianus *the Monk.* ibid.
Chap. 14. *That* Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia, Theognis *Biſhop of* Nice (*who had been baniſh'd becauſe they were Abettors of* Arius's *Opinion*) *having afterwards ſent a Libel of Repentance, and agreed to the Expoſition of the Faith, were re-admitted to their Sees.* 227
Chap. 15. *That* Alexander *dying after the* Nicene *Synod,* Athanaſius *was conſecrated Biſhop of the City* Alexandria. 229
Chap. 16. *How the Emperor* Conſtantine, *having enlarged the City heretofore called* Byzantium, *named it* Conſtantinople. ibid.
Chap. 17. *How* Helena *the Emperor's Mother came to* Jeruſalem, *and having there found Chriſt's Croſs, which ſhe had ſought for a long time, built a Church.* ibid.
Chap. 18. *How the Emperor* Conſtantine *aboliſhed* Gentiliſm, *and erected many Churches in ſeveral places.* 230
Chap. 19. *After what manner the innermoſt* Indian *Nations were in the Time of* Conſtantine *converted to Chriſtianity.* 231
Chap. 20. *After what manner the* Iberians *were converted to the Chriſtian Religion.* 232
Chap. 21. *Concerning* Antonius *the Monk.* 233
Chap. 22. *Concerning* Manes, *the Author of the Hereſie of the* Manichees, *and whence he had his Original.* ibid.
Chap. 23. *How* Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia, *and* Theognis *Biſhop of* Nice, *taking courage again, endeavoured to ſubvert the* Nicene *Creed, by plotting againſt* Athanaſius. 234
Chap. 24. *Concerning the Synod convened at* Antioch, *which depoſed* Euſtathius *Biſhop of* Antioch: *Upon whoſe account there was a Sedition raiſed, by which that City was almoſt ruined.* 235
Chap. 25. *Concerning the* Presbyter, *who made it his buſineſs to get* Arius *recalled.* 236
Chap. 26. *How* Arius, *being recalled from Exile, and having given up a Libel of Repentance to the Emperor, did therein hypocritically pretend himſelf an aſſerter of the* Nicene *Creed.* 237
Chap. 27. *How* Arius *returned to* Alexandria *by the Emperor's Order, and upon* Athanaſius's *refuſal to admit him,* Euſebius's *Faction framed divers accuſations againſt* Athanaſius *before the Emperor.* ibid.
Chap. 28. *That the Emperor ordered a Synod of Biſhops ſhould be convened at* Tyre, *upon account of Accuſations brought againſt* Athanaſius. p 239
Chap. 29. *Concerning* Arſenius, *and his hand which was reported to have been cut off.* ibid.
Chap. 30. *That* Athanaſius *being found innocent after his firſt Accuſation, his Accuſers made their eſcape by flight.* ibid.
Chap. 31. *That* Athanaſius *fled to the Emperor, upon the Biſhop's not admitting of his Defence at his ſecond Accuſation.* 240
Chap. 32. *That after* Athanaſius's *departure, he was depoſed by the Vote of the Synod.* ibid.
Chap. 33. *How the Synod, having left* Tyre, *came to* Jeruſalem; *and after the celebration of the Feaſt of Dedication of the* New Jeruſalem, *re-admitted* Arius *to communion.* ibid.
Chap. 34. *That the Emperor by his Letter ſummon'd the Synod to attend him, that* Athanaſius's *Caſe might be accurately diſcuſs'd in his preſence.* 241
Chap. 35. *That, when the Synod came not to the Emperor, the* Euſebians *accuſed* Athanaſius, *as if he had threatned, that he would prohibit the carriage of that Corn, with which* Alexandria *furniſhed* Conſtantinople. *Wherepuon the Emperor, being incenſed, baniſh'd* Athanaſius, *confining him to the* Gallia's. ibid.
Chap. 36. *Concerning* Marcellus *Biſhop of* Ancyra, *and* Aſterius *the* Sophiſta. 242
Chap. 37. *How, after* Athanaſius *was exiled,* Arius, *being ſent for from* Alexandria *by the Emperor, raiſed diſturbances againſt* Alexander *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople. ibid.
Chap. 38. *Concerning* Arius's *Death.* 243
Chap. 39. *How* Conſtantine, *falling into a Diſtemper, ended his life.* ibid.
Chap. 40. *Concerning* Conſtantine *the Emperor's Funeral.* ibid.

Book II.

Chap. 1. *THE Preface, wherein he gives an account, why he made a new Edition of his Firſt and Second Book.* pag. 245
Chap. 2. *How* Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia *with his Accomplices, earneſtly endeavouring to introduce* Arius's *Opinion again, made diſturbances in the Churches.* ibid.
Chap. 3. *How* Athanaſius, *confiding in the Letter of* Conſtantine the Younger, *return'd to* Alexandria. 246
Chap. 4. *That upon* Euſebius Pamphilus's *death,* Acacius *ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of* Cæſarea. 247
Chap. 5. *Concerning the Death of* Conſtantine the Younger. ibid.
Chap. 6. *How* Alexander *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *at his death, propoſed* Paulus *and* Macedonius *to be elected into his Biſhoprick.* ibid.
Chap. 7. *How the Emperor* Conſtantius *ejected* Paulus, *who had been ordained Biſhop: And, having ſent for* Euſebius *from* Nscomedia, *entruſted him with the Biſhoprick of* Conſtantinople. ibid.
Chap. 8. *How* Euſebius *aſſembled another Synod at* Antioch *of* Syria, *and cauſed another Form of Faith to be publiſhed.* 248
Chap. 9. *Concerning* Euſebius Emiſenus. ibid.
Chap. 10. *That the Biſhops convened at* Antioch, *upon* Euſebius Emiſenus's *refuſal of the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria, *ordain'd* Gregorius, *and alter'd the Expreſſions of the* Nicene *Faith.* ibid.
Chap. 11. *That, upon* Gregorius's *arrival at* Alexandria *guarded with a Military Force,* Athanaſius *fled.* 250
Chap. 12. *How, after* Euſebius's *death, the People of* Conſtantinople *reſtored* Paulus *to his See again.*

And

The CONTENTS.

And that the Arians *made choice of* Macedonius. pag. 250

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Slaughter of* Hermogenes *the* Lieutenant-General, *and how* Paulus *was for that reason turn'd out of the Church again.* ibid.

Chap. 14. *That the* Arians, *having removed* Gregorius *from the see of* Alexandria, *put* Georgius *into his place.* 251

Chap. 15. *How* Athanasius *and* Paulus, *going to* Rome, *and being fortified with Bishop* Julius's *Letters, recovered their own Sees again.* ibid.

Chap. 16. *That the Emperour sent an order by* Philippus Præfect *of the* Prætorium, *that* Paulus *should be ejected and banished, and that* Macedonius *should be enstall'd Bishop in his See.* 252

Chap. 17. *That* Athanasius *being afraid of the Emperor's Menaces, returned to* Rome *again.* 253

Chap. 18. *How the Emperor of the Western Parts requested of his Brother, that such persons might be sent as could give an account of the Deposition of* Athanasius *and* Paulus. *And, that they who were sent published another Form of the Creed.* 254

Chap. 19. *Concerning the large Explanation of the Faith.* ibid.

Chap. 20. *Concerning the Synod at* Serdica. 256

Chap. 21. *An Apology for* Eusebius Pamphilus. 258

Chap. 22. *That the Synod of* Serdica *restored* Paulus *and* Athanasius *to their Sees, and that, upon the Eastern Emperor's refusal to admit them, the Emperor of the West threatned him with War.* 259

Chap. 23. *That* Constantius *being afraid of his Brother's Menaces, by his Letters orders* Athanasius *to appear, and sent him to* Alexandria. 260

Chap. 24. *That* Athanasius, *passing through* Jerusalem *in his return to* Alexandria, *was received into Communion by* Maximus, *and convened a Synod of Bishops which confirmed the* Nicene *Faith.* 262

Chap. 25. *Concerning the Tyrant* Magnentius *and* Vetranio. 263

Chap. 26. *How, after the Death of* Constans *the Western Emperor*, Paulus *and* Athanasius *were ejected out of their own Sees again. And, that* Paulus, *after his being carried into Banishment, was slain. But* Athanasius *made his escape by flight.* ibid.

Chap. 27. *That* Macedonius, *having gotten possession of the See of* Constantinople, *did much mischief to those that in Opinion dissented from him.* 264

Chap. 28. *Concerning what was done at* Alexandria *by* Georgius *the* Arian; *from* Athanasius's *own relation.* ibid.

Chap. 29. *Concerning* Photinus *the Arch-Heretick.* 265

Chap. 30. *Concerning the Forms of the Creed published at* Sirmium, *in the presence of the Emperor* Constantius. 266

Chap. 31. *Concerning* Hosius *Bishop of* Corduba. 269

Chap. 32. *Concerning the Overthrow of* Magnentius *the Tyrant.* ibid.

Chap. 33. *Concerning the* Jews *inhabiting* Dio-Cæsarea *in* Palestine. 270

Chap. 34. *Concerning* Gallus Cæsar. ibid.

Chap. 35. *Concerning* Aëtius *the* Syrian, Eunomius's *Master.* ibid.

Chap. 36. *Concerning the Synod at* Millain. 271

Chap. 37. *Concerning the Synod at* Ariminum, *and concerning the Draught of the Creed which was published there.* ibid.

Chap. 38. *Concerning the Cruelty of* Macedonius, *and the Tumults by him raised.* 275

Chap. 39. *Concerning the Synod at* Seleucia *a City of* Isauria. 277

Chap. 40. *That* Acacius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *dictated another Draught of the Creed, in the Synod at* Seleucia. pag. 278

Chap. 41. *That, upon the Emperors return from the Western Parts, the* Acacians *were convened in the City of* Constantinople, *and firmed the* Ariminum *Creed, making some Additions to it.* 281

Chap. 42. *That upon* Macedonius's *being deposed*, Eudoxius *obtained the Bishoprick of* Constantinople. ibid.

Chap. 43. *Concerning* Eustathius *Bishop of* Sebastia. 282

Chap. 44. *Concerning* Meletius *Bishop of* Antioch. 283

Chap. 45. *Concerning* Macedonius's *Heresie.* ibid.

Chap. 46. *Concerning the* Apollinaristæ, *and their Heresie.* 284

Chap. 47. *Concerning the Death of the Emperor* Constantius. ibid.

Chap. III.

Chap. 1. *Concerning* Julianus, *his Extract, and Education. And how, upon his being made Emperor, he revolted to* Gentilism. p. 285

Chap. 2. *Concerning the Sedition which hapned at* Alexandria, *and after what manner* Georgius *was slain.* 287

Chap. 3. *That the Emperor, incensed at* Georgius's *Murther, sharply rebuked the* Alexandrians *by his Letter.* 288

Chap. 4. *How, upon* Georgius's *being murthered,* Athanasius *returned to* Alexandria, *and recovered his own Church.* 289

Chap. 5. *Concerning* Lucifer, *and* Eusebius. ibid.

Chap. 6. *How* Lucifer, *arriving at* Antioch, *ordained* Paulinus. ibid.

Chap. 7. *How* Eusebius *and* Athanasius *accorded together, and assembled a Synod of Bishops at* Alexandria, *wherein they expresly declared, that the* Trinity *is Consubstantial.* 290

Chap. 8. *Some Passages quoted out of* Athanasius's Apologetick *concerning his own Flight.* 291

Chap. 9. *How (after the Synod at* Alexandria, *made up of those who asserted the* Homoöusian *Faith)* Eusebius, *returning to* Antioch, *found the* Catholicks *disagreeing there upon account of* Paulinus's *Ordination; and being unable to bring them to an agreement, he departed from thence.* 293

Chap. 10. *Concerning* Hilarius *Bishop of* Poictiers. ibid.

Chap. 11. *How the Emperor* Julianus *exacted Money from the* Christians. 295

Chap. 12. *Concerning* Maris *Bishop of* Chalcedon. ibid.

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Tumult raised by the* Heathens *against the* Christians. 295

Chap. 14. *Concerning* Athanasius's *Flight.* ibid.

Chap. 15. *Concerning those who in the Reign of* Julianus *suffer'd Martyrdom at* Merus *a City of* Phrygia. 296

Chap. 16. *How (when the Emperor prohibited the* Christians *from being educated in the* Grecian *Literature,) the two* Apollinaris's *betook themselves to writing of Books.* ibid.

Chap. 17. *How the Emperor, making Preparations for an Expedition against the* Persians, *arrived at* Antioch: *and being derided by the* Antiochians, *he published an Oration against them, entitled Misopogon.* 297

Chap. 18. *How, when the Emperor was desirous to consult the Oracle, the* Dæmon *gave no answer, being afraid of* Babilas *the Martyr.* 298

Chap. 19. *Concerning the Emperors Wrath, and concerning* Theodorus *the Confessor.* ibid.

Chap. 20. *How the Emperor perswaded the* Jews *to sacrifice, and concerning the utter Destruction of* Jerusalem. ibid.

Chap.

Chap. 21. *Concerning the Emperor's Inroad into* Persia, *and concerning his Death.* pag. 299
Chap. 22. *Concerning* Jovianus's *being proclaimed Emperor.* ibid.
Chap. 23. *A Confutation of what* Libanius *the* Sophista *has said concerning* Julianus. 300
Chap. 24. *That the Bishops flock'd from all places to* Jovianus, *every one of them hoping they should induce him to embrace their own Creed.* 303
Chap. 25. *That the* Macedonians *and* Acacians, *meeting together at* Antioch, *confirmed the* Nicene *Creed.* ibid.
Chap. 26. *Concerning the Death of the Emperor* Jovianus. 304

Book IV.

Chap. 1. *That, after* Jovianus' *Death,* Valentinianus *is proclaimed Emperor, who made his Brother* Valens *his Colleague in the Empire. And, that* Valentinianus *was a* Catholick, *but* Valens *an* Arian. pag. 305
Chap. 2. *That* Valentinianus *went into the Western Parts of the Empire, and* Valens *resided at* Constantinople, *who, upon the* Macedonians *address to him that a Synod might be convened, granted their request, And that he persecuted the* Homoöusians. 306
Chap. 3. *That, whilst* Valens *persecuted those who embraced the* Homoöusian *Opinion in the East, there arose a Tyrant at* Constantinople, *by name* Procopius. *And that at the same time an Earthquake hapned, and an Inundation of the Sea, which ruined many Cities.* ibid.
Chap. 4. *That there being a Disturbance in the* Secular *as well as the* Ecclesiastick *State of Affairs, the* Macedonians, *having convened a Synod at* Lampsacus, *did again confirm the* Antiochian *Creed, and* Anathematized *that published at* Ariminum, *and did again ratifie the Deposition of* Acacius *and* Eudoxius. ibid.
Chap. 5. *That, an Engagement hapning about a City of* Phrygia *between the Emperor* Valens, *and the Tyrant* Procopius, *the Emperor took the Tyrant by the Treachery of his Commanders, and put him and them to death, by inflicting new and unusual Punishments upon them.* ibid.
Chap. 6. *That, after the Death of the Tyrant, the Emperor forced those who had been present at the Synod, and all the Christians, to embrace* Arius's *Opinion.* 307
Chap. 7. *That* Eunomius, *having ejected* Eleusius *the* Macedonian, *was made Bishop of* Cyzicum. *And concerning* Eunomius's *Original; and that having been* Amanuensis *to* Aëtius, *firnamed* Atheus, *he imitated him.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *Concerning the Oracle, which was found cut upon a Stone, when the Wall of* Chalcedon *was demolished by reason of the Emperor* Valens's *Anger.* 308
Chap. 9. *That the Emperor* Valens *persecuted the* Novatians *also, who (in like manner as did the* Catholicks) *embraced the* Homoöusian *Faith.* 309
Chap. 10. *That the Emperor* Valentinianus *begat a Son, who bore his Father's name; to wit,* Valentinianus, *he having begat his Son* Gratianus *before his being created Emperor.* ibid.
Chap. 11. *Concerning a Hail of an unusual bigness which fell from Heaven, and concerning the Earthquakes in* Bithynia, *and the* Hellespont. 310
Chap. 12. *That those who embraced* Macedonius's *Opinion, being reduced into Streights by reason of the Emperor's Violence towards them, sent an Embassage to* Liberius *Bishop of* Rome, *and subscribed to the* Homoöusian *Creed.* p. 310
Chap. 13. *How* Eunomius *separated himself from* Eudoxius, *because he adhered to his Master* Aëtius. *And that (a Disturbance being raised at* Alexandria *by* Eudoxius's *means)* Athanasius *fled again. And that (when the Populace were tumultuous hereupon) the Emperor being afraid, by his Letters pacified the* Alexandrians, *and ordered that* Athanasius *should be put into quiet possession of his Church again.* 313
Chap. 14. *That after the Death of* Eudoxius *at* Constantinople, *the* Arians *ordained* Demophilus; *but the* Orthodox, *by the assistance of* Eustathius *of* Antioch, *made* Evagrius *Bishop of* Constantinople. ibid.
Chap. 15. *That when the Emperor had banished* Evagrius *and* Eustathius, *the* Arians *sorely oppressed and afflicted the* Homoöusians. 314
Chap. 16. *Concerning the Holy Presbyters who were burnt in a Ship, and concerning the Famine, which by the Wrath of God hapned in* Phrygia *upon that account.* ibid.
Chap. 17. *That the Emperor, arriving at* Antioch, *did again persecute those that embraced the* Homoöusian *Opinion.* ibid.
Chap. 18. *Concerning what was done at* Edessa, *and the reproachful Affront put upon the* Præfect; *and concerning the Faith, Couragiousness, and Constancy of those Citizens; and concerning a pious Woman.* ibid.
Chap. 19. *That the Emperor* Valens *slew many Persons, the first Leter of whose name was* Theta, *upon account of a certain* Necromantick *Divination, whereby that was foretold.* 315
Chap. 20. *Concerning* Athanasius's *Death, and the Promotion of* Peter *to his See.* ibid.
Chap. 21. *That after* Athanasius's *Death, the* Arians *by the Emperor* Valens's *Order, delivered up the Churches in* Alexandria *to* Lucius, *who had been Ordained by them before, and committed* Peter *to Prison.* 316
Chap. 22. *That* Sabinus *the* Macedonian *Heretick has made no mention of those many Mischiefs which hapned at* Lucius's *Instalment. But they are recorded in a Letter written by* Peter, *who made his escape, and fled to* Damasus *Bishop of* Rome. *But the* Arians *and* Lucius *were Authors of many mischievous Practices and Cruelties against those Holy Persons who led a Monastick Life in the Solitudes.* ibid.
Chap. 23. *A Catalogue of the Holy Monks who lived in the Desart.* ibid.
Chap. 24. *Concerning those Holy Monks who were exiled; how God (by the Miracles they performed) attracted all persons to himself.* 319
Chap. 25. *Concerning* Didymus, *a Blind Man.* 320
Chap. 26. *Concerning* Basilius *of* Cæsarea, *and* Gregorius *of* Nazianzum. ibid.
Chap. 27. *Concerning* Gregorius Thaumaturgus. 322
Chap. 28. *Concerning* Novatus, *and those from him termed* Novatians. *And, that those* Novatians *who inhabited* Phrygia, *altered the time of celebrating the Festival of* Easter, *and kept it on the same day the* Jews *did.* 323
Chap. 29. *Concerning* Damasus *Bishop of* Rome, *and* Ursinus. *How a Disturbance and Sedition hapning in* Rome *upon their account, there followed a great Slaughter of Men.* 324
Chap. 30. *How (after the Death of* Auxentius *Bishop of* Millain) *a Sedition hapning on account of the* Election *of a Prelate to succeed in that See;* Ambrosius *President of the Province, going with a Military Force to appease the Tumult, was*

was by a general Suffrage (the Emperor Valentinianus*'s having given his consent also) preferr'd before all Persons, and elected Bishop of that Church.* pag. 324

Chap. 31. *Concerning* Valentinianus*'s Death.* 325

Chap. 32. *Concerning the Philosopher* Themistius. *And, that* Valens, *appeased by the Oration he spake to him, did in some measure mitigate his Persecution against the Christians.* ibid.

Chap. 33. *How the* Goths, *under the Reign of* Valens, *embraced Christianity.* 326

Chap. 34. *That the* Goths *vanquished by other* Barbarians, *fled into the Territories of the* Romans, *and were received by the Emperor. Which Reception of theirs was the occasion, both of the Destruction of the* Roman *Empire, and also of the Emperor's own Overthrow.* ibid.

Chap. 35. *That the Emperor, by reason of his Care and Sollicitude about a War with the* Goths, *remitted something of his Persecution against the Christians.* 327

Chap. 36. *That the* Saracens *also at that time embraced the Faith of Christ, (a Woman, by name* Mavia, *being their Queen,) and took one* Moses, *a pious and faithful person that led a Monastick Life, to be their Bishop.* ibid.

Chap. 37. *That after* Valens*'s departure from* Antioch *the* Orthodox *in the East (more especially those at* Alexandria) *took courage; and having ejected* Lucius, *restored the Churches again to* Peter, *who was returned fortified with the Letters of* Damasus *Bishop of* Rome. ibid.

Chap. 38. *That the Emperor arriving at the City* Constantinople, *and being reproach'd by the People upon account of the* Goths, *marches out of the City against the* Barbarians: *And coming to an Engagement with them near* Adrianople, *a City of* Macedonia, *is slain by them; after he had lived fifty years, and reigned fixteen.* 328

Book V.

THE Preface. pag. 329

Chap. 1. *How, after the Death of* Valens, *when the* Goths *laid siege to* Constantinople, *the Citizens sallied out of the City against them, having those* Saracens *who were under* Mavia*'s command, to be their Auxiliaries.* ibid.

Chap. 2. *That the Emperor* Gratianus, *having recalled the Orthodox Bishops from their Exile, drove the Hereticks out of the Churches, and took* Theodosius *to be his Colleague in the Empire.* 330

Chap. 3. *What Bishops were in possession of the Presidency over the greater Churches at that time.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *How the* Macedoniani, *who had sent an Embassy to* Damasus *Bishop of* Rome *in defence of the* Homoöusian Creed, *returned again to their old Heresie.* ibid.

Chap. 5. *Concerning what hapned at that time at* Antioch, *upon* Paulinus*'s and* Melitius*'s account.* ibid.

Chap. 6. *That* Gregorius *of* Nazianzum *was by a general Suffrage of the Orthodox constituted Bishop of the* Constantinopolitan *Church; at which time the Emperor* Theodosius *(after his Victory over the* Barbarians,) *fell sick at* Thessalonica, *and was baptized by* Ascholius *the Bishop.* ibid.

Chap. 7. *That when* Gregorius *was come to* Constantinople, *and some Bishops murmured at his Translation; he refused the Presidency over the Church. And the Emperor orders* Demophilus *the* Arian *Bishop, either to give his Assent to the* Homoüsian *Faith, or else to go out of the City; which latter he chose rather to do.* pag. 331

Chap. 8. *Concerning the hundred and fifty Bishops convened at* Constantinople, *and concerning the Determinations made by them, after they had Ordained* Nectarius *in that City.* ibid.

Chap. 9. *That the Emperor* Theodosius *ordered the Body of* Paulus *Bishop of* Constantinople *to be honourably translated from the place of his Exile. At which time also* Meletius *Bishop of* Antioch *departed this life.* 334

Chap. 10. *That the Emperor ordered a Synod of all the Sects to be convened, at which time* Arcadius *his Son was proclaimed* Augustus; *and that the* Novatians *(who as to their Faith embraced the same Sentiments with the* Homoöusians) *were the only persons that had permission to hold their Assemblies within the City. But the other Hereticks were forced from thence.* ibid.

Chap. 11. *Concerning* Maximus *the Tyrant, how he slew* Gratianus *by treachery: at which time also* Justina *the Mother of* Valentinianus *Junior, desisted, though unwillingly, from her Design against* Ambrosius *Bishop of* Millain, *for fear of* Maximus. 336

Chap. 12. *That the Emperor* Theodosius *having provided a numerous Army against* Maximus, (*at which time* Flaccilla *bore him his Son* Honorius,) *left* Arcadius *at* Constantinople: *but went himself to* Millain, *where he came to an Engagement with the Tyrant.* 337

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Disturbance raised at* Constantinople *by the* Arians. ibid.

Chap. 14. *Concerning the Emperor* Theodosius*'s Victory, and the Tyrant's Overthrow.* 338

Chap. 15. *Concerning* Flavianus *of* Antioch. ibid.

Chap. 16. *Concerning the Demolishment of the Idol-Temples at* Alexandria; *and concerning the Fight betwixt the* Pagans *and* Christians, *which hapned on that account.* 339

Chap. 17. *Concerning the Hieroglyphical Letters found in the Temple of* Serapis. ibid.

Chap. 18. *That the Emperor* Theodosius, *during his stay in* Rome, *did a great deal of good to that City, both by demolishing those Receptacles for Thieves in the* Bake-houses, *and also by prohibiting the obscene use of Bells in the Stews.* 340

Chap. 19. *Concerning the* Penitentiary Presbyters, *how these Officers in the Church were at that time put down.* 341

Chap. 20. *That there were at that time many Schisms amongst the* Arians, *and other Hereticks.* 343

Chap. 21. *That the* Novatians *also disagreed amongst themselves.* ibid.

Chap. 22. *This Historian's Sentiment concerning the Disagreements which appear in some places, in relation to the Feast of* Easter, *Baptisms, Fasts, Marriages, the Order of celebrating the Eucharist, and other Ecclesiastical Rites and Observances.* 344

Chap. 23. *Concerning the* Arians *at* Constantinople, *who were also termed the* Psathyriani. 349

Chap. 24. *That the* Eunomians *also raised Factions amongst themselves, which had various Denominations given them, derived from the names of their first Founders.* ibid.

Chap. 25. *Concerning* Eugenius*'s Tyranny, and the Death of* Valentinianus Junior; *also, concerning the Emperor* Theodosius*'s Victory over the Tyrant.* 350

Chap. 26. *How the Emperor falling ill after his Victory,*

ſent for his Son Honorius *to* Millain; *and thinking himſelf ſomewhat recovered from his diſtemper, he order'd that the* Cirque-ſports *ſhou'd be exhibited, on which very day he died.* p. 351

Book VI.

THE *Preface.* pag. 351

Chap. 1. *That after the death of the Emperor* Theodoſius, *when his Sons had divided the Empire between them, and* Arcadius *had met the Army returning from* Italy, *after ſome ſhort ſtay there;* Rufinus *the* Præfectus Prætorio *was killed by the Soldiers at the Emperor's feet.* 352

Chap. 2. *Concerning* Nectarius's *Death, and the Ordination of* Johannes. ibid.

Chap. 3. *Concerning the Deſcent and Education of* Johannes *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople. 353

Chap. 4. *Concerning* Serapion *the Deacon, and how by his inſtigation* Johannes *became offended with, and an Enemy to his Clergy.* 354

Chap. 5. *That* Johannes *differed not only with the Clergy, but with the Magiſtracy alſo; and concerning* Eutropius *the Eunuch.* 355

Chap. 6. *Concerning the Tyranny of* Gaïna *the* Goth, *and the Diſturbance he raiſed at* Conſtantinople; *and concerning his Death.* ibid.

Chap. 7. *Concerning the Diſſention which hapned between* Theophilus *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and the Monaſticks in the* Solitude. *And how* Theophilus *Anathematized* Origen's *Books.* 357

Chap. 8. *Concerning the Prayers of the* Nocturnal Hymns *ſung by the* Arians *and* Homoöuſians; *and concerning the Engagement which hapned between them; and that the ſinging of* Hymns *in parts, wherein one ſang one Verſe, another another, had its Original from* Ignatius Theophorus. 358

Chap. 9. *Concerning thoſe term'd* The Long Monks; *and how* Theophilus *having conceived an implacable hatred againſt* Johannes *upon their account, made it his buſineſs to get him depoſed from his Biſhoprick.* 359

Chap. 10. *That* Epiphanius *Biſhop of* Cyprus *being alſo led away by* Theophilus's *Frauds, convened a Synod of Biſhops in* Cyprus, *to determine againſt* Origen's *Writings, and reproved* Johannes *for reading* Origen's *Books.* 360

Chap. 11. *Concerning the* two Syrian *Biſhops* Severianus *and* Antiochus, *how, and for what reaſons they diſagreed with* Johannes. ibid.

Chap. 12. *That* Epiphanius *coming to* Conſtantinople, *held Aſſemblies, and perform'd Ordinations contrary to* Johannes's *mind, that he might gratifie* Theophilus. 361

Chap. 13. *What this Writer can ſay in defence of* Origen. 362

Chap. 14. *How* Johannes (*having invited* Epiphanius *to come to his Palace, and he refuſing, and continuing his holding of ſeparate Aſſemblies in the Church of* the Apoſtles, *admoniſhed and reproved him, becauſe he did many things contrary to the* Canons. *Whereat* Epiphanius *was terrified, and returned into his own Country.* ibid.

Chap. 15. *How after* Epiphanius's *departure,* Johannes *made an Oration againſt Women, and upon that account (by the care of the Emperor and Empreſs) a Synod was convened againſt him at* Chalcedon, *and he is ejected out of his Church.* 363

Chap. 16. *That the People being tumultuous becauſe of* Johannes's *Baniſhment,* Briſo *the Empreſs's Eunuch, was ſent to bring him back again to* Conſtantinople. 364

Chap. 17. *That upon* Theophilus's *deſiring to diſcuſs* Heraclides's *Caſe then abſent, and* Johannes's *refuſing to permit him, an Engagement hapned between the* Conſtantinopolitans *and* Alexandrians, *wherein many were ſlain on both ſides. At which* Theophilus *and ſome other of the Biſhops were terrified, and fled from the City.* pag. 364

Chap. 18. *Concerning* Eudoxia's *Silver Statue, and how* Johannes *was ejected out of his Church again on account of that, and conveyed into baniſhment.* 365

Chap. 19. *Concerning* Arſacius, *who was ordained* Johannes's *Succeſſor, and concerning* Cyrinus (*Biſhop*) *of* Chalcedon. 366

Chap. 20. *How, after* Arſacius, Atticus *obtained the* Conſtantinopolitan *See.* 367

Chap. 21. *Concerning* Johannes's *Departure to the Lord in Exile.* ibid.

Chap. 22. *Concerning* Siſinnius *Biſhop of the* Novatianiſts, *what expreſſions he is ſaid to have uſed in his Diſcourſes with* Johannes. ibid.

Chap. 23. *Concerning the Death of the Emperor* Arcadius. 368

Book VII.

Chap. 1. THat *after the Emperor* Arcadius's *Death, (who left his Son* Theodoſius, *then Eight years old;)* Anthemius *the* Præfect *had the chief management of Affairs in the Empire.* pag. 369

Chap. 2. *Concerning* Atticus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *what manner of perſon he was as to his Temper and Diſpoſition.* 370

Chap. 3. *Concerning* Theodoſius *and* Agapetus *Biſhops of* Synnada. ibid.

Chap. 4. *Concerning the* Paralytical Jew, *who was cured by* Atticus *the Biſhop in Divine Baptiſm.* 371

Chap. 5. *How* Sabbatius, *from being a* Jew *had been made a Presbyter of the* Novatianiſts, *deſerted thoſe of his own Opinion.* ibid.

Chap. 6. *Concerning thoſe who at that time were the Ring-leaders of the* Arian *Opinion.* 372

Chap. 7. *How* Cyrillus *ſucceeded* Theophilus *Biſhop of* Alexandria. ibid.

Chap. 8. *Concerning* Maruthas *Biſhop of* Meſopotamia, *and how the* Chriſtian *Religion was by him propagated in* Perſia. ibid.

Chap. 9. *Who were Biſhops of* Antioch *and* Rome *at this time.* 373

Chap. 10. *That* Rome *became ſubject to the* Barbarians *at that time, and was deſtroyed by* Alarichus. ibid.

Chap. 11. *Concerning the Biſhops of* Rome. 374

Chap. 12. *Concerning* Chryſanthus *Biſhop of the* Novatianiſts *at* Conſtantinople. ibid.

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Fight which hapned at* Alexandria *between the* Chriſtians *and* Jews; *and concerning* Cyrillus *the Biſhop's Difference with* Oreſtes *the* Præfect. ibid.

Chap. 14. *That the Monks of* Nitria *came down to* Alexandria *in defence of* Cyrillus, *and raiſed a Sedition againſt* Oreſtes *the* Præfect. 375

Chap. 15. *Concerning* Hypatia *the Philoſophereſs.* 376

Chap. 16. *That the* Jews *entring upon another War againſt the* Chriſtians, *were puniſhed.* 377

Chap. 17. *Concerning* Paulus *Biſhop of the* Novatianiſts, *and concerning the Miracle done by him, when he was about to have baptized a* Jewiſh *Impoſtor.* ibid.

Chap. 18. *How, after the Death of* Iſdigerdes *the* Perſian *King, the League between the* Romans *and* Perſians

Persians *was broken, and a bloody War hapned, wherein the* Persians *were worsted.* pag. 377
Chap. 19. *Concerning* Palladius *the* Courier. 378
Chap. 20. *How the* Persians *had another severe Overthrow given them by the* Romans. 379
Chap. 21. *After what manner* Acacius *Bishop of* Amida, *behaved himself toward the* Persian *Captives.* ibid.
Chap. 22. *Concerning the Excellencies, wherewith the Emperor* Theodosius Junior *was endow'd.* 380
Chap. 23. *Concerning* Johannes, *who tyranniz'd at* Rome *after* Honorius *the Emperor's Death. And how God mollified, by* Theodosius's *Prayers, deliver'd him into the hands of the* Roman *Army.* 381
Chap. 24. *That, after the Slaughter of* Johannes *the Tyrant,* Theodosius *the Emperor proclaimed* Valentinianus (*the Son of* Constantius, *and of his Aunt* Placidia,) *Emperor of* Rome. 382
Chap. 25. *Concerning* Atticus's *Government of the Churches; and that he order'd* Johannes's *name to be written into the* Dypticks *of the Church; and that he fore-knew his own Death.* ibid.
Chap. 26. *Concerning* Sisinnius, Atticus's *Successor in the* Constantinopolitan *Bishoprick.* 383
Chap. 27. *Concerning* Philippus *the Presbyter, who was born at* Side. 384
Chap. 28. *That* Sisinnius *Ordained* Proclus *Bishop of* Cyzicum: *But the Inhabitants of that City would not admit him to be their Bishop.* ibid.
Chap. 29. *That after* Sisinnius's *Death, (the Emperors) sent for* Nestorius *from* Antioch, *and made him Bishop of* Constantinople; *who quickly discover'd his own Temper and Disposition.* ibid.
Chap. 30. *After what manner the* Burgundians *embraced the Christian Religion, in the Reign of* Theodosius Junior. 385
Chap. 31. *With what Miseries the* Macedonians *were afflicted by* Nestorius. ibid.
Chap. 32. *Concerning the Presbyter* Anastasius, *by whom* Nestorius *was perverted to Impiety.* 386
Chap. 33. *Concerning the horrid Wickedness committed upon the Altar of the Great Church by the Fugitive Servants.* pag. 387
Chap. 34. *Concerning the former Synod at* Ephesus *convened against* Nestorius. ibid.
Chap. 35. *How, after* Nestorius's *Deposition, when some were desirous of placing* Proclus *in the Episcopal Chair, other Bishops elected* Maximianus *Bishop of* Constantinople. 388
Chap. 36. *Instances, whereby this Writer does (as he supposes) evince, that a Translation from one See to another is not prohibited.* ibid.
Chap. 37. *Concerning* Silvanus, *who was translated from* Philippopolis *to* Troas. 389
Chap. 38. *Concerning the* Jews *in* Creet, *how, many of them turn'd Christians at that time.* 390
Chap. 39. *Concerning the Fire which hapned in the Church of the* Novatianists. ibid.
Chap. 40. *That* Proclus *succeeded* Maximianus *the Bishop.* 391
Chap. 41. *Concerning* Proclus *the Bishop, what manner of Man he was.* ibid.
Chap. 42. *That this Writer spends many words in praise of the Emperor* Theodosius Junior's *Probity.* 392
Chap. 43. *How great Calamities those* Barbarians *underwent, who had been the Tyrant* Johannes's *Auxiliaries.* ibid.
Chap. 44. *That the Emperor* Valentinianus Junior *married* Eudoxia *the Daughter of* Theodosius. ibid.
Chap. 45. *That* Proclus *the Bishop perswaded the Emperor to translate the Body of* Johannes *from the place of his Exile (where it had been buried,) to* Constantinople, *and to deposite it in the Church of the* Apostles. 393
Chap. 46. *Concerning the Death of* Paulus *Bishop of the* Novatianists, *and concerning* Marcianus *who was his Successor.* ibid.
Chap. 47. *That the Emperor* Theodosius *sent his Wife* Eudoxia *to* Jerusalem. 394
Chap. 48. *Concerning* Thalassius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *in* Cappadocia. ibid.

The Contents of the *Ecclesiastical History* of *Evagrius Scholasticus Epiphaniensis* in Six Books.

Book I.

THE *Preface.* pag. 401
Chap. 1. *That after the Destruction of the Impious* Julian, *when the Heresies had been a little quieted, the Devil afterwards disturbed the Faith again.* ibid.
Chap. 2. *How* Nestorius *was detected by his Disciple* Anastasius; *who in his Sermon termed the Holy Mother of God, not* Theotocos, *but* Christotocos: *for which reason* Nestorius *was pronounced an Heretick.* 402
Chap. 3. *What* Cyrillus the Great *wrote to* Nestorius, *and how the* Third Synod *at* Ephesus *was convened, to which* Johannes *Bishop of* Antioch *and* Theodoret *came late.* 403
Chap. 4. *How* Nestorius *was deposed by the Synod, before the arrival of the Bishop of* Antioch. 404
Chap. 5. *That* Johannes *Bishop of* Antioch *coming to* Ephesus, *after five days, deposes* Cyrillus *Bishop of* Alexandria, *and* Memnon *Bishop of* Ephesus; *whom the Synod pronounced Innocent soon after, and deposed* Johannes *and his Party. And how by the interposition of the Emperor* Theodosius, Cyrillus *and* Johannes *were reconciled, and confirmed* Nestorius's *Deposition.* p. 404
Chap. 6. *Concerning* Paulus *Bishop of* Emisa's *Journey to* Alexandria, *and* Cyrillus's *Commendation of* Johannes *on account of his Letter.* 405
Chap. 7. *What the Impious* Nestorius *writes concerning his own Sufferings; and how, his Tongue having at last been eaten out with Worms, he ended his life at* Oäsis. ibid.
Chap. 8. *How, after* Nestorius, Maximianus, *and after him* Proclus, *then* Flavianus, *were made Bishops of* Constantinople. 408
Chap. 9. *Concerning the unfortunate* Eutyches, *and how he was deposed by* Flavianus *Bishop of* Constantinople, *and concerning the Second, to wit, that thievish Synod at* Ephesus. ibid.
Chap. 10. *What was transacted by* Dioscorus *and* Chrysaphius

phius *at the abſurd Synod at* Epheſus. p. 408
Chap. 11. *This* Writer's *Apology in defence of the variety of Opinions amongſt us Chriſtians, and his Deriſion of the Pagan Trifles.* 409
Chap. 12. *In what manner the Emperor* Theodoſius *proſecuted and expelled the Hereſie of* Neſtorius. 410
Chap. 13. *Concerning St.* Symeon *the* Stylite. ibid.
Chap. 14. *Concerning the Star which appears frequently in the* Piazza *about the Pillar of St.* Symeon, *which this* Writer *and others have ſeen: and concerning the ſame Saint's Head.* 412
Chap. 15. *Concerning St.* Iſidorus Peleuſiota, *and* Syneſius *Biſhop of* Cyrenæ. 413
Chap. 16. *How the Divine* Ignatius, *having been removed from* Rome, *was depoſited at* Antioch. ibid.
Chap. 17. *Concerning* Attila *King of the* Scythæ; *and how he deſtroy'd the Provinces of the* Eaſt *and* Weſt. *And concerning the ſtrange Earthquake and other dreadful Prodigies which hapned in the World.* 414
Chap. 18. *Concerning the Publick Buildings in* Antioch, *and who they were that erected them.* 415
Chap. 19. *Concerning the ſeveral Wars, which hapned both in* Italy, *and* Perſia, *during the Reign of* Theodoſius. ibid.
Chap. 20. *Concerning the Empreſs* Eudocia, *and her Daughter* Eudoxia; *and how* Eudocia *came to* Antioch, *and went to* Jeruſalem. 416
Chap. 21. *That* Eudocia *did many good Actions about* Jeruſalem; *and concerning the different Life and Converſation of the Monks in* Paleſtine. 417
Chap. 22. *What Structures the Empreſs* Eudocia *built in* Paleſtine, *and concerning the Church of the* Proto-Martyr Stephen, *within which ſhe was piouſly buried. Moreover, concerning the Death of the Emperor* Theodoſius. 419

Book II.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Emperor* Marcianus, *and what Signs preceded, declaring he ſhould be Emperor.* pag. 420
Chap. 2. *Concerning the Synod at* Chalcedon, *and what was the Occaſion of its being convened.* 421
Chap. 3. *A Deſcription of the Great Martyr* Euphemia's *Church, which is in the City* Chalcedon: *and a Narrative of the Miracles p rformed therein.* 422
Chap. 4. *Concerning thoſe things which were agitated and eſtabliſhed in the Synod; and how* Dioſcorus *Biſhop of* Alexandria *was depoſed; but,* Theodoret, Ibas, *and ſome others were reſtored.* 423
Chap. 5. *Concerning the Sedition which hapned at* Alexandria, *on account of* Proterius's *Ordination; likewiſe concerning what hapned at* Jeruſalem. 426
Chap. 6. *Concerning the Drought which hapned, and the Famine and the Peſtilence; and how in ſome places the Earth in a wonderful manner brought forth Fruits of its own accord.* 428
Chap. 7. *Concerning the Murther of* Valentinianus, *and the Taking of* Rome; *and concerning thoſe other Emperors who govern'd* Rome *after* Valentinianus's *Death.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *Concerning the Death of* Marcianus, *and the Empire of* Leo: *And how the Hereticks of* Alexandria *ſlew* Proterius, *and gave that Arch-Biſhoprick to* Timotheus Ælurus. 429
Chap. 9. *Concerning the Emperor* Leo's Circular Letters. 431
Chap. 10. *Concerning thoſe things which the Biſhops and* Symeones *the* Stylite *wrote in anſwer to the Emperor* Leo's Circular Letters. p. 432
Chap. 11. *Concerning the Baniſhment of* Timotheus Ælurus, *and the Ordination of* Timotheus Salophaciolus; *and concerning* Gennadius *and* Acacius *Biſhops of* Conſtantinople. 433
Chap. 12. *Concerning the Earthquake which hapned at* Antioch, *three hundred forty and ſeven years after that which had hapned in the Times of* Trajan. ibid.
Chap. 13. *Concerning the Fire which hapned at* Conſtantinople. 434
Chap. 14. *Concerning the Univerſal Calamities.* 435
Chap. 15. *Concerning the Marriage of* Zeno *and* Ariadne. ibid.
Chap. 16. *Concerning* Anthemius *Emperor of* Rome, *and thoſe Emperors who ſucceeded him.* ibid.
Chap. 17. *Concerning the Death of* Leo, *and the Empire of* Leo Junior, *and alſo concerning* Zeno *his Father.* 436
Chap. 18. *An Epitome of the Acts at the Synod of* Chalcedon, *ſet at the End of the Second Book.* 437

Book III.

Chap. 1. *Concerning* Zeno's *Empire, and concerning Life.* p. 448
Chap. 2. *Concerning the Incurſions of the* Barbarians, *both in the* Eaſt, *and in the* Weſt. ibid.
Chap. 3. *Concerning* Baſiliſcus's *Tyranny, and* Zeno's *Flight.* 449
Chap. 4. *That* Baſiliſcus *recalled* Timotheus Ælurus, *and, induced thereto by him, ſent his* Circular Letters *to all places, in order to the abrogating of the* Chalcedon Synod. ibid.
Chap. 5. *Concerning thoſe Perſons who conſented to* Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters, *and rejected the Synod of* Chalcedon. 450
Chap. 6. *That* Timotheus Ælurus *recovered the Biſhoprick of* Alexandria, *and having reſtored the Priviledge of a* Patriarchate *to the Church of* Epheſus, *Anathematized the* Chalcedon Synod. 452
Chap. 7. *That the Monks having raiſed a Sedition by the perſwaſion of* Acacius, Baſiliſcus *was put into a Fear, and wrote and promulged* Circular Letters *contrary to thoſe he had publiſhed before.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *Concerning* Zeno's *return.* 453
Chap. 9. *That after* Baſiliſcus's *Death, the Biſhops of* Aſia, *that they might appeaſe* Acacius, *ſent him a Penitentiary Libel, craving pardon for their Offence in rejecting the Synod of* Chalcedon. ibid.
Chap. 10. *Concerning thoſe who governed the Biſhoprick of* Antioch. ibid.
Chap. 11. *That the Emperor* Zeno *took a Reſolution of Perſecuting* Ælurus: *But by reaſon of his Age he had compaſſion on him, and let him alone. And how after* Ælurus's *Death,* Petrus Mongus *was ordained by the* Alexandrians. *But* Timotheus, Proterius's *Succeſſor, by the order of the Emperor, obtained the Chair of the* Alexandrians. 454
Chap. 12. *Concerning* Johannes, *who obtained the Preſidency over the* Alexandrian *Church after* Timotheus; *and how* Zeno *outed him, in regard he had forſworn himſelf, and reſtored the Chair of* Alexandria *to* Petrus Mongus. ibid.
Chap. 13. *That* Petrus Mongus *embraced* Zeno's Henoticon, *and joyn'd himſelf to the* Proterians. 455
Chap. 14. Zeno's Henoticon. ibid.
Chap. 15. *That* Johannes *Biſhop of* Alexandria *coming to* Rome, *perſwades* Simplicius *to write to* Zeno *concerning*

The CONTENTS.

concerning what had hapned; and what Zeno *wrote back in answer to him.* pag. 456

Chap. 16. *Concerning* Calendion *Bishop of* Antioch, *and that he was condemned to be banished on account of the Friendship he was suspected to have held with* Illus *and* Leontius; *also, that* Petrus Fullo *entred into an Union with* Mongus, *and with the Bishops of* Constantinople *and* Jerusalem. ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning those things written by* Petrus *to* Acacius *who had embraced the* Chalcedon-Synod. 457

Chap. 18. *In what manner* Johannes *Bishop of* Alexandria *perswades* Felix *Pope of* Rome, *to send a Deposition to* Acacius *Bishop of* Constantinople. 459

Chap. 19. *Concerning* Cyrillus *Governour of the Monastery of the* Acœmeti, *how he sent some persons to* Felix *at* Rome, *inciting him to revenge what had been committed against the Faith.* ibid.

Chap. 20. *Concerning what* Felix *wrote to* Zeno, *and* Zeno *to* Felix. 460

Chap. 21. *That* Symeones *a Monk belonging to the Monastery of the* Acœmeti *went to* Rome, *and accused those Bishops sent from the* Romans *to* Constantinople, *as having held Communion with Hereticks; and, that these* Legates, *and those persons who held Communion with* Petrus, *were deposed by the* Romans. ibid.

Chap. 22. *Concerning the Disturbances at* Alexandria, *and in several other places, on account of the Synod at* Chalcedon. 461

Chap. 23. *Concerning* Fravita *and* Euphemius *Bishops of* Constantinople; *and concerning* Athanasius *and* Johannes *Bishops of* Alexandria; *also concerning* Palladius *and* Flavianus *Prelates of* Antioch; *and concerning some other Persons.* ibid.

Chap. 24. *Concerning the Slaughter of* Armatus, *who was Kinsman to the Empress* Verina. 462

Chap. 25. *Concerning the Rebellion of* Theodoricus *the* Scythian; *and concerning the same Person's Death.* 463

Chap. 26. *Concerning* Marcianus's *Insurrection, and what hapned in relation to him.* ibid.

Chap. 27. *Concerning the Tyranny of* Illus *and* Leontius. 464

Chap. 28. *Concerning* Mammianus, *and the Structures built by him.* ibid.

Chap. 29. *Concerning* Zeno's *Death, and the proclaiming* Anastasius *Emperor.* ibid.

Chap. 30. *Concerning the Emperor* Anastasius; *and how, because he would not innovate any thing in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution, the Churches over the whole World were filled with infinite Disturbances; and many of the Bishops for that reason were ejected.* 465

Chap. 31. *The Letter of the Monks of* Palestine *to* Alcison *concerning* Xenaias *and some other persons.* ibid.

Chap. 32. *Concerning the Expulsion of* Macedonius *Bishop of* Constantinople, *and of* Flavianus *Bishop of* Antioch. 467

Chap. 33. *Concerning* Severus *Bishop of* Antioch. ibid.

Chap. 34. *Concerning the Libel of Deposition sent to the same* Severus *by* Cosmas *and* Severianus. 469

Chap. 35. *Concerning the Destruction of the* Isaurian *Tyrants.* ibid.

Chap. 36. *Concerning the* Saracens, *that they made a Peace with the* Romans. 470

Chap. 37. *Concerning the Siege of* Amida, *and the building of the City* Daras. ibid.

Chap. 38. *Concerning the* Long Wall. ibid.

Chap. 39. *Concerning that* Tax *termed the* Chrysargyrum, *and how* Anastasius *abolished it.* pag. 470

Chap. 40. *Concerning what* Zosimus, *hath written in relation to the* Chrysargyrum, *and about the Emperor* Constantine. 472

Chap. 41. *An* Invective *against* Zosimus, *on account of the Reproaches and Calumnies he has cast upon* Constantine *and the Christians.* ibid.

Chap. 42. *Concerning the* Chrysotelia. 474

Chap. 43. *Concerning the Tyranny of* Vitalianus. 475

Chap. 44. *That* Anastasius *being desirous to add these words,* Who hast been crucified on our account, *to the Hymn termed* The Trisagium, *a Sedition and Disturbance hapned amongst the People. Which* Anastasius *fearing, made use of Dissimulation, and soon altered the minds of the People. And concerning the Death of* Anastasius. 476

Book IV.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Empire of* Justinus Senior. pag. 477

Chap. 2. *Concerning the Eunuch* Amantius, *and* Theocritus; *and in what manner* Justinus *put these persons to death.* ibid.

Chap. 3. *In what manner* Justinus *slew* Vitalianus *by treachery.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *How* Justinus *having ejected* Severus, *put* Paulus *into his place: and, that some little time after,* Euphrasius *obtained the See of* Antioch. 478

Chap. 5. *Concerning the Fires which hapned at* Antioch, *and the Earth-quakes; wherein* Euphrasius *was buried, and ended his Life.* 479

Chap. 6. *Concerning* Ephræmius *who succeeded* Euphrasius. ibid.

Chap. 7. *Concerning* Zosimas *and* Johannes *who were Workers of Miracles.* 480

Chap. 8. *Concerning the Universal Calamities.* 481

Chap. 9. *How* Justinus *whilst he was yet living took* Justinianus *to be his Colleague in the Empire.* ibid.

Chap. 10. *That* Justinianus *favoured those who embraced the* Chalcedon *Synod. But his Wife* Theodora *was a lover of the contrary Party.* ibid.

Chap. 11. *How* Severus *perverted* Anthimus *Bishop of* Constantinople, *and* Theodosius *Bishop of* Alexandria: *which Prelates the Emperor ejected, and put others into their Sees.* 482

Chap. 12. *Out of the History of* Procopius Cæsariensis, *concerning* Cavades *King of the* Persians, *and his Son* Chosroes. 483

Chap. 13. *Concerning* Alamundarus *and* Azarethus; *and concerning that Sedition at* Constantinople, *which had the name* Nica *given it.* ibid.

Chap. 14. *Concerning* Hunericus *King of the* Vandals, *and concerning those Christians whose Tongues were cut out by him.* ibid.

Chap. 15. *Concerning* Cabaones *the* Moor. 484

Chap. 16. *Concerning* Belisarius's *Expedition against the* Vandals, *and their total Overthrow.* ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning the Spoils which were brought out of* Africa. 485

Chap. 18. *Concerning those* Phœnicians *who fled from the Face o* Jesus *the Son of* Nave. ibid.

Chap. 19. *Concerning* Theodoricus *the* Goth, *and what hapned at at* Rome *under him till the times of* Justinian, *and, that* Rome *was again reduced to Subjection to the* Romans *after* Vitiges *had fled out of that City.* 486

Chap. 20. *How those People termed the* Eruli *turned Christians in the Times of* Justinian. ibid.

Chap. 21. *That* Belisarius *recovered the City* Rome, *which had been again taken by the* Goths. ibid.

The CONTENTS.

Chap. 22. *That the* Abasgi *turn'd Christians also in those times.* pag. 486

Chap. 23. *That the Inhabitants of* Tanais *also at that time embraced the Christian Religion; and concerning the Earthquakes which hapned in* Greece *and* Achaia. 487

Chap. 24. *Concerning* Narses *a Master of the* Milice, *and his Piety.* ibid.

Chap. 25. *That* Chosroes, *stimulated with envy at the prosperous Successes of* Justinian, *broke out into a War against the* Romans, *and ruined many* Roman *Cities; amongst which he destroyed* Antioch the Great *also.* ibid.

Chap. 26. *Concerning the Miracle of the precious and vivifick Wood of the Cross, which hapned at* Apamia. 488

Chap. 27. *Concerning* Chosroe's *Expedition against* Edessa. ibid.

Chap. 28. *Concerning the Miracle which was perform'd at* Sergiopolis. 489

Chap. 29. *Concerning the Pestilential Distemper.* 490

Chap. 30. *Concerning* Justinian's *insatiable Avarice.* 491

Chap. 31. *Concerning the Great Church of St.* Sophia, *and that of* The Holy Apostles. ibid.

Chap. 32. *Concerning the Emperor* Justinian's *Madness rather then Kindness shown towards the Faction of the* Venetiani. 492

Chap. 33. *Concerning* Barsanuphius *the* Ascetа. 493

Chap. 34. *Concerning the Monk* Symeon, *who for Christ's sake feigned himself a Fool.* ibid.

Chap. 35. *Concerning the Monk* Thomas, *who in like manner feigned himself a Fool.* 494

Chap. 36. *Concerning the Patriarch* Menas, *and concerning the Miracle which hapned then to the Boy of a certain* Hebrew. ibid.

Chap. 37. *Who were Bishops of the Greater Cities at that time.* 495

Chap. 38. *Concerning the Fifth Holy Oecumenical Synod, and on what account it was convened.* ibid.

Chap. 39. *That* Justinian *having forsaken the right Faith, asserted the Body of our Lord to be incorruptible.* 497

Chap. 40. *Concerning* Anastasius *Arch-Bishop of* Antioch. 498

Chap. 41. *Concerning the Death of* Justinian. ibid.

Book V.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Election of the Emperor* Justinus, *and concerning his Morals.* pag. 499

Chap. 2. *Concerning the Murther of* Justinus *Kinsman to the Emperor* Justinus. 500

Chap. 3. *Concerning those Miscreants* Addæus *and* Ætherius. ibid.

Chap. 4. *Concerning the Edict of our Faith, which* Justinus *wrote to the Christians in all places.* 501

Chap. 5. *Concerning the Ejection of* Anastasius *Bishop of* Theopolis. 502

Chap. 6. *That, after* Anastasius, Gregorius *was made Bishop, and concerning his Deposition.* 503

Chap. 7. *How those termed the* Persarmenii *surrendred themselves to the* Romans: *On which account a War broke out between the* Romans *and* Persians. 504

Chap. 8. *Concerning* Marcianus *the* Magister Militum, *and concerning the Siege of* Nisibis. ibid.

Chap. 9. *How* Chosroes *(after he had sent his General* Adaarmanes *against the* Romans, *who afflicted them with many, and those severe Losses;) went himself in person to* Nisibis. 505

Chap. 10. *Concerning the taking of* Apamia *and* Daras. ibid.

Chap. 11. *That the Emperor* Justinus *was seiz'd with a* Frensie: *But* Tiberius *took the Care of the Republick.* 506

Chap. 12. *That* Trajanus *having been sent Embassador to* Chosroes, *repaired the Affairs of the* Romans. p. 506

Chap. 13. *Concerning the Election of* Tiberius *to the Empire, and concerning his Deposition.* 507

Chap. 14. *That the Emperor* Tiberius *raised a vast Army to be imployed against* Chosroes; *at the Head whereof he sent* Justinianus *the* Dux, *and drove* Chosroes *out of the* Roman *Pale.* 508

Chap. 15. *That* Chosroes, *being heavily disquieted at his own Overthrow, ended his life: But his Son* Hormisda *undertook the Government of the* Persians. 509

Chap. 16. *Who at that time were Bishops of the Greater Churches.* ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning the Earthquake which hapned at* Antioch *in the Times of* Tiberius. ibid.

Chap. 18. *Concerning the Insurrection against the execrable* Anatolius. 510

Chap. 19. *Concerning* Mauricius's *Generalship, and concerning his Vertues.* 511

Chap. 20. *How* Mauricius *vanquished* Tamchosroes *and* Adaarmanes, *Generals of the* Persians. 512

Chap. 21. *Concerning those Signs which pre-signified* Mauricius's *being made Emperor.* ibid.

Chap. 22. *Concerning the Proclaiming of* Mauricius *and* Augusta. ibid.

Chap. 23. *A Computation of the Times from* Justinus Junior, *to* Mauricius. 513

Chap. 24. *Concerning the* Series *of History, which is preserv'd till our Times.* ibid.

Book VI.

Chap. 1. *Concerning the Marriage of* Mauricius *and* Augusta. pag. 515

Chap. 2. *Concerning* Alamundarus *the* Saracen, *and his Son* Naamanes. 516

Chap. 3. *Concerning* Johannes *and* Philippicus, *Master of the* Milice, *and the Actions done by them.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *Concerning* Priscus's *Mastership of the* Milice, *and what he suffer'd from the Army who raised a Mutiny against him.* ibid.

Chap. 5. *Concerning* Germanus's *being forced against his will to undertake the Imperial Dignity.* ibid.

Chap. 6. *How the Emperor sent* Philippicus *again, but the Army refused to receive him.* 517

Chap. 7. *Concerning* Gregorius *Bishop of* Antioch, *and the Calumny framed against him; and in what manner he evinced it to be false.* ibid.

Chap. 8. *That* Antioch *suffer'd again by Earthquakes.* 518

Chap. 9. *That the* Barbarians, *taking courage from the Defection of the Army from the Emperor, set upon them, and were worsted by* Germanus 519

Chap. 10. *Concerning the Emperor's Clemency towards the* Mutineers. ibid.

Chap. 11. *That* Gregorius *Bishop of* Antioch *was sent to pacifie the Army.* ibid.

Chap. 12. Gregorius's *Speech to the Army.* 520

Chap. 13. *That, after* Gregorius's *Speech, the Soldiers changed their minds, and received their General* Philippicus *again.* 521

Chap. 14. *Concerning the taking of* Martyropolis. ibid.

Chap. 15. *Concerning* Comentiolus's *Mastership of the* Milice, *and the taking the Castle* Ocbas. 522

Chap. 16. *Concerning the Murther of* Hormisda. ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning the Flight of* Chosroes Junior *to us.* ibid.

Chap. 18. *How the Emperor sent* Gregorius *and* Domitianus *to meet* Chosroes. 523

Chap. 19. *That* Chosroes *recovered the Empire of the* Persians,

ſians, *by that aſſiſtance given him by the* Romans. pag. 523

Chap. 20. *That the Holy Mother* Golanduch *lived in thoſe Times.* ibid.

Chap. 21. *Concerning thoſe ſacred Preſents, which* Choſroes *ſent to the Holy Martyr* Sergius. ibid.

Chap. 22. *Concerning* Naamanes *the* Saracen. p. 524

Chap. 23. *Concerning the death of St.* Symeon Junior, *the* Stylite. 525

Chap. 24. *Concerning the Death of* Gregorius *Biſhop of* Antioch, *and the Reſtauration of* Anaſtaſius. ibid.

The Contents of *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s Four Books concerning the Life of the Bleſſed Emperor *Conſtantine.*

Book I.

THE Preface; Concerning the Death of Conſtantine. pag. 529

Chap. 2. *The Preface yet.* 530

Chap. 3. *Concerning God who honoured the Pious Emperors and deſtroyed the Tyrants.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *That God honour'd* Conſtantine. 531

Chap. 5. *That he reigned upwards of thirty years, and lived above ſixty.* ibid.

Chap. 6. *That he was the Servant of God, and a Vanquiſher of Nations.* 532

Chap. 7. Conſtantine *compared with* Cyrus *King of the* Perſians, *and with* Alexander *the* Macedonian. ibid.

Chap. 8. *That he ſubdued almoſt the whole World.* ibid.

Chap. 9. *That he was the Son of a pious Emperor, and left his Empire to his Sons who were Emperors.* 533

Chap. 10. *That this Hiſtory is neceſſary, and advantagious to the Souls and Minds of Men.* ibid.

Chap. 11. *That he will at preſent relate only the pious Actions of* Conſtantine. ibid.

Chap. 12. *That* Conſtantine, *like* Moſes, *was educated in the Houſes of Tyrants.* 534

Chap. 13. *Concerning his Father* Conſtantius, *who refuſed to perſecute the Chriſtians, in ſuch manner as* Diocletianus, Maximianus, *und* Maxentius *did.* 535

Chap. 14. *How* Conſtantius *Father to* Conſtantine, *being reproach'd with Poverty by* Diocletian, *filled his Treaſuries, and afterwards reſtored the Money to the Owners thereof who had brought it in.* ibid.

Chap. 15. *Concerning the Perſecution raiſed by the other Emperors.* 536

Chap. 16. *How* Conſtantius *Father to* Conſtantine, *pretending himſelf a Worſhipper of Idols, turn'd out thoſe who were willing to offer ſacrifice; but retained within his own Palace ſuch as choſe to profeſs themſelves Chriſtians.* ibid.

Chap. 17. *Concerning the ſame* Conſtantius's *Love and Affection towards Chriſt.* ibid.

Chap. 18. *That after the Reſignation of* Diocletian *and* Maximian, Conſtantius *was the firſt* Auguſtus, *and was adorned with a numerous iſſue.* 537

Chap. 19. *Concerning his Son* Conſtantine, *who, when a young Man, came into* Paleſtine *together with* Diocletian. ibid.

Chap. 20. *The departure of* Conſtantine *to his Father, becauſe of* Diocletian's *treacherous deſigns againſt him.* 538

Chap. 21. *The Death of* Conſtantius, *who left his Son* Conſtantine *Emperor.* ibid.

Chap. 22. *How after the Death of* Conſtantius, *the Army ſaluted* Conſtantine Auguſtus. ibid.

Chap. 23. *A brief Rehearſal of the Death of the Tyrants.* pag. 539

Chap. 24. *That* Conſtantine *obtain'd the Empire by the Will of God.* ibid.

Chap. 25. *The Victories of* Conſtantine *over the* Barbarians *and* Britanni. ibid.

Chap. 26. *How he took a reſolution of freeing* Rome *from the Tyranny of* Maxentius. ibid.

Chap. 27. *That* Conſtantine *weighing in his mind the Deaths of thoſe who had worſhipped Idols, choſe rather the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity.* ibid.

Chap. 28. *That whilſt he was praying to God, he ſhew'd him a Viſion; to wit, a Croſs of Light in the Heavens, (it being then Mid-day) and an Inſcription thereon, which admoniſhed him, that by* That he ſhould conquer. 540

Chap. 29. *That God's Chriſt appear'd to him in his ſleep, and order'd him to make uſe of a Standard made in form of a Croſs, in his Wars.* 541

Chap. 30. *The making of that Standard framed in the faſhion of a Croſs.* ibid.

Chap. 31. *A Deſcription of the Standard made in faſhion of a Croſs, which the* Romans *do now term* The Labarum. ibid.

Chap. 32. *That* Conſtantine *becoming a* Catechumen, *read the Sacred Scriptures.* ibid.

Chap. 33. *Concerning the Adulteries committed by* Maxentius *at* Rome. 542

Chap. 34. *How the* Præfect's *Wife, that ſhe might preſerve her Chaſtity, laid violent hands on her ſelf.* ibid.

Chap. 35. *The Slaughter of the People of* Rome *by* Maxentius. ibid.

Chap. 36. Maxentius's Magick Arts *againſt* Conſtantine; *and the Scarcity of Proviſions at* Rome. 543

Chap. 37. *The Overthrow of* Maxentius's *Armies in* Italy. ibid.

Chap. 38. Maxentius's *Death on the Bridge of the River* Tiber. ibid.

Chap. 39. Conſtantine's *Entry into* Rome. 544

Chap. 40. *Concerning the Statue of* Conſtantine, *which held a Croſs; and concerning its Inſcription.* ibid.

Chap. 41. *The Rejoycing over the Provinces, and* Conſtantine's *Acts of Grace.* ibid.

Chap. 42. *The Honours conferr'd on the Biſhops, and the Building of the Churches.* ibid.

Chap. 43. *Concerning* Conſtantine's *Beneficence towards the Poor.* 545

Chap. 44. *How he was preſent at the Synods of Biſhops* ibid.

Chap. 45. *In what manner he bore with the Mad-men.* ibid.

Chap. 46. *His Victories over the* Barbarians. 546

Chap. 47. *The Death of* Maximin *and others, whoſe Plots* Conſtantine *diſcovered, God making them known to him.* ibid.

Chap. 48. *The Celebration of* Conſtantine's Decennalia ibid.

The CONTENTS

Chap. 49. *In what manner* Licinius *afflicted the East.* p. 547
Chap. 50. *In what manner* Licinius *attempted to frame Treacheries against* Constantine. ibid.
Chap. 51. Licinius's *Treacheries against the Bishops, and his Prohibitions of Synods.* ibid.
Chap. 52. *The Banishmtnts and Proscriptions of the Christians.* ibid.
Chap. 53. Licinius's *Edict, that Women should not meet in the Churches together with the Men.* 548
Chap. 54. *That he cashiered from the* Militia *those who refused to sacrifice; and forbad, that such as were shut up in Prisons should have any Nourishment given them.* ibid.
Chap. 55. *Concerning* Licinius's *Improbity and Avarice.* ibid.
Chap. 56. *That at length he undertook the raising a Persecution against the Christians.* 549
Chap. 57. *That* Maximianus *having been afflicted with a* Fistulous Ulcer *that bred Worms, wrote a Law in favour of the Christians.* ibid.
Chap. 58. *That* Maximinus *being a Persecutor of the Christians, fled away in a servile Habit and hid himself.* ibid.
Chap. 59. *That* Maximin, *blinded by the acuteness of his Disease, issued out a Law in favour of the Christians.* 550

Book II.

Chap. 1. Licinius's *clandestine Persecution, and his Murther of the Bishops at* Amasia, *a City of* Pontus. pag. 551
Chap. 2. *The Demolishments of the Churches, and Butcheries of the Bishops.* ibid.
Chap. 3. *In what manner* Constantine *was moved in behalf of the Christians, when* Licinius *made Preparations to persecute them.* 552
Chap. 4. *That* Constantine *made provision for the War with Prayers; but* Licinius, *with Divinations and Prophesies.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *What* Licinius *spake concerning Idols and concerning Christ, whilst he was sacrificing in a Grove.* 553
Chap. 6. *The Apparition seen in the Cities under* Licinius's *Government; of* Constantine's *Soldiers pursuing the Forces of* Licinius. ibid.
Chap. 7. *That in the Battles, where ever the Standard, made in the form of a Cross, was, there a Victory was obtained.* 554
Chap. 8. *That fifty Persons were made choice of to carry the Cross.* ibid.
Chap. 9. *That one of the Cross-bearers who fled, was killed; but he that by Faith stood his ground, was preserved.* ibid.
Chap. 10. *Various Fights, and the Victories of* Constantine. 555
Chap. 11. Licinius's *Flight, and Inchantments.* ibid.
Chap. 12. *In what manner* Constantine, *praying in a Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.* ibid.
Chap. 13. *His Humanity towards the Soldiers that were taken Prisoners.* ibid.
Chap. 14. *Again concerning his Prayers in the Tabernacle.* 556
Chap. 15. Licinius's *dissembled Friendship, and his Worship of Idols.* ibid.
Chap. 16. *In what manner* Licinius *commanded his Soldiers, not to make an Attack against the Standard of the Cross.* ibid.
Chap. 17. Constantine's *Victory.* ibid.
Chap 18. Licinius's *Death, and the Triumphs celebrated over him.* 557
Chap. 19. *The Publick Rejoycings and Festivities.* ibid.
Chap. 20. *How* Constantine *made Laws in favour of the Confessors.* ibid.
Chap. 21. *How he made Laws concerning the Martyrs and concerning the Estates of the Churches.* p. 558
Chap. 22. *In what manner he refreshed and cherish'd the People also.* ibid.
Chap. 23. *That he publickly proclaimed God the Author of Good; and concerning the Copies of his Laws.* ibid.
Chap. 24. Constantine's *Law concerning Piety towards God, and concerning the Christian Religion.* 559
Chap. 25. *An Example from Ancient Times.* ibid.
Chap. 26. *Concerning the Persecuted, and the Persecutors.* ibid.
Chap. 27. *That Persecution hath been the Occasion of mischief to those who waged War.* 560
Chap. 28. *That God chose* Constantine *to be the Minister of Blessings.* ibid.
Chap. 29. Constantine's *Pious Expressions towards God; and his Praise of the Confessors.* ibid.
Chap. 30. *A Law setting Men free from Banishment, from* The Curia, *and from Proscription of Goods.* 561
Chap. 31. *Those in Islands likewise.* ibid.
Chap. 32. *Also, those who have been condemned to the Mines and publick Works.* ibid.
Chap. 33. *Concerning the Confessors who have been employed in the* Militia. 562
Chap. 34. *The setting at Liberty those free Persons in the* Gynæcea, *or them delivered over to Slavery.* ibid.
Chap. 35. *Concerning the Succession in inheriting the Goods of Martyrs and Confessors, and of such Persons as had been banished, and of them whose Goods had been brought into the Treasury.* ibid.
Chap. 36. *That the Church is to be Heir to those who have no Relations; and that the Legacies given by them shall remain firm.* 563
Chap. 37. *That those who possess such places, and Gardens, and Houses, shall restore them; but without the* Mean-profits. ibid.
Chap. 38. *In what manner* Supplicatory Libels *ought to be presented in reference to these Persons.* ibid.
Chap. 39. *That the* Exchequer *shall restore to the Churches Grounds, and Gardens, and Houses.* 564
Chap. 40. *The* Martyria *and* Cœmiteries *are ordered to be yielded up to the Churches.* ibid.
Chap. 41. *That such as have bought things belonging to the Church, or have received them as a Gift, must restore them.* ibid.
Chap. 42. *An earnest Exhortation to worship of God.* ibid.
Chap. 43. *That those things which* Constantine *had established by Laws, were by him really accomplished and performed.* 565
Chap. 44. *That he preferred* Christians *to the Government of Provinces; but if any of the Governours were Pagans, he forbad them to sacrifice.* ibid.
Chap. 45. *Concerning the Laws forbidding Sacrifices, and ordering the Churches to be built.* ibid.
Chap. 46. Constantine's *Letter to* Eusebius *and the rest of the Bishops, concerning the Building of Churches, and that the old ones should be repaired, and built larger by the assistance of the Presidents.* 566
Chap. 47. *That he wrote against Idolatry.* ibid.
Chap. 48. Constantine's *Edict to the Provinces, concerning the Error of* Polytheism. *The Preface, concerning Virtue and Vice.* 567
Chap. 49. *Concerning the pious Father of* Constantine; *and concerning* Diocletian *and* Maximian *the Persecutors.* ibid.
Chap. 50. *That by reason of* Apollo's *Oracle, who could no give forth Responses because of* The Just Men *a Persecution was raised.* ibid.
Chap. 51. *That* Constantine, *when he was a Youth, heard that*

The CONTENTS.

that the Juſt Men *were the* Chriſtians, *from him that had written the Edicts concerning the Perſecution.* pag. 567

Chap. 52. *How many ſorts of Tortures and Puniſhments were made uſe of againſt the Chriſtians.* 568

Chap. 53. *What Reception was given to the Chriſtians by the Barbarians.* ibid.

Chap. 54. *What manner of Revenge overtook them, who on account of the Oracle, raiſed a Perſecution.* ibid.

Chap. 55. Conſtantine's *Glorification of God, and his Confeſſion in reference to the Sign of the Croſs, and his Prayer for the Churches and People.* ibid.

Chap. 56. *How he prays, that all perſons may be Chriſtians; but forces no body.* ibid.

Chap. 57. *He gives glory to God, who by his Son has enlightned thoſe that were in error.* 569

Chap. 58. *Another Glorification of God, from his Government of the World.* ibid.

Chap. 59. *He praiſes God, in regard he always teaches good things.* ibid.

Chap. 60. *An Exhortation at the Cloſe of the Edict, that no perſon ſhould give trouble or diſturbance to another.* ibid.

Chap. 61. *How from the City* Alexandria *Controverſies were raiſed on account of* Arius. 570

Chap. 62. *Concerning* Arius *and the* Melitians. ibid.

Chap. 63. *How* Conſtantine *ſent a Legate with a Letter in order to a Compoſure.* ibid.

Chap. 64. Conſtantine's *Letter to* Alexander *the Biſhop and* Arius *the Presbyter.* 571

Chap. 65. *That he was continually ſollicitous about Peace.* ibid.

Chap. 66. *In what manner he put a ſtop to the Controverſies raiſed in* Africk. ibid.

Chap. 67. *That the Beginnings of Religion were from the* Eaſt. ibid.

Chap. 68. *That being troubled by reaſon of the Diſturbance, he adviſes to an Agreement.* 572

Chap. 69. *Whence the Controverſie between* Alexander *and* Arius *aroſe, and that ſuch matters ought not to be enquired into.* ibid.

Chap. 70. *An Exhortation to an Agreement.* 573

Chap. 71. *That a pertinacious Contention ought not to have been raiſed concerning this Matter, on account of ſome light and frivilous Expreſſions.* ibid.

Chap. 72. *That being highly affected with Grief in regard of his Piety, he was neceſſitated to ſhed tears; and that on this account, he put off the Journey he was about to make into the* Eaſt. 574

Chap. 73. *That after this Letter, the Diſturbance about the Controverſies continued.* ibid.

Book III.

Chap. 1. A *Compariſon of* Conſtantine's *Piety with the Improbity of the Perſecutors.* pag. 575

Chap. 2. *Again, concerning the Piety of* Conſtantine, *who made a free and open Profeſſion of the Croſs of Chriſt.* 576

Chap. 3. *Concerning* Conſtantine's *Picture, over which was placed a Croſs, and under it a wounded Dragon.* ibid.

Chap. 4. *Again, concerning the Controverſies raiſed in* Egypt *by* Arius. 577

Chap. 5. *Concerning the Diſſention on account of the Feaſt of* Eaſter. ibid.

Chap. 6. *In what manner he gave order, that a Synod ſhould be convened at* Nicæa. ibid.

Chap. 7. *Concerning the* Oecumenical Synod, *at which were preſent Biſhops out of all Provinces.* 578

Chap. 8. *That, like as 'tis ſaid in the* Acts of the Apoſtles, *they met together out of various Nations.* ibid.

Chap. 9. *Concerning the Virtue and Age of the two hundred and fifty Biſhops.* ibid.

Chap. 10. *The Synod was held in the Palace, amongſt whom* Conſtantine *went in, and ſat together with the Biſhops.* pag. 579

Chap. 11. *The Silence of the Synod, after* Euſebius *the Biſhop had made a ſhort Speech.* ibid.

Chap. 12. Conſtantine's *Speech to the Synod concerning Peace.* 580

Chap. 13. *That he reduced thoſe Biſhops who were at difference, to an Agreement.* ibid.

Chap. 14. *The Concordant Determination of the Synod concerning the Faith, and concerning* Eaſter. 581

Chap. 15. *That* Conſtantine *entertained the Biſhops at a Feaſt, it being his* Vicennalia. ibid.

Chap. 16. *The Gifts beſtowed on the Biſhops, and the Letters written to all.* 582

Chap. 17. Conſtantine's *Letter to the Churches, concerning the Synod convened at* Nicæa. ibid.

Chap. 18. *The ſame Perſon's Words concerning the Agreement about the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *and againſt the* Jews. ibid.

Chap. 19. *An Exhortation, that they would rather follow the greateſt part of the World.* 583

Chap. 20. *An Exhortation, that all ſhould give their aſſent to the Decrees of the Synod.* ibid.

Chap. 21. *His advice to the Biſhops now ready to go away, that they would preſerve Unity.* 584

Chap. 22. *In what manner he ſent to ſome, and wrote to others; and concerning the Diſtributions of Money.* 585

Chap. 23. *How he wrote to the* Egyptians, *and exhorted them to Peace.* ibid.

Chap. 24. *That he frequently wrote Pious Letters to the Biſhops and People.* ibid.

Chap. 25. *That he ordered a Church to be built at* Jeruſalem, *in the Holy Place of our Saviour's Reſurrection.* ibid.

Chap. 26. *That the Impious had covered our Lord's Sepulchre with Rubbiſh and Idols.* 586

Chap. 27. *In what manner* Conſtantine *gave order, that the Materials wherewith the* Idol-Temple *had been built, and the Rubbiſh ſhould be removed and thrown at a great diſtance.* ibid.

Chap. 28. *The Diſcovery of the moſt Holy Sepulchre.* ibid.

Chap. 29. *In what manner he wrote to the* Preſidents, *and to* Macarius *the Biſhop, concerning the Building of a Church.* 587

Chap. 30. Conſtantine's *Letter to* Macarius, *concerning the Building of the* Martyrium *of our Saviour.* ibid.

Chap. 31. *That he would have this Church built ſo, as to exceed all the Churches in the World, for Beauty of Walls, Columns, and Marbles.* ibid.

Chap. 32. *That* Macarius *ſhould write to the* Preſidents *concerning the Beautifying of the* Concha, *and concerning Workmen and Materials.* 588

Chap. 33. *How the Church of our Saviour was built, which the Prophets had termed* New Jeruſalem. ibid.

Chap. 34. *A Deſcription of the Fabrick of the moſt Holy Sepulchre.* 589

Chap. 35. *A Deſcription of the* Atrium, *and of the* Porticus's. ibid.

Chap. 36. *A Deſcription of the Walls, Roof, Beauty, and Gilding of the Church it ſelf.* ibid.

Chap. 37. *A Deſcription of the Double* Porticus's *on both ſides, and of the three Eaſtern Gates.* ibid.

Chap. 38. *A Deſcription of the* Hemiſphære, *and of the Twelve Columns with their Capitals.* 590

Chap. 39. *A Deſcription of the* Area, Exhedræ, *and Porches.* ibid.

Chap. 40. *Concerning the Number of the* Donaria. 591

Chap. 41. *Concerning the Building of the Churches at* Bethlehem; *and on the* Mount of Olives. ibid.

Chap. 42. *That* Helena Auguſta, *the Mother of* Conſtantine, *going to* Bethlehem *on account of Prayer, built theſe Churches.* ibid.

The CONTENTS.

Chap. 43. *Again, concerning the Church at* Bethlehem. p. 591
Chap. 44. *Concerning* Helena's *Greatneſs of Mind, and Beneficence.* 592
Chap. 45. *In what manner* Helena *was religiouſly converſant in the Churches.* ibid.
Chap. 46. *How, being eighty years old, and having made her Will, ſhe ended her Life.* ibid.
Chap. 47. *In what manner* Conſtantine *depoſited his Mother; and how he honoured her whilſt ſhe was living.* 593
Chap. 48. *In what manner he built* Martyria *at* Conſtantinople, *and aboliſhed all manner of Idolatry.* ibid.
Chap. 49. *The Sign of the Croſs in the Palace, and the* Effigies *of* Daniel *in the Conduits.* ibid.
Chap. 50. *That he built Churches at* Nicomedia *alſo, and in other Cities.* ibid.
Chap. 51. *That he likewiſe gave order for the building of a Church in the place called* Mamre. 594
Chap. 52. Conſtantine's *Letter to* Euſebius *concerning* Mamre. ibid.
Chap. 53. *That our Saviour appear'd there to* Abraham. 595
Chap. 54. *The Demoliſhment of the Idol-Temples and Images in all places.* 596
Chap. 55. *The Demoliſhment of the Idol-Temple at* Aphaca *in* Phœnice, *and the diſannulling thoſe Acts of Uncleanneſs committed there.* 597
Chap. 56. *The Demoliſhment of* Æſculapius's *Temple at* Ægæ. ibid.
Chap. 57. *How the Heathens, having rejected their Idols, returned to the knowledge of God.* 598
Chap. 58. *That having demoliſhed* Venus's *Temple at* Heliopolis, *He was the firſt who built a Church there.* ibid.
Chap. 59. *Concerning the Diſturbance raiſed at* Antioch *on* Euſtathius's *account.* 599
Chap. 60. Conſtantine's *Letter to the* Antiochians, *that they ſhould not draw away* Euſebius *from* Cæſarea; *but ſhould ſeek another Biſhop.* 600
Chap. 61. Conſtantine's *Letter to* Euſebius, *wherein he commends him for his refuſal of the See of* Antioch. 602
Chap. 62. Conſtantine's *Letter to the Synod, that* Euſebius *ſhould not be drawn away from* Cæſarea. ibid.
Chap. 63. *In what manner he endeavour'd to deſtroy Hereſies.* 603
Chap. 64. Conſtantine's *Conſtitution againſt the Hereticks.* ibid.
Chap. 65. *Concerning the taking away the Meeting-places of Hereticks.* 604
Chap. 66. *That Impious and Prohibited Books having been found amongſt the Hereticks, very many of them returned to the Catholick Church.* ibid.

Book IV.

Chap. 1. IN *what manner he honoured very many Perſons with Gifts and Promotions.* p. 606
Chap. 2. *A Remiſſion of the fourth part of the* Cenſus. 607
Chap. 3. *The* Peræquation *of thoſe* Cenſus's *that were too heavy and burthenſome.* ibid.
Chap. 4. *That on thoſe who were overthrown in* Pecuniary Cauſes, *he himſelf beſtowed Money out of his own Income.* ibid.
Chap. 5. *The Conqueſt of the* Scythæ, *who were ſubdued by the Standard of our Saviour's Croſs.* ibid.
Chap. 6. *The ſubduing of the* Sarmatæ, *occaſioned by the Rebellion of the Servants againſt their Maſters.* 608
Chap. 7. *The Embaſſies of ſeveral Barbarous Nations, and the Gifts beſtowed on them by the Emperor.* ibid.
Chap. 8. *That He wrote to the* Perſian *Emperor (who had ſent an Embaſſie to him,) in favour of the Chriſtians there.* pag. 609
Chap. 9. Conſtantinus Auguſtus's *Letter to* Sapor *King of the* Perſians, *wherein he makes a moſt pious Confeſſion of God and Chriſt.* ibid.
Chap. 10. *That He ſpeaks againſt Idols, and concerning the Glorification of God.* ibid.
Chap. 11. *Againſt the Tyrants and Perſecutors; and concerning* Valerian *who was taken Priſoner.* 610
Chap. 12. *That He ſaw the Fall of the Perſecutors, and does now rejoyce becauſe of the Peace of the Chriſtians.* ibid.
Chap. 13. *An Exhortation, that he ſhould love the Chriſtians who live in his Country.* ibid.
Chap. 14. *How, by the earneſtneſs of* Conſtantine's *Prayers, Peace was beſtowed on the Chriſtians.* 611
Chap. 15. *That both on his Money, and in his Pictures, he order'd himſelf to be ſtampt and drawn in a praying poſture.* ibid.
Chap. 16. *That He iſſued forth a Law, forbidding his own Statues to be placed in the Idol-Temples.* ibid.
Chap. 17. *His praying in the Palace, and his reading of the Divine Scriptures.* ibid.
Chap. 18. *That by a Law he commanded* Sunday *and* Friday *to be honoured.* ibid.
Chap. 19. *How he ordered the Ethnick-Soldiers to pray on* Sundays. 612
Chap. 20. *The Form of Prayer which* Conſtantine *gave to his Soldiers.* ibid.
Chap. 21. *He orders the Repreſentation of our Saviour's Croſs to be drawn upon the Arms of his Soldiers.* ibid.
Chap. 22. *His Fervency and Earneſtneſs in Praying, and his religious Obſervation of the Feſtival of* Eaſter. 613
Chap. 23. *How He prohibited the Worſhip of Idols; but honoured the Feaſts of the Martyrs.* ibid.
Chap 24. *That He affirmed himſelf to be as 'twere a Biſhop of External Affairs.* 614
Chap. 25. *Concerning his prohibiting of* Sacrifices, *and* Initiations, *and concerning His aboliſhing the* Gladiators, *and the heretofore impure Prieſts of the* Nile. ibid.
Chap. 26. *The Amendment of that Law made againſt the Childleſs, as alſo the Alteration of that Law concerning Wills and Teſtaments.* ibid.
Chap. 27. *That he made a Law, that a Chriſtian ſhould not be Slave to a* Jew, *and that the Decrees of Synods ſhould be firm and authentick, and ſo forth.* 615
Chap. 28. *His Gifts beſtowed on the Churches; and his Diſtributions of Money to Virgins, and to the Poor.* ibid.
Chap. 29. *Speeches and Diſcourſes written by* Conſtantine. 616
Chap. 30. *That he ſhewed a certain covetous Perſon the meaſure of a Grave, to the end he might ſhame him.* ibid.
Chap. 31. *That He was laught at becauſe of his too great Clemency.* 617
Chap. 32. *Concerning* Conſtantine's *Oration, which he wrote to the* Convention of the Saints. ibid.
Chap. 33. *How He heard* Euſebius's *Panegyrick concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour, in a ſtanding poſture.* ibid.
Chap. 34. *That He wrote to* Euſebius *concerning* Eaſter, *and about the Divine Books.* ibid.
Chap. 35. Conſtantine's *Letter to* Euſebius, *wherein he commends his Oration concerning* Eaſter. 618
Chap. 36. Conſtantine's *Letter to* Euſebius, *concerning the providing ſome Copies of the Divine Scriptures.* ibid.
Chap. 37. *In what manner the Copies were provided.* ibid.

Chap. 38.

The CONTENTS.

Chap. 38. *How the Mart-Town of the* Gazæi, *by reason of its embracing the Christian Religion, was made a City, and named* Constantia. pag. 619

Chap. 39. *That in* Phœnice *there was a City made, termed* Constantina; *and in other Cities the Idols were destroyed, and Churches erected.* ibid.

Chap. 40. *That having created his three Sons* Cæsars *in the three ten years of his Reign, He celebrated the Dedication of the* Martyrium *at* Jerusalem. ibid.

Chap. 41. *That in this interim He ordered a Synod to be convened at* Tyre, *because of some Controversies started in* Egypt. ibid.

Chap. 42. Constantine's *Letter to the Synod at* Tyre. 620

Chap. 43. *That at the Feast of Dedication of the Church at* Jerusalem, *there were Bishops present out of all the Provinces.* ibid.

Chap. 44. *Concerning their Reception by* Marianus *the* Notary; *and concerning the Money distributed amongst the Poor, and the sacred Gifts of the Church.* 621

Chap. 45. *Various Discourses of the Bishops, in the sacred Assemblies; as also of* Eusebius *himself the Author of this Work.* ibid.

Chap. 46. *That He afterwards recited his Description of our* Saviour's Martyrium, *and his Oration upon* Constantine's Tricennalia, *before the Emperor himself.* 622

Chap. 47. *That the Synod at* Nicæa *hapned on* Constantine's Vicennalia; *but the Dedication of the Church at* Jerusalem *was performed on his* Tricennalia. ibid.

Chap. 48. *That* Constantine *was displeased with one, who praised Him too highly.* ibid.

Chap. 49. *The Marriage of* Constantius Cæsar, *His Son.* 623

Chap. 50. *The Embassie and Presents sent from the* Indians. ibid.

Chap. 51. *That* Constantine *having parted his Empire betwixt his three Sons, instructed them in the Art of Governing, and Offices of Piety.* ibid.

Chap. 52. *How, when they were arrived at Man's estate, He taught them Piety.* ibid.

Chap. 53. *That after He had reigned about two and thirty years, and lived above sixty, He had a Body that was sound and healthy.* 624

Chap. 54. *Concerning those who abused his eximious Humanity, to Avarice and a pretence of Piety.* ibid.

Chap. 55. *How* Constantine *wrote Orations to the very last day of his life.* 625

Chap. 56. *How, making an Expedition against the* Persians, *He took the Bishops along with him, and provided a Tent made in form of a Church.* pag. 625

Chap. 57. *That having received the Embassie of the* Persians, *He watch'd all night, together with others, on the Feast of* Easter. ibid.

Chap. 58. *Concerning the building of that termed the* Martyrium *of the Apostles, at* Constantinople. 626

Chap. 59. *A further Description of the same* Martyrium. ibid.

Chap. 60. *That in the Church also, He built himself a Sepulchre.* ibid.

Chap. 61. *The Emperor's Indisposition of Body at* Helenopolis, *and his Prayers: Also, concerning his Baptism.* 627

Chap. 62. Constantine's *request to the Bishops, that they confer Baptism upon him.* 628

Chap. 63. *In what manner He praised God, after He had received Baptism.* 629

Chap. 64 *The Death of* Constantine *on the Festival of* Pentecost, *about Noon.* ibid.

Chap. 65. *The Lamentations of the* Milice *and* Tribunes. 630

Chap. 66. *That His Body was carried from* Nicomedia *to* Constantinople, *into the Palace.* ibid.

Chap. 67. *That even after His death, he was honoured by the* Comites *and the rest, in the same manner as when he was alive.* ibid.

Chap. 68. *In what manner the Army resolved, that his Sons should be forthwith proclaimed* Augusti. 631

Chap. 69. *The Mourning at* Rome *for* Constantine, *and the Honour done him by Pictures after his Death.* ibid.

Chap. 70. *That His Body was deposited at* Constantinople, *by his Son* Constantius. ibid.

Chap. 71. *The Performance of the Solemn Prayers in that termed the* Martyrium of the Apostles, *at the Funeral of* Constantine. ibid.

Chap. 72. *Concerning the Bird termed the* Phœnix. 632

Chap. 73. *In what manner they stampt* Constantine *on Coyns, ascending up into Heaven as 'twere.* ibid.

Chap. 74. *That whereas God had been honoured by Him, He was on the other hand deservedly honoured by God.* ibid.

Chap. 75. *That* Constantine *was more pious than any of the foregoing* Roman *Emperors.* 633

The Contents of the Emperor *Constantine*'s Oration, which He entitled to the *Convention* of the Saints.

Chap. 1. THE *Preface makes mention of* Easter; *and that Christ, having been several ways beneficial to all Men, hath had Plots framed against him by those, on whom he has conferred favours.* pag. 635

Chap. 2. *An Address to the Church, and to his Hearers, that they would pardon and amend his Mistakes.* 636

Chap. 3. *That God is both the Father of* The Logos, *and the Framer of the whole Creation; and, that it were impossible for things to consist, if their Causes were diverse.* 637

Chap. 4. *Concerning their Error who worship Images.* 638

Chap. 5. *That Christ the Son of God framed all things, and has appointed to every thing the term of its Existence.* p. 638

Chap. 6. *Concerning Fate; that what is discoursed of it is false; and this is demonstrated, both from Human Laws, and things created; which are moved, not disorderly, but in a regular manner; by which Order of theirs, they demonstrate the Command of the Creator.* 639

Chap. 7. *That, in things which we can't understand, we ought to glorifie the Creator's Wisdom; nor must we suppose Chance, or any thing else, save God, to be the Cause of them.* 641

Chap.

The CONTENTS.

Chap. 8. *That God does plentifully supply men with those things that are useful; but, with such as are for delight, he furnishes them in an indifferent manner only; bestowing both sorts, so as may be agreeable to their profit and advantage.* p.641

Chap. 9. *Concerning the Philosophers, who, because they desired to know all things, erred as to their Opinions; and some of them were exposed to Dangers. Also, concerning the Opinions of* Plato. 642

Chap. 10. *Concerning those men, who do not only reject the* Dogmata *of the Sacred Scriptures, but them of the Philosophers also; and, that we either ought to give the Poets credit in all things, or in nothing.* 643

Chap. 11. *Concerning our Lord's coming in the Flesh, what it was, and for what reasons it has hapned.* ibid.

Chap. 12. *Concerning those who knew not this Mystery; and, that their ignorance is voluntary; and, what great Blessings await those who know it, and especially them who have died in that Confession.* 647

Chap. 13. *That a Difference of the Parts of the Creation is necessary; and that a propensity to Good and Evil, springs from the Will of Men; and therefore, that the Judgment of God is necessary and agreeable to Reason.* 648

Chap. 14. *That a created nature is at a vast distance from an Essence which is uncreated: and, that Man approaches neareſt to God by a virtuous life.* ibid.

Chap. 15. *What Precepts our Saviour delivered, and what Miracles he wrought; and how beneficial he hath been to those who own a Subjection to Him.* 649

Chap. 16. *That the Coming of* Christ *is foretold by the Prophets; and, that he was appointed for the destruction of Idols, and idolatrous Cities.* 650

Chap. 17. *Concerning the Wisdom of* Moses, *which was emulated by the Wise-men amongst the Heathens; also concerning* Daniel, *and the* Three Children. 651

Chap. 18. *Concerning* Sibylla Erythræa, *who propheſied in an* Acroſtick *of Verſes, manifeſting our Lord and his Paſſion. The* Acroſtick *is this;* IESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS. p. 652

Chap. 19. *That this Propheſie concerning our Saviour, was not forged by any of the* Chriſtians; *but was written by* Sibylla Erythræa, *whoſe Books* Cicero *rendred into* Latin *Verſe, before the the Coming of* Chriſt. *And, that* Virgil *makes mention of this* Sibyl, *as alſo of a Virgin delivered of a Child: but he ſang of this Myſtery obſcurely, out of a fear of thoſe then in power.* 654

Chap. 20. *Other Verſes of* Virgilius Maro's *concerning* Chriſt, *and the Interpretation of them; in which 'tis ſhown, but obſcurely, as the uſage of Poets is, that* the Myſtery *is diſcloſed.* 655

Chap. 21. *That 'tis impoſſible for theſe things to be ſpoken concerning a meer Man: and, that Unbelievers, by reaſon of their ignorance of the Divine Worſhip, know not even whence they have their Being.* 657

Chap. 22. *The Emperor's Thankſgiving, wherein he aſcribes Victories, and all his other Bleſſings, to* Chriſt; *alſo a Reproof of* Maximinus *the Tyrant of thoſe Times, who by the Severity of his perſecution had increaſed the Glory of the Chriſtian Religion.* 658

Chap. 23. *Concerning the Polity of the Chriſtians; and, that the Deity rejoyces in thoſe who lead virtuous lives: and, that we ought to expect a Judgement and a Retribution.* 659

Chap. 24. *Concerning* Decius, Valerianus, *and* Aurelianus, *who ended their lives miſerably, becauſe of their perſecution of the Church.* 660

Chap. 25. *Concerning* Diocletian, *who with infamy reſign'd the Empire; and, by reaſon of his perſecuting the Church, wos ſtricken with Thunder.* ibid.

Chap. 26. *That God is the Cauſe of the Emperor's Piety; and, that we ought to ſeek proſperous Events from God, and to impute them to him; but muſt aſcribe faults to our own Sloth and Negligence.* 661

Euſebius Pamphilus's Oration in praiſe of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, ſpoken at *his Tricennalia*, is divided into XVIII. Chapters, without Contents.

28 SE 60

ANcient Writers were wont, before their Books, to ſet *an Index* [*or, Contents*] of *the Chapters*; to the end, the Readers might know, at firſt ſight as 'twere, what was treated of in each Book. Now this was uſually done by them two ways. For they either prefix'd the Contents of all the Books together, before their whole Work; as *Plinius Secundus has done in his Books of Natural Hiſtory.* Or elſe their uſage was, to ſet the Contents of the Chapters before each Book; as *Our Euſebius* has done in *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.* For 'tis not to be doubted, but *Euſebius* did himſelf make *theſe Contents* or *Titles* of the Chapters, and ſet them before *his Books of Hiſtory*, as they now occur. We may indeed obſerve, that in *theſe Contents Euſebius* does always ſpeak of himſelf in the firſt Perſon. For inſtance, after the *Contents of the Chapters of the Second Book*, theſe words occur: Σημ. ὅτι σωμπλεῖται ἡμῖν ἡ βίβλος, ἀπὸ μὲν Κλήμεντος, Τερτυλλιανοῦ, Ἰωσήπου καὶ Φίλωνος. That is, *Note, that this Book was collected by us, out of the Writings of Clemens, Tertullian, Joſephus, and Philo.* Beſides, in *his Seventh Book*, theſe are the *Contents of the Laſt Chapter*; Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς διαπρεψάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν, &c. That is, *Concerning thoſe Eccleſiaſtick Perſons who were famous in our own Age*, &c. Whence it may plainly be gathered, that *Euſebius* the Compiler of this Hiſtory, was the Author of *the Contents of the Chapters alſo.* Beſides, *Ruſinus*, who rendred the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory into Latin*, about ſix hundred years after *Euſebius*'s death, found the ſame Contents in *his Greek Copy*, which now occur in *our Copies.* And this is apparent from *Ruſinus*'s *Manuſcript Copies*, one of which, written out above ſeven hundred years ſince, I have in my cuſtody. For in them the Contents of the Chapters are always ſet before every Book, in the ſame order wherein they are now placed in *our Greek Manuſcript Copies.* And *Ruſinus* calls them *Capitula.* But *Caſſiodorus* in *his Preface to the Tripertite Hiſtory*, terms them righter *Titulos*; as does likewiſe St. *Cyprian*, in *his Exhortation to Martyrdom*, [*written*] *to Fortunatus. Compendium feci*, ſays he, *ut propoſitis titulis, quos quis noſcere debeat & tenere*; *Capitula Dominica ſubnecterem.* Where you ſee that *Tituli* are diſtinguiſh'd from *Capitula.* Moreover, *Suidas*, in the word κεφάλαιον, and in the word τίτλος, remarks, that *Tituli* differ from *Capitula.* For inſtance, St. *Matthew* [he ſays] contains *ſixty eight Tituli*, but *three hundred fifty five Capitula*; and ſo concerning the other Goſpels. *Capitulum* is properly *a Part of a Book, which contains the entire Narrative of ſome one thing.* But *Titulus* is *an Index ſet above the Capitulum*; and ſometimes *one Titulus* or *Title* contains many *Capita* or *Chapters*, as may be ſeen in *the Pandects of the Civil Law.* The ſame thing was heretofore viſible in St. *Matthew's Goſpel*, which had more *Chapters* than *Titles*, as *Suidas* does atteſt. So alſo in the *other Goſpels.* For, that Paſſage which occurs in *Suidas*, namely, that St. *Mark* had forty eight *Tituli*, and but thirty ſix *Capita*, is faulty, and inſtead of *thirty ſix*, it muſt be mended thus, *two hundred thirty three*, as may be plainly gathered from *the Canons of the Goſpels* which *Our Euſebius* compoſed. But ſometimes each *Titulus* does anſwer each *Capitulum*, as 'tis in *theſe Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.* And in the *Mazarine and Medicæan Copies*, *the Tituli* or *Contents* of each Book are prefix'd, together with the *Numeral Notes* or *Figures.* But in *the Fuketian Manuſcript*, after the *Titulus*, κεφάλαιον is added, together with the *Numeral Note.* But this term never ocurs in thoſe *Excellent Copies* which I have mentioned: Yea, inſtead thereof, I found the word πεῖσις placed in the Beginning of the *Fourth Book*, over the very *Contents of the Chapters*; Λόγος τετάρτης πεῖσις. That is, *The Contents of the Fourth Book.* Valeſ.

THE

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF Eusebius Pamphilus,

IN TEN BOOKS.

Made *English* from that Edition set forth by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereto also is annex'd,

An Account of the *Life* and *Writings* of the foresaid *Historian*; Collected by VALESIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.

LONDON:

Printed by *J. M.* for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row.* MDCCVIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

VALESIUS'S PREFACE,

To his Edition of

EUSEBIUS'S HISTORY.

HAVING performed the Office of a Solemn (a) Dedication, 'tis now time, *Moſt Illuſtrious Prelates!* That I ſhould give *You* a particular Account of my Work. For, whereas this Labour was undertaken by me, on *Your* Account chiefly, and by *Your* Command; I do both wiſh, and alſo hope, that before all others, *You* will be the Readers and Judges of my Work. There are three things therefore, which I have endeavoured to perform in *this Edition.* The firſt is, an Amendment of the *Greek Text:* The ſecond, a Latin Verſion of it. The third is, an Explanation of the obſcurer places. As touching the Latin Verſion, after three Tranſlators of *Euſebius's Hiſtory*, I have made a fourth. But no perſon before us, had attempted an Amendment and Explanation of the *Euſebian Work.* But, that I may ſpeak more diſtinctly concerning each particular in its Place and Order, I will begin firſt from the Emendation. Whoever attempt a new Edition of old Writers, thoſe Perſons muſt of neceſſity begin their Labour from an Emendation. So *Origen*, after he had undertaken a New Edition of the *Seventy Interpreters*, and had found many paſſages in them that were doubtful and diſagreeable by reaſon of the diverſity of Copies, in the firſt place Laboured in an Emendation of them. And having compared the Copies of the *Seventy Seniors*, partly with the *Hebrew Text*, partly with *three other Editions*, namely *Aquila's*, *Theodotion's*, and *Symmachus's*; He took out all thoſe Errors which had crept into the Edition of the *Seventy Seniors.* For this He himſelf intimates, in *His Eighth Tractate on* St. *Matthew*, in theſe Words. (b) *In Exemplaribus quidem Veteris Teſtamenti, quæcunque fuerunt inconſonantia, Deo præſtante coaptare potuimus; utentes judicio cæterarum Editionum. Ea enim quæ videbantur apud Septuaginta dubia eſſe propter Conſonantiam Exemplariorum, facientes judicium ex Editionibus reliquis, convenientia ſervavimus. Indeed, in the Copies of the Old Teſtament, whatever [paſſages] were diſagreeable, by God's aſſiſtance we have been able to make fit; uſing the judgment of the reſt of the Editions. For thoſe [paſſages] which ſeemed in the Seventy to be doubtful by reaſon of the agreement of Copies, making a judgment from the other Editions, we have preſerved agreeable.*

(a) *Valeſius* dedicated his firſt Volume, (which contains *Euſebius's Ten Books of Hiſtory, His life of Conſtantine, Conſtine's Oration,* and *His own*) to the *Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and the whole Clergy of the Gallican Church.*

(b) See *Origen's* Works, ſecond part, pag. 46. *Edit. Paris* 1619.

Origen's Example was afterwards followed by St. *Jerome*, who beſtowed a new Edition of the *Seventy Tranſlators* mended by Himſelf, and diſtinguiſhed by *Aſterisks* and *Obelisks*, on the Men of His own Language, as He Himſelf atteſts in ſeveral places. And that I may ſpeak alſo concerning profane Writers, *Crates* and *Ariſtarchus*, *Grammarians*, who ſet forth moſt accurate Editions of *Homer's Poem*, have done nothing elſe in a manner, but mended and diſtinguiſhed that Work. In like manner therefore, when I had reſolved to publiſh a New Edition of the *Euſebian Hiſtory*, I uſed my utmoſt Induſtry and diligence in its Emendation. Two Editions only of *Euſebius's Hiſtory* have hitherto come forth in *Greek.* The one is the *Paris-Edition*, which *Robert Stephens* Printed; a Perſon who on this very account has deſerved highly of Learning, becauſe He was the firſt that publiſhed the Body of *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* in a moſt *Excellent Letter.* The other is the *Geneva-Edition.* But *this* has in the *Greek Text* every where expreſt *that Edition* of *Robert Stephens:* ſave only, that it has various Readings and Emendations ſet at the Margin, [taken] out of the Copies of Learned Men; and, that out of thoſe Copies it has ſupplied ſome imperfections which occur in the *Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine.* Therefore, my pains was to be beſtowed upon that one *Edition* only of *Robert Stephens.* Which, with as much

diligence as I could, I have compared with *Four Manuſcript Copies* of the beſt Note, and have reſtored it in many places. Two of theſe *Four Copies*, the *King's Library* furniſh'd us with. The former bears *the Arms* of *Francis the Firſt*; written on *Silken Paper*, about four hundred years ſince; and it does ſometimes exhibit ſingular Readings, and very different from the other Copies. This is that, which in *my Notes* I have named *The King's Copy*. The other is out of the *Mediceæan Library*, which being now removed into the *King's*, is called by one and the ſame name of the *King's Library*. This, to diſtinguiſh it from that *former Copy*, is in *Our Notes* termed the *Mediceæan Copy*. Which, though it be ſomething leſs ancient, is nevertheleſs tranſcribed from an excellent Copy, and by a Learned hand. *Robert Stephens* had made uſe of *Both theſe Copies*, in *His Edition* of the *Euſebian Hiſtory*. And in His Printing of the *Text* it ſelf, He has almoſt every where followed the *King's Copy*, and very ſeldom departs from its footſteps, as I have remark'd in *my Notes*. But in the diſtinction of the *Chapters*, He has expreſt the *Mediceæan Copy*, wherein the Contents are ſet before each Chapter, and are written in *Red-Letters*. There is, beſides thoſe, a *third Copy*, belonging to the moſt *Eminent Cardinal Julius Mazarinus*. Before I ſpeak concerning the Goodneſs and Excellency of *which Copy*, it is requiſite, and You (Moſt illuſtrious Prelates!) with importunity ſeem to crave this very thing of me, that a few words ſhould be ſaid concerning the *Moſt Eminent Cardinal*, by whom *that Copy* was lent me. For, whereas this Moſt Eminent Prince, born to every thing that is Great, does embrace Learning with a ſingular affection and benevolence; We, who from our infancy have applied our Minds to the Studies of Learning, ſhould doubtleſs be ungrateful, ſhould we not, both in our own, and in the name of all Learned Men in general, ſtudy to render Him all poſſible Thanks, as well in Words, as in our Writings. Farther, with what favour and how great a benevolence He does honour and reſpect Learning, His bounteous Liberality and Munificence towards Learned Men does atteſt; which, to ſpeak nothing concerning other Perſons, (*a*) He was lately willing ſhould be extended even to me alſo, when I neither hop'd for, nor thought of any ſuch thing. The ſame thing is declar'd by His moſt compleatly-furniſh'd Library. Which having ſtor'd with innumerable Copies of the Beſt Writers, partly Printed, and partly in Manuſcript; He does not keep it perpetually ſhut like ſome Sepulchre, as thoſe old Senators of the City *Rome* did, whom (*b*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* doth ſharply reprove on that very account: but opens it, as 'twere ſome publick Houſe, to all the Learned; and voluntarily invites each Perſon to it; and freely imparts the uſe of His Manuſcript Books to the Studious, as often as they ſhall have need. What ſhall I ſay concerning His other Virtues and eximious Accompliſhments of Mind? What concerning His wonderful Moderation and Lenity, whereby He hath allayed inteſtine Commotions and Tumults without the blood of any Citizen? But, theſe things will be ſpoken by me more fitly at another time, or more Rhetorically by others. For at preſent I have reſolved, to purſue thoſe Praiſes of His only, which do apart belong to the Studies of Literature. Nevertheleſs, I can't poſſibly refrain my ſelf, but muſt ſpeak ſomething here concerning that Peace, which the moſt Eminent Cardinal, with all immaginable earneſtneſs and induſtry, does now chiefly urge and promote, and which we hope will in a ſhort time be made publick by His Majeſties (*c*) Proclamation. For, this thing is of great concern to the advantage of Learning; which every one knows to be the Child of Peace, and to repoſe it ſelf under its Umbrage and Defence. Whereas therefore the moſt Eminent Cardinal, when firſt placed at the Helm of State, had not Himſelf raiſed a diſmal War with the *Spaniards*, but had found it already raiſed: by various Councils (as ['tis requiſite] in ſo Great an Affair,) long and accurately weighed, at length He hath reſolv'd upon this; that the *Spaniards* are to be broken by a laſting War, and muſt really be made to know how powerful the *French* are in Arms, Riches, Valour, Conſtancy, and the other neceſſary Proviſions and Helps for a War: that the Enemy, made ſenſible of their own weakneſs and the power of the *French*, might be ſlower in future to provoke Our Nation, either by Arms or Injuries. For ['twas His Sentiment,] that a firm and ſecure Peace could no otherwiſe be made with the Enemy, than till ſuch time as by their frequent Overthrows and Loſſes they had perceived, that they were inferior to the *French* in waging War. Therefore, when the *Spaniards*, no otherwiſe than the *Phrygians*, had at length underſtood that; then the moſt Eminent Cardinal, perceiving a fit opportunity of entring into a Peace preſented it ſelf, refus'd not to make it with the Enemy, and to recede ſomething from Our Right, from the chief point of the whole War; laſtly from that Hope and Victory which we had now almoſt in our Hands; that thereby He might [promote] the Good of the People, [anſwer] the wiſhes of all good Men, and gratifie the deſire of the whole Chriſtian World. In which Affair I can't indeed enough admire His ſingular Prudence, and His Wiſdom that was ſalutary to the State. For the Peace was for no other reaſon deferred ſo long, than that in future it might be laſtinger and more firm. And let thus much be ſaid by the by, concerning the praiſes of the moſt Eminent Cardinal. Who having, during the War, never deſiſted from cheriſhing Learning and Learned Men in a moſt gracious manner; 'tis much more to be hop'd, that in the time of His Own Peace, He will embrace the ſame Arts with a choice Affection and Care: and will bring it to effect, that Our *French*, who for the Glory of Arms have been always eminent above other Nations, may now excel for the praiſe of Learning,

(*a*) He allowed *Valeſius* a yearly Penſion of 1500 *Livers*: which ſumm the Cardinal ſent him yearly, as long as he lived; and by *his Will* continued it till *Valeſius*'s death: See *Valeſius*'s *Life*, written by *his brother Hadrian*.

(*b*) See *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 14. p. 14. *Edit. Paris* 1636.

(*c*) Or, *Cryers*.

Learning, and in Studies of the beſt Arts. But, 'tis now time, that we ſhould return thither, whence we have digreſs'd. That *third Copy* therefore, which the *Library of the Moſt Eminent Cardinal* hath furniſh'd us with, is far the beſt and ancienteſt of all thoſe Copies of *Euſebius* which I have ſeen. For, whatever Emendations we found in other Copies, are all ſhown us by that Manuſcript: And many other Amendments occur in it, which I found not in other Copies, as the Studious Readers will be able to perceive from my Annotations. It is written in Parchment, [tranſcrib'd] about ſeven hundred years ſince, moſt neatly and alſo moſt correctly. It has likewiſe (*a*) *Short Expoſitions* now and then ſet at the ſide, ſometimes in an ancient, ſometimes in a more modern hand; which Expoſitions we have ſet down in Our Notes, at their due places. Many other things alſo are to be taken notice of in that Excellent Manuſcript. partly in the *Accents*, partly in the (*b*) *Diſtinction* or *Punctation*. For, as to the *Accents*, in that Manuſcript Words are often *acuted*, which in other Copies have a *Circumflex Accent*. For inſtance, πῶς and χαῖσαρ in that Copy are always *acuted*. But on the contrary, σφῖσι, which in other Manuſcripes is marked with an *acute Accent*, is *Circumflected* in that Copy. And this in my judgment is righter. But, as to the *Diſtinction*, which we vulgarly term the *Punctation*, this Copy is ſo accurately *pointed*, that from this very one Manuſcript you may underſtand the whole manner and knowledge of *pointing*, which is a thing of no ſmall moment. Indeed, before I had procured this Copy, I was not thorowly acquainted with the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of the *Middle diſtinction*; with which, that very one Book, diligently inſpected and examined, hath at length made me acquainted. But, we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter, concerning the *Diſtinction*. This moreover, I have obſerved in that moſt ancient Manuſcript, as often as a (*c*) *full diſtinction*, or τελεία στιγμὴ is ſet in any Line, the firſt Letter of the following Line appears without the order of the reſt, and touches upon the very outward Margin. And this is a ſign, that a new Chapter, or a new Period is begun after that *final diſtinction*. I have obſerved the ſame in the other Manuſcript Copies alſo. Indeed, in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*, which contain *Euſebius's Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, I have found that 'tis always ſo, as often as a new Chapter is begun. We had, beſides, a *fourth Copy* out of the *Library of that moſt illuſtrious Perſonage Nicholas Fuket*, who bears the *Office of Procurator General in the Senate of Paris*, and at the ſame time manages the *Præfecture of the Royal Treaſury*, with the higheſt commendation. And theſe four Manuſcript Copies we have made uſe of, in order to our amendment of the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. But, we have compared the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Conſtantine*, with three ancient Copies. The firſt is *that Copy of the King's*, concerning which I have ſpoken above, in which Manuſcript, before the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, occur the *four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Conſtantine*, written, though not in the ſame, nevertheleſs in an ancient hand. The ſecond place belongs to the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*. So I call *certain Papers*, which are digeſted into *Quaternions*; but they are looſe, and are not made up into the form of a Book. In *theſe Sheets*, beſides *Euſebius's Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, and the *Oration of the ſame Emperor to the Saints*, occurs the *firſt Quaternion of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; whereof I have likewiſe made frequent mention in *my Notes*. All the reſt of it, by what accident I know not, is loſt. The *Fuketian Library* furniſhed us with the *third Copy*. Wherein, before the *four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor* Conſtantine, is prefixt *Euſebius's Panegyrick*, ſpoken to the ſame *Conſtantine*, in the thirtieth year of His Empire. *This Copy*, tho' of the meaneſt Antiquity, is nevertheleſs of the beſt Note, and in many places more correct and larger than thoſe two former, which *Robert Stephens* made uſe of in in *His Edition*. Beſides theſe Manuſcript Copies, we were aſſiſted by thoſe various Readings and Emendations, which learned Men had with their own Hands noted at the Margin of *Robert Stephens's Edition*. Of which ſort many Books are now to be found. But we made uſe more eſpecially of three, which are likewiſe often mentioned in our Notes. The firſt was *Hadrian Turnebus's*, which with great exactneſs He had compared with *The King's*, and *The Medicæan Copy*. But the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Conſtantine*, had been compared with *an Engliſh Copy*, either by the Hand of *Hadrian Turnebus* Himſelf, or that of *Odo Turnebus*. The ſecond Copy was *Vulcobius's*; which, becauſe *Renatus Moræus a Phyſician of Paris* had lent me, I am wont in my Notes to term *Moræus's Copy*. This Book contains ſome few other Emendations, beſides thoſe which occur in *Turnebus's Copy*. The third was Sir *Henry Savil's* Book, a Perſon of incomparable Learning; it was ſent me out of *England* by *James Uſher Arch-Biſhop of Armagh*. For, whereas I had perceived, that in *Uſher's Notes on the Martyrdom of the B. Polycarp*, a Manuſcrpt Copy of *Euſebius's Hiſtory* out of Sir *Henry Savill's Library* was quoted; and had found, that, by ſome paſſages produced by *Uſher*, *that Copy* was of the beſt Note; I made my requeſt to Him by Letter, that he would tranſmit to me the various Readings of *that Copy*; for I did ſuppoſe, that the whole Copy had been compared by him. But he wrote back to me, that the Copy it ſelf, written in ſilken Paper, had been given by Sir *Henry Savil* to the *Oxford Library*. But he preſently ſent me *Robert Stephens's Edition*, in the Margin whereof Sir *Henry Savil* had noted the Emendations taken out of that *his own Manuſcript Copy*. Nevertheleſs, as far as I have been able to conjecture, Sir *Henry Savil* hath not ſet all the Readings of the Manuſcript Copy at the ſide of *that Edition*; but thoſe only, which

(*a*) *Scholia.*

(*b*) He means, the diſtinguiſhing the Periods one from another, and the Cauſes and Members of each Period, by points.

(*c*) *Full-points.*

he thought to be good and undoubted. For ſome Readings are produced by *Uſher* out of that Manuſcript Copy, which I afterwards perceived were omitted by Sir *Henry Savil*. Farther, the ſame Sir *Henry Savil*, at the Margin of *that Edition*, hath written many Amendments, out of a Book of *John Chriſtophorſon*'s; which Book *Chriſtophorſon* had compared with ſome *Manuſcript Copies*. Theſe are the Helps from Books, wherewith we were furniſhed, when we undertook to mend the *Books of Euſebius's Hiſtory*. But leſt any one ſhould perhaps think, that any thing hath been alter'd by us raſhly and at pleaſure, we do before all things deſire the Readers ſhould know, that we have done nothing without the conſent and authority of the beſt Copies. And ſo ſcrupulous were we, of making any Alteration in theſe Books, that when it appear'd moſt evidently, that the place was corrupted, we refuſed even then to favour and follow our own Conjecture. For proof hereof may be [produced] a place in the Cloſe of the *Tenth Book of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, pag. 399 [*of Our Edition*;] which runs thus: ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἐκπρεπῶς μέγιστος νικητὴς χωρσαντῖνος. We could very eaſily have reſtored the true Reading here, and inſtead of ἐκπρεπῶς, mended it in this manner, ἐκπρέπων. For ſo *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*, in (*a*) *his Second Book*, cites this place of *Euſebius*: nor is it otherwiſe written in *Euſebius's Second Book concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, Chap. 19; where this Paſſage is repeated almoſt in the very ſame words. Laſtly, no place is mended in *this our Edition*, concerning which I have not advertiſed the Reader in my Notes, and have not given an Account of mine Amendment.

(*a*) Chap. 1. pag. 45. Edit. Paris, 1590.

Diſtinction, or *Punctation*, is not the leaſt part of Emendation; concerning which I muſt ſay ſomething, leſt peradventure the Readers ſhould be confounded by a new kind of *Pointing*, which was firſt brought into *this Edition* by me. Although, if we would ſpeak properly, this is not a new ſort of *Diſtinction*, but the oldeſt, and made uſe of by all the Ancients, as well *Greek* as *Latin* Writers: Which being wholly diſuſed and loſt by the negligence of more modern Authors, I have, at leaſt in part, endeavour'd to reſtore in *this Edition*. Thoſe Ancients indeed (the Figures of Letters being then newly invented,) wrote in one continued form, without any *diſtinction* at all. Which thing contained much of difficulty both in reading and pronouncing, the ancient *Grammarians* found out *three Poſitures* or *Diſtinctions*, whereby, as 'twere by certain *Stations* and *Inns*, the continued Journey of Speech might be diſtinguiſhed and divided. The *firſt* they termed ὑποστιγμὴν, that is a *Sub-diſtinction*: The *Second* μέσην, that is a *middle Diſtinction*: The *Third* τελείαν στιγμὴν, that is *a final or full Diſtinction*. Now they noted them by three *Points* placed in a different ſite. For a *Point* ſet at the bottom of a Letter, denotes a *Sub-diſtinction*: a *middle Diſtinction*, which the *Latines* have termed (*b*) *Moram*, is ſhown by a *Point* placed at the middle of a Letter. But that *Point* which is ſet at the head of a Letter, denotes a *final Diſtinction*. What the Import and Deſign of theſe *Diſtinctions* is, the *Grammarians* do inform us; *Donatus*, and *Marius Victorinus*, and *Diomedes* in *his Second Book*. Which Author laſt named, at this place ſhall be to us inſtead of all. *Lectioni*, ſays he, *Poſituras accedere vel Diſtinctiones oportet, &c. To Reading muſt be added the Poſitures or Diſtinctions, by Græcians termed θέσεις: which, during our reading, give a liberty of recovering Breath, leſt it ſhould fail by a Continuation. Theſe are three, a Diſtinction, a Sub-diſtinction, a middle Diſtinction or Pauſe, or, as ſome will have it, a Sub-middle: The Diverſity of which [three,] is ſhown by three Points ſet in a different place.* And after ſome few words: *A Diſtinction is a token of ſilence, when, the Senſe being ended, there is a liberty of reſting longer. The Mark hereof, is a Point ſet above the Verſe, at the head of the Letter. A Sub-diſtinction is a Sign of a meet and convenient Silence, whereby the Courſe of Pronunciation (the Senſe remaining) is ſo ſtop'd, that what follows, ought to ſucceed immediately. The Note hereof, is a Point placed under the Verſe. A Pauſe is a ſmall Separation, interpoſed in the Continuation of Senſes, and poſſeſſes the middle place of a meet Diſtinction and Sub-diſtinction, in ſuch manner that it may ſeem neither perfect in the whole, nor omitted, but by a Signification of Staying, may want the beginning of another Senſe. And it attends this Office only, that by the ſhorteſt Reſpiration it may recover and nouriſh the Reader's Breath. For, in pronouncing every one ought in ſuch wiſe to be ſilent, that, becauſe the Breath it ſelf is changed by a kind of decay, it may afterwards be recovered. As thus;*

(*b*) A Pauſe.

Ut belli ſignum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
Extulit, & rauco ſtrepuerunt cornua Cantu.
Utque acres concuſſit equos, utque impulit arma,
Extemplo turbati animi.

For, there are many middle Clauſes of this Reading. Firſt, leſt thoſe be confounded, which are put as double-membred and treble-membred [Clauſes,] and the like. Then, that the (c) Emphaſis of the Words may be more eminently apparent and conſpicuous, which may be moved by ſome Affection, either by Indignation, or Commiſeration compared, &c. Such Marks therefore of Diſtinctions and Punctations as theſe, all the Ancients, as well *Greeks* as *Latines*, made uſe of in their Books: which alſo, as 'tis manifeſt, were ſtill in uſe, in the Age of *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*. For this we learn

(*c*) *Actus verborum.*

learn from *His Origines*, *Book* 1. *Chap.* 19. In Manuſcript Copies likewiſe, which are ſomewhat ancienter, the ſame way of diſtinguiſhing is always obſerved. But more modern Writers, whether by Unskilfulneſs, or a kind of Sloth and Negligence, have changed them all. And inſtead of a Sub-diſtinction, they have put (*d*) *little Rods*; for the mark of a middle Diſtinction, *two Points*: But they have caſt the Note of a final Diſtinction from the Head to the Feet of a Letter. Which ill way of Pointing almoſt all Printers have follow'd, except *Aldus Manucius*. For he in his Edition of *Greek* Books, whereof he printed almoſt an innumerable company, hath always retained that Punctation, which he had found in Manuſcript Copies. As to the *Little Rods*, I would not condemn them: For 'tis of very ſmall moment what Mark we ſhould make uſe of, to denote a *Sub-diſtinction*, provided that Mark be placed at the Feet of a Letter. Indeed, in that excellent and moſt ancient *Manuſcript belonging to the Mazarine Library*, whereof I have made mention before, I found a *little Rod* placed ſometimes for *a middle*, ſometimes for a *final Diſtinction*; that is, ſometimes at the middle of a Letter, ſometimes at the top. And not only by a *little Rod*, but alſo by a *Sicilicum* or ἁπλῆ, *turned backwards*, *a middle Diſtinction*, was ſometimes denoted, as *Victorinus* informs us in *his Firſt Book of the Art of Grammar*. But, whereas we now-a-days put a Point at the Feet of a Letter for a *final Diſtinction*, in my judgment that can in no wiſe be born with. For it does not only contradict Antiquity, but Reaſon alſo. For Reaſon requires, that a Mark placed in the ſame ſite, ſhould denote the ſame *Diſtinction*. A Point therefore placed in the bottom ought to ſignifie the ſame that a *little Rod* does, which is ſet at the bottom of a Letter. For, not the Mark it ſelf, but the Site of the Mark alters the *Diſtinction*. Whence 'tis made evident, that a *final Diſtinction* is not rightly ſhown by us, by our ſetting a Point at the foot of a Letter. Wherefore, 'tis not without reaſon that I have endeavour'd to reſtore the old way of *Punctation* in *this Edition*. I have indeed retained the *Little Rod* it ſelf, in regard it denoting a *Sub-diſtinction* it ſerves for the ſame purpoſe with a Point: but from the Authority of the *Manuſcript Copies*, I have, by way of Recovery as 'twere, put the *middle Diſtinction* into poſſeſſion of its own places. The Advantage and Neceſſity whereof, the Studious, I hope, will ſoon acknowledge. For, *that middle Diſtinction* does not only ſerve for this purpoſe, that breath may be taken in order to the continuing the beginning of another Senſe, and *that the Emphaſis may be more eminently apparent and conſpicuous*, as *Diomedes* writes; but alſo, to denote the difference of Perſons and Dignities. So ſomewhere in *theſe Books*, where the reading is ὑπισχόπων πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, the *Moſt Eminent Cardinal's Manuſcript*, after the word ὑπισκόπων, adds a *middle Diſtinction*. Beſides, in many places I have ſet a Point at the head of the Letter, to denote a *final Diſtinction*: and would have done that every where, had not the force of old cuſtom diverted me from my Attempt. But, what I have in part only performed in *this Edition*, that (I hope) will at length be perfected by others endued with greater Learning and Authority, who ſhall in future publiſh the Books of the Ancients. And thus much may ſuffice to have been ſpoken briefly concerning *Our Emendation* and *Punctation*. Come we now to the *Latin Tranſlation*.

(*d*) *Comma's.*

I doubt nor but there will be many who will admire, why, after three *Latin Tranſlators* of *Euſebius*, and thoſe not meanly vers'd in the *Greek* Tongue, I ſhould have made a *fourth Verſion*. To whom in the firſt place I anſwer thus: If after *Rufinus*, who firſt turned the *Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* into *Latin*, *Muſculus* might have leave to make a new Tranſlation; if again, after *Muſculus*, *Chriſtophorſon* might have leave to do the ſame, why ſhould not I alſo have the like liberty with others? Amongſt the *Jews*, after the *Edition of the ſeventy Seniours*, confirmed by the Religion of ſo many Oaths, by the Authority of ſo many Ages; firſt *Aquila*, then *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*, did each of them publiſh new Verſions of the *Old Teſtament*. Alſo, ſome Perſons are found to be the Authors of a *fifth*, *ſixth*, and *ſeventh Edition*, whoſe names are unknown: and all theſe Tranſlations *Origen* hath placed in *His Hexapla*, that they might be read by Catholicks. That therefore which the *Jews* were free to do in the *Old Teſtament*, why may not I have leave to do in *Euſebius*? Eſpecially, in regard 'tis leſs dangerous to attempt that in *Euſebius*, than in the ſacred Books of the Divine Scriptures. Indeed, many and thoſe cogent Reaſons enforc'd me even againſt my will, to undergo the burthen of this new Tranſlation. For, whereas by (*e*) Your Command and with Your Advice I had undertaken a new Edition of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; and perceived, that the Verſions of former Tranſlators, by reaſon of their frequent Miſtakes and ill Renditions, did in no wiſe ſatisfie the Deſire of Learned Men; as it has been (*f*) already declared by the Teſtimony of *J. Curterius* and *Peter Halloixius*: One of theſe two things was of neceſſity to be performed by me, that I ſhould either correct the old Tranſlation, or elſe make a new one. Farther, to correct the Tranſlation of others, as it is in it ſelf a thing troubleſome and difficult, ſo alſo it ſeem'd invidious. For, His own Praiſe and His own Honour, is from us due to each Perſon. They have done as much as in them lay, and by their own Pains have endeavour'd to lighten and leſſen our Labour. Therefore, the Work of each Tranſlator ought to be commended by us, rather than *interpolated*. *Rufinus*, altho' he follows the Senſe of *Euſebius* rather than his Words, is nevertheleſs neat and clean, and not unpleaſant to the Readers: And even on this very account highly to be commended, becauſe he was the firſt that beſtow'd the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory on Men of the *Latin* Tongue; whoſe Tranſlation the *Weſtern Church* has made uſe of till our own Age. *Muſculus* keeps cloſer to the words, and in tranſlating is ſhort and clear, and in

(*e*) He means the *French Clergy*.

(*f*) In *his Epiſtle Dedicatory*.

many places more happy than *Chriſtophorſon*. *Chriſtophorſon*, as He is more diligent and learneder than *Muſculus*, ſo alſo is more verboſe, and has ſomething of the Stile of *Cicero*. Beſides, He uſed Manuſcript Copies in the making his Tranſlation; and was the firſt that publiſhed *Euſebius*'s *Panegyrick* ſpoken at *Conſtantine's Tricennalia*, in *Latin*. Which the *Geneva-Printers* afterwards printed in *Greek*. Some body will be ready to ſay here; What need then was there of a new Verſion? whenas thoſe Tranſlators abound with ſo many and ſuch high Commendations. I rehearſe their Praiſes, but do not detect their Errors; which I had rather ſhould be diſcovered by the Teſtimony of others, than mine own. But, if any one will read my *Notes*, or ſhall have a mind to compare my Tranſlation with their Verſion, He will doubtleſs underſtand, with how many and how groſs Miſtakes their Tranſlations are ſtuft; and that 'twas not without reaſon, that you had ordered me to make a new Verſion of *Euſebius*. But, becauſe I am faln upon this Diſcourſe, not willingly but by neceſſity, I will ſay ſomething briefly concerning the Errors of former Tranſlators. For, ſhould I have a mind to reckon up all their Miſtakes one by one, my Diſcourſe would be ſtretch'd to a vaſt length. To begin therefore with *Rufinus*: Who knows not, that, at his pleaſure, he has added many Paſſages to *Euſebius*, has taken away many Paſſages from him, has changed many; and in moſt places is rather a *Paraphraſt* than a *Tranſlator*? For inſtance; In the *Seventh Book* he has inſerted a tedious Narrative concerning the Miracles of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, which occurs not in the Copies of *our Euſebius*. The ſame Perſon, in the *Ninth Book*, rehearſes a Speech of *Lucian* the Martyr, ſpoken before the Judge in defence of our Faith: Which Speech the Copies of *Euſebius* do not acknowledge. He has omitted almoſt the whole *Tenth Book of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, in his Verſion. I ſay nothing here concerning the Chapters altered by him in the *Sixth and Seventh Book*, in as much as I have given the Reader notice of this thing, in *my Notes*. How many places of *Euſebius* are miſunderſtood and ill rendred by him? This is he, who of *Zacharias* the Prieſt, of whom mention is made in S^t *Luke*'s Goſpel, has made us a Martyr of *Lyons*. This is he who hath confounded *Biblias* with *Blandina*. This is he who has made the moſt Noble Martyr *Philoromus* a Tribune of Soldiers, from his being a *Rationaliſt*. To what purpoſe is it to ſpeak concerning *Muſculus*, whoſe Verſions (for he has tranſlated other Writers alſo into *Latin*,) are not extraordinarily approved of by the Learned? I could, if I had a mind, expoſe his innumerable Miſtakes: Amongſt which this is a notorious one. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, in *his Epiſtle to Germanus*, which *Euſebius* records in *his Sixth (g) Book*, ſays, that he was taken by the Soldiers ἐκ τῆς Ἡλιοδύσμας, and was brought to *Tapoſiris*. But *Muſculus* believed *Heliodyſmas* to be a Town. For thus he renders it: *Ego namque cùm Heliodyſmas, unà cum illis qui mecum erant, veniſſem, Tapoſirim à militibus ductus ſum. For I, after I was come to Heliodyſmæ, together with them that were with me, was brought by the Soldiers to Tapoſiris.* Farther, the ſame *Muſculus* in *his Tranſlation* has wholly omitted *Euſebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, which is ſubjoyn'd to the *Eighth Book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; for what reaſon I know not. For *that Book of Euſebius's*, is a moſt elegant one. The Tranſlation of *John Chriſtophorſon* remains [to be ſpoken of,] which very Verſion wants not its Blemiſhes. For to omit the *Barbariſms* which do frequently occur in it, *his Tranſlation* is too prolix and intricate, whilſt he either adds ſome Words to fill up the Period, or annexes his own Explanations in order to the clearing of an obſcure place. Sometimes alſo, of two Periods he makes but one, and puts two Chapters into one: In ſo much that the Diviſion of the *Latin* Chapters in *his Tranſlation* differs much from the *Greek*. Which thing, how much Trouble and Vexation it breeds in citing places out of *Euſebius*, all the Studious know. The ſame Tranſlator was indeed ſufficiently well vers'd in Divinity; but he was meanly furniſhed with the Skill of *(h) a Critick*, and with the Knowledge of *Roman* Antiquity. Wherefore, in the proper Names of *Roman* Magiſtrates, and in thoſe Matters which appertain to the *Civil Adminiſtration*, he is always out: For inſtance, in rendring the words ἡγεμών, στρατηγός, ἐπαρχικῆς τάξεως, and in other ſuch like terms. Laſtly, *Chriſtophorſon* has embodied *Euſebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, (which in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and in the *Manuſcript Copies*, is ſubjoyned to the *Eighth Book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*,) with his *eighth Book*, becauſe he believed it to be a part thereof. Which Miſtake of *Chriſtophorſon*'s, the *Geneva-Printers* having afterwards followed, that they might make the *Greek* agree with the *Latin*; of two Books of *Euſebius*'s, have made but one. And let thus much be briefly ſpoken concerning the Errors of former Tranſlations, not with any deſign to diſparage or leſſen the Glory of any Tranſlator; but, that all the Studious may underſtand, that we had good reaſon for our undertaking a new Tranſlation. Which as I dare not warrant to be perfect and every way compleat, (for that would be too much confidence;) ſo I do boldly affirm, that it wants very many Faults, wherewith former Tranſlations do abound. Further, whereas three things are required in a Verſion; namely, that it be faithful, elegant and clear; I have made it my buſineſs, that no one of theſe ſhould be wanting in our Tranſlation.

(g) Chap. 40.

(h) Or, *Critical Art.*

The

VALESIUS'S PREFACE.

The Tranſlation is followed by *the Annotations.* Wherein I had an Eye chiefly to two things: Firſt, that I might give an account of my Emendations, and might propoſe to the Studious the various Readings of Manuſcript Copies: Secondly, that I might clear the obſcurer paſſages in *Euſebius*, and might explain the ancient Uſages and Rites of the Church, by producing and comparing the paſſages of other Writers. To *my Annotations* I have ſubjoined (a) *four Diſſertations.* The *firſt* whereof is, *Concerning the Beginning and Progreſs of the Schiſm of the Donatiſts.* The *Second*, *Concerning the Anaſtaſis and the Jeruſalem-Martyrium.* This is followed by *a diſputation about the Verſion of the Seventy Tranſlators againſt* James Uſher *Arch-Biſhop of Armagh.* The *Fourth* is, *Concerning the Roman Martyrology which Roſweydus publiſhed.* And theſe are the things which with care and diligence I have performed *in this Edition*, in order to the illuſtration of *Euſebius's Hiſtory.* Which if to any one they ſhall peradventure ſeem ſlight and of little worth, let him think, that all things which are publiſhed in this kind of Learning, are in a manner of this nature, and are either valued or contemned according to the Affection and Stomach of the Readers. For, if they find a candid and ſtudious Reader, they are highly eſteemed: But if they ſhall happen to fall into diſdainful Ears, they are look't upon us nothing. Beſides, what but that which is very ordinary and mean can be expected, from me eſpecially, who by reaſon of my weakneſs of ſight am forc'd both to read and write by other Men's Eyes and Hands: And who, whilſt by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Labour I do always haſten forwards, have ſo haſtily dictated this whole work, ſuch as it is, that I have ſcarce had leiſure to read it over again. On which account I am the more to be pardoned, if perhaps in any place of *my Notes* I have not ſo fully ſatisfied the Reader's deſire.———

(a) Theſe four Diſſertations are publiſhed at the latter end of *Valeſius's firſt Volume of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians.*

28 SE 60

VALE.

VALESIUS'S ACCOUNT

Concerning the

LIFE

AND

WRITINGS

OF

EUSEBIUS CÆSARIENSIS.

CConcerning the Life of Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, Acacius, *his Scholar and Successor in the See of* Cæsarea, *had heretofore written a Book, as* (a) Socrates *does attest. But in regard this Book, together with very many others, is lost by the carelesness of Antiquity, we, by gathering together from this place and t'other the Testimonies of Ancient Writers who have spoken concerning* Eusebius, *to the utmost of our ability will endeavour to repair that Loss.* Eusebius *therefore was born in* Palestine, *about the Close (as 'tis likely) of* Gallienus's *Reign. That he was a Native of* Palestine, *is hence prov'd, because by the Ancients he is commonly called a* Palestinian. *So, 'tis certain,* Basilius, Theodoret, *and others do term him. And although he might have been thus Sur-nam'd from his being Bishop of the City* Cæsarea, *yet it seems to me truer, that he drew that Sur-name from his Country. Indeed, he himself does attest, in* his First (b) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, *that during his being a youth he was educated and conversant in* Palestine, *and that* Constantine *was first seen by him there, whilst he made a journey thorow* Palestine *in the Court of* Diocletianus Augustus. *Besides, in the* Second (c) Book of the same work *(where he records a Law of* Constantine's, *which he wrote to the* Palestinians *in favour of the* Christians,) *he does plainly shew himself to have been a* Palestinian. *For, after he has recited the Contents of that Law transmitted to the* Palestinians, *he adds these words.* Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ὡς ἡμᾶς καλαπεμφθὲν βασιλέως γράμμα, ταῦτα διετάττετο. These were the Constitutions contained in the Emperor's first Edict sent to Us. *But whereas I have plac'd his Birth upon the Latter end of* Gallienus's *Reign; of this thing I have* Eusebius *himself for my Author. For speaking (in* his Books of Ecclesiack History,) *concerning* Dionysius *Bishop of the* Alexandrians, *he does attest that He had lived in his own Age, as may be seen in* Book 3. Chap. 28. *Wherefore, in regard 'tis manifest that* Dionysius Alexandrinus *departed this life on the twelfth year of* Gallienus's *Empire,* Eusebius *must of necessity have been born then, if his age fell on those times wherein* Dionysius *lived. The same may likewise be gathered from the* Fifth (d) Book of his Ecclesiastick History, *about the end of it, where speaking concerning* Artemon's Heresie, *he writes that* Paul of Samosata *had revived that Heresie in* (e) *his age. Lastly, relating (in* his Seventh Book,) *those things which hapned during the Reign of* Gallienus, *before he begins his Discourse concerning the Error and Condemnation of* Paul of Samosata, *he has these Words.* (f) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη μετὰ τοῦτο περὶ τούτων ἱστορίαν; φέρε καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενεὰν ὁποία τις ἦν, φράσωμεν. But now, after an Historical relation of these things, we will deliver to the knowledge of posterity an account of our own age. *Whom he had for his Parents, is unknown to us, excepting that* Nicephorus Callistus, *following I know not what Authors, does tell us that he was begotten of the Sister of* Pamphilus *the Martyr. But in* Arius's (g) Letter *to* Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, *he is termed the Brother of* Eusebius Nicomediensis. *And although by reason of his friendship he might be called the Brother, yet it seems truer to me, that he was either the near Kinsman or Cousin-germane of* Eusebius Nicomediensis, *especially in regard* Arius, *although many other Persons are there mentioned, yet terms only* Eusebius of Cæsarea *Brother to him of* Nicomedia. *Besides,* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia *was a Native of* Syria. *For he was at first Bishop of* Berytus. *Nor was it the usage then, that Strangers and Persons unknown should be preferred to govern Churches. What Masters he had in secular Learning, is in like manner unknown to us. But in sacred Literature he had* Dorotheus the Eunuch, *a* Presbyter *of the* Antiochian *Church, for his Master: of whom also he makes an honourable mention in* his Seventh (h) Book. *Although* Eusebius *at that place says only, that he had heard* Dorotheus, *whilst he expounded the Holy Scriptures in the Church not unfitly. Nevertheless, if any one has a mind (with* Trithemius*) to conclude from those*

(a) *Eccles. Hist.* Book 2. Chap. 4.

(b) See Chap. 19.

(c) Chap. 43. where see Note (a.)

(d) See Chap. 28. at the beginning.

(e) *Eusebius's.*

(f) Book 7. Chap. 26.

(g) Which occurs in *Theodoret's Eccles. Hist. Book* 1. *Chap.* 5. *Edit. Vales.*

(h) Chap. 32.

those words of Eusebius, *that* Eusebius *was* Dorotheus's *Disciple, truly I shall not very much oppose him.* Theotecnus *being at that time dead, the Bishoprick of the Church of* Cæsarea *was administred by* Agapius, *a person of eminent piety and large bounty towards the Poor. By him* Eusebius *was admitted into the Clergy, and entred into the strictest and most intimate friendship with* Pamphilus, *who at that time was eminent amongst the Presbyters of the Church of* Cæsarea. Pamphilus *was by Nation a* Phœnician, *born at* Berytus, *Scholar to* Pierius *a Presbyter of the* Alexandrian *Church, as* Photius *relates. Who (in regard he was inflamed with a singular love of sacred Learning, and with the greatest diligence imaginable, made a Collection of all the Books of Ecclesiastick Writers, and especially of* Origen's ;) *founded a most famous School and Library at* Cæsarea. *Of which School* Eusebius *seems to have been the first Master. Indeed* Eusebius, *in his (a)* Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, *writes in expres words, that* Apphianus, *who compleated his Martyrdom on the third year of the Persecution, had been instructed in the sacred Scriptures by him in the City* Cæsarea. *From that time* Eusebius *always lived with* Pamphilus *in the closest intimacy, and continued his inseparable Companion till his death: So dear to him, that from his Friendship he got the firname of* Pamphilus. *Nor did* Eusebius *love him whilst he lived only, but had a singular affection for him when dead also: in so much that after* Pamphilus's *death, he always made a most honourable, and likewise a most loving mention of him. This is attested by those* Three Books which he wrote concerning the Life of Pamphilus the Martyr, *which Books St.* Jerome *terms most elegant ones. The same is likewise gathered from many Passages which occur in his* Ecclesiastick Hiſtory, *and in* his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. *Lastly, in* his Second Book against Sabellius, *which was written by* Eusebius *after the* Nicene Council, *he frequently commends* Pamphilus *the Martyr, altho' he suppresses his name. For even in the very beginning of his Discourse he says thus.* Puto adhuc aures obstrepi meas à memoria beati illius viri, &c. I think my Ears are as yet struck by the memory of that blessed Man, who frequently made use of that devout word. For even your Ears do as yet retain the sound of that word. For I think I hear him saying, The only begotten Son of God. For this Religious word was always uttered by his Mouth. For it was the remembrance of the Only begotten, to the Glory of the unborn Father. Now, we have heard the Apostle commanding, that Presbyters ought to be honoured with a double Honour; those especially who labour in the Word and Doctrine. *And at pag. 29. he speaks of him again in this manner.* Hæc non nos extollunt, &c. These things do not puff us up, (*b*) remembring that Blessed Man. Now I wish I could so speak, as together with you I did always hear from him. But these words which are now said, seem to have been pleasing to him. For 'tis the glory of good Servants, to speak truth concerning the Lord; and 'tis the honour of those Fathers who have taught well, if their Doctrines be repeated. *And again in the same Book, pag.* 37. Hæc audiebamus semper à beato illo viro, &c. These words we always heard from the Blessed Man. For they were often spoken in this manner by him: Altho' some suspected, that he uttered these words with his mouth, but that in his Heart he thought otherwise. And indeed I remember with you, that I have heard from him, that he hath satisfied us with an holy Oath, that there was not one thing in his Tongue, and another in his Heart. *And a little after.* Sed nunc quidem paucis, &c. But now, let thus much be said by us in short, in memory and honour of that our Father, so good, so laborious, and every where vigilant for the Churches. For we have not made mention of his Stock, nor of his Education, or Learning, or of (*c*) the rest of his Life and Resolution. *Which Passages in* Eusebius (*that I may not defraud any one of his Commendation,*) *were shown me by the most Learned* Franciscus Ogerius. *Now, from what I have said it may be evidently enough gathered, that* Eusebius *was joyned to* Pamphilus *by no (d) Tye of kindred, but by the Bond of friendship only.* 'Tis certain, Eusebius, *altho' he names* Pamphilus *in so many places, and boasts so highly of his friendship, yet never terms him his Kinsman or Relation. Yea, from* Eusebius's *own testimony* 'tis *plainly made out, that* Pamphilus *the Martyr was not* Eusebius's *Kinsman. For in the Close of* his Seventh (*e*) Book of Ecclesiastick Hiſtory, *where he makes mention of* Agapius *Bishop of the Church of* Cæsarea; *his words are these:* Κατὰ τοῦτον ἐλλογιμώτατον αὐτῷ τε βίῳ φιλόσοφον ἀληθῆ, πρεσβείᾳ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἀξιωμένον, Παμφίλον ἐγνωμεν. In this Man's time we knew *Pamphilus* (a most eloquent Man, and a true Philosopher in the practises of his Life) honoured with a Presbytership of that Church. *Whereas therefore* Eusebius *himself does attest, that* Pamphilus *was first known by him, then, it is sufficiently apparent, that they were not joyned together by any kindred or affinity. In these times hapned that most severe Persecution of the* Christians; *which being first begun by* Diocletian, *was by the following Emperors continued to the tenth year. In the time of this Persecution,* Eusebius, *in regard he was then a* Presbyter *of the Church of* Cæsarea, *resided almost constantly in that City, and by continual exhortations instructed many persons in order to Martyrdom. Amongst whom was* Apphianus, *a noble Youth, whose illustrious Combat* our Eusebius *does relate in* his (*f*) Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. *In the same Persecution* Pamphilus *was taken, and cast into Prison, where he spent two whole years in Bonds. During which time* Eusebius *in no wise deserted his Friend and Companion: but visited him continually, and in the Prison wrote together with him* Five Books in defence of *Origen. The* Sixth *and last* Book of that Work *he at length finished after* Pamphilus *was dead.* That whole Work *was by* Eusebius *and* Pamphilus *dedicated to the Confessors living in the Mines of* Palestine, *as* Photius *relates in* his Bibliotheca, Chap. 118. *In the time of the same Persecution, on account of some urgent Business of the* Church, *as 'tis probable,* Eusebius *went to* Tyre. *During his residence in that City, he attests* (Book 8. Chap. 7.) *that he himself was eye-witness of the glorious Combats of five* Egyptian *Martyrs. And in* the Ninth Chapter of the same Book, *he writes that he came into* Egypt *and* Thebais, *whilst the fury of the Persecution as yet raged; and that there he beheld with his own eyes, the admirable Constancy of many Martyrs of both Sexes. There are those who relate, that* Eusebius *in this Persecution, to free himself from the Troubles of a Prison, sacrificed to Idols: and that that was objected against him by the* Egyptian *Bishops and Confessors in the* Synod at Tyre, *as we will hereafter relate. But I doubt not but this is false, and a Calumny forged by*

(*a*) Chap. 4. where see Note (*f*).

(*b*) *The remembrance of*, &c.

(*c*) *His other Life.*

(*d*) Or, *Right.*

(*e*) Chap. 32. towards the end.

(*f*) Chap. 4.

by the Enemies of Eusebius. *For, had so great a Crime been really committed by* Eusebius, *how could he have been afterwards made Bishop of the Church of* Cæsarea? *How is it likely that he should have been invited by the* Antiochians, *to undertake the Episcopate of that City? And yet* Cardinal Baronius *has catch'd up that as certain and undoubted, which was objected against* Eusebius *by the way of Contention and Wrangling, by his Enemies, nor was ever confirmed by any one's Testimony. At the same time, a Book was written by* Eusebius *against* Hierocles. *And the occasion of writing it was given by* Hierocles *of* Nicomedia, *who about the beginning of this Persecution, when the Churches of the* Christians *were every where demolished, insulting as it were over the disquieted Religion, in the City* Nicomedia *published two Books against the Faith of Christ, which he entitled,* Φιλαλήθεις. *In which Books amongst other things he asserted this, that* Apollonius Tyaneus *performed far more and greater Miracles than Christ; as* Lactantius *does attest in* his (*a*) Seventh Book. *But* Eusebius *contemned the Man, rested satisfied in confuting him in a very short Book.* Agapius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *being dead during this interval, and the Persecution being now abated, and Peace restored to the Church; by the general consent of all Persons* Eusebius *is put into his Place. Others make* Agricola (*who was present at, and subscribed to the* Synod of Ancyra, *on the* Year of Christ 314,) *Successor to* Agapius. *So* Baronius *in* his Annals, *at the* Year of Christ 314; *and* Blondellus *in* his Apology pro sententia B. Hieronymi, Chap. 19. *where he writes, That* Eusebius *undertook the Administration of the Church of* Cæsarea *after* Agricola's *death, about the* Year of Christ 315. *But those Subscriptions of the Bishops which are extant in the* Latin Collections of the Canons, *in my judgment seem to have little of certainty and validity in them. For they occur not either in the* Greek Copies, *or in the* Latin Version of Dionysius Exiguus. *Besides,* Eusebius *reckoning up* (*in the* Seventh (*b*) Book of his Ecclesiastick History,) *the Bishops of the chief Sees, under whom the Persecution began and raged, ends in* Agapius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *who* (*says he*) *took a great deal of pains in that Persecution for the good of his own Church. He therefore must of necessity have sate Bishop until the end of the Persecution. But* Eusebius *was made Bishop immediately after the Persecution was ended. For when* Paulinus *Bishop of* Tyre *dedicated a* Cathedral, *some time after Peace and Repose was restored to the Church; He, together with other Bishops, was invited by* Paulinus *to its Dedication, and made a most elegant Oration before him, as we are informed from the* Tenth (*c*) Book of his Ecclesiastick History. *Now, this hapned before* Licinius *rebelled against* Constantine, *which fell on the* Year of our Lord 315. *About these Times* Eusebius *wrote* those famous Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration and Preparation. *Which Books, 'tis plain, were written before the* Nicene Council, *in regard they are by name cited in* his Ecclesiastick History, *which was written by* Eusebius *before* that Council, *as we have shown in* Our Annotations. *In the interim* Licinius, *who managed the Government in the Eastern Parts, incited by a sudden rage, began to persecute the* Christians; *especially those that were Prelates, of whom he had a suspicion that they shewed more of favour to* Constantine, *and put up Prayers for him. But* Constantine *undertook an Expedition against* Licinius, *and in a short time compell'd him, after he had been vanquished in two Fights by Land and Sea, to a Surrendry. And thus Peace was again by* Constantine *restored to the* Christians, *who inhabited the* East. *But a far more vehement Disturbance was at that time raised amongst the* Christians *themselves. For* Arius *a* Presbyter *of the City* Alexandria, *in regard he would publickly in the Church preach up some new and impious Opinions concerning the Son of God, and having been frequently admonished by* Alexander *the Bishop, would nevertheless persist in those Assertions, was at length condemned together with the Associates of his own Error, and was expelled out of the Church. Highly resenting this his Condemnation, he sent Letters, with a Draught of his own Faith, to all the Bishops of the neighbouring Cities: Wherein he complained, that he had been undeservedly deposed by* Alexander, *in regard he asserted the same Points that the rest of the Eastern Prelates maintained. Many Bishops imposed upon by these Artifices, and powerfully incited by* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia, *who was an open Favourer of* Arius's *Party, wrote Letters in defence of* Arius, *to* Alexander *Bishop of the City* Alexandria, *entreating him to restore* Arius *to his former Place.* Our Eusebius *was one of their number, whose Letter, written to* Alexander, *is extant in the* Acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod, *and is by us put amongst the* (*d*) Testimonies of the Ancients. Eusebius Cæsariensis's *Example being presently followed by* Theodotus *and* Paulinus, *the one Bishop of* Laodicea, *the other of* Tyre; *they interceded with* Alexander *for* Arius's *Restitution. Whose Letters, as patronizing his own Opinions, in regard* Arius *boasted of in all places, and by the authority of such Great Men, drew many Persons into a Society of his own Error; on this account* Alexander *himself also was forced to write Letters to the other Bishops of the East, whereby it might be made publickly known, that* Arius, *together with his Associates, had been justly condemned and deposed. Two Letters of* Alexanders *are at this present extant: the one to* Alexander *Bishop of* Constantinople, *in which* Alexander *complains of three Bishops of* Syria, *who agreeing in Opinion with* Arius *had inflamed the Quarrel, which they ought rather to have extinguished, and had rendred it fiercer than it was before. These three are* Eusebius, Theodotus, *and* Paulinus, *as may be collected from* Arius's *Letter written to* Eusebius *Bishop of* Nicomedia. *The other Letter of* Alexander's, *written to all the Bishops throughout the World,* Socrates *records it in* his First (*e*) Book. *To these Letters of* Alexander *almost all the Eastern Bishops subscribed: Amongst whom the Prelates of chiefest note were,* Philogonius *Bishop of* Antioch, Eustathius *of* Berœa, *and* Macarius *of* Jerusalem. *Now, those Bishops who seem'd to be of* Arius's *side, in regard they saw themselves severely touch'd in* Alexander's *Letters, made it their business to defend* Arius *with far more of fierceness and vehemency: but most especially* Eusebius Nicomediensis. *For our* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *together with* Patrophilus *and* Paulinus, *and other Bishops of* Syria, *concluded upon this only, that* Arius *the* Presbyter *should have a liberty of holding Assemblies in his own Church; nevertheless, that he should be subject to* Alexander *the Bishop, and should earnestly request of him that he might be admitted to Peace and Communion. The Bishops in this manner disagreeing amongst themselves, and some favouring* Alexander's, *others* Arius's *side; the Contention was incredibly heighten'd. To cure which mischief,* Constantine *assembled a General Synod of Bishops (such a one as no Age had ever seen,) from all Parts of the* Roman World,

(*a*) He should have said *his Fifth Book*; where see Chap. 2, and 3. p. 307, &c. *Edit. Ihyf.*

(*b*) Chap. 32.

(*c*) See Chap. 4. where *Eusebius* has inserted this his Speech.

(*d*) *Valesius* after this his Account of *Eusebius*'s Life and Writings, adds a Collection (which he made himself) of the Testimonies of the Ancients, both *for* and *against Eusebius*, a Translation whereof into *English*, was look'd upon as needless.

(*e*) Chap. 6.

Nicene Creed

in

in Nicæa *a City of* Bithynia. *Of this Greatest and most Celebrated Council,* Our Eusebius *was not the least part. For he had both the first place in the Right-Hand* (a) *Side, and also in the name of the whole Synod made a Speech to the Emperor* Constantine, *who sat on a Golden Chair in the midst between the two Rows of those who sat together* [*in the Council*;] *as he himself attests in the* Preface to his First (b) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, *and in* his (c) Third Book of the same Work. *The same is likewise confirmed by* Sozomen, *in the* First (d) Book of his Ecclesiastick History. *Farther, when there was a great contest amongst the Bishops concerning a* (e) *Draught of the Creed,* Our Eusebius *proposed a Draught that was exactly true and plain, and which was commended by the consent of all the Bishops, and of the Emperor himself. But, in regard something seem'd to be wanting in that Draught, in order to confuting the Impiety of the new Opinion; the Fathers of the* Nicene Synod *judged these words as necessary to be further added,* Very God of very God; begotten not made, being of one Substance with the Father. *They likewise annex'd* Anathematisms, *against those who should assert that* the Son of God was made of things which are not, *and that* there was a time when He was not. *And at first indeed* Our Eusebius *refused to admit of the term* Consubstantial. *But afterwards, informed by the other Bishops what the Import and Meaning of that word was, he at length consented and subscribed to this Creed, as he himself relates in* his (f) Letter to his Diocess of Cæsarea. *Some affirm, that* Eusebius, *forced by necessity, and out of a fear of the Emperor, rather than from the Sentiment of his own Mind, had subscribed to the* Nicene Creed. *I might indeed be easily induced to believe that, concerning others who were present at* this Synod. *But, I can't think so of* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea. *For after the* Nicene Synod, Eusebius *always condemned those who would assert that the Son of God was made of Nothing, as 'tis plain from* his Books against Marcellus, *and expresly from the* Ninth and Tenth Chapter of his First Book De Ecclesiastica Theologia. Athanasius *does likewise attest the same concerning him. Who (though he has often related that* Eusebius Cæsariensis *had subscribed to the* Nicene Synod, *yet) does never declare, that he did that dissemblingly and in pretence only. Had* Eusebius *subscribed to the* Nicene Council, *not heartily, but by fraud and under a colour; why did he afterwards send* that Letter *I have mentioned, to* his Diocess of Cæsarea, *wherein he profess'd ingenuously, that he had embraced that Faith, which had been published in the* Nicene Council? *After the* Nicene Synod, *the* Arians *out of a fear of the Emperor, were for some little time quiet. Resuming their boldness presently, after they had by subtilty crept into the Prince's favour; by all ways and arts they began to persecute the Catholick Prelates. Their first assault was made against* Eustathius *Bishop of the City* Antioch, *who was eminent both for the Glory of Confession, and was also accounted the Chief amongst the Assertors of the* Nicene Faith. *Him therefore they accuse before the Emperor, because he maintained* Sabellius's *Impiety, and because he had reproach'd* Helena Augusta *the Emperor's Mother. A numerous Assembly of Bishops is convened in the City of* Antioch, *in which presided* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia, *the Chief and Ring-leader of the whole Faction.* Eusebius *of* Cæsarea *was likewise present at* this Synod. Eustathius *therefore having been accused by* Cyrus *Bishop of the* Berœans, *because he held the impious Doctrine of* Sabellius, *and moreover an Accusation of* (g) *Incontinency having been framed against him, is thrust out of his own See. On which account a most impetuous Tumult is raised at* Antioch; *the People being divided into two Parties, some requesting* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *might be put into* Eustathius's *place; others desiring* Eustathius *their Bishop might be restored to them. And it had come to blows, had not a fear of the Emperor, and the Judges authority repress'd them. The Sedition being at length quieted, and* Eustathius *banish'd,* Our Eusebius (*although entreated both by the People, and by the Bishops also that were present, to undertake the Administration of the* Antiochian *Church, yet) refused to do that. And when the Bishops by Letters written to* Constantine, *had acquainted him both with their own* [*Vote,*] *and with the Suffrage of all the People;* Eusebius *wrote his Letters also to* Constantine. *Whereto the Emperor* Constantine *gave answer, and highly commended* Eusebius's *Resolution.* Eustathius *having in this manner been deposed, which was done on the Year of Christ* 330, *as I have remark'd in* my (h) Annotations; *the* Arians *turn the violence of their Fury upon* Athanasius. *And in the first place they complain of his Ordination in the Prince's presence: then, that* (i) *he exacted an Impost of a Linen Garment from the* Provincials: *that he had broken a sacred Cup: lastly, that he had murther'd one* Arsenius *a Bishop. Therefore* Constantine, *wearied with their most troublesome Complaints, indicted a Council in the City of* Tyre, *and commanded* Athanasius *the Bishop to repair thither, to make his defence. In that Synod* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *amongst others, sat as Judge; whom* Constantine *had a mind should be present at that Council.* Potamo *Bishop of* Heracleopolis (*who had come thither with* Athanasius *the Bishop, and some Prelates of* Egypt;) *seeing him sitting in the Council, is said to have accosted him in these words:* [Is it fit,] *Eusebius,* that You should sit, and that the Innocent *Athanasius* should stand to be judg'd by You? Who can bear such things as these? Tell me, were not you in Custody with me during the time of the Persecution? And I lost an Eye in defence of the Truth; but you appear'd maim'd in no part of your Body, nor did you undergo Martyrdom, but are alive and whole. By what means did you escape out of Prison? unless you promised our Persecutors that you would do the (k) detestable thing, and perhaps you have done it. *These things are in this manner related by* Epiphanius *in the* Heresie of the Meletians. *From which words by the by it appears, that they are mistaken who relate, that* Our Eusebius *had some time sacrificed to Idols, and that that was openly objected against him in the* Tyrian Synod. *For* Potamo *accused not* Eusebius, *as if he had sacrificed to Idols; but only his Dismission out of Prison safe and whole, had given* Potamo *an occasion of suspecting that concerning him. Nevertheless 'tis possible that* Eusebius *might have been dismist out of Prison by some other way, than that which* Potamo *has related. Farther, from* Epiphanius's *words it may, I think, be gathered, that* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea *presided at* this Synod. *For he adds, that* Eusebius *being sorely vex'd at the hearing of these words, dismiss'd the Council. Yet from other Writers we have it for certain, that not* Eusebius *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *but* Eusebius *of* Nicomedia *presided at the* Tyrian Synod. *After the Council held at* Tyre, *all the Bishops who had sat together there, by the Emperor's order betook themselves to* Jerusalem, *to celebrate the Consecration of that Great Church, which* Constantine *had erected in that place, in*

(a) Or, *Wing.*

(b) Chap. 1. where see Note (a).

(c) Chap. 11.

(d) Chap. 19.

(e) Or, *Form of Faith.*

(f) See this Letter in *Socrates*, Book 1. Chap. 8. Pag. 217, &c. of our *English* Version.

(g) See the Story in *Theodoret's Ecclesiast. Hist.* Book 1. Chap. 21. *Edit. Vales.*

(h) See *Life of Constantine*, Book 3. Chap. 59. Note (c).

(i) This Calumny the *Melitians* framed, instigated by *Eusebius of Nicomedia*; as *Athanasius* tells us in *his Apology to Constantius*: See *his Works*, Tom. 1. p. 778. *Edit. Paris.* 1627.

(k) That is, *sacrifice to Idols.*

Honour of Christ. *There* Our Eusebius *graced the Solemnity, by several Sermons which he made in the Church. And when the Emperor by most sharp Letters had summon'd the Bishops to his own Court, that in his presence they might give an account of those things, which by fraud and out of hatred they had transacted against* Athanasius; Our Eusebius *together with five others came to* Constantinople, *and certified the Prince concerning all Transactions. Then also he recited* his Tricennalian Oration *in the Emperor's own presence, in the Palace. Whereto the Emperor hearken'd with the greatest joy imaginable, not so much in respect of his own, as God's Praises, whom* Eusebius *has magnified throughout that whole Oration. This was the* Second Oration *that* Eusebius *spoke in the Palace, as he himself attests in* his Fourth (a) Book concerning the Life of *Constantine. For he had before made an Oration in the Palace* concerning the Sepulchre of Our Lord: *which the Emperor heard standing, nor could he ever be perswaded, though he was once and again entreated by* Eusebius, *to sit down in the Seat set for him; saying, 'twas fit, that Discourses concerning God be heard by persons standing; as* Eusebius *relates in the* thirty third Chapter of the same Book. *Farther, how dear and acceptable* Our Eusebius *was to* Constantine, *may be known both from these Matters I have mentioned, and also from many other Circumstances: For he both frequently received Letters from him, which occur inserted in the* foresaid Books. *Nor was it seldom that he was sent for to the Palace, and entertained at Table, and honoured with private Discourse. Moreover,* Constantine *related that Vision of the Cross, which he saw in the Heaven at such time as he was making his Expedition against* Maxentius, *to* Our Eusebius; *and shew'd him the* Labarum, *which he had* [*order'd to be*] *made, to express the likeness of that Cross, as* Eusebius *himself does* (b) *attest. And when he wanted* (c) *Copies of the Sacred Scriptures for the use of those Churches which he had built at* Constantinople, *he committed the Care and Over-sight of transcribing them to* Eusebius; *in regard he well knew him to be most skilful in these matters. Lastly, when* Our Eusebius *had dedicated a* (d) Book concerning the Feast of Easter *to him, that Present was so acceptable to* Constantine, *that he ordered that* Book *to be forthwith translated into* Latin; *and by a Letter written to* Eusebius *entreated him, that he would as soon as possible communicate the Works of this nature which he was upon, to the Studious in Sacred Matters. About the same time* Eusebius *comprized a Description of the* Jerusalem-Church, *and of the Sacred Gifts which had been consecrated there, in a* small Book, *and dedicated it to the Emperor* Constantine. Which Book, *together with* his Tricennalian Oration, *he had placed at the Close of* his Books concerning the Life of Constantine. *But* this Book *is not now extant. At the same time also* Five Books *were written by* Eusebius *against* Marcellus: *The last three whereof* De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ, *he dedicated to* Flaccillus *Bishop of* Antioch. *Now* Flaccillus *entred upon that Bishoprick a little before the* Synod of Tyre, *which was convened in the Consulate of* Constantius *and* Albinus, *on the* Year of Our Lord's Nativity 335. *'Tis certain,* Eusebius (*in* his First Book against Marcellus De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ, Chap. 14.) *writes in expres words, that* Marcellus *had been deservedly condemned by the Church. Now* Marcellus *was first condemned in the* Constantinopolitan Synod, *by those very Bishops who had consecrated* Constantine's *Church at* Jerusalem, *that is on* the Year of Christ 335, *or else* 336, *as* Baronius *will have it. Indeed* (e) Socrates *acknowledges but* Three Books *of* Eusebius's *against* Marcellus; *those namely which are entitled* De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ: *whereas nevertheless, the whole Work against* Marcellus, *was by* Eusebius *comprized in* Five Books. *Farther, of all* Eusebius's Books, *the last seem to be* those Four concerning the Life of Constantine. *For they were written after the Death of that Emperor, whom* Eusebius *did not long survive. For he died about the beginning of* Constantius Augustus's *Reign, a little before the Death of* Constantine Junior, *which hapned when* Acindynus *and* Proculus *were* Consuls, *on the* Year of Christ 340; *as may be gathered from* Socrates's Second (f) Book. *Now, what* Scaliger *says, in* his Animadversions upon Eusebius, pag. 250. of the last Edition, *that* Eusebius's Books against Porphyrius *were written under* Constantius *Son to* Constantine the Great, *cannot so easily be admitted of by us, in regard 'tis confirmed by the Testimony of no ancient Writer. But what the same* Scaliger *adds in that very place, that the* Three last Books of the Evangelick Demonstration, *the* Eighteenth *namely,* Nineteenth, *and* Twentieth, *were written by* Eusebius *against* Porphyrius; *therein he does manifestly blunder.* St. Jerome (g) *writes indeed, that* Eusebius *answered* Porphyrius *in Three Volumes, that is, in the* Eighteenth, Nineteenth, *and* Twentieth; *who in the* Twelfth *and* Thirteenth of those Books which he published against the Christians, *had attempted to confute the Book of the* Prophet Daniel. *But* St. Jerome *does not mean* Eusebius's Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration, *as* Scaliger *thought, but the* Books he wrote against Porpyrius, *which had this Title,* Ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀπολογίας, [Books] of Confutation and Apology, *as may be gather'd from* Photius's Bibliotheca. *Farther, I am of opinion, that* these Books *were written by* Eusebius *after* his Ecclesiastick History: *And this I conjecture from hence, because* Our Eusebius *in the* Sixth (h) Book of his Ecclesiastick History, *where he produces a famous Passage out of* Porphyrius's Third Book against the Christians, *makes no mention of those Books wherein he had answered* Porphyrius: *Whenas nevertheless, he is wont to be a diligent Quoter of his own Works, and does frequently refer the Studious to the reading of them. But because a fit opportunity presents it self, I have a mind to make some few Remarks here concerning* his Books of Ecclesiastick History. *For on their Account chiefly, all this Labour has been undertaken by us. Indeed, much hath been written by* Our Eusebius *for the profit and advantage of the Catholick Church, and in confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Faith; partly against the* Jews, *and partly against the* Heathens. *Nevertheless amongst all his Books,* his Ecclestick History *does deservedly bear away the Bell. For, before* Eusebius, *many Persons had written Books in defence of the* Christian *Faith, and by most cogent Reasons had confuted the* Jews *Contumacy, and the Error of the* Heathens. *But there was no person before* Eusebius, *who could deliver to Posterity an History of Ecclesiastick Affairs. On which account* Our Eusebius *is the more to be commended, who was both the first that found out this Subject; and also, after he had attempted it, left it entire and perfect in every respect. 'Tis certain, although many have been found after him, who, incited by his example, have undertaken to commit to writing Ecclesiastick Matters;*

(a) Chap. 46.

(b) *Life of Constant.* Book 1. Chap. 28. and 30.

(c) Id. B. 4. Chap. 36.

(d) Book 4. Chap. 34, 35.

(e) *Eccles. Hist.* B. 2. Chap. 20. where see *Note* (k.)

(f) Chap. 4, and 5.

(g) In *his Preface to his Comments on* Daniel.

(h) Chap. 19.

ters; yet they have all begun their History from those times wherein our Eusebius *had closed his Work: but the History of the foregoing times, which he had set forth in* Ten Books, *they have left to him entire and untoucht. Wherefore, should any one have a mind to term him the Father and Founder of* Ecclesiastick History, *truly that person would seem to give him this surname not absurdly nor without cause. Now, what way* Eusebius *applied himself to this Subject, 'tis not hard to conjecture. For, whereas in the Last Part of* his Chronical Canons, *he had accurately noted the Time of Our Lord's Coming, and of his Passion; the Names also of the Bishops who had sat in the four chief Churches, and of the famous Men who had flourished in the Church; and lastly, in their own Time and Order had digested the Heresies and Persecutions wherewith the Church had been disquieted; He was led by the hand as 'twere, by little and little to the writing an Ecclesiastick History; that he might handle those matters more largely and copiously in* his Ecclesiastick History, *which in* his Chronical Canons *he had comprized in a Summary as 'twere. Indeed he himself, in the* (a) Preface to his Ecclesiastick History, *does plainly shew that which I have said. Where also he requests, that Pardon may be granted him by candid Readers, if peradventure he shall not so largely and copiously pursue and finish this Subject: For [he says,] that he was the first person who applied himself to this sort of Writing, and first began to walk in a way which had not before been worn by any one's Footsteps. But this may seem to some persons, not so much an Excuse and desire of Pardon, as an Endeavour to procure Praise and Glory. Farther, notwithstanding it appears evident from* Eusebius's *own Testimony, that he wrote* his Ecclesiastick History *after* his Chronological Canons; *yet 'tis strange that* Both those Works *proceed to one and the same Limit, namely, to* Constantine's Twentieth Year, *which was the* Year of Christ 325. *That moreover may deservedly be wondred at, that although the* Nicene Synod *was celebrated on* Constantine's (b) Vicennalia, *yet no mention is made of it, either in* his Chronicon, *or* Ecclesiastick History. *For, whereas in* his Latin Chronicon, *at the* Fifteenth Year of Constantine, *these words occur;* Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ 19. ordinatur Episcopus Alexander, *&c.* Alexander is ordained the nineteenth Bishop of the *Alexandrian* Church; by whom *Arius* the Presbyter being ejected out of that Church, joyns many to his own Impiety. To confute the Perfidiousness of which persons, a Synod of 318 Bishops being convened at *Nicæa* a City of *Bithynia*, ruin'd all the subtil Devices of the Hereticks by the opposition of [the term] HOMOOUSIOS: *'Tis plain enough, that those words were not written by* Eusebius, *but were added by* St. Jerome, *who* interpolated Eusebius's Chronicon, *by inserting many Passages on his own head. For, to omit that, namely, that the mention of the* Nicene Synod *is here set in a foreign and disagreeable place; who can ever believe, that* Eusebius *would have spoken in this manner concerning* Arius, *or would have inserted the term* HOMOOUSIOS *into* his own Chronicon? Which word *always displeased* him, *as we shall see afterwards. How should* Eusebius *say, that there were three hundred and eighteen Bishops present at the* Nicene Synod? *when in* his Third (c) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, *he writes in most express words, that something more than two hundred and fifty sat in that Synod. Yet I don't doubt, but the* Ecclesiastick History *was finish'd by* Eusebius *some years after the* Nicene Synod. *But whereas* Eusebius *had resolved to close his* History *with that Peace which after* Diocletian's *Persecution shone from Heaven upon the Church, as he himself attests in the beginning of his Work; he designedly avoided mentioning the* Nicene Synod, *lest he should be compelled to set forth the Strifes and Broils of the Bishops quarrelling one with another. For Writers of Histories ought chiefly to take care of and provide for this, that they may conclude their Work with an illustrious and glorious Close, as* Dionysius Halicarnassensis *has long since told us in* his Comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides. *Now, what more illustrious Event could be wish'd for by* Eusebius, *than that Repose which by* Constantine *had been restored to the* Christians, *after a most bloody Persecution; when the Persecutors being every where extinct, and last of all* Licinius *taken off, no fear of past Mischiefs was now left remaining? With this Peace therefore* Eusebius *chose to close his History, rather than with the mention of the* Nicene Sonod. *For in* that Synod *the Divisions seemed not so much composed, as renewed: And that, not by the fault of the Synod it self; but by their pertinacious Obstinacy who refused to acquiesce in the most wholesome Determitions of the* Sacred Council. *And let thus much suffice to have been said by us in reference to the* Life and Writings of *Eusebius.*

It remains, that we speak something concerning his Faith and Orthodoxy. *And in the first place, I would have the Readers know, that they are not to expect here from us a Defence of* Eusebius. *For it belongs not to us to* (d) *pronounce concerning matters of this nature, in regard in these things we ought rather to follow the Judgment of the Church and the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers. Wherefore we will set down some Heads only here, whereon relying as on some firm foundations, we may be able to determine with more of certainty concerning* Eusebius's *Faith. Whereas therefore the Opinions of the Ancients in reference to* Our Eusebius *are various; and some have thought, that he was a Catholick; others, an Heretick; others* (e) Δίλωτον, *that is a person of a doubtful and wavering Faith; we must enquire, to which Opinion chiefly we ought to assent. 'Tis a constant Rule of the Law, in doubtful matters the more favourable and milder Opinion ought to be embraced. Besides, whereas all the* Westerns, St. Jerome *only excepted, have entertained honourable Sentiments concerning* Our Eusebius; *and whereas the* Gallican Church *hath enrolled him amongst the number of* Saints, *as may be gathered from* Victorius Aquitanus, (f) Usuardus, *and others; without question 'tis better, that we should subscribe to the Judgment of our Fathers, than to that of the Eastern Schismaticks. Lastly, Whose Authority ought to be greater in this matter, than that of the Bishops of* Rome? *But* Gelasius, *in* his Book De Duabus Naturis, *has recounted* Our Eusebius *amongst the* Catholick Writers, *and has recited two Authorities out of* his Books. *Moreover, Pope* Pelagius (g) *terms him the most honourable amongst Historians, and pronounces him free from all spot of Heresie, notwithstanding he had highly commended heretical* Origen. *But some body will say, that the Judgment of the* Easterns *is rather to be followed, in regard the* Easterns *were better able to know* Eusebius, *as being a Man of their own language. But it may be answered, that there are not wanting some amongst the* Easterns, *who have thought well of*

(a) Book 1. Chap. 1.

(b) Twentieth year of his Empire.

(c) Chap. 8.

(d) *Judge*, or give *Sentence.*

(e) Double tongued. See *Socrat.* Book 1. Chap. 23.

(f) In *his Martyrology.*

(g) In Epist. tertia ad Eliam Aquileiensem & alios Episcopos Istriæ.

of Our Eusebius. *Amongst whom is* (c) Socrates *and* (d) Gelasius Cyzicenus. *But, if the Judgment of the* Seventh Oecumenial Synod *be opposed against us, Our Answer is in readiness. For,* Eusebius's *Faith was not the Subject of* that Synod's *Debate, but the Worship of Images. In order to the overthrowing whereof, when the Adversaries a little before convened in the Imperial City, had produced an Evidence out of* Eusebius's Letter to Constantia, *and laid the greatest stress thereon; the* Fathers of the Seventh Synod, *that they might lessen the Authority of this Evidence, cry'd out, that* Eusebius *was an* Arian. *But they did this by the by only, from the Occasion and Hatred of* that Letter; *not designedly, or after a Cognizance of the Cause. They do indeed produce some Passages out of* Eusebius, *whereby they would prove, that he adhered to the* Arian *Opinion. But they make no difference between* Eusebius's *Books before the* Nicene Council, *and those he wrote after* that Council; *which nevertheless ought by all means to be done, to the end a certain and just Sentence might be pronounced concerning* Eusebius's *Faith. For, whatever he wrote before the* Nicene Synod, *ought not to be objected and charged as a Fault upon* Eusebius. *Farther,* Eusebius's *Letter to* Alexander, *wherein he intercedes with him for* Arius, *was doubtless written before the* Nicene Synod. *Therefore, that Testimony of the* Fathers of the Seventh Synod *against* Eusebius, *although it has the greatest Authority, yet seems to us a rash Judgment, before the Matter was heard, rather than a* Synodal Sentence. *But the* Greeks *may have leave to think thus concerning* Our Eusebius, *and to call him a Borderer upon the* Arian *Heresie, or even an* Arian. *But who can with patience bear* St. Jerome, *who not content to term him* Heretick *and* Arian, *does frequently stile him a Ring-leader of the* Arians? *Can he be justly termed a Ring-leader of the* Arians, *who after the* Nicene Synod *always condemned the Opinion of the* Arians? *Let* his Books De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ *be perused, which he wrote against* Marcellus *long after the* Nicene Council. *We shall find what I have said, that they were condemn'd by him, who would affirm, that the Son of God was made of things which are not, and that there was a time when He was not.* Athanasius *does likewise attest the same thing concerning* Eusebius, *in* his Letter about the Decrees of the Nicene Synod, *in these words:* Καὶ πέπονθέ τι δεινόν. ὡς γὰρ ἀπολογούμενος, &c. And truly he was unhappy in that: For, to the end he might clear himself, he in future accused the Arians, because when they would maintain that the Son [of God] existed not before He was begotten, by this means they might deny Him to have existed before His Incarnation. *And this is the Testimony which* Athanasius *gives* Eusebius, *who bore* Eusebius *a private Grudge. But* St. Jerome, *who had no Reasons of Hatred against* Eusebius, *yea, who had profited so much from his Writings; who had rendred* his Chronical Canon, *and* his Book De Locis Hebraïcis *into* Latin; *yet brands* Eusebius *with this Reproach, which even his most malicious Enemies never fastned on him. The Reason of which thing I am not able to find out, unless it be, that* St. Jerome, *having conceived an Hatred against* Origen, *beyond measure persecuted all the Defenders of his Opinions, and especially* Our Eusebius. *It must indeed be confest, that* Our Eusebius (*altho' he can't deservedly be term'd a Ring-leader of the* Arians, *yet*) *after the* Nicene Synod *was perpetually conversant with the Chiefs of the* Arians, *and together with them opposed the Catholick Bishops,* Eustathius *namely, and* Athanasius, *the principal Maintainers of* HOMOOUSIOS. *That also seems worthy of Reprehension in* Eusebius, *that altho' he always asserted the Eternity of the Son of God against the* Arians, *yet never heartily approved of the word* HOMOOUSIOS. *'Tis certain, he has never made use of that Term, either in* his Books against Marcellus, *or in* his Orations concerning the Faith against Sabellius: *Yea, in* his Second Book against Sabellius, *he does plainly intimate, that that Word, in regard it occurs not in the Scriptures, is displeasing to him. For thus he says:* Sicut ergo de his quæ possunt quæri, inertium est non quærere, *&c.* As therefore concerning those Matters which may be search'd into, 'tis Sluggishness not to enquire: So, in reference to them which there is no necessity of searching into, 'tis boldness to enquire. What things then ought to be searched into? Those which we find recorded in the Scriptures. But, what we don't find in the Scriptures, let us not search after. For, were it behoveable that they should be known to us, doubtless the Holy Spirit would have placed them in the Scriptures. *And a little after he has these words:* Let us not in such a manner expose our selves to danger, but let us speak safely. But if any thing be written, let it not be blotted out. *And in the end of his Oration he expresses himself in this manner:* Speak what is written, and the Controversie will be ended. *In which words* Eusebius, *no doubt, touches upon the term* HOMOOUSIOS. *But now, if you please, let us hear the Testimonies of the* Ancients *concerning* Eusebius: *Wherein this is chiefly to be remark'd, altho' the Judgments of Men concerning* Our Eusebius *have been various, in reference to the Purity of the Ecclesiastick Opinions; yet all do unanimously give him the Commendation of most profound Learning. One only Person,* Joseph Scaliger, *has lived in our Father's Memory; who, hurried on with a rash Boldness and Lust of Reproaching, has endeavour'd to deprive* Eusebius *of this Glory of his Learning, which even his Adversaries never envied him. His* (d) *Words, if any one be desirous of knowing them, we have placed amongst the* Testimonies of the Ancients; *not that we have any great value for his Judgment, in this Particular especially; but with this Design rather, that his unreasonable Detraction might be exposed to publick view. Who having resolved to write* Comments on Eusebius's Chronical Canon, *in the very Entrance of that Work reproves* St. Jerome, *because he hath termed* Eusebius *a most Learned Man. And at first I had indeed determined, to have reason'd at large against* Scaliger, *and to have confuted his Opinion by a more copious Answer. But in regard that Matter requires a greater Leisure, and would peradventure be tedious to the Readers, it will be more opportunely deferr'd to another time.*

(c) See his Defence of him, in Book 2. Chap. 21.

(d) Book 2. *De Synod. Nicænâ*, Chap. 1.

(d) See *Scaliger's Elench. Tribæres.* Chap. 27. and Book 6. *De Emend. Temp.* Chap. 1. about the End; and *his Animadversions on Eusebius's Chronicon*, pag. 8.

28 SE 60

THE

SOME
OBSERVATIONS
in Reference to the
GEOGRAPHICAL PART
OF THE
Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories
OF
EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES, and *EVAGRIUS,*
And to the MAPPS thereunto adjoin'd.

FOR the better underſtanding the *Geographical* Part of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories herewith publiſh'd, it may be of uſe, at leaſt to ſuch as have but little inſight into Geography, to make the following Obſervations.

I. That it is very uſual to have the Names of Places ſomewhat *varied* by various Authors, and that eſpecially as to their Termination. Hence we find the ſame Place by ſome termed *Cyzicus*, by others *Cyzicum*; ſo *Aſtacus* and *Aſtacum*; *Mopſucrene* and *Mopſucrenæ*; *Arca* or *Arce*, and *Arcæ*. And ſo in other Syllables beſides the laſt, *Sardica* and *Serdica*; *Emeſa* and *Emiſa*; *Cyrus*, *Cyrrus*, and *Cyrrhus*, &c. And hither may be referr'd the different rend'ring of the ſame Word: For inſtance, the City, where the firſt General Council was held, is ſometimes render'd in *Engliſh* (literally agreeable to the *Greek*) *Nicæa*, ſometimes more ſhort *Nice*; ſo *Antiochia* and *Antioch*, *Thracia* and *Thrace*, &c. The ſame *Greek* Word is alſo differently render'd as to ſpelling, *viz.* *Sardes* and *Sardis*; *Laodicæa* and *Laodicea*; *Apamea*, *Apamea*, and *Apamia*, &c. From this Obſervation the Reader may eaſily infer, that he is not to look on Words, that are thus a little varied, to denote preſently ſo many various Places; and conſequently is not to expect all theſe Variations in the Mapps hereunto belonging.

II. Names of Places are frequently *corrupted*, or falſly written, through the Ignorance, or at leaſt Heedleſneſs of Tranſcribers. Here are not wanting Footſteps of it in theſe Hiſtories. To inſtance but in one place, *Chap.* 25. *B.* 3. of *Socrates*'s Hiſtory, where we find mention made of the Biſhop of *Zenæ*, corruptly for *Zelæ*; of the Biſhop of *Sippi*, corruptly for *Hippi*, as *Valeſius* has obſerv'd; and of the Biſhop of *Antros* for *Adra*, as *Valeſius* conjectures; and of Εὐάγριος Σικελὸς, or as ſome Copies have it, Σικελῶν, which Reading *Valeſius* prefers, and ſaith, that *Siculi* is the name of a City in the Eaſt, *Concerning which* (adds he) *I have yet met with nothing.* Now if it it ſeems not ſo probable, that Ἄνδρα (as it is in the *Greek*) ſhould be writ for Ἀδρῶν or Ἀδρανὸς, as *Valeſius* conjectures; what if it ſhould be ſuppoſed to be rather written for Ἀνάρ, the Miſtake being but little, and ſo eaſie; and we have not only ſuch a Town as Ἄναρος mention'd by *Ptolemy* in *Galatia*, but we there find it alſo writ *Andrus*, or *Antrus*; and placed not far from *Ancyra*, the Biſhop whereof is mention'd in the ſame place, and on the ſame account by *Socrates*. And as to Εὐάγριος Σικελὸς, 'tis certain, that ſometimes the Weſtern Biſhops were upon ſome occaſion or other in the Eaſtern Parts, and therefore Σικελὸς may poſſibly be not only the common, but trueſt Reading, and denote that the ſaid *Evagrius* was a *Sicilian* Biſhop. And ſuppoſing Σικελῶν to be the true Reading, the ſame Interpretation may hold, as may be prov'd. But if we will with *Valeſius* rather ſuppoſe Σικελὸς or Σικελῶν, to denote here ſome City in the Eaſt; then perhaps we *may meet with ſomething concerning it*, when we find in *Ptolemy*, a City on the *Euphrates*, call'd Κικιλία; and we may ſuppoſe the Original Reading in *Socrates*, to have been Κικιλὸς or Κικελὸς, or Κικιλῶν or Κικελῶν) from which Σικιλὸς or Σικελὸς (or Σικιλῶν or Σικελῶν) is an eaſie change. And

this Conjecture is made the more probable, becauſe there are here mention'd by *Socrates* the Biſhops of *Samoſata* and *Urima*, both which lay likewiſe on the ſame River, ſomewhat above *Cecilia* or *Cicelia*. To this corruption of Names, or elſe to the variation of Names obſerved under the firſt Head, ought to be referr'd (as I am inclin'd to think) the words *Avares*, or *Abares*, or *Abari*, or *Abaſgi*; which may not improbably have been the ſame People; and I find others of this Opinion. For which reaſon *Abaſgi* is not mention'd in the Maps, but only *Abares*.

III. The Names of Countries are, many or moſt of them, taken in different Senſes, according to the ſeveral Diviſions made at ſeveral times. Thus *Illyricum*, which once denoted only a Province lying on the Eaſt of the *Adriatick* Gulf, came in time to denote many and large Provinces. Hence the Reader is not to wonder, if he finds *Sirmium* ſometimes reckon'd a City of *Pannonia*, ſometimes of *Illyricum*; *Sardica* or *Serdica*, ſometimes ſtiled a City of *Thrace*, ſometimes alſo of *Illyricum*; namely, becauſe *Illyricum* in its largeſt acceptation included all *Pannonia*, and that part of *Thrace*, wherein *Sardica* ſtood. On the contrary, *Syria*, which moſt anciently denoted all that Tract, which lay from the River *Euphrates* to *Egypt*, between *Arabia Deſerta* Eaſtward, and the *Mediteranean* Sea Weſtward, came afterwards to be reſtrained ſimply and properly only to a ſmall part of it, namely about *Antioch*. Hence what is ſtiled by one Writer ſimply *Paleſtine*, by another is ſtiled *Syria-Paleſtine*; and the ſame City is reckon'd by one, as appertaining to *Phœnicia-Libanenſis*, by another to *Cœleſyria*, or as it is ſometimes placed *Syria-Cœle*, by a third, a City of *Syria* in general, *&c.* Now to have taken notice of all this variety of Diviſions in the Maps, would only have perplexed them, and ſo render'd them leſs uſeful. Therefore in them I have ſet down only ſuch Diviſions, as are generally made uſe of by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers. The others may be beſt learnt from the *Notitia*, which is (I think) intended to be publiſh'd with theſe Hiſtories; and alſo from the Diviſion of the *Roman Empire*, made by *Conſtantine the Great*; part whereof is to be ſeen in *Valeſius*'s Notes, p. 332. 2. But becauſe the Knowledge of that Diviſion is of good uſe to the underſtanding Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, therefore I ſhall here give it the Reader all together in one view, ſo far forth as ſeems requiſite for him to know.

The *Roman* Empire was divided by *Conſtantine* the Great into Four General Parts, two whereof made up afterwards the *Weſtern* Empire, the other two, the *Eaſtern*, viz.

The WESTERN *Empire.*

(1.) The Præfecture or Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ*, diſtinguiſhed into three Dioceſes, *viz.*	The Dioceſe of *Italy*, or *Italian* Dioceſe, comprehending	All *Italy*, the *Iſles Sicily*, *Sardinia*, & *Corſica*, the two *Rhætia's*, *Prima* & *Secunda*.
	The Dioceſe of *Illyricum*, comprehending	*Noricum Ripenſe* & *Mediterraneum*, *Pannonia Prima* & *Secunda*, *Valeria*, *Savia*, *Dalmatia*, & *Liburnia*.
	The Dioceſe of *Africk*, including	*Africk Proper*, *Numidia*, *Byzacium*, *Tripolitana*, *Mauritania Sitifenſis* & *Cæſarienſis*.
(2.) The Præfecture of the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, diſtinguiſhed into three Dioceſes, *viz.*	The *Gallican* Dioceſe, containing	All *Old Gaul*, with the *Alpes*, *Graiæ* & *Maritimæ*.
	The *Spaniſh* Dioceſe, containing	All *Old Spain*, with the *Inſulæ Baleares*, i. e. *Majorca*, *Minorca*, & *Mauritania Tingitana*.
	The *Britannick* Dioceſe, including	All *Britain*, that was under the *Roman* Government.

The EASTERN *Empire.*

(3.) The Præfecture of the *Præfectus Prætorio Orientis*, diſtinguiſh'd into five Dioceſes, *viz.*	The *Aſian* Dioceſe, comprehending	*Aſia Proper*, the *Helleſpontick* Province with the Iſles, *Phrygia Pacatiana* & *Salutaris*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Piſidia*, *Lycaonia*.
	The *Pontick* Dioceſe, including	*Bithynia*, *Honorias*, *Pathagonia*, * *Galatia*, *Galatia Salutaris*, *Helenopontus*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, *Cappadocia Prima* & *Secunda*, *Armenia Prima* & *Secunda*.
	The Dioceſe of the *Eaſt*, comprehending	*Cilicia Prima* & *Secunda*, *Iſauria*, *Syria Proper*, *Comagena* or *Euphratenſis*; *Syria Salutaris*; *Phœnice Maritima*, & *Libanenſis*; *Paleſtina Prima*, *Secunda*, & *Salutaris*; *Oſrhoëne*, or *Oſdroëne*, *Meſopotamia*, *Arabia Petræa*, the Iſle *Cyprus*.
	The Dioceſe of *Egyyt*, containing	*Egypt Proper*, *Auguſtamnica*, *Arcadica*, *Thebais*, *Libya Superior* & *Inferior*.
	The Dioceſe of *Thrace*, containing	*Europa*, *Thracia Proper*, *Hæmi-mons*, *Rhodope*, *Mœſia Secunda*, *Scythia Proper*.

* This ſeems to be the ſame, that in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories is call'd *Galatia the Leſs*, whereof *Ancyra* was the Capital City.

(4.) The

(4.) The Præfecture of the *Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici*, diſtinguiſh'd into two Dioceſes, *viz.*

- The *Dacian* Dioceſe, containing
  - *Mœſia Prima, Dacia Ripenſis* & *Mediterranea, Dardania, Prævalitana*, and Part of *Macedonia Salutaris.*
- The Dioceſe of *Macedonia*, including
  - *Achaia, Macedonia Parva* or *Proper, Theſſaly, Crete Iſle, Epirus Vetus* or *Inferior, Epirus Nova* or *Superior*, and the other part of *Macedonia Salutaris.*

It is to be obſerv'd, that before the Diviſion of the Roman Empire between *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, to the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici* did alſo belong the *Illyrican Dioceſe*, which was afterwards taken from this Præfect, and added to the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ*, as is above-mention'd.

IV. From the foregoing Diviſion may be eaſily learn'd the Reaſon, why in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, mention is ſometimes made of *Mauritania, Libya, Africa*, and ſo of *Britannia, Gallia*, and *Spania*, &c. in the ſingular; ſometimes of the *Mauritania's, Libya's, Africa's*, and ſo of the *Britannia's, Gallia's, Hiſpania's*, &c. in the Plural. Namely, Both ways of ſpeaking amount to the ſame, the former having a reſpect to the whole Countries conſider'd together, as denoted by their general Names; the latter having reſpect to the ſaid Countries, as diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Diviſions or Parts, by ſome Epithet added to the general Name for diſtinction-ſake; thus we find in the foregoing Diviſion of the Empire, three *Mauritania's*, viz. *Tingitana, Cæſarienſis*, and *Sitifenſis*; two *Libya's*, viz. *Superior*, and *Inferior*, &c. And ſo *Britain* was divided into *Britannia Prima, Secunda, Flavia Cæſarienſis, Maxima Cæſarienſis*, and *Valentia*: *Gallia* into (G) *Lugdunenſis Prima, Secunda, Tertia*, and *Quarta*; *Aquitania Prima*, and *Secunda* mention'd by *Socrates*, &c. And here it may be of uſe to note, that altho' *Gallia* be ſometimes tranſlated *France*, and *Hiſpania* ſometimes *Spain*; yet neither does *Preſent France* include all *Gallia* or *Old Gaul*; nor *Preſent Spain* include all *Hiſpania* or *Old Spain.*

V. It is to be obſerved, that the ſame Diviſion has ſometimes ſeveral Names, whereof one is uſed by one Writer, another by Another, accordingly as the uſe of this or that Name prevail'd in the time wherein that Writer liv'd. Thus *Libya Superior* and *Inferior*, mention'd above in the *Egyptian* Dioceſe, are ſometimes ſtiled *Cyrenaica*, and *Marmarica*; and *Cyrenaica* again is otherwiſe ſtiled *Pentapolis* or *Libya Pentapolitana*. And hence it is, that in reckoning up the Parts of a Country, we often find them differently expreſſed.

VI. I am inclin'd to think, that the Title of the 12th Chapter of *Euſebius*'s Second Book is ſomewhat corrupted. It ſtands at preſent thus, περὶ Ἑλένης τῆς τῶν Ὀσρηνῶν βασιλίδος, whereas I am apt to think, that either Ὀσρηνῶν is a corrupt reading for Ἀδιαβηνῶν; or elſe that the Original reading was only περὶ Ἑλένης τῆς βασιλίδος, and that τῶν Ὀσρηνῶν being added (as was intended, though erroneouſly) by way of Explication in ſome Copy, crept at length into the Body of the Title. We find this ſame Perſon in the beginning of the Chapter ſtiled ſimply ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη; and at the very cloſe of the Chapter we are told, that τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν ἔθνος ἄνωθεν βασιλεῦσαι ἐλέγετο. And ſo ſhe is all along ſtiled *Queen of Adiabene* by *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian. But *Adiabene*, or *Oſroëne* were not the ſame Countries, but different.

VII. Whereas, on that Paſſage of *Socrates* B. 7. Chap. 22.—*When the Biſhop of* Chebron *had ended his Life*,——*Valeſius* makes this Remark, *This City, and the Name of this Biſhop, are equally unknown to me*: I am not aware at preſent of any thing, that hinders us from taking this City to be no other, than the City *Hebron* in *Paleſtine*, or the *Holy Land*, ſo famous in the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament. Sure I am, that this City is writ both by the LXX Interpreters, and by *Joſephus* Χεβρών, juſt as it is here in the Greek of *Socrates*, excepting that the Accent is different, which is of no great moment, ſince a Miſtake therein is ſo very eaſie. To confirm this Opinion, ſeveral Conſiderations might be offer'd, was it needful.

VIII. Whereas *Socrates*, B. 2. Chap. 37. relates, that the *Urſacians left* Italy, *went into the Eaſtern Parts, and arrived at a City of* Thrace, *the Name whereof was* Nice, where *they publiſhed a Creed*;—— *their Deſign being to impoſe on the ſimpler ſort of People by the likeneſs of the Cities name*, namely to *Nice* in *Bithynia*: Neither *Ptolemy*, nor any of the *Notitia's*, or other Geographical Books by me, mention any ſuch City in *Thrace*. In the *Peutingerian Tables*, there is indeed a *Nicæa* or *Nice*, placed between *Lariſſa* and *Theſſalonica*, and ſo in the Road from *Italy* to *Thrace*, but then 'tis an Error in *Socrates* to place it in *Thrace*, when it lay in *Macedonia*, Weſt of *Theſſalonica*. If the City meant was not this, but did lie in *Thrace*, then perhaps it was no other than *Nicopolis*, ſurnam'd *ad Neſum*, which lay much in the ſame Road, and which is a Compound, denoting much the ſame as Νικαία πόλις or the City *Nicæa* or *Nice* diſtinctly. And ſuch Perſons, as would go about to *impoſe on the ſimpler ſort of People*, by the likeneſs of Names, would not ſtick at making uſe of ſuch a *Quibble*, as to denote *Nicopolis* by the City *Nice.*

And thus I have made ſuch Obſervations, as occurr'd to me, whilſt I was drawing up the Maps, and ſeem uſeful to ſuch Readers, as are leſs vers'd in the Study of Geography. I ſhall conclude, by taking this Opportunity to offer to the Judicious one Conſideration, *viz.* Whether ſince Geography does ſo much depend on the Revolutions of Governments, and the ſeveral Diviſions of Countries, that have been made thereupon, through the ſeveral Ages of the World; the moſt proper way to bring *Geography* to ſuch Perfection, as it is capable of, would not be this; namely, *To begin with the moſt Ancient Authors or Writers, and from them to gather (as far forth as may be) the State of Geography in their times, then to deſcend to the Writers of the next Age or Ages, and by comparing theſe with the other, to learn what Changes had been made in Geography, during that Interval; and ſo to compile a Body* of Geography, *the ſeveral* Sections *whereof ſhould treat of, and by proper* Maps *repreſent the ſeveral* Faces *of* Geography, *according to the ſeveral ſucceeding* Ages *of the World.* This, *I* conceive, to be as proper a Method as any can be taken, not only to *perfect* Geography, as far as may be; but alſo to *convey* to the Studious an *eaſie*, and withal *diſtinct* and *clear* Notion of it. Beſides which, there will alſo ariſe another very conſiderable Advantage from ſuch a Work, when drawn up; I mean this, That whatever Hiſtorian a Man ſhall take in hand, he need but be inform'd, *in* what Age, or *of* what Age the Hiſtorian wrote, and then by having recourſe to that Section of the foremention'd *Body or Syſtem of Geography,* which appertains to that Time, he may thereby be preſently taught to underſtand the Geographical Part of the Hiſtory he is reading. 'Tis obvious, that ſuch a Work would require not only a great deal of *Pains* and *Time*, but alſo a great deal of *Somewhat Elſe*, abſolutely neceſſary to furniſh the Compiler with thoſe many and chargeable Materials, that are requiſite for him to have. And 'tis as obvious, that the Conſiderations to be expected from a *Bookſeller*, will not amount to a ſufficient Encouragement for ſuch an Undertaking. And hence it comes to paſs, that as Hiſtory is eſteem'd a moſt uſeful part of Learning, and Geography one of the *Eyes* of Hiſtory, without which he that reads any Hiſtory, muſt be neceſſarily much *in the Dark*; ſo any King that has been ſo happy as to conſult both his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, by becoming a *Promoter of Learning*, hath hereupon judg'd it requiſite, among his other Penſioners of Learning, to have alſo a *Regius Geographus*. And I need not ſtand to acquaint the Learned, what Service has been done by ſuch to *Geography*, and ſo to *Learning* in general.

Coleſbach, May 5.
1709.

E. WELLS.

ORDO PRÆSIDENTIÆ

Sanctiſſimorum Patriarcharum:

1. Romanus. 2. Conſtantinopolitanus. 3. Alexandrinus. 4. Antiochenus. 5. Ælienſis ſive Hieroſolymitanus.

Ordo Præſidentiæ Metropolitanorum, & Autocephalorum, & Epiſcoporum, ſub Apoſtolico Throno à Deo cuſtoditæ, hujus & Imperialis Urbis (Conſtantinopoleos) agentium.

PRovinciæ Cappadociæ.	Metropolitanus Cæſareæ.
Provinc. Aſiæ.	Met. Epheſi.
Provinc. Europæ.	Met. Heracleæ Thraciæ
Provinc. Galatiæ.	Met. Ancyræ.
Provinc. Helleſponti.	Met. Cyzici.
Provinc. Lydiæ.	Met. Sardium.
Provinc. Bithyniæ.	Met. Nicomediæ.
Provinc. ejuſdem.	Met. Nicææ.
Provinc. ejuſdem.	Met. Chalcedonis.
Provinc. Pamphyliæ.	Met. Sidæ.
Provinc. Armeniæ.	Met. Sebaſtææ.
Provinc. Elenoponti.	Met. Amaſææ.
Provinc. Armeniæ.	Met. Melitinæ.
Provinc. Cappadociæ.	Met. Tyanorum, ſive Chriſtopolis.
Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.	Met. Gangrorum.
Provinc. Honoriadis.	Met. Claudiopolis.
Provinc. ponti Polemoniaci.	Met. Neocæſareæ.
Provinc. Galatiæ.	Met. Piſſenuntis, ſive Juſtinianopolis.
Provinc. Lyciæ.	Met. Myrorum.
Provinc. Cariæ.	Met. Stauropolis.
Provinc. Phrygiæ Cappatianæ.	Met. Laodicææ.
Provinc. Phrygiæ Salutaris.	Met. Synadorum.
Provinc. Lycaoniæ.	Met. Iconii.
Provinc. Piſidiæ.	Met. Antiochiæ.
Provinc. Pamphyliæ.	Met. Pergæ, ſive Sylæi.
Provinc. Cappadociæ.	Met. Moceſſi.
Provinc. Lazicæ.	Met. Phaſidis.
Provinc. Thraciæ.	Met. Philippopolis.
Provinc. Rhodopes.	Met. Trajanopolis.
Provinc. Inſularum Cycladum.	Met. Rhodi.
Provinc. Æmimonti.	Met. Adrianopolis.
Provinc. ejuſdem.	Met. Martianopolis.
Provinc. Phrygiæ Pacatianæ.	Met. Hierapolis.

Hactenus Metropolitæ. Hic porrò incipiunt Autocephali.

Provinc. Myſiæ.	Autocephalus Odyſſi.
Provinc. Scythiæ.	Aut. Tomes.
Provinc. Europæ.	Aut. Bizyæ.
Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.	Aut. Pompeiopolis.
Provinc. Aſiæ.	Aut. Smyrnæ.
Provinc. Iſauriæ.	Aut. Leontopolis.
Provinc. Rhodopes.	Aut. Maronææ.

Provinciæ Bithyniæ.
Provinc. Rhodopes.
Provinc. Galatiæ.
Provinc. Europæ.
Provinc. Thraciæ.
Provinc. inſul. Lesbi.
Provinc. Helleſponti.
Provinc. Cariæ.
Provinc. Thraciæ.
Provinc. Inſulæ.
Provinc. Rhodopes.
Provinc. Europæ.
Provinc. inſul. Lesbi.
Provinc. Bithyniæ.
Provinc. Europæ.
Provinc. Rhodopes.
Provinc. Zicchiæ.
Provinc. ejuſdem.
Provinc. ejuſdem.
Provinc. Iſauriæ.
Provinc. Eleoponti. C. F. Hellenoponti.
Provinc. inſular. Cycladum.
Provinc. Rhodopes.
Provinc. Europæ.
Provinc. Hemimonti.
Provinc. Armeniæ.
Provinc. Abaſgiæ.
Provinc. ponti Polemoniaci.
Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.
Provinc. Lycaoniæ.
Provinc. Piſidiæ.
Provinc. Maris Ægei.
Provinc. Phrygiæ Salutaris.
Provinc. Pamphyliæ.

Autocephalus Apameæ.
Aut. Maximianopolis.
Aut. Germiorum.
Aut. Arcadiopolis.
Aut. Betoæ.
Aut. Mitylenes.
Aut. Parij.
Aut. Meliti.
Aut. Nicopolis.
Aut. Præconeſi.
Aut. Anchiali.
Aut. Selymbriæ.
Aut. Methymnes.
Aut. Cij.
Aut. Apri.
Aut. Cypſalorum.
Aut. Cherſonis.
Aut. Boſpororum.
Aut. Nicopſis.
Aut. Cotrudorum.
Aut. Euchetarum.
Aut. Carpathi.
Aut. Æni.
Aut. Driziparorum, ſive Meſenæ.
Aut. Meſembriæ.
Aut. Heracliopolis, ſive Phylacthoes.
Aut. Sebaſtopolis.
Aut. Trapezuntis.
Aut. Amaſtridis.
Aut. Miſthiorum.
Aut. Neapolis.
Aut. Ægenæ.
Aut. Cotyaij.
Aut. Selgæ.

Provincia Cappadociæ.

Epiſcopus.	Epiſcopus.
1 Cæſareæ.	2 Baſilicarum thermarum.
3 Nyſæ.	4 Methodiopolis Armeniæ
5 Camulianorum.	6 Ciſciſſi.

Provincia Aſiæ.

1 Epheſi.	2 Hypeporum. [drum.
3 Trallium.	4 Magneſiæ propè Mæan-
5 Eleæ.	6 Adramytij.
7 Aſſi.	8 Gargarorum.
9 Maſtaurorum.	10 Caloes.
11 Bryullorum.	12 Pittamnes.
13 Myrines.	14 Phociæ.
15 Aurillopolis.	16 Niſæ.
17 Maſchacomæ.	18 Metropolis.
19 Barettorum.	20 Magneſiæ.
21 Aninatum.	22 Pergami.
23 Aneorum.	24 Prienes.
25 Arcadiopolis.	26 Novæ Aulæ.
27 Templi Jovis.	28 Augazorum.
29 Sion.	30 Colophones.
31 Levedi.	32 Tei.
33 Erythrarum.	34 Clazomenarum.
35 Attadrorum.	36 Theodoſiopol. ſive Pe-
37 Cymæ.	38 Palæopolis. [perinæ.

Provincia Europæ.

1 Haraclea Thraciæ.	2 Panij.
3 Callipolis.	4 Cherroneſi.
5 Cylæ.	6 Rædeſti.

Provincia Galatiæ.

1 Ancyræ.	2 Tabiæ.
3 Eliopolis.	4 Aſponæ.
5 Berinopolis.	6 Mizzi.
7 Cinæ.	8. Anaſtaſiopolis.

Provincia Helleſponti.

1 Cyzici.	2 Germes.
3 Pæmanij.	4 Oces.
5 Bareos.	6 Adrianotherarum.
7 Lampſaci.	8 Abydi.
9 Dardani.	10 Ilij.
11 Troadis.	12 Pæoniæ.
13 Melitopolis.	

Provincia Lydiæ.

1 Sardium.	2 Philadelphiæ.
3 Triopolis.	4 Thyatirorum.
5 Settorum.	6 Aurilliapolis.
7 Gordorum.	8 Troallorum.
9 Salorum.	10 Silandi.
11 Mæoniæ.	12 Fani Apollinis.
13 Hyrcanidis.	14 Muſtinæ.
15 Arcaſti.	16 Apolloniadis.
17 Attaliæ.	18 Bagæ.
19 Balandi.	20 Meſotymoli.
21 Hierocæſareæ.	22 Dallæ.
23 Stratoniceæ.	24 Ceraſeorum.
25 Sattalorum.	26 Gabalorum.
27 Hermocapeliæ.	

Provincia Bithyniæ.

1 Nicomediæ.
2 Prusæ sive Theopolis.
3 Præneti.
4 Elenopolis.
5 Bisilinopolis.
6 Dascylij.
7 Apolloniadis.
8 Adrianarum.
9 Cæsareæ.
10 Galli, sive Lophorum.
11 Daphnusiæ.
12 Eristes.

Provinciæ ejusdem.

Nicæa Mysiæ in Bithynia Civitas à Lysimacho ad paludem Ascaniam condita est. Prius Helicore dicta fuit; & à Græcis in admiratione habita propter fortudinem & fælicitatem. Cùm fraude autem à Mysis capta esset, & viri partim deleti sunt, partim aufugerunt, & vicinas civitates inhabitârunt, & regio ipsorum penitùs eversa est. Verùm post Alexandri obitum à Lysimacho condita est, & Nicæa nominata, de nomine Antipatri filiæ. Hac oriundus est Stoicus Philosophus Apollo, Apollonij, qui Dardano successit, Discipulus: Item Lycon & Lycander Stoici similiter Philosophi: Nec non Hierax & Ilidorus, insignes Grammatici.

1 Nicæa.
2 Modrinæ, sive Melinorum.
3 Linoes.
4 Taij.
5 Gerduservarum.
6 Numericarum.
7 Maximianarum.

Provincia Pamphyliæ.

1 Sidæ.
2 Aspendi.
3 Ettenæ.
4 Onemnæ.
5 Cassorum.
6 Semneorum.
7 Coralliorum.
8 Coracissij.
9 Syethrorum.
10 Mylones, sive Justinianopolis.
11 Anamandorum.
12 Dalisandi.
13 Isborum.
14 Lybræ.
15 Colybrassi.
16 Manæorum.

Provincia Armeniæ.

1 Sebasteæ.
2 Sebastopolis.
3 Nicopolis.
4 Satalorum.
5 Coloniæ.
6 Berisses.

Provincia Elenoponti.

1 Amaseæ.
2 Amissi.
3 Sinopæ.
4 Ibororum.
5 Androporum.
6 Zalichi, sive Leontopolis.
7 Zelorum.

Provincia Armeniæ.

1 Melitinæ.
2 Arcæ.
3 Cucusi.
4 Arabissi.
5 Ariarathes.
6 Ceomanarum.

Provincia Cappadociæ

1 Tyanorum, sive Christopolis.
2 Cybistrorum.
3 Faustinopolis.
4 Sasimorum.

Provincia Paphlagoniæ.

1 Gangrarum.
2 Junopolis.
3 Dadybrorum.
4 Sorarum.

Provincia Honoriadis.

1 Claudiapolis.
2 Heracleæ Ponti.
3 Prusiadis.
4 Tij.
5 Crateæ.
6 Adrianopolis.

Provincia Polemoniaci.

1 Neocæsareæ.
2 Trapezuntium.
3 Cerosantium.
4 Polemonij.
5 Camanorum.

Provincia Galatiæ.

1 Pisinuntium.
2 Mericij.
3 Eudoxiadis.
4 Pitanissi.
5 Trocnadorum.
6 Germocoloniæ.
7 Spaleæ, sive Justinianopolis.
8 Orcisti.

Provincia Lyciæ.

1 Myrorum.
2 Mastærorum.
3 Telmesi.
4 Limyrorum.
5 Araxes.
6 Aprillorum.
7 Tatlorum.
8 Arneorum.
9 Sidymorum.
10 Zenopolis.
11 Olympi.
12 Otlorum.
13 Corydalorum.
14 Canni.
15 Xanthi.
16 Acrassi.
17 Marcianes.
18 Bobi, sive Sophianopol.
19 Comatis.
20 Onundorum.
21 Phelli.
22 Candanorum.
23 Phasilidis.
24 Antiphelli.
25 Acalissi.
26 Rhodiapolis.
27 Acandorum.
28 Lebissi.
29 Eudociadis.
30 Paliotarum.
31 Comborum.
32 Patarorum.
33 Barburorum.
34 Nessorum.
35 Cianeorum.
36 Melatorum.

Provincia Cariæ.

1 Stauropolis.
2 Cibyræ.
3 Sizorium.
4 Heracleæ Syalabicæ.
5 Apolloniadis.
6 Heracleæ.
7 Lacymorum.
8 Taborum.
9 Larborum.
10 Antiochiæ Mæandri.
11 Tapassarum.
12 Harpassarum.
13 Neapolis.
14 Orthysiadis.
15 Anotetartæ.
16 Allabandorum.
17 Stratoniceæ.
18 Alindorum.
19 Mylassarum.
20 Mezo.
21 Jassi.
22 Barbillij.
23 Alicarnassi.
24 Hylarimorum.
25 Cindorum.
26 Metaborum.
27 Mondi.
28 Hieri, seu Templi.
29 Cindramorum.
30 Ceramorum.
31 Promissi.

Provincia Phrygiæ Cappatiani.

1 Laodiceæ.
2 Tiberiopolis.
3 Azanorum.
4 Ancyrosynai.
5 Peltorum.
6 Appiæ.
7 Acadorum.
8 Icriorum.
9 Iluzorum.
10 Tranopolis.
11 Sebastæ.
12 Eumeniæ.
13 Timeni therarum.
14 Agathæ come, i. e. boni vici.
15 Alinorum.
16 Tripolis.
17 Attanassi.
18 Trapezopolis.
19 Sibliæ.

Provincia

Provincia Phrygiæ Salutaris.

1 Synadorum.
2 Doryllæi.
3 Nacoleæ.
4 Medæi.
5 Hipſi.
6 Promiſſi.
7 Meri.
8 Sibindi.
9 Phytiæ.
10 Hierapolis.
11 Eucarpiæ.
12 Lyſiadis.
13 Auguſtopolis.
14 Bryzi.
15 Otri.
16 Lycaonis.
17 Stectorij.
18 Cinaborij.
19 Cone.
20 Scordapiæ.
21 Nicopolis.
Æroclorum.

Provincia Lycaoniæ.

1 Iconij.
2 Lyſtorum.
3 Vaſadorum.
4 Ambadorum.
5 Vomanodorum.
6 Larandorum.
7 Beretæ.
8 Derbæ.
9 Hydæ.
10 Savatrorum.
11 Cani.
12 Berinopolis.
13 Galbanorum, ſive Eudociadis.
14 Iliſtrorum.
15 Pertorum.

Provincia Piſidiæ.

1 Antiochiæ.
2 Sagalaſſi.
3 Sozopolis.
4 Apameæ.
5 Cibi.
6 Tyræni.
7 Bareos.
8 Adrianopolis.
9 Limemorum.
10 Laodicææ combuſtæ.
11 Seleuciæ ferreæ.
12 Adadorum.
13 Zarzelorum.
14 Timbriadum.
15 Tymandi.
16 Conanes.
17 Mali.
18 Siniandi.
19 Tytiaſſi.
20 Metropolis.
21 Papporum.
22 Parallæ, ſive Paralla.
23 Mindevi.

Provincia Pamphyliæ.

1 Pergæ, ſive Syllæi.
2 Attaliæ.
3 Magydi.
4 Endociadis.
5 Telimiſi.
6 Iſindi.
7 Maximianopolis.
8 Laginorum.
9 Palæopolis.
10 Cremni.
11 Corydalorum.
12 Peltiniſſi.
13 Dicytanærorum.
14 Ariaſſi.
15 Puglorum.
16 Adrianes.
17 Sandidorum.
18 Barbæ.
19 Perbænorum.
20 Coi.

Provincia Cappadociæ.

1 Moceſſi.
2 Nazianzi.
3 Coloniæ.
4 Parnaſſi.
5 Doarorum.

Provincia Lazicæ.

1 Phaſidis.
2 Rhodopolis.
3 Eccleſiæ Abyſſenorum.
4 Petrorum.
5 Eccleſiæ Ziganeorum.

Provincia Thraciæ.

1 Philippopolis.
2 Diocletianopolis.
3 Dioſpolis.

Provincia

Provincia Inſularum Cycladum.

1 Rhodi.
2 Sami.
3 Chij.
4 Coi.
5 Naxiæ.
6 Theræ.
7 Pari.
8 Lethri.
9 Andri.
10 Teni.
11 Meli.
12 Piſynæ.

Provincia Æmimonti.

1 Adrianopolis.
2 Meſembriæ.
3 Sozopolis.
4 Plutinopolis.
5 Zoidorum.

Provincia ejuſdem.

1 Marcianopolis.
2 Rhodoſtoli.
3 Tramariſci.
4 Noborum.
5 Zecedoporum.
6 Sarcaræ.

Provincia ejuſdem.

1 Trajanopolis.
2 Peri.
3 Anaſtaſiopolis.

Provincia Phrygiæ Capatianæ.

1 Hierapolis.
2 Metellopolis.
3 Dionyſopolis.
4 Anaſtaſiopolis.
5 Antædorum.
6 Moſynorum.
Marcianopolis.
Rodoſtoli.
Tramariſcorum.
Nomorum.
Zecedeporum.
Scaræ.

Provincia Galatiæ Secundæ.

1 Amorij.
2 Philomelij.
3 Docimij.
4 Clanei.
5 Polyboti.
6 Piſſiæ.

Avulſi ſunt autem & à Romana diœceſi Throno Conſtantinopolitano nunc Subjecti Metropolitæ, & qui ſub ijs ſunt Epiſcopi.

1 Theſſalonicæ.
2 Syracuſæ.
3 Corinthi.
4 Rhegij.
5 Nicopolis.
6 Athenarum.
7 Patrarum.
8 Novarum Patrarum.

Hi adjecti ſunt Synodo Conſtantinopolitanæ, propterea quòd Papa veteris Romæ ſub gentibus detentus eſt. Sicut & ab Orientali diœceſi avulſus eſt Metropolita Seleuciæ, Iſauriæ, & ipſe cum ſuis viginti quatuor Epiſcopis ſub Conſtantinopolitano agit.

Provincia ſub glorioſiſſimo Eparcho Romæ, ſive Italiæ.

Provincia Urbicariæ Romæ.

1 Brittium.
2 Macæria.
3 Luna.
4 Neapolis.
5 Garanta.
6 Vintimilium.
7 Genues.
8 Sipontus.
9 Ponturoma.
10 Inſulæ Centucele.
11 Caſtrum Euoriæ, ubi S. Lucian.
12 Caſtrum Amalphes.
13 Caſtrum Getteon.
14 Caſtrum Tiberias.
15 Caſtrum Nepes.
16 Inſulæ Comænicia.
17 Caſtrum Mulium.
18 Caſtrum Campſas.
19 Caſtrum Soreum.
20 Caſtrum Suſas.
21 Caſtrum Ilbas.
22 Caſtrum Anagnia.

Provincia

Provincia Campaniæ.

1 Neapolis. 2 Brettania.
3 Pannonia. 4 Calabria.
5 Venetia. 6 Meſina.
7 Vicovarina. 8 Taurata.
9 Apulia. 10 Caſtrum Opiterbetos.
11 Caſtrum Samnios. 12 Caſtrum Suſias.
13 Caſtrum Regium. 14 Caſtrum Taurata.
15 Caſtrum Sygnias. 16 Caſtrum Gradum.
17 Caſtrum Patriarchias. 18 Caſtrum Scylacium.
19 Caſtrum Martyrium. 20 Caſtrum Ormuvera.
21 Caſtrum Ortonos. 22 Caſtrum Oppiterbitum

Inſula Siciliæ.

1 Syracuſa. 2 Catana.
3 Tærebenium. 4 Seſena.
5 Cephaludum. 6 Thermum.
7 Panormus. 8 Lilybæum.
9 Trocalis. 10 Acragantus.
11 Tyndarum. 18 Carines.
13 Leontina. 14 Aleuſis.
15 Gaudus. 16 Meleta.
17 Liparis. 18 Burcauſus.
19 Didymi. 20 Urica.
21 Onarea. 22 Baſiludin.

Provincia Calabriæ.

1 Regium. 2 Locris.
3 Scylacias. 4 Cotronum.
5 Conſtantia. 6 Topæum.
7 Tauriana. 8 Bilbonum.

Provincia Annonariæ.

1 Ravenna. 2 Phanus.
3 Olcuſa. 4 Polus.
5 Pecinus. 6 Piſaurum.
7 Tergetra. 8 Auguſtopolis.
9 Talbitau. 10 Caſtrum Terentinum.
11 Caſtrum Solernos. 12 Tulericum.
13 Caſtrum Sanga. 14 Caſtrum Nobo.
15 Caſtrum Eurenica. 16 Caſtrum Semania.
17 Vicimanto. 18 Caſtrum Vereles.
19 Caſtrum Tamia. 20 Caſtrum Varectelia.
21 Caſtrum Samugia. 22 Caſtrum Sora.
23 Caſtrum Suagallia. 24 Caſtrum Ciſines.

Provincia Æmiæ (fort. *Æmiliæ.*)

1 Caſtrum Foropompus. 2 Caſtrum Brizilium.
3 Caſtrum Brinti.

Sub Glorioſiſſimo Eparcho Africæ.

Provincia Bizaciæ.

1 Cartagena Proconſularis. 2 Sybiba.
3 Campaſia. 4 Cileos.
5 Junces. 6 Taleptes
7 Caſcala. 8 Caſtellæ.
9 Pazana. 10 Mamida.
11 Madaſuba. 12 Colules.
13 Capſes. 14 Adramytto.

Provincia Nunnidiæ.

1 Calama. 2 Tebete.
3 Hippon. 4 Nuzidias.
5 Caſtamagæ. 6 Bades.
7 Meleum. 8 Leradus.
9 Caſtrum Bedefe. 10 Scele.
11 Egerineſium. 12 Titeſſin.
13 Bages. 14 Conſtantine.
15 Sitiphnor.

Provincia Mauritaniæ primæ.

1 Rhinocururum.

Provincia Mauritaniæ Secundæ.

1 Sephem. 2 Septem ad partem Theneſſi.
3 Spanias. 4 Meſopotameni, ad partem Spaniæ.
5 Najurica Inſula. 6 Menyca, inſula.
7 Inſula Sardon. 8 Carallus, Metropolis.
9 Tures. 10 Sanaphas.
11 Sines. 12 Sulces.
13 Phæſiana. 14 Chryſopolis.
15 Ariſtianes. 16 Limne.
17 Caſtrum Tutar.

In Ægyptiaca Diœceſi.

Provincia Auguſtamnicæ primæ.

1 Peluſium, Metropolis. 2 Sethroetes.
3 Tanes. 4 Thmues.
5 Rhinocurura. 6 Oſtracine.
7 Pentaſchanon. 8 Caſium.
9 Apthæum. 10 Hipheſtus.
11 Panephuſus. 12 Geros.
13 Itageros. 14 Theneſus.

Provincia Auguſtamnicæ Secundæ.

1 Leonto, Metropolis. 2 Athrabes.
3 Heliûs. 4 Bubaſtus.
5 Carbethus. 6 Arabius.

Provincia Ægypti primæ.

1 Alexandria, ſub duce [& Auguſtali. 2 Hermopolis.
3 Milleos. 4 Coſtus.
5 Pſaneos, vicus. 6 Cotrideos, vicus.
7 Sais. 8 Leontopolis.
9 Naucratia. 10 Andronicius.
11 Zenonopolis. 12 Paphna.
13 Onuphis. 14 Taua.
15 Cleopatris. 16 Mareotes.
17 Manelaitarum. 18 Schedia.
19 Ternuthes. 20 Sondra.

Provincia Ægypti Secundæ.

1 Cabaſa. 2 Phragonis.
3 Pachnemonis. 4 Dioſpolis.
5 Sebennytus. 6 Cæno.
7 Buſiris. 8 Elearchia.
9 Regeon Paralus. 10 Vicus Parianæ.
11 Vicus Rhimerium. 12 Xoeos.

Provincia Arcadiæ.

1 Oxyrinchus, Metropolis. 2 Heracleus.
3 Cæno. 4 Nilopolis.
5 Arſinoetes. 6 Memphelitus.
Nilus habet oſtia 7. 1 Alexandria.
2 Κολίνθιν. 3 Agni.
4 Parali. 5 Chaſmatis.
6 Tamiathe. 7 Teneſe.

Provincia Thebaidis primæ.

1 Antino, Metropolis. 2 Hermopolis.
3 Theodoſiopolis. 4 Polyco.
5 Hypſele. 6 Apollonius.
7 Anteij. 8 Panos.

Provincia Thebaidis Secundæ.

1 Ptolemias, Metropolis. 2 Conto, ſive Juſtinianop
3 Diocletianopolis. 4 Dioſpolis.
5 Tentyra. 6 Maximianopolis.
7 Thebais. 8 Lato.
9 Jambon. 10 Hermonthes.
11 Apollonos. 12 Vicus Anaſſæ magnæ.
13 Thebaidis Superioris. 14 Ibaos.
15 Mathôn. 16 Trimuthon.
17 Erbôn.

Provincia Libyæ.

1 Dranicon, metropolis. 2 Paratonion.
3 Tranzalenſis. 4 Ammoniaca.
5 Antipyrgus. 6 Antiphron.
7 Ædonias. 8 Marmærices.

Provincia Libyæ Pentapolis.

1 Sozuſa. 2 Cyrine.
3 Ptolemais. 4 Teuchera.
5 Adriane. 6 Beronica.

Provincia Tripolis.

1 Toſibon. 2 Leptis.
3 Hyo n.

In Orientali diæceſi.

Provincia Ciliciæ.

1 Tarſus Metropolis. 2 Pompejopolis.
3 Sebaſte. 4 Coricus.
5 Adana. 6 Auguſtopolis.
7 Mallos. 8 Zephurium.

Provincia Ciliciæ Secundæ.

1 Anabarſus, Metropolis. 2 Mopſeueſtia.
3 Ægeia. 4 Epiphania.
5 Eirenopolis. 6 Flavias.
7 Alexandria. 8 Cabiſſus.
9 Caſtabla. 10 Rhoſſus.

Provincia Iſauriæ.

1 Seleucia, Metropolis. 2 Cilendres.
3 Anemorius. 4 Titiopolis.
5 Lamus. 6 Antiochia.
7 Heliu Sebaſte. 8 Ceſtra.
9 Selementes. 10 Joſtape.
11 Diocæſaria. 12 Olya.
13 Hierapolis. 14 Daliſandus.
15 Claudiopolis. 16 Eirenopolis.
17 Germanicopolis. 18 Neapolis.
19 Zenonopolis. 20 Sbidæ.
21 Philadelphia. 22 Adraſſus.
23 Meloe. 24 Domitiopolis.
25 Nauzadeæ. 26 Caſſorum.
27 Banæorum. 28 Golgoſi.
29 Coſtradis.

Provincia Syriæ primæ.

1 Antiochia, adDaphnen, 2 Paltus.
thronus Patriarchalis.
3 Seleucia. 4 Berrhæa.
5 Chalcis.

Provincia Syriæ Secundæ.

1 Apamea Metropolis. 2 Arethuſa.
3 Epiphania. 4 Lariſſa.
5 Mariamne. 6 Seleucobelus.
7 Rhaphaneæ.

Provincia Euphratiſiæ & Hagiopolis.

1 Hierapolis. 2 Cyrus ſive Hagiopolis.
3 Samoſata. 4 Doliche.
5 Germanicia. 6 Zeuma.
7 Perrhe. 8 Europus.
9 Nicopolis. 10 Schenarchia.
11 Cæſaria, ubi in exilio erat Sanctus Sergius. 12 Sergiopolis, ſive Anaſtaſiopolis, quæ hodie Rattapha dicitur, ubi ſanctus Sergius Martyrium paſſus eſt.
13 Orimon. 14 Santon.

Provincia Theodoriadis.

1 Laodicea, Metropolis. 2 Balanca.
3 Gabala.

Provincia Ofroënes.

1 Ædeſſa, Metropolis. 2 Caræ.
3 Conſtantia. 4 Theodoſiopolis.
5 Batnæ. 6 Callinicus, ſive Leon-
7 Novavalentia. 8 Birthon. [topolis.
9 Monithilla. 10 Therimachon.
11 Moniauga. 12 Macarta.
13 Marcopolis. 14 Anaſtaſia.
15 Hemerius. 16 Circiſia.

Hucuſque eſt complementum Meſopotamiæ.
Et Perſis incipit.

Provincia Meſopotamiæ Supericris, ſive Armeniæ quartæ.

1 Amida, Metropolis. 2 Martyropolis. 15 milliaribus ab hac urbe Tigris fluvius oritur.
3 Daras, ſex milliaribus ab hac urbe ſunt confinia terminíque Perſidis, & Aſſyriæ. 4 Caſtrum Riſcephas.
5 Caſtrum Turandios. 6 Caſtrum Mardes.
7 Caſtrum Lornes. 8 Caſtrum Riphton.
9 Caſtrum Iſphrios. 10 Caſtrum Tzauras.
11 Caſtrum Audaſſon. 12 Caſtrum Amarmes.
13 Caſtrum Tzinobias. 14 Caſtr. Intzietorum.
15 Caſtrum Banebelorum 16 Caſtrum Chaddorum.
17 Caſtrum Æſuduos. 18 Caſtr. Maſphronas.
19 Caſtrum Baſilicum. 20 Caſt. Spelon & Odelorum.
21 Caſtrum Bijubaithas. 22 Caſtr. Manaſſarorum.
23 Caſt. Phirthachabreas. 24 Caſt. Sireon Chiphas.
25 Caſtrum Calonos. 26 Caſt. Bibaſarorum.
27 Caſtrum Tzauras. 28 Caſtrum Birthas.
29 Caſtrum Attachas. 30 Caſtr. Aphuborum.
Climatis Arzamines.

31 Caſtr. Arimachorum. 32 Caſtr. Florianarum.
33 Caſtrum Daphnudin. 34 Caſtr. Baluos.
35 Caſt. Samochartorum.

Hic finitur Meſopotamia; eſtque Taurus & Clauſura Balaleſorum. Et incipit pars Septentrionalis, magna Armenia. Incolunt autem montem Tauri, proximè ad idem clima, duo populi nominati, unus quidem Iſchthomaitæ, alter autem Naſumitæ. Et eſt mons præcelſus, Barathcen dictus, in quo Arca Noæ aquis delata impegit in verticem ejus montis, eſtque id notum omnibus iſtas partes incolentibus uſque ad hodiernum diem.

Provincia Armeniæ alterius.

1 Dademon nunc metro- 2 Arſamuſaton.
3 Polichne. polis. 4 Choſanorum.
5 Choſomachorum. 6 Citharizarum.
7 Caſtr. Marticertum. 8 Caſtrum Bajuluor.
9 Caſtrum Polior. 10 Caſtrum Ardon.
11 Clima Sophines. 12 Regio ſub eodem climate dicta Jalimbanum, unde ortum habuit Baſilius, qui præſentem librum elaboravit.
13 Clima Anzetines. 14 Clima Digeſines.
15 Clima Garines. 16 Clima Orziacines.
17 Clima Bilabitenes. 18 Clima Aſtianices.
19 ClimaMamuzurarum.

Provincia Phœniciæ Maritimæ.

1 Tyrus, Metropolis. 2 Sidon.
3 Ptolemais. 4 Berytus.
5 Biblus. 6 Tripolis.
7 Arcæ. 8 Orthoſias.
9 Botrys. 10 Vicus Gegarta.
11 Arados. 12 Antarados.
13 Paneas. 14 Gonaſitij Saltus.
15 Vicus Politianus. 16 Vicus Trieris.

Provincia Phœniciæ Libaniſiæ.

1 Emiſſa, Metropolis. 2 Laodicea.
3 Heliopolis. 4 Abilla.
5 Damaſcus. [nopolis. 6 Clima Jabrudorum.
7 Evarius, ſive Juſtinia- 8 Talmyra.
9 Clia Maglydorum. 10 Saltum Gonæticum.
11 Salamias. 12 Clima Orientale.

Provincia Palæſtinæ primæ.

1 Ælia, Hieroſolymorum 2 Cæſaria, Metropolis.
3 Dora. [ſancta Civitas. 4 Antipatris.
5 Dioſpolis, ſive Georgio- 6 Jamnia.
7 Nicopolis. [polis. 8 Onus.
9 Sozuſa. 10 Joppe.
11 Aſcalon. 12 Gaza.
13 Rhaphia. 14 Anthedon.
15 Diocletianopolis. 16 Eleutheropolis.
17 Neapolis. 18 Sebaſte.
19 Regio Apathûs. 20 Regio Jericho.
21 Regio Libiæ. 22 Regio Gadara.
23 Azotus Maritima. 24 Azotus Hippinis,
25 Acomazon. 26 Bittymos.
27 Tricomias. [num. 28 Toxus. [ve Barſamon.
29 Saltum Conſtantinia- 30 Saltum Geraiticum, ſi-

Provincia Paleſtinæ Secundæ.

1 Scythopolis. 2 Gadara.
3 Pellæ. 4 Abila.
5 Capetomas. 6 Diocæſarea.
7 Maximianopolis. 8 Gabæ.
9 Tiberias. 10 Hippos.
11 Helenopolis. 12 Clima Gælanes.
13 Tetracomia. 14 Comenais.

Provincia Palæſtinæ Tertiæ.

1 Petræ Metropolis. 2 Auguſtopolis.
3 Arindela. 4 Charagmuda.
5 Areopolis. 6 Mapſis.
7 Eluſa. 8 Zoara.
9 Biroſabon. 10 Elas.
11 Pentacomia. 12 Mamopſora.
13 Metrocomia. 14 Saltum Hieraticum.

Provincia Arabiæ.

1 Boſtra, Metropolis. 2 Adraſſus.
3 Dia. 4 Medaba.
5 Geruſſa. 6 Neua.
7 Philadelphia. 8 Esbus.
9 Neapolis. 10 Philippopolis.
11 Phenutus. 12 Conſtantina.
13 Dionyſias. 14 Pentacomia.
15 Tricomia. 16 Canothas.
17 Saltum. 18 Bataneos.
19 Exacomia. 20 Enacomia.
21 Vicus Gonias. 22 Vicus Cherus.
23 Vicus Stanes. 24 Vicus Caberæ.
25 Vicus Coreathæ. 26 Vicus Bilbanûs.
27 Vicus Caprorum. 28 Vicus Pyrgoaretarum.
29 Vicus Setnes. 30 Vicus Ariacharum.
31 Neotes. 32 Clima Orientalium & Occidentalium.
33 VicusAriathæ Saxoſæ. 34 Vicus Bebdamus.

Provincia Armeniæ Magnæ.

Sciendum eſt, quòd hæc autocephala eſt, throno Apoſtolico non Subjecta; ſed propter Sanctum Gregorium Armeniæ honorata, habens urbes & caſtra 200. Similiter Provincia Cypri manſit, per ſeipſam habens poteſtatem, propterea quòd in ea inventus fuit Sanctus Apoſtolus Barnabas ad pectus habens Evangelium ſecundum Marcum Sunt autem in ea hæ civitates.

1 Conſtantia, Metropo- 2 Citium.
3 Amathus. [lis. 4 Curium.
5 Paphus. 6 Arſenæ.
7 Soli. 8 Lapithus, quâ natus eſt Georgius Cyprius, qui librum ſcripſit ex quo hæc ſumpta ſunt.
9 Cyrenia. 10 Tamaſus.
11 Cythri. 12 Trimithus.
13 Carpaſin.

ROM-

ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM

INDEX CHRONOLOGICUS.

Pontifex.	*incœpit an.*	*Pontificatum tenuit.*
1 S. Petrus	43	an. 24. menſ. 5. dies 10.
2 S. Linus	67	an. 11. menſ. 2. dies 23.
3 S. Cletus	78	an. 12. menſ. 7. dies 2.
4 S. Clemens I.	91	an. 9. menſ. 6. dies 6.
5 S. Anacletus	101	an. 9. menſ. 3. dies 10.
6 S. Evariſtus	110	an. 9. menſ. 3.
7 S. Alexander I.	119	an. 10. menſ. 5. dies 20.
8 S. Sixtus I.	130	an. 9. menſ. 10. dies 8.
9 S. Teleſphorus	140	an. 11. menſ. 8. dies 29.
10 S. Hyginus	152	an. 3. dies 28.
11 S. Pius I.	156	an. 9. menſ. 5. dies 27.
12 S. Anicetus	165	an. 7. menſ. 8. dies 24.
13 S. Soter	173	an. 3. menſ. 11. dies. 21.
14 S. Eleutherus	177	an. 15. dies 23.
15 S. Victor I.	192	an. 9. menſ. 1. dies 28.
16 S. Zephyrinus.	201	an. 18. dies 18.
17 S. Calliſtus I.	219	an. 5. menſ. 1. dies 12.
18 S. Urbanus I.	224	an. 6. menſ. 7. dies 4.
19 S. Pontianus	231	an. 4. dies 6.
20 S. Anterus	235	menſem 1.
21 S. Fabianus	236	an. 15. dies 5.
22 S. Cornelius.	251	an. 2. menſ. 4. dies 17.

Primus antipapa Novatianus hæreticus.

23 S. Lucius I.	253	an. unum menſ. 4
24 S. Stephanus I.	255	an. 2. menſ. 3 dies 22.
25 S. Sixtus II.	257	menſes 11. dies 13.
26 S. Dionyſius	258	an. 12 menſ. 3. dies 14.
27 S. Felix I.	270	an. 4. menſ. 4. dies 29.
28 S. Eutychianus.	275	an. 8. menſ. 6 dies 4.
29 S. Cajus	283	an. 12. menſ. 4. dies 5.
30 S. Marcellinus	296	an. 7. menſ. 11. dies 26.
31 S. Marcellus I.	304	an. 4. menſ. 1. dies 25.
32 S. Euſebius	309	an. 2. menſ. 8. dies 21.
33 S. Melchiades	311	an. 2. menſ. 2. dies 7.
34 S. Silveſter I.	314	an. 21. menſ. 11.
35 S. Marcus	336	menſ. 8. dies 22.
36 S. Julius	336	an. 15. menſ. 5. dies 17.
37 Liberius	352	an. 15. menſ. 4. dies 2.
S. Felix II. *a quibuſdam dictus*	366	an. 1. menſ. 3. dies 3.
38 S. Damaſus I.	367	an. 17. menſ. 2. dies 27.

Secundus antipapa Urſicinus qui & Urſinus.

39 S. Siricius	385	an. 13. menſ. 1. dies 14.
40 S. Anaſtaſius I.	398	an. 4. menſ. 1. dies 13.
41 S. Innocentius I.	402	an. 15. menſ. 2. dies 10.
42 S. Zoſimus.	417	an. 1. menſ. 4. dies 7.
43 S. Bonifacius I.	418	an. 4. menſ. 9. dies 28.

Pontifex.	*incœpit an.*	*Pontificatum tenuit.*

Tertius antipapa Eulalius Archidiaconus.

44 S. Celeſtinus I.	423	an. 8. menſ. 3. dies 3.
45 S. Sixtus III.	432	an. 7. menſ. 11.
46 S. Leo I. M	440	an. 20. menſ. 11.
47 S. Hilarius	461	an. 5. menſ. 9. dies 29.
48 S. Simplicius	467	an. 15. menſ. 5. dies 10.
49 S. Felix II. al. III.	483	an. 8. menſ. 11. dies 22.
50 S. Gelaſius I.	492	an. 4. menſ. 8. dies 19.
51 S. Anaſtaſius II.	496	an. 1. menſ. 11. dies 23.
52 S. Symmachus	498	an. 15. menſ. 7. dies 27.

Quartus antipapa Laurentius Archidiaconus.

53 S. Hormiſdas	514	an. 9. dies 10.
54 S. Joannes I.	523	an. 2. menſ. 9. dies 14.
55 S. Felix III al. IV.	527	an. 3. menſ. 2. dies 14.
56 S. Bonifacius II.	530	an. 2. dies 2.

Quintus antipapa Dioſcorus, adverſus Bonifacium.

57 Joannes II. Mercurius	532	an. 2 menſ. 8.
58 S. Agapetus I.	535	m. 10. & d. 14. aut 18.
59 S. Silverius	536	an. 4.
60 Vigilius	540	an. 15. m. 6. al. dant d. 18.
61 S. Pelagius I.	555	an. 3. menſ. 10. dies 18.
62 S. Joannes III. Catellinus	559	an. 12. menſ. 11. dies 16.
63 S. Benedictus I. Bonoſius	573	an. 4. menſ. 2. dies 15.
64 Pelagius II.	577	an. 12. menſ. 2. dies 27.
65 S. Gregorius I. M.	590	an. 13. menſ. 6. dies 10.
66 Sabinianus	604	menſ. 3. dies 19.
67 Bonifacius III.	606	menſ. 8. dies 23.
68 Bonifacius IV.	607	an. 6. menſ. 8. dies 20.
69 Deus dedit	614	an. 2. menſ. 11. dies 26.
70 Bonifacius V.	617	an. 7. menſ. 10. dies 1.
71 Honorius I.	626	an. 12. menſ. 4. dies 27.
72 Severinus	639	menſ. 2. dies 4.
73 Joannes IV.	639	an. 1. menſ. 9. dies 6.
74 Theodorus	641	an. 7. menſ. 5. dies 20.
75 S. Martinus I.	649	an. 5. menſ. 4. dies 10.
76 Eugenius I.	655	m. 5. aut 6. addunt d. 23.
77 Vitalianus	655	an. 13. menſ. 4. dies 27.
78 Adeodatus	669	an. 7. menſ. 2. dies 17.
79 Donus	676	an. 1. menſ. 5. dies 10.
80 S. Agatho	678	an. 3. menſ. 6. dies 25.
81 S. Leo II.	683	menſ. 10. dies 14.
82 S. Benedictus II.	684	menſ. 8. dies 17.
83 Joannes V.	685	an. 1. dies 11.

Pontifex.	*incapitan.*	*Pontificatum tenuit.*
84 Cono	686	menſes 11. dies 23.
Schiſma electis Petro & Theodoro.		
85 S. Sergius I.	687	an. 13. menſ. 8. dies 14.
Schiſma electis Theodoro & Paſchale.		
86 Joannes VI.	701	an. 3. menſ. 2. dies 12.
87 Joannes VII.	705	an. 2. menſ. 7. dies 17.
88 Siſinnius	708	dies 20.
89 Conſtantinus	708	an. 6. menſ. 1. dies 2.
90 S. Gregorius II.	714	an. 16. menſ. 8. dies 20.
91 Gregorius III.	731	an. 10. menſ. 9. dies 12.
92 S. Zacharias	714	an. 10. menſ. 3. dies 10.
93 Stephanus II.	752	dies 4.
94 Stephanus III.	752	an. 5. dies 10.
95 Paulus I.	757	an. 10. menſ. 1.
Schiſma ob Theophylactum Archipresbyterum.		
96 Stephanus III.	768	an. 3. menſ. 5. dies 28.
Conſtantinus Antipapa frater Totonis Nepeſini ducis.		
97 Hadrianus I.	772	an. 23. menſ. 10. d. 17.
98 Leo III.	795	an. 20. menſ. 5. d. 17.
99 Stephanus IV.	816	an. 1. menſ. 7. d. 3.
100 Paſchalis I.	817	an. 7. menſ. 3. d. 16.
101 Eugenius II.	824	an. 3. men. 2. d. 23.
Zinſimus ſchiſmati occaſionem dedit.		
102 Valentinus.	827	dies 40.
103 Gregorius IV.	827	an. 15. menſ. 4.
104 Sergius II.	844	an. 3. menſ. 1. dies 2.
Joannes Diaconus turbas concitavit adverſus Sergium.		
105 Leo IV.	847	an. 8. menſ. 3. dies 5.
Hic inſulſè inſeritur à quibuſdam Joanna papiſſa.		
106 Benedictus III.	855	an. 2. m. 6. d. 10.
107 S. Nicolaus I. M.	858	an. 9. m. 6. d. 20.
108 Hadrianus II.	867	an. 4. m. 10. d. 17.
109 Joannes VIII.	872	an. 10. diem 1.
110 Marinus I. ſeu Martinus II.	882	an. 1. d. 20.
111 Hadrianus III.	884	an. 1. *m.* 3. d. 19.
112 Stephanus V.	885	an. 6. & dies aliquot.
113 Formoſus.	890	an. 6. m. 6.
Sergius & Bonifacius VI. turbas cient.		
114 Stephanus VI.	896	an. 3. aut 4.
Romanus Galleſinus per vim intruſus.		
115 Theodorus II.	901	dies 20.
116 Joannes IX.	901	an. 3. dies 15.
117 Benedictus VI.	905	per aliquot menſ.
118 Leo V.	906	dies 40.
119 Chriſtophorus.	906	menſes ſeptem.
120 Sergius III.	907	an. 3. m. 4.
121 Anaſtaſius III.	910	an. 2. d. 20.
122 Lando.	912	aliquot m.
123 Joannes X.	913	an. 15.
124 Leo VI.	928	m. 6. d. 15.
125 Stephanus VII.	929	an. 1. dies 15.
126 Joannes XI.	931	an. 4. m. 10.

Pontifex.	*incapitan.*	*Pontifica tenuittum.*
127 Leo VII.	936	an. 3. menſ. 6.
128 Stephanus VIII.	939	an. 3. m. 4. d. 5.
129 Marinus II. ſeu Martinus III.	943	an. 3. m. 4. d. 13.
130 Agapetus II.	946	an. 9. m. 7. d. 19.
131 Joannes XII.	955	an. 9. aut 10.
963 *Leo VIII. antipapa ab Othone ſubrogatus.*		
132 Benedictus V.	964	un. circ. an.
133 Joannes XIII.	965	an. 6. m. 11. d. 5.
134 Domes II.	972	m. 3.
135 Benedictus VI.	972	an. 1. m. 3. d. aliquot.
974 *Bonifacius VII. ſive Franco antipapa an. 1. m. 1.*		
136 Benedictus VII.	975	annos novem.
137 Joannes XIV.	984	an. 1. & aliquot menſ.
138 Joannes XV.	985	an. 10. m. 4. dies 12.
139 Gregorius V.	996	an. 2. m. 8. d. 6.
Joannes XVI. antipapa, factione Creſcentij.		
140 Silveſter II.	999	an. 4. m. 2. aut 3.
141 Joannes XVII.	1003	m. 5.
142 Joannes XVIII.	1003	an. 5. m. 7. d. 28.
143 Sergius IV.	1009	an. 2. m. 8. d. 13.
144 Benedictus VIII.	1012	an. ferè 12.
1013 *Gregorius antipapa ab Imp. rejicitur.*		
145 Joannes XIX.	1024	an. 9. m. 8.
146 Benedictus IX.	1034	an. 10.
1043 *Silveſter III. & Joannes XX. archipresbyt. Romanæ Eccleſiæ, antipapæ.*		
147 Gregorius VI.	1044	an. 2. m. 8.
148 Clemens II.	1046	m. 9.
149 Damaſcus II.	1048	dies 23.
150 S. Leo IX.	1049	an. 5. m. 2. d. 7.
151 Victor II.	1054	an. 2. m. 6.
152 Stephanus IX.	1057	octo ferme menſ.
153 Nicolaus II.	1059	an. 2. m. 6.
Joannes Mincius dictus Benedictus X. antipapa.		
154 Alexander II. Anſelmus.	1061	annos 11. m. 6. d. 22.
Cadalones antipapa dictus Honorius II.		
155 S. Gregorius VII.	1073	annos 12. m. 1. d. 3.
1080 *Clemens III. Guibertus Ravennas, antipapa.*		
156 Victor III.	1086	menſ. ferè 10.
157 Urbanus II. Odo.	1087	an. 11. m. 4. d. 18.
158 Paſchalis II.	1099	an. 18. m. 5. d. 4.
Mortuo Guiberto tres antipapæ brevi tempore.		
159 Gelaſius II.	1118	an. 1. d. 4.
Mauricius Burdinus Archiepiſc. Bracarenſis, antipapa.		
160 Calliſtus II.	1119	an. 5. m. 10. d. 13.
161 Honorius II.	1224	an. 5. m. 1. d. 17.

Pontifex.	incepit an.	Pontificatum tenuit.
Calliſtus III. Theobaldus cedit Honorio.		
162 Innocentius II.	1130	an. 13. m. 7. d. 10.
1130 *Petrus Leonis, Anacletus II. antipapa. Gregorius, dictus Victor III. antipapa.*		
163 Celeſtinus II.	1143	m. 5. d. 13.
164 Lucius II.	1144	m. 11. d. 14.
165 Eugenius III.	1145	an. 8. m. 4. d. 13.
166 Anaſtaſius IV.	1153	an. 1. m. 4. d. 24.
167 Hadrianus IV.	1154	an. 4. m. 8. d. 29.
168 Alexander III.	1159	an. 21. m. 11. d. 21.
Octavianus, dictus Victor IV. antipapa. Guido Cremenſis, dictus Paſchalis III. antipapa. Joannes Abbas, dictus Calliſtus III. antipapa.		
169 Lucius III.	1181	an. 4. m. 2. d. 18.
170 Urbanus III.	1185	an. 1. m. 10. d. 25.
171 Gregorius VIII.	1187	duos ferè menſes.
172 Clemens III.	1188	an. 3. m. 2. d. 10.
173 Celeſtinus III.	1191	an. 6. m. 8. d. 28.
174 Innocentius III.	1199	an. 18. m. 6. d. 9.
175 Honorius III.	1216	an. 10. m. 8.
176 Gregorius IX.	1227	an. 14. m. 5. d. 3.
177 Celeſtinus IV.	1241	dies 18.
178 Innocentius IV.	1243	an. 11. m. 5. d. 14.
179 Alexander IV.	1254	an. 6. m. 5. d. 4.
180 Urbanus IV.	1261	an. 3. m. 1. d. 4.
181 Clemens IV.	1265	an. 3. m. 9. d. 25.
Vacavit ſedes annos 2. m. 9. dies 2. ſeu menſ. 30		
182 Gregorius X.	1271	an. 4. m. 4. d. 10.
183 Innocentius V.	1276	m. 5. d. 5.
184 Hadrianus V.	1276	d. 39.
185 Joannes XXI.	1276	m. 8. d. 8.
186 Nicolaus III.	1277	an. 2. m. 9. d. 2.
187 Martinus IV.	1281	an. 4. m. 1. d. 7.
188 Honorius IV.	1285	an. 2. diem 1.
189 Nicolaus IV.	1287	an. 4. m. 1. d. 14.
Vacat ſedes annos duos, m. 3. d. 2.		
190 S. Celeſtinus V.	1294	abdicat poſt 5. m. d. 8.
191 Bonifacius VIII.	1294	an. 8. m. 9. d. 18.
192 Benedictus XI.	1303	m. 8. d. 17.
193 Clemens V.	1305	an. 8. m. 10. d. 16.
Vacat ſedes annos duos, m. 3. d. 17.		
194 Joannes XXII.	1316	an. 18. m. 3. d. 28.
195 Benedictus XII.	1334	an. 7. m. 4. d. 6.
196 Clemens VI.	1342	an. 10. m. 6. d. 29.
197 Innocentius VI.	1352	an. 9. m. 8. d. 20.
198 Urbanus V.	1362	an. 8. m. 1. d. 23.
199 Gregorius XI.	1371	an. 7. m. 2. d. 24.
200 Urbanus VI.	1378	an. 11. m. 6. d. 6.

Pontifex.	incepit an.	Pontificatum tenuit.
1378 *Robertus Genevenſis, dictus Clemens VII. antipapa.*		
201 Bonifacius IX.	1389	an. 14. m. 11.
1394 *Benedictus XIII. Petrus de Luna antipapa.*		
202 Innocentius VI.	1404	an. 2. d. 22.
203 Gregorius XII.	1406	an. 2. m. 6. d. 14.
204 Alexander V.	1409	m. 10. d. 8.
205 Joannes 23.	1410	an. 5. d. 15.
Vacat ſedes Romana an. 2. m. 5. d. 10.		
206 Martinus V.	1417	an. 13. m. 3. d. 12.
1424 *Ægidius antipapa, dictus Clemens VIII.*		
207 Eugenius IV.	1431	an. 15. m. 11. d. 20.
1439 *Amedeus Sabaudiæ Dux Felix V. antipapa.*		
208 Nicolaus V.	1447	an. 8. d. 19.
209 Calliſtus III.	1455	an. 3. m. 5. d. 29.
210 Pius II.	1458	an. 5. m. 11. d. 27.
211 Paulus II.	1464	an. 6. m. 10. d. 26.
212 Sixtus IV.	1471	an. 13. d. 5.
213 Innocent. VIII.	1484	an. 7. m. 10. d. 27.
214 Alexander VI.	1492	an. 11. d. 8.
215 Pius III.	1503	d. 26.
216 Julius II.	1503	an. 9. m. 3. d. 21.
217 Leo X.	1513	an. 8. m. 8. d. 20.
218 Hadrianus VI.	1522	an. 1. m. 8. d. 6.
219 Clemens VII.	1523	an. 10. m. 10. d. 7.
220 Paulus III.	1534	an. 15. d. 18.
221 Julius III.	1550	an. 5 m. 1. d. 16.
222 Marcellus II.	1555	d. 21.
223 Paulus IV.	1555	an. 4. m. 2. d. 24.
224 Pius IV.	1559	an. 5. m. 11. d. 15.
225 Pius V.	1566	an. 6. m 3. d. 24.
226 Gregorius XIII.	1572	an 12. m. 10. d. 29.
227 Sixtus V.	1585	an. 5. m. 4. d. 3.
228 Urbanus VII.	1590	d. 13.
229 Gregorius XIV.	1590	m. 10 d 10.
230 Innocentius IX.	1591	m. 2.
231 Clemens VIII.	1592	an. 13. m. 1. d. 3.
232 Leo XI.	1605	dies 27.
233 Paulus V.	1605	an. 15. m 8. d. 12.
234 Gregorius XV.	1621	an. 2. m. 5.
235 Urbanus VIII.	1623	an. 20 m. 11. d. 22.
236 Innocent. X.	1644	an. 10. m. 3. d. 22.
237 Alexander VII.	1655	an. 12. m. 1. d. 15.
238 Clemens IX.	1667	an. 2. m 5. d. 19.
239 Clemens X.	1670	an. 6. m. 2 d. 22.
240 Innocentius XI.	1676	Hodie Pontific. tenet.

ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM

INDEX ALPHABETICUS.

Ordo ſucceſſionis.	*Nomen Pontificis.*	*Ann. conſ.*	*Tempus Pontificatûs.*

A.

lxxvii.	Adeodatus.	671	ann. 7. m. 2. d. 17.
lviii.	Agapetus I.	531	m. 10. d. 14. aut 18.
cxxx.	Agapetus II.	946	an. 9. m. 7. d. 19.
lxxx.	Agatho.	678	an. 3. m. 6. d. 25.
vii.	Alexander I.	119	an. 10. m. 5. d. 20.
cliv.	Alexander II.	1061	an. 11. d. 22.
clxviii.	Alexander III.	1159	an. 21. m. 11. d. 21.
clxxix.	Alexander IV.	1254	an. 6. m. 5. d. 4.
cciv.	Alexander V.	1409	m. 10. d. 8.
ccxiv.	Alexander VI.	1492	an. 11. d. 8.
ccxxxvii.	Alexander VII.	1655	an. 12. m. 1. d. 15.
v.	Anacletus I.	101	an. 9. m. 3. d. 10.

Anacletus II. ſeu Petrus Leonis, antipapa. 1130.

xl.	Anaſtaſius I.	398	an. 4. m. 1. d. 13.
li.	Anaſtaſius II.	496	an. 1. m. 11. d. 23.
cxxi.	Anaſtaſius III.	910	an. 2. m. 2.
clxvi.	Anaſtaſius IV.	1153	an. 1 m. 4. d. 24.
xii.	Anicetus.	265	an. 7. m. 8. d. 24.
xx.	Antarus.	235	m. 1.

B

lxiii.	Benedictus I.	573	an. 4. m. 2. d. 15.
lxxxii.	Benedict. II.	684	menſes 8. d. 17.
cvi.	Benedict. III.	855	an. 2. m. 6. d. 10.
cxvii.	Benedict. IV.	905	per aliquot menſes.
cxxxii.	Benedict. V.	964	an. 1. circiter.
cxxxv.	Benedict. VI.	972	an. 1. m. 3. d. aliquot.
cxxxvi.	Benedict. VII.	975	an. 9.
cxliv.	Benedict. VIII.	1013	an. feré. 12.
cxlvi.	Benedict. IX.	1034	an. 10. m. aliquot.

Benedictus X. ſeu Joannes Mincius, antipapa. 1059

cxcii.	Benedictus XI.	1303	menſes 8. d. 17.
cxcv.	Benedict. XII.	1334	an. 7. m. 4. d. 6.

Benedictus XIII. antipapa, Petrus de Luna dictus, 1394.

xliii.	Bonifacius I.	418	an. 4. m. 9. d. 28.
lvi.	Bonifacius II.	530	an. 2. d. 2.
lxvii.	Bonifacius III.	606	m. 8. d. 23.
lxviii.	Bonifacius IV.	607	an. 6. m. 8. d. 13.
lxx.	Bonifacius V.	617	an. 7. m. 10. d. 1.

Ordo ſucceſſionis.	*Nomen Pontificis.*	*Ann. conſ.*	*Tempus Pontificatûs.*

Bonifacius VI. 897.
Bonifacius VII. Franco antipapa, 974.

cxci.	Bonifacius VIII.	1294	an. 8. m. 9. d. 18.
cci.	Bonifacius IX.	1389	an. 14. m. 11.

C

xliv.	Cæleſtinus I.	427	an. 8. m. 5. d. 3.
clxiii.	Cæleſtinus II.	114	m. 5. d. 13.
clxxiii.	Cæleſtinus III.	1191	an. 6. m. 8. d. 28.
clxxvii.	Cæleſtinus IV.	1241	d. 18.
cxc.	Cæleſtinus V.	1294	m. 5. d. 8.
xxix.	Cajus.	283	an. 12. m. 4. d. 5.
xvii.	Calliſtus I.	219	an. 5. m. 1. d. 12.
clx.	Calliſtus II.	1119	an. 5. m. 10. d. 13.
ccix.	Calliſtus III.	1455	an. 3. m. 5. d. 29.

Calliſtus ſive Theobaldus. 1124.
Calliſtus III, ſeu Joannes Abbas Stranenſis antipapa, 1262.

cxix.	Chriſtophorus.	906	m. 7.
iv.	Clemens I	91	an. 9. m. 6. d. 6.
cxlviii.	Clemens II.	1046	m. 9.
clxxii	Clemens III.	1188	an. 3 m. 2. d. 10.
clxxxi.	Clemens IV.	1265	an. 3. m. 9. d. 2.
cxciii.	Clemens V.	1305	an. 8. m. 10. d. 16.
cxcvi.	Clemens VI.	1342	an. 10. m. 6. d. 29.
ccxix.	Clemens VII.	1503	an. 10. m. 10. d. 7.
ccxxxi.	Clemens VIII.	1592	an. 13. m. 1. d. 3.
ccxxxviii	Clemens IX.	1667	an. 2. m. 5. d. 19.
ccxxxix.	Clemens X.	1670	an. 6. m. 2. d. 22.

Clemens III antipapa, ſeu Guibertus Ravennæ archiep. 1080.
Clemens VII. Robertus Gebemeſis epiſc. antipapa 1378.
Clemens VIII Ægidius antipapa Paniſcholæ, 1424.

iii.	Cletus.	78	an. 12. m. 7. d. 2.
lxxxiv.	Cono.	686	m. 11. d. 23.
lxxxix.	Conſtantinus.	708	an. 6. m. 1. d. 2.

Conſtantinus antipapa, 768.

xxii.	Cornelius.	251	an. 2. m. 4. d. 17.

D

xxxvii.	Damaſus I.	267	an. 17. m. 2. d. 27.
cxlix.	Damaſus II.	1048	d. 23.

Ordo ſucceſſionis.	*Nomen Pontificis.*	*Ann. conſ.*	*Tempus Pontificatûs.*
lxix.	Deuſdedit	614	an. 2. m. 11. dies 26.
xxvi.	Dionyſius	258	an. 12. m. 3. d. 14.
	Dioſcorus antipapa quintus 530.		
lxxix.	Donnus I.	676	an. 1. menſ. 5. d. 10.
cxxxiv.	Donnus II.	972	menſ. 3.
	E		
xiv.	Eleutherus	177	annos 15. dies 23.
vi.	Evariſtus	110	an. 9. menſes 3.
lxxvi.	Eugenius I.	655	m. 5. aut 6. ad. d. 23.
ci.	Eugenius II.	824	an. 3. m. 2. d. 23.
clxv.	Eugenius III.	1145	an. 8. m. 4. d. 13.
ccvii.	Eugenius IV.	1431	an. 15. m. 11. d. 20.
	Eulalius antipapa tertius, 418.		
xxxii.	Euſebius	309	an. 2. m. 8. d. 21.
xxviii.	Eutychianus	275	an. 8. m. 6. d. 4.
	F		
xxi.	Fabianus	236	an. 15. dies 5.
xxvii.	Felix I.	270	an. 4. m. 4. d. 29.
	Felix cum Liberio 356.		
xlix.	Felix II.	483	an. 8. m. 11. dies 22.
lv.	Felix III.	526	an. 3. m. 3. dies 14.
	Felix IV. Amedeus, dux Sabaudiæ, antipapa, 1439.		
cxiii.	Formoſus	890	annos 6. menſes 6.
	G		
l.	Gelaſius I.	492	an. 4. m. 8. dies 19.
clxix.	Gelaſius II.	1118	annum 1. dies 4.
lxv.	Gregorius I.	590	an. 13. m. 6. dies 10.
xc.	Gregorius II.	714	an. 16. m. 8. dies 20.
xci.	Gregorius III.	731	an. 10. m. 9. d. 12.
ciii.	Gregorius IV.	827	an. 15. m. 14.
cxxxix.	Gregorius V.	996	an. 2. m. 8. dies 6.
cxlvii.	Gregorius VI.	1044	an. 2. m. 8.
clv.	Gregorius VII.	1073	an. 12. m. 1. d. 3.
clxxi.	Gregorius VIII.	1187	duos ferè menſes.
clxxvi.	Gregorius IX.	1227	an. 14. m. 5. d. 3.
clxxxii.	Gregorius X.	1271	an. 4. m. 4. d. 10.
cxcix.	Gregorius XI.	1371	an. 7. m. 2. d. 24.
cciii.	Gregorius XII.	1406	an. 2. m. 6. d. 14.
ccxxvi.	Gregorius XIII.	1572	an. 12. m. 10. d. 29.
ccxxix.	Gregorius XIV.	1590	menſes 10. dies 10.
ccxxxiv.	Gregorius XV.	1621	an. 2. menſes 5.
	Gregorius antipapa, 1013.		
	H		
xcvii.	Hadrianus I.	772	an. 23. m. 10. d. 17.
cviii.	Hadrianus II.	867	an. 4. m. 10. d. 17.
cxi.	Hadrianus III.	884	an. 1. m. 3. d. 19.
clxvii.	Hadrianus IV.	1154	an. 4. m. 8. d. 39.
clxxxiv.	Hadrianus V.	1276	dies 39.
ccxviii.	Hadrianus VI.	1522	an. 1. m. 8. d. 6.
xlvii.	Hilarius	461	an. 5. m. 9. d. 29.
lxxi.	Honorius I.	626	an. 12. m. 4. d. 27.
clxi.	Honorius II.	1124	an. 5. m. 1. d 17.
clxxv.	Honorius III.	1216	an. 10. m. 8.
clxxxviii.	Honorius IV.	1285	an. 2. & d. 1.
	Honorius II. ſeu Cadalous, antipapa, 1062.		
liii.	Hormiſdas	514	annos 9. dies 10
x.	Hyginus	152	an. 3. d. 28.
	I		
xli.	Innocentius I.	402	an. 15. m. 2. d. 10.
clxii.	Innocentius II	1130	an 13. m. 7. d. 10.
clxxiv.	Innocentius III	1199	an. 18. m. 6. d. 9.
clxxviii.	Innocentius IV.	1243	an. 11. m. 5. d. 14.
clxxxiii.	Innocentius V.	1276	menſes 5. dies 5.
cxcvii.	Innocentius VI.	1352	an. 9. m. 8. d. 20.
ccii.	Innocentius VII.	1404	an. 2. dies 22.
ccxiii.	Innocent. VIII.	1484	an. 7. m. 10. d. 27.
ccxxx.	Innocent. IX.	1591	menſes 2.
ccxxxvi.	Innocentius X.	1644	an. 10. m. 3. d. 22.
liv.	Joannes I.	523	an. 2. m. 9. d. 14.
lvii.	Joannes II.	532	an. 2. menſes 8.
lxii.	Joannes III.	559	an. 12. m. 11. d. 16.
lxxiii.	Joannes IV.	640	an. 1. m. 9. d. 6.
lxxxiii.	Joannes V.	685	annum 1. dies 11.
lxxxvi.	Joannes VI.	701	an. 3. m. 2. dies 12.
lxxxvii.	Joannes VII.	705	an. 2. m. 7. dies 17.
cix.	Joannes VIII.	872	an. 10. diem unum.
cxvi.	Joannes IX.	901	an. 3. dies 15.
cxxiii.	Joannes X.	913	annos 15.
cxxvi.	Joannes XI.	931	an. 4. menſes 10.
cxxxi.	Joannes XII.	955	annos 9. aut 10.
cxxxiii.	Joannes XIII.	965	an. 6. m. 11. d. 5.
cxxxvii.	Joannes XIV.	984	an. 1. & aliquot m.
cxxxviii.	Joannes XV.	985	an. 10. m. 4. dies 12.
	Joannes XVI. antipapa.		
cxli.	Joannes XVII.	1003	menſes 5.
cxlii.	Joannes XVIII.	1003	an. 5 m. 7. d. 28.
cxlv.	Joannes XIX.	1024	annos 9. menſes 8.
	Joannes XX. antipapa 1043, *ideóque omiſſus.*		
clxxxv.	Joannes XXI.	1276	menſes 8. dies 8.
cxciv.	Joannes XXII.	1316	an. 18. m. 3. dies 28.
ccv.	Joan. XXIII.	1410	an. 2. dies 15.
	Joannes diaconus antipapa, 844.		
xxxvi.	Julius I.	336	an. 15. m. 5. d. 17.
ccxvi.	Julius II.	1503	an. 9. m. 3. d. 21.
ccxxi.	Julius III.	1550	an. 5. m. 1. d. 16.
	L		
cxxii.	Lando	912	aliquot menſes.
	Laurentius antipapa quartus, 498.		
xlvi.	Leo I.	440	an. 20. m. 11.
lxxxi.	Leo II.	683	m. 10. d. 14.
xcviii.	Leo III.	795	an. 20. m. 5. d. 17.
cv.	Leo IV.	847	an. 8. m. 3. d. 5.
cxviii.	Leo V.	906	dies 40.
cxxiv.	Leo VI.	928	menſes 6. dies 15.
cxxvii.	Leo VII.	938	annos 3. menſes 6.
	Leo VIII. ab Othone intruſus 962.		
cl.	Leo IX.	1049	an. 5. m. 2. d. 7.

Ordo ſucceſſionis.	*Nomen Pontificis.*	*Ann. conſ.*	*Tempus Pontificatûs.*
ccxvii.	Leo X.	1513	an. 8. d. 20.
ccxxxii.	Leo XI.	1605	d. 27.
xxxvii.	Liberius.	352	an. 15. m. 4. d. 2.
ii.	Linus.	67	an. 11. m. 2. d. 23.
xxiii.	Lucius I.	253	an. 1. m. 4.
clxiv.	Lucius II.	1144	m. 11. d. 14.
clxix.	Lucius III.	1181	an. 4. m. 2. d. 18.

M

xxx.	Marcellinus.	296	an. 7. m. 11. d. 26.
xxxi.	Marcellus I.	304	an. 4. m. 1. d. 25.
ccxxii.	Marcellus II.	1555	d. 21.
xxxv.	Marcus.	336	an. 8. d. 22.
cx.	Marinus I.	882	an. 1. d. 20.
cxxix.	Marinus II.	942	an. 3. m. 4. d. 13.
lxxv.	Martinus I.	649	an. 5. m 4. d. 10.
clxxxvii.	Martin. dict. IV.	1281	an. 4. m. 1. d. 7.
ccvi.	Martin. dict. V.	1417	an. 13. m. 3. d. 12.

N

cvii.	Nicolaus I.	858	an. 9. menſ. 6. d. 20.
cliii.	Nicolaus II.	1059	annos 2. menſes 6.
clxxxvi.	Nicolaus III.	1277	an. 2. m. 9. dies 2.
clxxx.	Nicolaus IV.	1287	an. 4. m. 1. dies 14.
ccviii.	Nicolaus V.	1447	annos 8. dies 19.

Novatianus antipapa primus 251.

P

c.	Paſchalis I.	817	an. 7. m. 3. dies 16.
clviii.	Paſchalis II.	1099	an. 18. m. 5. dies 4.

Paſchalis antipapa, 687.
Paſchalis III. ſeu Guido Cremenſis, antipapa, 1160.

xcv.	Paulus I.	757	annos 10. menſ. 10.
ccxi.	Paulus II.	1464	an. 6. m. 10. d. 26.
ccxx.	Paulus III.	1534	an. 15. dies 18.
cxxiii.	Paulus IV.	1555	an. 4. m. 2. dies 24.
ccxxxiii.	Paulus V.	1605	an. 15. m. 8. d. 12.
lxi.	Pelagius I.	555	an. 3. m. 10. d. 18.
lxiv.	Pelagius II.	577	an 12. m. 2. d. 27.
i.	S. Petrus.	43	an. 24. m. 5. d. 10

Petrus antipapa, 686.

xi.	Pius I.	156	an. 9. m. 5. dies 27.
ccx.	Pius II.	1458	an. 5. m. 11. d. 27.
ccxv.	Pius III.	1503	dies 26.
ccxxiv.	Pius IV.	1559	an. 5. m. 11. d. 15.
ccxxv.	Pius V.	1566	an. 6. m. 3. d. 24.
xix.	Pontianus	231	annos 4. dies 6.

R

Romanus Galeſinius antipapa.

S

lxvi.	Sabinianus	604	menſes 5. dies 19.
lxxxv.	Sergius I.	687	an. 13. m. 8. d. 14.
civ.	Sergius II.	844	an. 3. m. 1. dies 2.
cxx.	Sergius III.	907	an. 13. menſes 4.
cxliii.	Sergius IV.	1009	an. 2. m. 8. dies 13.

Ordo ſucceſſionis.	*Nomen Pontificis.*	*Ann. conſ.*	*Tempus Pontificatûs.*

Sergius antipapa, 890.

lxxii.	Severinus	640	an. 2. d. 4.
lix.	Silverius	536	annos 4.
xxiv.	Silveſter I.	314	an. 21. m. 11.
cxl.	Silveſter II.	999	an. 4. m. 2. aut 3.

Silveſter III. antipapa, 1043.

xlviii.	Simplicius	467	an. 15. m. 5. d. 10.
xxxix.	Siricius	385	an. 13. m. 1. d. 14.
lxxxviii.	Siſinnius	708	dies 20.
viii.	Sixtus I.	130	an. 9. m. 10. d. 8.
xxv.	Sixtus II.	257	an. 11. d. 13.
xlv.	Sixtus III.	432	an 7. m. 11.
ccxii.	Sixtus IV.	1471	an. 13. d. 5.
ccxxvii.	Sixtus V.	1585	an. 5. m. 4. dies 3.
xiii.	Soter	173	an. 3. m. 11. d. 21.
xxiv.	Stephanus I.	255	an. 2. m. 3. d. 22.
xciii.	Steph. omit. ſolit.	752	d. 4.
xciv.	Stephanus II.	752	an. 5. d. 20.
xcvi.	Stephanus III.	768	an. 3. m. 5. d. 12.
xcix.	Stephanus IV.	816	an. 1. m. 7. d. 3.
cxii.	Stephanus V.	885	an. 6. & d. aliquot.
cxiv.	Stephanus VI.	897	an. 3. aut 4.
cxxv.	Stephanus VII.	929	an. 2. m. 1. d. 15.
cxxviii.	Stephanus VIII.	939	an. 3. m. 4. d. 5.
clii.	Stephanus IX.	1057	octo ferè menſes.
lii.	Symmachus.	498	an. 15. m. 7. d. 27.

T

ix.	Teleſphorus	140	an. 11. m. 8. d. 29.
lxxiv.	Theodorus I.	642	an. 7. m. 5. d. 20.
cxv.	Theodorus II.	901	dies 20.

Theodorus antipapa 686 & 687.
Theophylactus antipapa 757.

V

cii.	Valentinus	827	dies 40.
xv.	Victor I.	192	an. 9. m. 1. d. 28.
cli.	Victor II.	1054	an. 2. m. 6.
clvi.	Victor III.	1086	menſes ferè 10.

Victor III. ſeu Gregorius, antipapa 1140.
Victor IV. Octavianus antipapa 1159.

lx.	Vigilius	540	an. 15. m. 6.
lxxviii.	Vitalianus	656	an. 13. m. 4. d. 27.
xviii.	Urbanus I.	224	an. 6. m. 7. d. 4.
clvii.	Urbanus II.	108	an. 11. m. 4. d. 18.
clxx.	Urbanus III.	118	an. 1. m. 10. d. 25.
clxxx.	Urbanus IV.	1261	an. 3. m. 1. d. 4.
cxcviii.	Urbanus V.	1362	an. 8. m. 1. d. 23.
cc.	Urbanus VI.	1378	an. 11. m. 6. d. 6.
ccxxviii.	Urbanus VII.	1590	dies 13.
ccxxxv.	Urbanus VIII	1623	an. 20. m. 11. d. 22.

Urſicinus ſive Urſinus antipapa, 367.

Z

xcii.	Zacharias	741 an.	10. m. 3. d. 10.
xvi.	Zephyrinus	201 an.	18. d. 18.

Zinſimus antipapa, 824.

xlii.	Zoſimus	417	an. 1. m. 4. d. 7.

E

IMPE-

IMPERATORES ROMANI.

Nomen.	Ejus Anno 42. natus est Christus. Init. imperii.	Tempus Imperii.
1 Augustus	14	an. 22. m. 6.
2 Tiberius	37	an. 3. m. 10. d. 8.
3 C. Caligula	41	an. 13. m. 8. d. 20.
4 Claudius	54	an. 13. m. 7. d. 28.
5 Nero	68	m. 7. d. 7.
6 Galba	69	m. 3. d. 5.
7 Otho	69	m. octo d. 5.
8 Vitellius	69	an. 10. minùs diebus sex.
9 Vespasianus	69	an. 2. m. 2. d. 20.
10 Titus	79	an. 15. d. 6.
11 Domitianus	81	an. 1. m. 4. d. 11.
12 Nerva	96	an. 19. m. 6. d. 15.
13 Trajanus	98	an. 20. m. 11.
14 Hadrianus	117	an. 22. m. 6.
15 Antoninus Pius	138	an. 19. d. 10.
16 Marcus Aurelius Ant.	161	an. 9.
17 Lucius Verus	161	an. 12. m. 9. d. 14.
18 Commodus	180	m. 2. d. 26.
19 Helvius Pertinax	193	m. 2. d. 5.
20 Didius Julianus	193	an. 17. m. 8. d. 3.
21 Severus	193	an. 6. m. 2. d. 5.
22 Caracalla	211	m. 2.
23 Macrinus cum Diadumeno filio	217	an. 3. m. 9. d. 4.
24 Alagabalus seu Heliogabalus	218	an. 13. d. 19.
25 Alexander Severus	222	an. 2. & aliquot m.
26 Maximinus	235	m. 9. aut 10.
27 Maximus Pupienus & Balbinus	238	an. 5. aut 6.
28 Gordianus	238	an. 5. & m.
29 Philippus cum filio	224	an. circ. 3.
30 Decius	249	an. 2. m. 4.
31 Gallus Treb. cum Volusiano	251	an. circ. 3.
32 Valerianus cum Gallieno	254	an. circ. 8.
33 Gallienus solus	260	

Circa ea tempora exorti sunt triginta propemodum Tyranni.

34 Claudius II.	268	an. fermè 2.
35 Aurelianus	260	an. 4. fermè m. 4.
36 Tacitus	275	m. sex. d. 20.
37 Florianus	276	m. duos aut tres.
38 Probus	276	an. sex. m. 4.
39 Carus cum filiis Carino & Numeriano.	282	an. 2.

Nomen.	Init. imperii.	Tempus Imperii.
40 Diocletianus	284	an. prope 20.
41 Maximianus ejus collega	284	an. 18.
42 Constantius Chlorus	304	an. 2. m. 3. d. 25.
43 Galerius Maximianus ejus collega	304	an. septem.
44 Constantinus M.	306	an. 30. m. 9. d. 27.
45 Constantius cum fratribus Constantino & Constante, tum solus.	337	an. 25. m. 1. d. 13.
46 Julianus Apostata	361	an. 1. m. 7. d. 27.
47 Jovianus	363	7. m. d. 22.
48 Valentinianus Senior	364	an. 11. m. 8. d. 22.
49 Gratianus	375	an. 7. m. 9. d. 12.
50 Valentinianus Junior.	383	an. 8. m. 8. d. 21.
51 Theodosius M.	392	an. 2. m. 6.
52 Honorius	395	an. 28. m. 7.
53 Valentinianus III.	425	an. circ. 30.
54 Petronius Maximus	455	d. 77.
55 Eparchius Avitus	455	an. 1. m. sex.
56 Julius Majorianus	457	an. 4. m. 4. d. 2.
57 Libius Severus.	461	an. 3. m. 8. d. 27.

465 *Interregnum duorum circiter annorum.*

58 Flavius Anthemius	467	an. 4. m. 11.
59 Anicius Olybrius	472	m. 6. aut 7.
60 Flavius Glycerius	473	an. 1. m. 3.
61 Julius Nepos	474	an. 1. m. 3.
62 Augustulus	475	m. 10.

Reges Ostrogothorum in Italia.

1 Odoacer	476	an. 16. m. 6. d. 13.
2 Theodoricus	493	an. 33. m. 6.
3 Athalaricus	526	an. 7. m. 8.
4 Theodatus	534	an. 3. m. 9.
5 Vitiges	537	an. 4.
6 Hildebaldus, aliàs Theobaldus	540	an. 1.

7 Era-

	Nomen.	Init. Imperii.	Tempus Imperii.
7	Eraricus	542	m. 5.
8	Totila	542	an. 10.
9	Tera	552	an. 1.

Reges Longobardorum in Italia.

1	Alboinus	571	an. 3. m. 6.
2	Clephis	574	an. 1. m. 6.
	Interregnum annorum 10.		
3	Autharis	581	an. 11.
4	Agilulfus	592	an. 25.
5	Adelvaldus	616	an. 10.
6	Arioaldus	626	an. 12.
7	Rotharis	638	an. 15. m. 4.
8	Rodoaldus	653	an. 5. m. 7.
9	Aripertus	657	an. 5. m.
10	Grimoaldus	663	an 9.
11	Garibaldus	672	m. 3.
12	Pertaritus	673	an. 17.
13	Cunibertus	689	an. 12.
14	Luithbertus	701	m. 8.
15	Raginbertus	701	m. 3.
16	Aripertus	702	an. 11.
17	Asprandus	712	m. 3.
18	Luitprandus	713	an. 31. m. 7.
19	Hildebrandus	744	m. 5.
20	Rachis	744	an. 5. m. 6.
21	Aistulfus	750	an. 7.
22	Desiderius	756	an. 18.

Imperium Occidentis Restitutum.

1	Carolus M.	800	an. 13. m. 1. d. 5.
2	Ludovicus Pius	814	an. 26. m. 4. d. 3.
3	Lotharius	840	an. 15.
4	Ludovicus II.	855	an. 20.
5	Carolus II.	875	an. 1. m. 9. d. 14.
6	Ludovicus Balbus	878	an. 4.
7	Carolus III. Crassus.	881	an. ferè 7.
8	Arnulfus	887	an. ferè 12.
9	Ludovicus III. ultimus ex stirpe Caroli M.	896	an. 12.
10	Conradus	912	an. 7.
11	Henricus I.	919	an. 17.
12	Otho I.	936	an. 36. m. 10. d. 6.
13	Otho II.	973	an. 10. m. 7. d. 2.
14	Otho III.	983	an. 17. m. 1. d. 2.
15	S. Henricus II.	1001	an. 23 m. 5. d. 16.
16	Conradus II.	1024	an. 14. m. 10. d. 22.
17	Henricus III.	1039	an. 17. m. 4.
18	Henricus IV.	1056	an. 49. m. 10.
19	Henricus V.	1106	an. 18. m 9. d. 15.
20	Lotharius II.	1125	an. 13. d. 18.
21	Conradus III.	1139	an 12. m. 10 d. 15.
22	Fredericus I. Ænobarbus	1152	an. 37. m. 5. d. 7.
23	Henricus VI. Asper	1190	an. 8. m. 2. d. 22.
24	Philippus	1198	an. 10. m. 3.

	Nomen.	Init. Imperii.	Tempus Imperii.
25	Otho IV.	1208	an. 10.
26	Fridericus II.	1218	an. 33.
	Imperium vacat.		
27	Rodulph. I. Harspurgensis	1273	an. 18.
28	Adolfus Nassavius	1292	an. sex. m. 6.
29	Albertus I. Austriacus	1292	an. 9. m. 9.
30	Henricus Lutzemburgensis	1308	an. 14. m. circiter 10.
31	Fredericus III.	1314	an. 15.
32	Ludovicus Bavarus	1314	an. 32. m. 11.
33	Carolus IV. Bohemus	1346	an. 32. m. 7.
34	Venceslaus	1378	an. 21. m. ferè 6.
35	Rupertus Bavarus	1400	an. 9. m. 8.
36	Sigismundus	1411	an. 26.
37	Albertus II. Austriacus	1438	an. 1. m. 7.
38	Fredericus IV.	1440	an. 53. m. 4.
39	Maximilianus I.	1493	an. 25. m. 5.
40	Carolus V.	1519	an. 38. m. 2. d. 10.
41	Ferdinandus I.	1558	an. ferè 6.
42	Maximilianus II.	1564	an. 12. m. 2. d. 17.
43	Rodulfus II.	1576	an. 35. m. 3.
44	Matthias	1612	an. 6. m. 9.
45	Ferdinandus II.	1619	an 18. & m. 4.
46	Ferdinandus III.	1637	an. 21. m. 5. d. 10.
47	Leopoldus Ignatius	1658	hodie imperans.

Imperatores Orientis.

1	Constantinus M.	306	an. 30. m. 9. d. 27.
2	Constantius	337	an. 25. m. 5. d. 13.
3	Julianus Apostata	361	an. 1. m. 7. d. 27.
4	Jovianus	363	m. 7. d. 22.
5	Valens	364	an. 14. m. 4. d. 9.
6	Theodosius	379	an. ferè 16.
7	Arcadius	395	an. 13.
8	Theodosius Junior	408	an. 42. m. 2. d. 28.
9	Marcianus	450	an. 6. & ferme 6. m.
10	Leo Macelles cum Leone Zenonis filio	457	an. 17. & m. 9.
11	Zeno Isaurus	474	an. 17. m. 6.
12	Anastasius I.	491	an. 27. m. 3.
13	Justinus I.	518	an. 8. m. 8. d. 23.
14	Justinianus I.	527	an. 39. m. 7. d. 23.
15	Justinus II.	566	an. 11. & ferme 11. m.
16	Tiberius Constantinus	578	an. 3. & 10. circ. m.
17	Mauricius	582	an. 20. m. 3. d. 13.
18	Phocas	602	an. 7. m. 10. d. 18.
19	Heraclius	610	an. 30. m. 5. d. 7.
20	Constantinus	641	dies 103.
21	Heracleonas	641	m. ferè 6.
22	Constans	641	an. 26. m. 8. d. 15.
23	Constantinus Pogonatus	668	an. 16.
24	Justinianus II. Rhinotmetus	685	an. 10.
25	Leontius Patricius	695	an. ferè 3.

Nomen.	*Init. Imperii.*	*Tempus Imperii.*
26 Tiberius Apſimarus	698	an. prope 7.
27 Juſtinianus	705	an. ferme 6.
28 Philippicus Bardanes	711	an. 1 & m. 6.
29 Artemius, ſive Anaſtaſius II.	713	an. 2
30 Theodoſius Adramytenus	715	an. 1. m. 2.
31 Leo Conon Iſaurus	717	an. 24. & ferè 3. m.
32 Conſtantius Copronymus	741	an. 24. m. 3.
33 Leo IV. Chazarus	775	an. ferè 5.
34 Conſtantinus cum matre Irene	780	an. 16.
35 Irene ſola	797	an. 5. m. 2. d 16.
36 Nicephorus Logotheta.	802	an. 8. m. 8. d. 27.
37 Michael Rangabe	811	an. circ. 2.
38 Leo V. Armenus	813	an. 7. m. 5. d. 14.
39 Michael II. Balbus Phryx	820	an. 8. m. 9. d. aliquot.
40 Theophilus	829	an. 12. m. 3. d 20.
41 Michael III.	842	an. 25. m. 8.
42 Baſilius Macedo	867	an. 18. m. 5.
43 Leo VI. Sapiens	886	an. 25. m 3. d. 12.
44 Alexander	911	an. 11. d. 27.
45 Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus	912	an. 48. m. 5.
46 Romanus	959	an. 3 m. 4.
47 Nicephorus Phocas	963	an. 6. m. 3. d. 26.
48 Joannes Trimiſces	969	an. 5. m. 11. d. 10.
49 Baſilius II. cum fratre Conſtantino Porphyrogenito juniore	975	an. 50.
50 Conſtantinus idem ſolus	975	an. 3.
51 Romanus Argyropulus	1028	an. 5. m. 6.
52 Michael IV. Paphlago	1034	an. 7. m. 8. aut 9.
53 Michael V. Calaphates	1041	m. 4. d. 5.
54 Conſtantinus Monomachus	1042	an. 12. m. 5. d. 20.
55 Theodora Soror Zoes	1054	an. .... m. 8. d. 20.
56 Michael VI. Stratioticus	1056	an. 1. d. 10.
57 Iſaac Comnenus	1057	an. 2. m. 3.
58 Conſtantinus Ducas.	1059	an. 7. m. 6.
59 Romanus Diogenes	1068	an. 3. m. 8. d. 12.
60 Michael VII. Ducas Parapinacius	1071	an. 6. m. 6.
61 Nicephorus Botaniatus	1078	an. 2. m. 11. d. 20.
62 Alexius Comnenus	1081	an. 37. m. 4. d. 15.
63 Joannes Comn.	1118	an. 24. m. 7. d. 13.
64 Manuel Comn.	1143	an. 37. m. 5. d. 23.
65 Alexius Comnenus Junior	1180	an. 3. d. aliquot.
66 Andronicus Comnenus	1183	an. 1. m. 11. d. 10.
67 Iſaac Angelus	1185	an. 9. m. 7. d. 29.
68 Alexis Angelus	1195	an. 8. m. 3. d. 10.
69 Alexis Angelus Jun.	1203	m. 5. d. aliquot.
70 Alexius DucasMurſuphulus	1204	m. 2. d. 16.
71 Theodorus Laſcaris Nicææ	1204	an. 18.
72 Joannes Ducas Batatzes	1222	an. 33.
73 Theodorus Junior Laſcaris	1255	an. circ. 4.
74 Joannes Laſcaris	1258	exiguo tempore
75 Michael Palæologus	1259	an. 24. m. 2. d. 20.
76 Andronicus Palæologus	1283	an. 45. m. 6.
77 Andronicus junior ſolus	1327	an. ferme 15.
78 Joannes Cantacuzenus	1341	an. 14.
79 Joannes Palæologus	1355	an. 27.
80 Manuel Palæologus	1384	an. 36.
81 Joan. PalæologusII.	1412	an. 23. m. 3. d. 10.
82 Conſtantinus Palæologus Dracoſes	1441	an. 4. m. ferè 8.
Mahometo II. Turcarum Principe capta Conſtantinopolis.	1453	

Franci Orientis Imperatores.

1 Balduinus	1204	an. 2.
2 Henricus	1206	an. 10. m. 9. d. 22.
3 Petrus de Cortiniaco	1217	exiguo tempore
4 Robertus	1224	an. 10.
5 Balduinus	1239	an. 22.
6 Philippus	1273	per aliquot annos.

FINIS.

A MAP of the Eastern Parts of the ROMAN EMPIRE,

Adapted to ye Ecclesiastical Histories of EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES & EUAGRIUS.

A Draught of the Places adjoyning to Constantinople and mentioned in the Ecclesiastical Historie.

THE EUXINE SEA

THRACIA

Constantinople

BITHYNIA

Chalcedon

Chrysopolis

Astacus

Nicomedia

Nicæa

Lacus Ascanius

Propontis

THE EUXINE SEA

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

P. of ILLYRICUM

P. of Dalmatia

Part of MOESIA sometime called MYSIA

Thessalonica

Macedonia

Dyrrachium formerly Epidamnus

Nicæa or Nice

Philippi

THRACE

The THRACIAN SEA

The Hellespont

Tricca

Larissa

Thessalia

EPIRUS

GRECIA

PART of the IONIAN or ADRIATICK SEA

Nicopolis

Actium

Delphi

Crisa

Thebes

Bœotia

Eleusis

Athens

Corinth

Patræ

Megalopolis

Lacedæmon or Sparta

The ÆGÆAN SEA

Lesbus or Mitylene I.

Chius I.

Smyrna

Ephesus

Cyclades I.

Rhodus I.

Coos or Cos I.

Cnidus

CRETE I.

Gortyna

Gnossus

Hellespont

Province Asia

MYSIA

Adramyttium

Cisicus

Pergamus

Caicus R.

Hermus R.

Sardis

Thyatira

Laodicea

Philadelphia

Colossæ

Antiochia

Tralles

Magnesia

Ephesus

Miletus

Priene

Samos I.

Icarus I.

Patmos I.

CARIA

Halicarnassus

Cnidus

Coos or Cos I.

Rhodus I.

Araxa

Olympus

LYCIA

Xanthus

Patara

Myra

Limyra

Phœnicus

Side

Pamphylia

Perga

Attalia

Sinus Pamphylicus

Bithynia

Propontis

Hellespont

Parthenius R.

Amastris

Diospolis

Claudiopolis

Sinope

Cangra

PAPHLAGONIA

Amisus

Pompeiopolis

PONTUS proper

Mantiranum

Ancyra

Dadastana

Gordium

PHRYGIA

Phrygia Salutaris

Cotyæum

Nacolia

Anabura

Anarus

Pazum

Phrygia Pa.

Synnada

Iconium

Tymium

Papuza

Philomelium

Tiberiopolis

Antiochia

Apamia

Laodicea

Colossæ

Hierapolis

Metropolis

Tralles

Magnesia

Ephesus

Miletus

Priene

Samos I.

Icarus I.

Patmos I.

Halicarnassus

Cnidus

Coos or Cos I.

Rhodus I.

Araxa

Olympus

Side

Perga

Attalia

Sinus Pamphylicus

GALATIA

Amasia

Sinope

Cangra

Amisus

Pompeiopolis

Ancyra

Gordium

Andrus or Anarus

Arsyna

Ariarathira

Sebastia

Melitina

Antitaurus

CAPPADOCIA

Sebastopolis

Satala

Nicopolis

Zela

Trapezus

Euphrates R.

Head of Euphrates R.

ARMENIA MAJOR

Sometime called

PERS-ARMENIA

as being under the Persians

Martyropolis

Head of R. Tigris

Melitina

Area

Arabissus

Comana

Cucusus

Mopsuestia

Anazarbus

Tarsus

Castabala

Issus

Ægæ

Sebaste or Augusta

Cyrus

Rhossus

Berœa

Chalcis

Strimis

Antiochia ad Orontem

Seleucia

Daphne

Laodicea

Syria prima

Apamia

Seleucobelus

Arethusa

Larissa

Epiphania

Syria Secunda

Emisa

Laodicea

Tripolis

Arce

Botrys

Byblus

Berytus

Sidon

Ant. Libanus

Heliopolis

Damascus

Cæsarea Philippi or Paneas

Gamala

Gaulon

Hippi

Scythopolis

Pella

Id. of Ammonites

Diocæsarea

Bathezar

Philadelphia

Macherus

Callirrhoe

Lake Asphalites

Id. of Moab

Bostra

Adra

Petræ

Sina or Horeb M.

Idumæa

Gaza

Ascalon

Joppe

Jamnia

Azotus

Jericho

Jerusalem

Bethlehem

Hebron or Chebron

Mambre Oak

Aneas

Galilea

Ptolemais

Tyre

Cæsarea Palæstina formerly Stratonis Tower

Samaria

Alexandria

Canobus

Pelusium

Thmuis

Augustamnica

Heliopolis

Arabicus

Marmarica

PART of LIBYA

Tapos

Iris

Parembole

Mareotic Lk.

Mareotes L.

Region

Andropolis

Milopolis

Mar L.

Scetis M.

Oasis Parva

Arsinoe

Cynopolis

Hermopolis

Hypselis

Oasis Magna or Ibis

Nilus

The bais

Panopolis

Cephro

Coluthio

LIBYA DESERTA

PART of EGYPT

ARABIA PETRÆA

Scenitæ or Saracens

Part of the Sinus Arabicus or Red Sea

Part of ARABIA FELIX

PART OF ARABIA DESERTA

Mesopotamia

Euphrates R.

Nisibis

Mygdonius R.

Adiabene

Azazene

Edessa

Amida

Theodosiopolis

Osroene

Cecilia

Orima

Gauzanitis

Euphratensis

Cyrrhestica

Commagena

Germanicia

Zeugma

Batnæ

Barbalissus

Hierapolis

Berœa

Sura

Constantina ad Chaboras

Nisib.

Carræ

Daras

Tigris R.

ASSYRIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Palmyra

Circesium

Euphrates R.

PART OF ARABIA

DESERTA

To the

Truly Honourable, because truly Pious,

ROBERT NELSON Esq.

This MAP, as a Token of my Extraordinary Esteem for his Extraordinary Zeal in promoting the Glory of GOD, & ye Salvation of Men, by his Good Example, Excellent Writings, & Diffusive Charity is humbly Dedicated by me

EDWARD WELLS D.D.

Place both Maps before Page 1. of Eus... Eccles. History, and this Map first of ...

The BRITISH ISLES
BRITAIN
The BRITISH Ocean
VANDALS
GERMANIA
Triers
Rhine R.
FRANCI
ALEMANNI
BURGUNDIONES
Danube R.
GALLIA now mostly
FRANCE
Orleans
Poictiers
Lyons
Marseilles
Milan
Aquileia
Ravenna
Ariminum
Aquincum
Mursa
PANNONIA
Cibalis
Sirmium
Singidunum
ILLYRICUM
Salona
Dalmatia
Danube or Ister R.
MOESIA
Soucis M.
Hæmus M.
Sardica
Constantinople New Rome & Byz.
MACEDONIA
THRACE antiently
Dyrrachium
Chalcedon
ROME Great or Elder
Alba longa
Pontia I.
SARDINIA I.
Caralis or Calaris
Sicily I.
Syracuse
EPIRUS
GREECE
Athens
ACHAIA
SARMATIANS
GEPIDÆ
GOTHS
DACIA
Sexantaprista
ERULI
Mæotis Palus
Tanais R. truly so called
SCYTHIA
Bosphorus Cimmerius called by some Tanais as Engr. Ly. c. 3
Caspian or rather Caucasian Streights
ABARES
TURKS
Caucasus M.
COLCHIS
The EUXINE SEA
IBERIA
ALBANIA
THE CASPIAN SEA
MASSAGETÆ or HUNNI as Engr. Ly...
ARMENIA MAJOR
Sometime called PERSARMENIA
Nice famous for ye first General Council, and ye Nicene Creed
The LESSER ASIA
Smyrna
Ephesus
Rhode I.
Cretе I.
Cyprus I.
ARMENIA MINOR
Euphrates R.
Nisibis
Tigris R.
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
SYRIA proper
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Babylon
PERSIA or the PERSIAN EMPIRE
PERSIS prop.
PARTHIA
PALESTINE or Jerusalem
JUDÆA
Sina M.
ARABIA PETRÆA Scenitæ or Saracens
ARABIA DESERTA
CHALDÆA
BABYLONIA
Part of ye Sinus Arabicus or Red Sea
Part of ARABIA FELIX
SINUS PERSICUS
Further ... PERSIA ... to ye Ancient GREEKS & ROMANS.
HISPANIA
WEST... or OLD SPAIN
IBERI... properly called
Rhone R.
Ubenis R.
Corduba
The MEDITERRANEAN SEA
OCEAN
MAURITANIA
The LIBYAN or AFRICAN CONTINENT
NUMIDIA
NOMADES or NUMIDES
Carthage
AFRICA propria
Tripolis
MAZICES
Berenice
Ptolemais
Alexandria
Cyrene
Oasis parva
LIBYA propria
Oasis magna or Ibis
Parts inhabited by various Nomades
BLEMMYES
LIBYA DESERTA
EGYPTUS
Nil R.
ÆTHIOPIA, Sometimes called INDIA, & thought by some of ye Antients to join on, by a continued tract of Land to the true INDIA.
The Boundary between ye Western Empire of the ROMANS and ye Eastern

A MAP shewing the more General Divisions of ye ROMAN Empire, and such Places of ye more Remote Parts thereof, and also such Countries lying Without ye Roman Empire, as are mentioned in the Ecclesiastical Histories of EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES & EUAGRIUS.

Places of Uncertain Situation
Mursa Fort, in Gallia
Flanona Isle, in the West.

To the Reverend and Worthy Persons of the CLERGY & LAITY who are TRUSTEES for procuring and erecting PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES in ye meanly endowed Cures throughout ENGLAND. This MAP, as a Token of my Great Esteem for THEM and the so Highly Beneficial Charity they are concern'd in, is humbly Dedicated by me
EDWARD WELLS D.D.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

The Subject of this Work.

THE Successions of the Holy Apostles, together with the Series of times continued from our Saviour to our age, and how many and great things are said to have been done, agreeable to the Subject of an Ecclesiastical History, and who have eminently governed and presided over the Church, especially in the most famous Sees (*a*); also who in every age have set forth the Divine Word, either by preaching or writings; And also, what Men, and how many, and when, thro' a desire of innovation, falling into extream Errors, have published themselves authors of knowledge falsly so called, and sparing none, as ravening Wolves, have devoured the flock of Christ; and moreover, what evils and calamities befel straightway the whole nation of the *Jews*, because of their conspiracy against our Saviour; and again, by how great and what manner of means, and in what times the divine Word hath been impugned of the Gentiles, and what singular Men in every age have undergone the greatest perils in defence thereof, by shedding their blood, and suffering torments; and besides all this, the Martyrdoms that have happened in our own times, together with the merciful and benign assistance of our Saviour graciously exhibited towards every one: These things, *I say*, I determining to publish in writing, will not take my entrance from any other place, than from the very (*b*) Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus, who is the Christ of God. But truly even in the beginning we must modestly crave pardon; for we confess ingenuously, it is far beyond our strength to finish what we design and promise perfectly and compleatly, so as to omit nothing. For we taking this argument in hand first, adventure to tread a solitary and untrodden way, praying that God may be our guide, and the power of our Lord our present help and aid; but we can no where find so much as the bare steps of any men who have passed the same path before us: excepting only some small shews and tokens divers here and there have left us, particular declarations of the times they lived in, holding forth as it were Torches a far off, and lifting up their voices from on high, and calling as out of a Watch-tower to direct us what way we ought to go, and how without error or danger to order our discourse. Whatsoever things therefore we think will be expedient for this present argument, these we carefully chusing, as they are here and there by them mentioned, and culling and gathering the commodious and fit sentences of former Writers, as it were flowers out of Wisdoms Meadows, we will endeavour by an Historical narration to compact the same into one body, resting well contented to preserve from oblivion the Successions, although not of all, yet of the most famous Apostles of our Saviour in those Churches which

(*a*) I cannot approve of *Christophorson*'s translation, who renders the word [παροικίας] *Provinces*. Neither am I pleased with the amendment of *Curterius*, or whoever it was that translated it [Churches.] Indeed παροικία signifies a Church amongst Christian Writers, and particularly in our *Eusebius*, not in one place. The original of which signification came from hence, as I judge; because the Church is as it were, πάροικος, a Stranger or Sojourner in the earth; but its country and freedom is in heaven. Hence we often meet with this phrase in our *Eusebius*, ἐκκλησία παροικοῦσα ἐν σμύρνῃ, Book 4. and B. 4. Chap. 23. And *Clemens*, in his Epist. to the Corinthians, writes thus; ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα ῥώμην, &c. But in this place of *Eusebius* we must not translate this word [παροικίας] Churches. For then the same word must be repeated twice in the same clause, thus — *Who have governed and presided over the Church especially in the most famous Churches.* I should rather translate it [*Cities* or *Sees*] or, with *Rufinus*, *in celeberrimis locis*, *in the most famous places*. Sometimes this word is taken for the whole Diocess, as it occurs in *Eusebius* in very many places; and in several other Authors: sometimes it is taken in a more strict sense, not for the whole Diocess, but for one particular Church: So *Apollonius* in his Book against the *Cataphrygians*, whose Words *Eusebius* quotes Chap. 18. B. 5. In both these senses the word is used amongst the *Latins*. See *Jac. Sermondus* in his notes on the last Epistle of *Sidonius*. Vales. See *J. G*'s Notes on *Ridley*'s view of the Civil Law. p. 152. Edit. *Oxford*, 1634.

(*b*) Whatsoever our Saviour did on earth in order to the procuring the salvation of mankind, that the antient Greek Fathers called οἰκονομίαν. Therefore [ἡ πρώτη τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκονομία] which is the phrase here us'd, signifies *the Incarnation*; as the last οἰκονομία is *His passion*. For they are mistaken who think that οἰκονομία signifies nothing else but the Incarnation. For this word is taken in a larger sense, and comprehends the whole Life of Christ among Men. *Nicephorus* therefore (B. 1. Chap. 2.) has rightly us'd, instead of this phrase here in *Eusebius*, this [τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείαν] i. e. *His conversation in the Flesh*. In this sense *Justin Martyr* uses this word, in his disputation *adversus Tryphon*. p. 331. *Clemens* in the 6. of his *Stromat*. And *Ireneus*, Lib. 1. Cap. 10. calls the passion of Christ οἰκονομίαν. So *Chrysostom* in his second Homily on *Matt.* and *Cyrill*, in his 6. B. against *Julian*, pag. 213. and *Origen*, in the beginning of his 11 Tome of his Commentaries on *John*. Vales.

then were eminent, and are ſtill renowned. I ſuppoſe that I have taken in hand a ſubject very neceſſary, becauſe I have not found any Eccleſiaſtical Writer which hath hitherto employ'd any diligence in a work of this nature; I hope alſo it will appear a moſt profitable work to thoſe who prize the uſeful knowledge of Hiſtory. And indeed I heretofore wrote an Epitome of theſe things, when I compiled my (c) *Chronical Canons*; but the more ample declaration hereof I now purpoſe to undertake. And the beginning of my narration (as I ſaid) will I take from the (d) Diſpenſation of our Saviour Chriſt, and from his (e) Divinity, the conception whereof far exceeds the reach of human capacity. For it is requiſite for him that would commit to writing an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, thence to begin, even from the *incarnation* of *Chriſt*, diviner than it ſeemeth to many, in as much as from him we are honour'd with the name of *Chriſtians*.

(c) In the Maz. M.S. I found this Scholion written in the Margin [σημείωσαι ὅτι πρότερον εἶχον οἱ Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες αὐτῶ] that is, *Obſerve that the Chronical Canons were firſt written by* Euſebius. *Valeſ.*

(d) There being in Chriſt a twofold nature, the one Divine, the other Humane, which conjoined make one perſon: as often as He is treated of, the diſcourſe muſt be divided into two parts. And thoſe things which are ſpoken of His Humanity belong to the οἰκονομία, as we ſaid before; But thoſe which are ſpoken of His Divinity are to be referred to the Θεολογία (which are the two terms here uſed by *Euſebius.*) Thus *Greg. Nazian.* in his 38. *Orat.* upon Chriſt's birth, diſtinguiſhes the *Oeconomia* from the *Theologia* in theſe words, Ταῦτά μοι περὶ Θεοῦ πεφιλοσοφήσθω ταυνῦ· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα καιρός· ὅτι μὴ Θεολογία τὸ προκείμενον ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οἰκονομία. And *Chryſoſtome*, in his Sermon *De ſigillis* which is in his ſixth Tome, ſays, that the three former Evangeliſts, being to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt to all Nations, began their diſcourſe from his οἰκονομία· but, that *John*, after them three, applied himſelf to the explicating of his Θεολογία; and took the beginning of his diſcourſe from the Divinity of Chriſt. Whence it appears why *Euſebius* here uſed theſe words [Τῆς χρ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπινοουμένης οἰκονομίας τε καὶ Θεολογίας.] For when we ſpeak of *Chriſt*, we muſt neceſſarily underſtand His two Natures. *Valeſ.*

(e) The Antients called that *Theologicen*, which we now commonly Stile *Theologiam*; *Jerom* in his 155. Epiſt. *Ad Paulam Urbicam*—— *Aut de Logicâ pro quâ noſtri Theologicen ſibi Vindicant*; ſo its written in the old M. S. of *Henricus Memmius* (not as it is now commonly printed, *Theoricen*, without any ſenſe) which I have heretofore ſeen. After the ſame manner *Pliny* called that *Geometricen*, and *Magicen*, which we now call *Geometriam* and *Magiam*. In the Books of *Jerome* you will never find it termed *Theologiam*, but in Greek Θεολογίαν. See him on Chap. 40. *Ezechiel.* Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

A brief Summary concerning the Præ-exiſtence and Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

(a) The Maz. Med. and Fuk. M.SS. begin the firſt Chap. at theſe Words, with this Title [Τίς ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὑπόθεσις.] The ſame is obſerv'd in the Edit. of *Robert Stephens*, who has throughout the whole work, followed the King's M. S. in the Stile, or Text of the Chapters, but the Medicæan M. S. in the Titles of the Chapters. But any one may ſee that this Title is altogether unmeet for this place. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore rightly ſet it at the beginning of this Book; and here began the ſecond Chapter; whom we have willingly followed. *Valeſ.*

(a) WHereas therefore there is in Chriſt a twofold Nature, the one reſembling the Head of the Body, by which He is underſtood to be God; the other rightly compared to the feet, by which he hath put on our humane nature, ſubject to like paſſions with us, for the ſake of our Salvation; the ſeries of our ſubſequent narration will be perfect and entire, if we begin the declaration of the diſcourſe of the whole Hiſtory concerning him, from thoſe Heads which are the chief and principal. Hereby alſo both the Antiquity and divine Dignity of Chriſtianity will be manifeſtly declar'd, againſt them which ſuppoſe this Religion new, and ſtrange, of yeſterday and never before apparent. But to declare the Generation, Dignity, Eſſence, and Nature of Chriſt, no ſpeech can ſufficiently ſerve. Wherefore alſo the Holy Ghoſt in the Prophets ſaith; *His Generation who ſhall be able to declare?* For *the Father no man hath known but the Son; neither at any time hath any fully known the Son, but the Father alone which begat him.* That Light that ſhone before the world; that Intellectual and Eſſential Wiſdom that was before all ages; the Living God, the Word, who was in the beginning with the Father, who but the Father alone can clearly and perfectly comprehend? Him, who is before every creature and workmanſhip, whether viſible or inviſible, the firſt and only begotten Son of God, chief Captain of the rational and immortal hoſt in heaven, the Angel of the Great Council, the (b) Finiſher of the ſecret will of the Father, maker and worker of all things together with the Father, who after the Father, is cauſe and author of all things, the true and only begotten Son of God, Lord, God, and King of all Creatures, receiving dominion and rule from the Father, together with divinity, power, and honour. For, according to the myſtical and divine expreſſions of the Scriptures concerning him; *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made that was made.* And the ſame, great *Moſes*, who is the moſt ancient of all the Prophets, when he deſcribes by inſpiration of the Holy Spirit the Creation and Diſpoſition of the univerſe, doth ſhew, to wit, that God the Framer of the world and Architect of All, granted to Chriſt himſelf, and to none other, that is, to his divine and only begotten Word, the making of inferior creatures, and that he conferr'd with him about the creation of man; *for God ſaid*, ſaith he, *Let us make man after our own image and likeneſs.* And with this ſaying agreeth another Prophet, thus ſpeaking of God in Hymns, *He ſpake and they were made, He commanded and they were created.* He introduceth the Father and Maker, commanding as univerſal Lord, with his Royal beck; but the Word of God next to him, (not different from him who is preached by us) in all things (c) miniſtring to his Fathers commands. Therefore from the firſt original of mankind, all who are ſaid to have been eminent for righteouſneſs and the virtues of *Religion*, both about the time of *Moſes* that great worſhipper, and before him, eſpecially *Abraham* and his ſons, and as many as in the times following were accounted juſt; and the Prophets alſo which contemplated with the pure eyes of the mind, have acknowledg'd him, and have attributed to him, as to the Son of God, due honour. And he being in no wiſe ſlothful about his Father's worſhip, (d) was appointed a maſter to teach all men the knowledge of his Father. (e) The Lord God therefore appear'd in the likeneſs of man unto *Abraham*, as he ſat at the Oak of *Mamre*; but he forthwith falling down upon his face, altho' with the outward eye he beheld but man, worſhip'd him as God, and made ſupplication to him as Lord. And that he was not ignorant who he was, he profeſſeth when he uttereth theſe words, *O Lord, which judgeth the whole earth, wilt not thou judge rightly?* For if it be contrary to reaſon

Iſai. 53. 8. Matt. 11. 27.

Iſai. 9. 6.

(b) Or, *Miniſter*: for ſome copies read it [ὑπουργὸν]; others [τελειοτῆτον]. as we have tranſlated it. *Valeſ.* Joan 1. 1, 2, 3.

Gen. 1. 26.

Pſal. 33. 9.

(c) In the Med. and *Savil.* M.SS. There is this Scholion in the Margin at theſe words [οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται ὁ τῶ πατρὸς ὁμοούσιος λόγος, ἀλλὰ συνδημιουργῶν τὴν κτίσιν, ὡς φύσει θεὸς καὶ ἰσότιμος] i. e. *The Word of the Father, being of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, is not ſubject to the Father, but together with him framed the Creation, as being by Nature God, and equal to the Father in honour.* Valeſ.

(d) Or, *is appointed*, or, *made.* Valeſ.

(e) At theſe words the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. begin the ſecond Chapter; to which agrees *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. But we, following *Chriſtophorſon*, have otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed the Chapters: For which we gave the reaſon before. *Valeſ.*

Gen. 18. 25.

reason that either the unbegotten and immutable (f) person or nature of God Almighty should transform himself into the likeness of man, and so by an appearance in a bodily shape deceive the eyes of the beholders; or that the Scripture should feign such things falsly; then that God and Lord, who judgeth the whole earth, and executeth judgment, appearing in the shape of man, who else can he be call'd, (for it is not lawful to say it of the first Author of all things) but only his pre-existent Word? Of whom also it is said in the Psalms, *He sent forth his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.* The same *Moses* plainly calleth Lord, next after the Father, saying, *The Lord rained brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah.* The same doth the Divine Scripture call God, appearing again unto *Jacob* in the figure of a man, and saying unto *Jacob, Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast prevailed with God.* At which time *Jacob* named that place the Vision of God, saying, *For I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.* Moreover, neither is it lawful once to surmise that the apparitions of God in the Scripture may be attributed to the inferior Angels and Ministers of God: for neither doth the Scripture, if at any time any of them appeared unto men, conceal the same; expresly saying, not that God, or the Lord, but that Angels spake; which may easily be confirm'd by innumerable testimonies. This same also doth *Jesus* the Successor of *Moses* term Chief Captain of the great power of the Lord, as Prince of Celestial Angels, and Arch-Angels, and all supernatural Powers, and as being the Power and Wisdom of the Father, and to whom the second place in the rule and government of all things is committed, when as he beheld them in no other form or figure than of Man. For thus it is written; *And it hapned when Joshua was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes, and behold a man standing over against him, having a naked sword in his hand. And Joshua coming unto him said, Art thou on our side, or on our adversaries? And he said unto him, As Chief Captain of the Host of the Lord I am now come hither. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said unto him, Lord, what commandest thou thy servant? And the Captain of the Lords host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shooe from off thy foot; for the place where thou standest is an holy place.* By these words thou may'st by an attentive consideration perceive, that this person did not differ (g) from him who deliver'd his Oracles to *Moses*. For of him also the Scripture speaketh the same words; *When the Lord saw that that he came for to see, God called to him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses; and he answered, what is it? And he said, come not nigh hither; put thy shooes off thy feet, for the place where thou standest is holy ground. And he said unto him, I am the God of thy fathers; the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.* Now that there is a certain Essence living and subsisting before the foundations of the world were laid, which ministred unto the Father and the God of all at the creation of all creatures, termed *the Word*, and *the Wisdom of God*; beside the before produc'd demonstrations, Wisdom herself, in her proper person by *Solomon* plainly speaking and delivering her mysteries after this manner, is to be heard: *I Wisdom have fixed a Tabernacle: Council, Knowledge and Understanding I have by calling allured unto me. Through me Kings do reign, and Princes decree justice. Through me Princes bear rule on earth.* To this she addeth, *The Lord himself fashioned me the beginning of his ways, for the accomplishing of his works; I have been ordained before the foundations of the world were laid, and from the beginning: or ever the earth was made, before the well-springs flowed out, before the foundations of the mountains were firmly set, and before all hills, begat he me. When he spread and prepared the heavens, I was present with him; and when he bound in due order the depths under heaven I was by, composing all things; I was she in whom he daily delighted; rejoycing continually before his face, when he rejoyced at the perfect finishing of the world.* That therefore the Word of God subsisted before all things, and that to some he appear'd, tho' not to all men; let thus much suffice at this time to have been by us briefly deliver'd. (h) Now for what cause he was not preach'd of old unto all men, and unto all nations as now he is, thus it shall evidently appear: That ancient Generation of men was not able to receive the most wise and most excellent Doctrine of *Christ*. For immediately in the very beginning, after that primitive happy state of life, the first man, being careless of the commandment of God, fell into this mortal and frail life, and chang'd this cursed earth for those heavenly delights and pleasures of old. And his posterity, when they had repleniſh'd this world, appear'd far worse, one or two excepted, they gave admission to certain savage and brutish manners, and led a life not worthy to be call'd life: And moreover they busied not their minds to erect either City or Common-wealth, nor to profit in *Arts* or *Sciences*. They had not amongst them so much as the name either of Laws or Statutes, or moreover of Virtue, or Philosophy; but wandring in deserts, they lived like wild and fierce Savages: they corrupted their natural understanding, and the seeds of reason and gentleness sown in man's mind, with their excessive wilful malice, yielding up themselves wholly to all abominable wickedness: some-

(f) *Valesius*, in his Note on this place says that [*ουσιαν Θεου, the Essence of God*] is here taken for [*Hypostasis,*] i. e. *the Person of God the Father*; for so (continues he) the Ecclesiastical Writers before the *Nicene* Council used to speak; he translates it [*Naturam*] nature. For confirmation of which he quotes *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*, cap. 119. See *Photii Biblioth.* cap. 119. pag. 300. Edit. *David. Hoescel.* 1611.

Psal. 107. 20.

Gen. 19. 24.

Gen. 32. 28.

Gen. 32. 30.

Josh. 5. 13, 14, 15.

(g) *Eusebius* would here prove, that he who appeared to *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, and called himself *the Captain of the Host of the Lord*, was the same that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush. Now he concludes this from hence, because this Captain of the Lord's Host used the same Words to *Joshua*, that God did to *Moses* in the Bush. So, before *Eusebius*, supposed *Justin Martyr*, in his *Disputat. adversus Tryphon.* and others, as *Theodoret* witnesses, in his questions on the Book of *Joshua*. But the rest of the Fathers thought this Captain of the Host of the Lord was not the Son of God, but rather *Michael* the Arch-Angel. In the most antient Maz. M. S. there is at these words, a Scholion put, which I thought good here to translate. But the Church, O holy *Eusebius*, thinks otherwise concerning this, and not as thou dost. For him that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush, the Church concludes to be God; but him that appeared to *Moses*'s successor in *Jericho*, to whom the presidency over the *Hebrews* was allotted, who had his sword drawn, and commanded *Joshua* to put off his shooe, him, I say, the Church supposes to be *Michael* the Arch-Angel: And it's manifest that it thinks righter than thou. Whence is this gathered? God, that appeared in the Bush in the form of Fire, being asked by his servant *Moses*, who he was, most evidently declared this unto him, That he was God. But he that appeared to *Joshua*, in no wise stiles himself God, but calls himself God's chief Captain. But this Dignity being inferior to the supream Power and Divinity, and being not Regal, but belonging to a General, as one would say..... The rest, by reason of the great age of the M. S. could not be read, which indeed is great pity. For it is both amost elegant Scholion, and also written by the hand of that very Antiquary who wrote out the M. S. that is, by a most learned and antient hand. *Vales.*

Exod. 3. 4, 5, 6.

Prov. 8. 12, 15, 16.

22, 23, &c.

(h) The *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. begin the third Chapter at these words, to which agrees the Edit. of *Robert Stephens*. But in that I saw the title of the third Chapter did not agree with this place, I judg'd it should be placed lower; which also *Christophorson* did. *Vales.*

times they defiled one anothers bodies, ſometimes they ſhed one anothers blood, and ſometimes they ſpared not to devour one anothers fleſh, yea they audaciouſly undertook to wage war with God, and attempted thoſe Gigantick combats ſo much talk'd of, determining in their minds, (*i*) to pile up the earth in manner of a bulwark, and ſo to ſcale heaven; and, ſuch was their outragious madneſs, they prepared to give battle to God himſelf who is over all. Wherefore, they behaving themſelves on this manner, God the overſeer of all things came upon them with floods and fiery deſtructions, as if they had been a wild thicket overſpreading the whole earth: alſo he cut them off with continual famines and peſtilences, with wars and thunderbolts from heaven; repreſſing with moſt ſharp puniſhments that grievous and moſt pernicious malady, as it were, of their ſouls Moreover, when this (*k*) fulneſs of wickedneſs was now come to its height, and had in a manner ſpread it ſelf over all, ſhadowing and darkning the minds almoſt of all men, as it were a certain grievous and dead fit of drunkenneſs; then that Firſt-begotten and (*l*) Pre-exiſtent Wiſdom of God, and the ſame Word that was in the beginning with God, out of his ſuperabundant loving kindneſs unto Man, appear'd ſometimes by viſion of Angels unto the inhabiters on earth, ſometimes by himſelf, as the ſaving power of God, unto ſome one or two of the Ancients that were belov'd of God, in no other form or figure than that of Man: for otherwiſe it could not have been. After that by them the ſeeds of God's worſhip were now ſown and ſcatter'd amidſt the multitude of men, and that whole nation, which originally deſcended from the *Hebrews*, had now addicted themſelves to the worſhip of God, He, by the Prophet *Moſes*, deliver'd unto them, as unto a *multitude*, yet (*m*) corrupted and tainted with old cuſtoms, figures, and ſigns of a kind of myſtical Sabbath, and Circumciſion, and Introductions unto other intelligible contemplations, but not the perfect and plain initiation into the ſacred Doctrines. But when the Law, famous among them, was publiſh'd abroad, and diffuſed, like a moſt ſweet odour amongſt all men, and thereby many of the *Gentiles* then had their (*n*) minds and manners civilized by *Law-makers* and *Philoſophers* every where, and their rude and brutiſh *ſavageneſs* chang'd into a meek and mild *temper* and *behaviour*, ſo that there enſued perfect peace and friendſhip and mutual commerce amongſt them; then at the laſt to all men, and to the *Gentiles* throughout all the world, as it were now prepared and fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father, the ſame perſon again, the Schoolmaſter of Virtue, his Father's Miniſter in all goodneſs, the Divine and Celeſtial Word of God manifeſted himſelf about the beginning of the *Roman Empire*, in human ſhape, for bodily ſubſtance nothing differing from our nature, and therein wrought and ſuffer'd ſuch things as were conſonant with the Oracles of the Prophets, who foreſhew'd there ſhould come into the world ſuch a one as ſhould be both Man and God, a mighty Worker of miracles, an Inſtructer of the *Gentiles* in the worſhip of his Father; and withal they foretold his Miraculous Birth, his New Doctrine, his wonderful Works, moreover the manner alſo of his death, his reſurrection from the dead, and laſt of all, his glorious and divine return into Heaven. The Prophet *Daniel* therefore by the Divine Spirit beholding his Kingdom that ſhall be in the latter age of the world, having been mov'd by the power of that Divine Spirit, hath thus more after the manner of man, and to man's capacity deſcrib'd the viſion of God. *For I beheld* (ſaith he) *until the Thrones were placed, and the Antient of days ſat thereon: his garments were as the white ſnow, the hairs of his head as pure wool; his throne a flame of fire, his wheels burning fire. A fiery ſtream ſlided before his face. Thouſand thouſands miniſtred unto him, and ten thouſand times ten thouſand ſtood before him: The judgment was ſet, and the Books were opened.* And afterwards, *I beheld*, (ſaith he) *and behold, one coming in the clouds like the Son of Man; and he came unto the Antient of days, and he was brought before him: and to him was given Principality and Honour, and Rule; and all People, Tribes, and Tongues ſhall ſerve him: his Power* Dan. 7. 9, 10, and 13, 14.

(*i*) It's ſtrange, that in the Tranſlation of this place both *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* erred. Ἐπιτειχίζειν (which is the term here us'd) in *Greek* ſignifies, *to make a Fortification*, or *Bulwark againſt a place*; See *Harpocration*, in the word [ὀπιτείχισμα.] But it's ridiculous to believe, that Men arrived to that degree of madneſs, as by building Rampires to attempt to ſcale Heaven, and to turn out God from thence; which yet *Euſebius* ſeems by this place to have believed. Theſe are the fictions of the Poets, who by this fanſie would ſet forth the pride of Men of that Age, and their contempt of God. Indeed Holy Writ mentions the Giants, but it ſays nothing of this ſort concerning them; and it teſtifies that that Tower was built, not by the Giants, but by the Sons and Poſterity of *Noah*, after the Flood. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) The term in the Original is [κόρος] and it ſignifies *ſatiety* or *fulneſs*; it is the ſame in *Robert Stephens* Edit. But *Valeſius* ſays it ſhould be [κάρος] which he tranſlates *(torpor)* i.e. *a ſlothful* heavineſs, for ſo, ſays he, it is written in the Fuk. and Savill. M. SS.

(*l*) I doubt not but *Euſebius* wrote it thus [πρωτόκτιστον τῆς θεοῦ σοφίαν, i.e. *the Pre-exiſtent Wiſdom of God*] as it is in our four M. SS. Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. and not [πρωτότοκον, i. e. *the firſt produced*, &c.] for this term agrees better with *Euſebius*'s meaning, ſeeing that he had a little above quoted that place out of the Proverbs (Chap. 8. v. 22.) *The Lord himſelf faſhion'd me*, &c. Indeed, the Antient Divines, and eſpecially thoſe who wrote before the times of the Nicene-Council, by the word [κτίζειν] underſtood, not only a Creation which is made of nothing, but, all Production in general, as well that which was from all eternity, as that which is produced in time. Hence it is, that *Melito* wrote a Book [περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως χριστοῦ] as we ſhall ſee at the 4th Book of this *Hiſtory*. But if we ſhould here read [πρωτόγονον] there would be an unmeet repetition, which is called a Tautology, thus [ὁ πρωτόγονον καὶ πρωτότοκον, &c.] Beſides, [πρωτότοκον] is an unfit term to expreſs the Divine Generation. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) *Nicephorus* underſtood this place amiſs, as if it had been ſpoken by *Euſebius* in praiſe of the *Jews*: But the words of *Euſebius* have a clean contrary meaning. For he ſays, that the *Jews* being corrupted by the contagion of their former life, God thought it ſufficient to preſcribe them legal Ceremonies, and to deliver them as it were certain Signs and Symbols of more ſecret Myſteries, as being yet ignorant, and accuſtomed to the Superſtition of the *Heathens*. *Chryſoſtome*, on *Matthew*, ſays the ſame Ἐνδιατρίβειν, from whence the Participle here uſed comes, ſignifies in *Greek*, *to be corrupted*, and from a priſtine diſcipline to fall into a luxurious and diſſolute courſe of life. From whence [ἐνδιατριβικὸς βίος] is *a remiſs and looſe life*; a phraſe taken from intemperate Men, who obſerve no rule in meat and drink, nor in their whole courſe of life. This word occurs often in the Writings of *Dion Caſſius*. Valeſ.

(*n*) Tranſlators underſtood not this place, as it appears from their Verſion of it. The meaning of *Euſebius* here is this. He attributes not ſo much to the Law-makers and Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, as if that old Savageneſs and Immanity of Men were by little and little brought to be more tractable and gentle by their Precepts and Inſtitutes. But he imputes the reaſon hereof to the Law of *Moſes*; which, being known to the whole World, at length reclaimed and civilized the manners of all Men. For the Law-makers and Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, having derived all their beſt precepts from that Law, as from as fountain, infuſed them afterwards into the minds of their Auditors: whereby Men being poliſhed, were rendred fit to receive the knowledge of the Evangelical Law. For the Moſaical Law was previous and the forerunner to the Evangelical, and prepared the way to Chriſt's Preaching. This place therefore is to be thus written [Τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τῶν παντα χόσε νομοθετῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἡμέρωτο τὰ φρονήματα] as it is plainly written in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. and not, as it is in *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. thus [ἡμερώτατα φρονήματα.] Undoubtedly, unleſs it be thus written, the ſentence will be incoherent. For to what ſhall the Particle [ὡς ὅ] be referred, which is put in the beginning of the Period? There is alſo another difficulty in this place of *Euſebius*, that is, what is meant by theſe words [ὀξ αὐτῶν.] For *Euſebius* ſays [ἤδη πότε ὀξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι, &c.] as before. Which Words, as to me it ſeems, were put in, that *Euſebius* might ſhew, that whatever was fitly ſaid by the Law-makers and Philoſophers of the *Gentiles*, they borrow'd it all from the *Hebrews*. And thus *Kuſinus* underſtood this place, as it plainly appears from his Tranſlation. *Euſebius* diſcourſes largely concerning this Point in his Book, *De Præparatione*, where he ſhews that the *Grecian* Philoſophers ſtole many things out of the Books of *Moſes*. *Valeſ.*

Power is an everlasting Power which shall not pass, and his Kingdom shall never be destroyed. These things can manifestly be referred to none other than to our Saviour, the Word that was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, term'd the Son of Man by reason of his Incarnation in the latter times. But because we have in proper and peculiar (o) Commentaries collected the Oracles of the Prophets touching our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and have elsewhere confirm'd by evident demonstrations those things which have been deliver'd concerning him, at this present we will be content with the Premisses.

(o) He means his Books *of Evangelical Demonstration*, of which ten only are now extant. Moreover, this *Ecclesiastical History* of *Eusebius* ought to be so much the more esteemed by us, because he wrote it after almost all his other Works. *Vales.*

CHAP. III.

That the very name of Jesus, *and also that of* Christ *was from the Beginning both known and honour'd among the Divine Prophets.*

(a) NOW that the name both of *Jesus*, and also of *Christ*, was of old honour'd among the Prophets belov'd of God, it is now an opportune time to declare. First of all *Moses*, knowing the name of *Christ* to be most especially venerable and glorious, when he delivered Types and Symbols of heavenly things, and mystical forms, agreeable to the Divine Oracle that said to him, *See thou do all things after the fashion that was shewed thee in the Mount*, the man whom he entitled (as much as he lawfully might) the High-Priest of God, the same he stiled Christ: and thus to the dignity of High-Priesthood, which excell'd in his judgment all other prerogatives among men, he for honour and glory put to the name of Christ. So then he deem'd Christ to be a certain Divine thing. The same *Moses* also, when being inspired by the Holy Ghost, he had well foreseen the name of *Jesus*, judg'd again the same worthy of singular prerogative. For this name of *Jesus*, which before *Moses*'s time had never been named among men, *Moses* gave to him first, and to him alone, whom he knew very well by type again and figurative sign was to receive the Universal Principality after his death. His Successor therefore, before that time not called *Jesus*, but by another name, *to wit*, (b) *Ause*, which his Parents had given him, he called *Jesus*, giving him this appellation as a singular title of honour far passing all Royal Diadems, because that same *Jesus*, the son of *Nave* bore the figure of our Saviour; who alone, after *Moses*, and the accomplishment of the figurative service deliver'd by him, was to succeed in the Government of the true and most pure Religion. Thus to two men who surpass'd all people of that age in virtue and glory, one being then High-Priest, the other to be Chief Ruler after him, *Moses* gave the name of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, as an ensign of the greatest honour. The Prophets also who came after, propheſied plainly of Christ by name, foretelling long before-hand the treacherous practice of the *Jewish* people against him, and the calling of the *Gentiles* by him. Both *Jeremy* saying thus, **The Spirit before our face, Christ our Lord, is taken in their nets, of whom we spake, under the shadow of his wings we shall be preserved alive among the Heathen*: and *David* also, being very much perplexed, speaking thus, **Why have the Gentiles raged, and the people imagined vain things? The Kings of the earth stood forth, and the Princes assembled together in the same place against the Lord and against his Christ?* whereunto afterwards he addeth in the person of Christ, *The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession.* The name of Christ therefore among the *Hebrews* hath not only honour'd those that were adorn'd with the High-Priesthood, being anointed with figurative and mystical oyl prepared on purpose, but Kings also, whom Prophets by the Divine appointment anointing, made figurative Christs; because they bore in themselves a resemblance of the Regal and Princely power of the only and true Christ, *The Word of God*, who governeth all things. And moreover we have learned that certain of the Prophets also by being anointed have typically become Christs. So that all these have a relation unto the true Christ, the Divine and Heavenly Word, the only High-Priest of the whole World, therefore only King of all the Creation, and the only chief Prophet of the Father among all the Prophets. The proof hereof is demonstrable; for none of them that of old were typically anointed, whether Priests, or Kings, or Prophets, ever obtain'd so great a measure of Divine power and virtue, as the Saviour and our Lord Jesus, the only and true Christ, hath shewed. Indeed none of them, how famous soever they were among their own followers throughout many ages, by reason of their dignity and honour have caused by their being typically called Christ's, that such as were conform to them should be named Christians. Neither hath the honour of adoration been exhibited by their Subjects unto any of them, neither after the death of any of them have the minds of any been so much affected towards him, as to be ready to die for the maintenance of his honour: neither hath their been any so great stir and commotion among all the nations throughout the whole world for any of them. For the power of the figure and shadow was not of such efficacy in them, as the presence of the truth exhibited by our Saviour: Who tho' he received not from any the Ensigns and Badges of the High-Priesthood, nor indeed * lineally descended according unto the flesh from the Priestly Race, nor was advanced by a guard of armed men unto his Kingdom, nor was made a Prophet after the manner of the antient Prophets, nor obtained any pre-eminence, or prerogative among the *Jews*; yet for all this he was adorn'd (c) by the Father with all dignities, tho' not in Types and Symbols, yet in very truth. And altho' he obtain'd all these titles in another manner than those men did, whereof mention has been made, yet hath he been more truly stiled Christ than they all. And he, as being the only and true Christ of God, hath by that truly venerable and sacred name of his filled the whole world

* Lament. 4. 20.

* Psal. 2. 1, 2, 7, 8.

* Heb. 7. 14. It is evident that our Lord sprang out of *Judah*, of which Tribe *Moses* spake nothing concerning Priesthood.

(c) Or, *by the Spirit*. But all the MS. Copies agree with our translation of it. *Vales.*

(a) In the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. there is no distinction here of a new Chapter: For those Copies begin the third Chapter long before, as we noted above. The *Med.* MS. begins the fourth Chapter at these words. But it's most certain, as I before intimated, that the third Chapter must begin here; which the Title it self does demonstrate. *Vales.*

Exod. 25. 40.

(b) *Numb.* 13. 16. Where the *Sept.* Edit. calls him [Τὸν Ἀυσὴ, i. e. *Ause*.] But *Jerome* (on the 1 Chap. of *Hosh.*) notes that this place in the *Sept.* Edit. is corrupted; *Hoshea* being disguised by *Auses*: which name is yet farther estranged by those who call him [Ναυσὴς, i. e. *Nauses*] as *Eusebius* does thrice, in his *Demonstrat. Evangel.* B. 5. Chap. 17. In *Hebrew* he is named יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, i. e. *Joshua*, *Numb.* 11. v. 28. *Vales.*

world with *Chriſtians*: nor doth he deliver henceforth Types and Shadows unto his followers, but naked virtues and an heavenly life, accompanied with the undoubted doctrine of verity. And the ointment he receiv'd was not corporal, compounded of ſpices, but divine, by the Holy Ghoſt and by participation of the unbegotten Deity of the Father. The which thing again *Eſay* declareth, when as in the perſon of *Chriſt* he breaketh out into theſe words; * *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings unto the poor, he hath ſent me to cure the contrite in heart, to preach deliverance unto the captives, and recovering of ſight to the blind.* And not only *Eſay*, but *David* alſo, directing his words to his perſon, ſaith, * *Thy throne, O God, laſteth for ever and ever: the ſceptre of thy kingdom is a right ſceptre. Thou haſt loved righteouſneſs and hated iniquity: Wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladneſs above thy fellows.* In which Text the Word of God in the firſt verſe termeth Chriſt God, the ſecond honoureth him with a Royal Sceptre: thence deſcending by degrees, after the mention of his Divine and Royal Power; in the third place he ſheweth him to have been Chriſt, anointed not with oyl of corporeal ſubſtance, but of divine, that is of gladneſs: whereby he ſignifieth his prerogative and ſurpaſſing excellency above them, which with corporeal and typical oyl had of old been anointed. And in another place the ſame *David* ſpeaketh of him thus, ſaying, † *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* And, *Out of my Womb before the Day-ſtar have I begotten thee: The Lord ſware and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the Order of Melchiſedec.* This *Melchiſedec* in the ſacred † Scriptures is brought in the Prieſt of the moſt High God; but neither was he conſecrated by any oyl prepared of man for that purpoſe, nor by ſucceſſion of kindred had he attain'd unto the Prieſthood among the *Hebrews*: wherefore our Saviour, according unto his Order, and not according to them who receiv'd ſigns and ſhadows, is publiſh'd, and that with addition of an oath, Chriſt and (*d*) Prieſt. Wherefore alſo the Sacred Hiſtory neither mentions him to be corporally anointed among the *Jews*, nor born of the Prieſtly Tribe, but of God himſelf before the Day-ſtar, that is, having his Eſſence before the ſtructure of the world, immortal, poſſeſſing a Prieſthood that never periſheth by reaſon of age, but laſteth world without end. But this is a great and an apparent argument of his Incorporeal and Divine (*e*) power, that he alone, of all men that hitherto ever were, is by all men throughout the whole world called Chriſt; is preach'd and confeſs'd by the common conſent and teſtimony of all, and by this name every where celebrated among the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*: and that hitherto among all his followers throughout the world, He hath been both honour'd as King, had in admiration above a Prophet, and alſo glorified as the true and only High-Prieſt of God; and above all this, that he is worſhip'd even as God, in as much as he is the Eternal Word of God, and ſubſiſted before all Worlds, (*f*) receiving majeſtical honour from the Father: but this moreover is moſt of all to be marvel'd at, that we who are dedicated unto him, honour him not with voices only and noiſe of words, but with all entire affection of the mind, ſo that we prefer the confeſſion of him before our own lives.

* Iſai. 61. 1.

* Pſal. 45. 6, 7.

† Pſal. 110. 1, 2, 3.

† Gen. 14. 18. Heb. 7. 1.

(*d*) Or, *Chief-Prieſt.*

For ſo the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. read it. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) Or, *Anointing*, for ſome Copies have it written [χειροτονίας.] *Valeſ.*

(*f*) That is, from all eternity. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

That the Religion, by him declared to all Nations, is neither new nor ſtrange.

(*a*) LET theſe things therefore be neceſſarily placed by me here in the beginning of this Hiſtory, leſt any man ſhould ſurmiſe our Saviour and Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* to be a perſon newly apparent, by reaſon of the late time of his being converſant in the fleſh. Now alſo, leſt any ſhould deem his Doctrine to be new and ſtrange, as deliver'd by a new-comer, and one who nothing differeth from the reſt of men, come on, let us alſo in ſhort debate thereof. It is indeed moſt certain, when as the coming and preſence of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhone now freſh unto all men, that a people new we muſt confeſs, yet neither ſmall, nor ſuch as was ſcituate in ſome corner of the earth, but of all nations both the moſt populous and moſt religious, and upon this account inexpugnable and invincible, becauſe aided continually by the aſſiſtance of God, at certain ſeaſons pre-determin'd by the ſecret Providence of God, to us ſuddenly appear'd, being ennobled among all men by the title and name of *Chriſt*. This, one of the Prophets by the eye of the Divine Spirit foreſeeing would come to paſs, was aſtoniſh'd, in ſo much that he cried out, thus, * *Who hath heard ſuch things? Or who hath ſpoken after this manner? Hath the earth travelling brought forth in one day? And hath a nation ſprung up ſuddenly and at one time?* Alſo the ſame Prophet ſhews the very name that ſhould be given, ſaying, * *And they that ſerve me ſhall be called after a new name which ſhall be bleſſed upon earth.* But altho', without controverſie we are but of late, and this new name of *Chriſtians* hath been but lately known unto all nations; yet, that our life and manner of converſation, together with the rules of Religion, are not newly deviſed by our ſelves, but have been (as I may ſay) even from the original of mankind, inſtituted and obſerved by ancient godly men from thoſe notions that nature had implanted in their minds, we will thus make evident. That the nation of the *Hebrews* is no new nation, but honour'd among all people for their antiquity, is well known to all. They have Books and Monuments in writing containing the actions of ancient men, who were rare indeed, and few in number, yet excell'd in piety and righteouſneſs, and all other kind of virtues. Whereof ſome flouriſh'd before the Flood, others after; as the ſons and off-ſpring of *Noah*; (*b*) and moreover *Abraham*, in whom the children of the *Hebrews* do glory, as their chief Founder, and Forefather. Now if any one beginning with *Abraham* and going upwards to the firſt man, does affirm that all thoſe men who have ſo glorious teſtimonials of their *righteouſneſs*, were in reality tho' not by name *Chriſtians*, he ſhall not err far from the truth: for whereas the name of *Chriſtian* ſignifieth a man who thro' the Knowledge and Doctrine of *Chriſt* excelleth in modeſty and righteouſneſs, in patience of life

(*a*) At theſe words the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. and the King's MS. and the *Old Sheets* begin the 4th Chap.

* Iſai. 66. 8.

* Iſai. 62. 2.

(*b*) Some Tranſlators (as *Muſculus*, and Dr. *Hanmer*, as appears by his Verſion, and marginal Note thereat) ſuppoſed that [ἀτὰρ, i. e. *Atar*, which is the word here uſed in the Original, and is a *Greek Adverb*] was a proper name, and a corruption of *Terah* the name of the father of *Abraham*, of whom mention is made *Gen.* 11. But this is a great miſtake: For *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, was not one of thoſe whom God loved, as it may be plainly collected from Sacred Scripture: Neither did our *Euſebius* think ſo, as appears by his own words, when he ſays, a little after this, in this Chapter, concerning *Abraham*, that *he left the Superſtition of his Fathers.* We have therefore tranſlated theſe words [ἀτὰρ καὶ] *And moreover.* Valeſ.

and

and virtuous fortitude, and in profession of sincere piety towards the One and the Only God who is above all; they were no less studious about all this than we are. They cared not therefore for corporal Circumcision; no more do we; nor for the observation of Sabbaths; no more do we; nor for abstinence from certain meats, and distinction of other things, which *Moses* first instituted and delivered to be typically observed; no more do *Christians* regard such matters now. But they of old evidently knew the very *Christ* of God. For that he appear'd to *Abraham*, gave answers to *Isaac*, talk'd with *Jacob*, convers'd with *Moses*, and afterwards with the Prophets, we have shew'd before. Hence thou may'st find those Darlings of God honour'd with the name of *Christ*, according unto that saying of them, * *See that ye touch not my † Christs, neither deal perversly with my Prophets.* It is manifest therefore, that the service of God, which was instituted by the godly of old about the time of *Abraham*, and published of late unto all the *Gentiles* by the Doctrine of *Christ*, ought to be accounted the first, the eldest, and the ancientest of all. But if they say that *Abraham* a long time after receiv'd the commandment of Circumcision; yet before the receit thereof he is said to have been justified by his faith; the Scripture speaking thus, * *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.* And he being such a one already before Circumcision, the Oracle from God, who manifested himself unto him, even *Christ* himself, the Word of God before hand hath utter'd this unto him in these words, concerning those who in future ages should be justified after the same manner with himself, saying thus; * *And all the Tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee:* And that *he should be a great and a populous nation, and all the nations on the earth should be blessed in him.* And we may by consideration easily perceive that this is fulfilled in us. For he, through faith in *Christ* the Word of God, who appear'd unto him, was justified; when having left the superstition of his fathers, and the error of his former life, he confess'd one only God who is over all, and worship'd him with virtuous works, and not with the ceremonious service of the Law deliver'd afterwards by *Moses*. Unto him, being such a one, it was said that, *In him shall all the Tribes of the earth and all nations be blessed.* The very same manner of Religion which *Abraham* follow'd, is found at this present among *Christians* alone throughout the world, practised by them in works which are far more evident than words. What then hindreth but that we may henceforth confess, that one and the same way of living, and the same kind of Religion is common to us, who have our name from *Christ*, with them who of old sincerely served God and were so dear to him. It plainly appears therefore that that perfect and exact Rule of Religion, which hath been deliver'd unto us by the Doctrine of *Christ*, is neither *new* nor *strange*, but (if we ought to speak the truth) the first, the only, and the true one. And of these matters let thus much suffice.

* Psal. 105. 15.
† Christs, that is, anointed.
*Gen. 15. 6. Rom. 4. 3.
*Gen. 11. 3. Gen. 18. 18. & 22. 18.

CHAP. V.

Of the times of our Saviours Manifestation unto Men.

Augustus. BUT, after this preparation wherein by way of Preface we have laid down such things as are fit to usher in the *Ecclesiastical History* we design, it now remaineth that we take the first step as it were of our journey from the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh; calling upon God, the Father of the Word, and upon *Jesus Christ* himself, of whom we treat, our Saviour and Lord, the Heavenly Word of God, that he will be our help and fellow-labourer in the declaration of the truth. It was now therefore (*a*) the two and fortieth year of the Reign of *Augustus*, and the eight and twentieth year after the subduing of *Egypt*, and the death of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, in whom the Rule of the *Ptolomees* in *Egypt* ceased, when our Saviour and Lord *Jesus Christ* at the time of the first (*b*) taxing, which was when (*c*) *Cyrenius* was Governour of *Syria*, was born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea*, agreeable to the Prophecies, that went before him. Which taxing under *Cyrenius*, *Flavius Josephus*, a most famous Historiographer among the *Hebrews*, maketh mention of; adding thereto another History concerning the Sect of the

(*a*) The first year of *Augustus*, according to *Eusebius*'s computation, is that wherein *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were Consuls. Therefore the 42d. year of *Augustus* falls on his thirteenth Consulship. Thus much concerning the year wherein *Christ* was born. *Eusebius* does no where expresly mention the day. It was the common opinion of the *Western* Church that he was born on the 7. Kalend. *January*: But the *Eastern* Church thought otherwise, that he was born on the 8. Id. *January* (*i. e.* on the 6th day *Jan.*) *Vales.* The learned have found so great difficulty in assigning the day of our Saviour's birth, that *Scaliger* said, *Unius Dei est non hominis definire*; i.e. *God only, not Man was able expresly to declare it.* It had been much better for these Men to content themselves with the tradition of the Church, rather than by such an elaborate unfruitful search to entangle the truth. For the celebration of this Festival, many testimonies may be produced out of *Origen*, *Cyprian* and *Chrysostom*, each of these Fathers deducing it from the practise of the first antiquity; and St. *Augustine* makes it a Character of a son of the Church to solemnize the Festivals of it, and this (principally and by name) of the Nativity. To which may be added that of the *Author* of the *Constitutions* (Constit. B. 5. c. 13.) τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσετε, καὶ πρώτην τὴν γενέθλιον, i. e. *Keep the days of the feasts, and first the day of* Christ's *Birth.* So that the Religion of this day, *non est nupera, neque novitia, is not modern, nor newly begun*, though *Scaliger* said so. And for the particular day, the 25th of *December*, whereon this Festival is by us solemnized, (not to mention other testimonies which might be produced to this purpose) In *Joseph* the *Egyptian's Arabick Codex* of the *Consuls* (a M. S. in the *Archives* of the *publick Library* of *Oxford*, of the gift of Sir *Thomas Roe*) this day as well as this Feast is affirmed to stand by *Apostolical Canon.* The words of which, as it is transcribed by Mr. *Gregory*, are in *English* these, *Also that you constitute an anniversary Feast at the Nativity of the Lord* Christ, *on the Day on which he was born, and that was the five and twentieth of the first Canon* (i. e. *of* December.) *For this the principal of all the Feasts*, &c. See Mr. *Gregory*'s Works, Chap. 34. Dr. *Hammond* on the Festivals of the Church, and the Learned *Selden*'s Tract of *Christmas-Day*, for further satisfaction.

(*b*) It is by learned Men affirmed, particularly by *Is. Casaubon* in Bar. p. 105. (and is most probable) that this decree of Taxing (or inrolling every Person, according to their Families and Estates) was an effect of *Augustus* his curiosity (and neither of his desire to enrich his Treasure, not to reform the excesses of those before him) and this over-rul'd by God's special Providence, that this Emperor might serve to be instrumental to the conserving the record of the Birth of *Christ*, whose Name and his Mothers, as well as *Joseph*'s, were now inrolled. And this is an evidence of the nature of this ἀπογραφή, that it was not a Tax, for that would not have belonged to women and infants, but to the possessors only. See Dr. *Hammond* on *Luk.* 2. v. 1.

(*c*) There is a great disagreement amongst the Learned about this enrolment and valuation of Men's Person's and Estates, whether it was done once, or twice. Some say there were two, both made by the same *Cyrenius*, (or *Quirinius*,) and both mentioned by St. *Luke*: The first he speaks of Chap. 2. 2. of his Gospel; which was made a little before our Saviour's Birth, about the latter end of the Reign of *Herod* the *great*, *Sentius Saturninus* being then President of *Syria*; this, say these Men, St. *Luke* calls πρώτη ἀπογραφή, *the first Taxing*, to difference it from that other mentioned by him, *Acts* 5. 37. And whereas St. *Luke* says, *Cyrenius* at that time had the rule over *Syria*; these words are to be taken in a looser, nor stricter, sense; not that *Cyrenius* was then the standing Governour there under the *Romans*, but was sent by the Emperor particularly on this occasion, to take an Inventory of this part of the Empire: For it's confess'd that *Sentius Saturninus* was then the President of *Syria.* The other Taking, mentioned in the *Acts*, was made ten years after this, after the banishment of *Archelaus*, and about the insurrection of *Judas of Galilee* (*or Gaulanites.*) This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, *Casaubon*, and *Hammond.* On the other hand, *Valesius* (and with him, as he thinks, agrees our *Eusebius* in this Chapt.) says there was but one Taxing, (which may be supposed to have been begun at the latter end of *Herod the Great*'s Reign, about the time of *Christ*'s Birth, and was not

perhaps finiſh'd till ten years after, when *Cyrenius* was Preſident of *Syria*, after the Baniſhment of *Archelaus*;) his Reaſons are theſe: *Joſephus* mentions but one: After this Enrolment once made why ſhould it be repeated, and that by the ſame perſon? For if he had done it equally and exactly, what need of a new one? If not, another perſon ought rather to be ſent who might do it better: What had a *Roman* Magiſtrate to do with any thing of Government in *Judea* whilſt *Herod* lived, who in all right was King there, and was ſo acknowledg'd by the *Roman* Senate? Laſtly, about the time of *Chriſt*'s Birth *Saturninus* and *Varus* were Procurators in *Syria*, and not *Cyrenius*. I ſhall not take upon me to determine this Difference; the Reader has here the Sum of the Arguments on both ſides, and is left to his liberty to be ſway'd by which Party he pleaſes.

Auguſtus.

Galileans, which ſprang up about the ſame time, whereof amongſt us alſo *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* maketh mention, ſaying thus, **After this man roſe up one* (d) *Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he alſo himſelf periſhed, and all, even as many as obey'd him were diſperſed.* The ſame indeed *Joſephus* before-mention'd in his *Eighteenth Book of Antiquities*, doth agree in and confirm thus, word for word: 'Cyrenius one of the number of the 'Roman Senators, a man who had born all Offices, and by all the degrees of Honour had 'climb'd at length to the Conſulſhip, and who 'was greatly renown'd in other reſpects, came 'with a few men into *Syria*, being ſent on 'purpoſe by *Cæſar*, as Judge of the nation, and 'to take the valuation of their Eſtates. And a 'little after, he ſaith, *Judas Gaulanites*, a man 'of the City named *Gamala*, having taken unto 'him one *Saddochus* a *Phariſee*, earneſtly ſollicited the People to Rebellion: Both of them 'affirming, that the Taxing of this Tribute 'inferr'd nothing but manifeſt ſervitude, and 'exhorting the whole Nation to maintain their 'liberty." And in his *Second Book of the Wars of the Jews*, he writeth thus of the ſame perſon: 'At that time a certain *Galilean*, by name *Judas*, ſtirr'd up the People of that Region to 'Defection, upbraiding them for paying tribute ſo tamely to the *Romans*; and, having 'God their Sovereign, for ſuffering mortal 'Men to be their Maſters. So far *Joſephus*.

* Act. 5. 37.

(d) This inſurrection of *Judas* of *Galilee* we aſſert to have been after the Baniſhment of *Archelaus*. Indeed, before his depoſition there could be no reaſon why *Judas* ſhould ſtir up the people of the *Jews* to a Defection. For no Valuation of Mens Eſtates could be made by a *Roman* Magiſtrate there, where a King, that was a Friend and an Ally of the *Romans*, govern'd; neither was *Judea* in any danger to be brought into Servitude by Strangers, as long as it obey'd a *Jew*, that is a King of their own Nation. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VI.

That in his Time, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, the Princes of the Jewiſh *Nation who before by Succeſſion had held the Principality, ſurceaſed, and that* Herod, *the firſt of the Aliens, became their King.*

NOW at that time, when *Herod*, the firſt of them, who by deſcent was a Foreigner, had obtain'd the Rule over the *Jewiſh* Nation, the Prophecy written by *Moſes* was fulfill'd, which ſaid, **That there ſhall not want a Prince in Juda, neither a Leader fail of his Loyns, until he come for whom it is reſerved.* Whom he declares to be *the expectation of the Gentiles*. Indeed the things of that Propheſie hung unaccompliſh'd all the time that it was lawful for the *Jews* to live under Princes of their own Nation: who taking their beginning as high as *Moſes* himſelf, continued down their Reign even to the Empire of *Auguſtus*: under whom *Herod* the firſt (a) Foreigner had the Government of the *Jews* granted him by the *Romans*: who, as *Joſephus* declares, was by his father's ſide an *Idumæan*; by his mother's an *Arabian*. But, as *Africanus*, one not of the vulgar ſort of Writers, ſays, they who have been more accurate about his Pedigree, ſay he was the ſon of *Antipater*, who was the ſon of one *Herod* an *Aſcalonite*, who was one of the ſervants which miniſtred in the Temple of *Apollo*. This *Antipater* being taken by *Idumæan* thieves while he was yet a child, remain'd a long time among them, becauſe his father being one of a mean eſtate was not able to redeem him. And being brought up after their manner of breeding, became at length very familiarly acquainted with *Hyrcanus* the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*. This very man's ſon was that *Herod* who liv'd in the time of our Saviour. When therefore the Principality of the *Jews* was come into the hands of this Alien, then was the expactation of the *Gentiles* even at the doors, according unto that prophecy: for then the Line of their native Princes and Governours was broken off, which had been drawn down by a continual ſucceſſion from *Moſes* himſelf until that time. For before they were taken Captives and carried into *Babylon*, Kings, reign'd over them, beginning from *Saul*, who was the firſt, and from *David*. Before their Kings Princes bore rule over them, whom they call'd Judges, beginning their Government after *Moſes*, and his ſucceſſor **Jeſus*. After their return from *Babylon* there ceas'd not amongſt them a form of Government, an *Ariſtocracy* together with an *Oligarchy*, the Beſt ruling, and they but few in number. For the High-Prieſts had held that preeminence under *Pompey* the *Roman* Captain coming upon them by main force, beſieg'd and ranſack'd *Jeruſalem*, polluted the holy places, by entring into the Sanctuaries of the Temple, and ſent Priſoner to *Rome* the High-Prieſt, whoſe name was *Ariſtobulus* with his ſons, who by ſucceſſion from his Progenitors had continued unto that time both Prince and Prieſt; and committed the Office of High-Prieſthood unto his brother *Hyrcanus*, and from that time forth made the whole *Jewiſh* Nation become tributary to the *Romans*. And indeed not long after, *Hyrcanus*, the laſt of thoſe to whom the High-Prieſthood by ſucceſſion befel, being taken priſoner by the *Parthians*, *Herod* the firſt Foreigner, as I ſaid before, had the Government of the *Jewiſh* Nation deliver'd to him by the *Roman* Senate and the Emperor *Auguſtus*. Under whom, whenas the preſence of *Chriſt* was apparent, the long-lookt-for Salvation of the *Gentiles* was accompliſh'd, and their calling conſequently follow'd, according to the predictions of the Prophets. Since which time the Princes and Rulers of *Juda* (thoſe I mean who were of *Jewiſh* extraction) ceaſing, ſtraightway the ſeries and courſe of the High-Prieſthood, which among them by order of ſucceſſion after the deceaſe of the former, was always, as it was meet, wont to fall unto the next of blood, was confounded. Hereof thou haſt *Joſephus* a witneſs worthy of credit, declaring how that *Herod*, after that he was intruſted with the rule over the *Jews* by the *Romans*, aſſign'd 'em no more High-Prieſts of the ancient prieſtly Race, but conferr'd that honour upon certain obſcure perſons; and how that the ſame courſe which *Herod* had taken in conſtituting High-Prieſts, was follow'd by his ſon *Archelaus*, and after by the *Romans* who ſucceeded him in the Government of *Judea*. The ſaid *Joſephus* declareth, how that *Herod* firſt ſhut up under his own Privy-ſeal the Holy Robe of the High-Prieſt, not permitting the

Auguſtus.

* *Jeſus*, otherwiſe called *Joſhua*.

*Gen. 49. 10.

(a) *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Animadverſions upon *Euſebius's Chronicon*, has ſufficiently made it evident, that *Herod* was no Foreigner. *Joſephus*, in his 20. Book of *Antiquit.* Chap. 6. calls *Herod* τὸ γένος ἰουδαῖον, i. e. *a Jew as to his Lineage.* Valeſ.

Augustus. the High Priest to keep it any longer in their own custody; and that after him *Archelaus*, and after *Archelaus* the *Romans* did the same. And let these things be spoken by us to evidence the truth of another prophesie, which by the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus* was accomplish'd. For most plainly and expresly of all other, the Holy Scripture in *Daniel* describing the number of certain weeks unto Christ the Ruler (whereof we have in another (*b*) place intreated) foretelleth, that after the acccomplishment of those weeks the *Jewish* anointing should be abolish'd. And this is plainly prov'd to have been fulfill'd at the time when our Saviour Jesus Christ came in the flesh. And let these things necessarily be fore-observ'd by us for the proof of the truth of the times.

(*b*) He means his Books of Evangelical Demonstration. For in the 8th Book of that work he Treats of *Daniel*'s weeks, which he affirms were compleated at our Saviour's coming, according to the opinion of *Africanus*. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the Disagreement supposed to be among the Gospels about the Genealogy of Christ.

BUT in as much as *Matthew* and *Luke*, committing the Gospel to writing, have differently delivered unto us the Genealogy of *Christ*, and are thought by many to disagree very much among themselves, so that almost every one of the faithful through ignorance of the truth, hath ambitiously striven to comment upon those places; Come on, let us rehearse a certain History which is come to our hands concerning the premises, the which *Africanus* (whom we mention'd a little before) hath set down in an Epistle written to *Aristides* about the Concordance of the Genealogy of Christ in the Gospels: and having indeed (*a*) blamed the opinions of others, as wrested and false, he delivereth the History that he himself had met withal, in these very words: 'For seeing that the names of kindred 'in *Israel* were numbred either after the line of 'nature, or after the rule of the law; after the 'order of nature, as by succession of natural 'seed, after that of the law, as when any one 'begetteth a son in the name of his brother who 'deceased without issue: for because a perspicuous hope of the Resurrection was not yet granted them, they shadow'd out in some sort the promise to come with this kind of mortal resurrection, that the name of the deceased might 'continue and never be quite blotted out. Because therefore, of them that are reckon'd in 'this Genealogy, some succeeded their fathers 'as natural sons, but others received their name 'whence they receiv'd not their nature; mention is made of both; as well of them who were 'truly fathers, as of them who were titular only, and as fathers. Thus neither of the Gospels 'is found false, the one drawing the Pedigree 'by the natural, the other by the legal line. 'For the race both of *Solomon*, and that also of 'Nathan, are so wrapp'd and twisted together, 'by reviving of persons deceased without issue, 'by (*b*) second marriages, and by raising up of 'seed, that not without cause the same men 'are supposed to have had divers fathers, where-

(*a*) Or, Having evidenced them to be false; for so it is in the King's M. S. *Vales.*

(*b*) The chief cause of confusing of Families was, when the woman, having had children by a former husband, hastned to remarry, and bore children by her latter also. After which, let us suppose the son, begotten by her first husband, to have married a wife, and afterwards to have died without issue. Then, if his brother by the mother side marry his widow, and beget children of her, in these children there will be a confusedness of families; in so much that by nature they may be called this Man's, and have one name, but by Law the others, and bear another name. *Vales.*

'of some were only nominative, others fathers *Augustus.*
'indeed. Thus the account in both Gospels is 'true, and is brought down to *Joseph* accurately and exactly, tho' by a various and different 'line. And, that what I say may plainly appear, I will recite the 'alteration of families. If 'we count the Generations '(*as* **Matthew doth*) from *David* by *Solomon*, *Mat-* * Matt. 1.
'*than* will be found the third from the end, 15, 16.
'who begat *Jacob* the father of *Joseph*: but if 'from *Nathan* the son of *David*, according unto * Luk. 3.
'* *Luke*, then the third in like manner from the 23, 24.
'end will be (*d*) *Melchi*, 'whose son was *Heli* the 'father of *Joseph*. For *Jo-* 'seph was the son of *Heli*, 'the son of *Melchi*. *Joseph* 'therefore being as it were 'the mark we shoot at, we 'must shew how each per- 'son is term'd his father, as well *Jacob* who deriveth his pedigree from *Solomon*, as *Heli* who 'descended from *Nathan*.; and besides, how, in 'the first place, these two, *Jacob* and *Heli*, were 'brethren; then, in the next place, how their 'fathers *Matthan* and *Melchi*, born of divers 'kindreds, may be made appear to be grandfathers to *Joseph*. Now therefore thus it was; '*Matthan* and *Melchi* marrying one after the other the same wife, begat children who were 'brethren by the mother; the law not forbidding a widow, either dismiss'd from her husband, or after the death of her husband, to be 'married to another man. First, therefore *Matthan*, descending from *Solomon*, begat *Jacob* of '*Estha*; for that is said to be the woman's name. 'After the death of *Matthan*, *Melchi*, who descended from *Nathan*, being of the same tribe, 'but of another race, (as we said before) took 'this widow to his wife, and begat *Heli* his son. 'Thus shall we find *Jacob* and *Heli*, tho' of a 'different race, yet by the same mother to have 'been brethren. One of whom, namely *Jacob*, 'after *Heli* his brother was deceased without issue, married his wife, and begat on her the 'third, *Joseph*, by nature indeed and reason his 'own son; whereupon also it is written, *And* '*Jacob begat Joseph*; but by the law he was the 'son of *Heli*: for *Jacob* being his brother raised up seed unto him. Wherefore neither is that 'Genealogy which concerneth him to lose 'its authority, the which indeed * *Matthew* the * Matt.
'Evangelist reciting, saith, *And Jacob begat Jo-* 1. 16.
'*seph*; but * *Luke* on the other side, *Which was* * Luk. 3.
'*the son, as it was supposed* (for he added this 23, 24.
'withal) *of Joseph which was the son of Heli, which* '*was the son of Melchi.* Nor could he more significantly and properly have expres'd that way 'of generation according to the law. Therefore 'in his recital of procreations of this sort, he 'passeth over in silence even to the end, the 'word of *begetting*, carrying the whole series 'of families step by step up as high as *Adam*, 'who was the son of God. Neither is this 'matter destitute of good proof, or rashly and 'haftily devised. For the kinsmen of our Saviour according to the flesh, either out of de- 'sire to make known the nobility of their 'Stock, or simply to tell the story, have very 'truly deliver'd even these things unto us; 'how that *Idumæan* Thieves invading the City '*Ascalon* in *Palæstina*, took captive together 'with other spoils out of the Temple of *Apollo*

(*c*) Or, The succession; So *Robert Stephens* Edit. and the King's M. S. *Vales.*

(*d*) But *Melchi* is, in St. *Luke*, the fifth, to wit, *Joseph*'s Great-grand-father's Father. Therefore either *Africanus* forgot himself; or else in that Copy of the Gospel he used, *Melchi* was written for *Matthat*; which is the conjecture of *Bede*, on the third chap. of *Luke*. *Vales.*

adjoyning

Auguſtus. ‘adjoyning unto the walls, (e) *Antipater*, ſon to ‘one *Herod*, that was Miniſter in that Temple. ‘But, in that the Prieſt was not able to pay the ‘ranſom for his ſon, *Antipater* was brought up ‘after the faſhion of the *Idumæans*, and at length ‘became very familiar with ‘*Hyrcanus* the High Prieſt ‘of *Judea*. He, being by ‘*Hyrcanus* ſent ſent Embaſſador unto *Pompey*; and ‘having recover'd him the ‘Kingdom free and entire, ‘which his brother *Ariſtobulus* had in great part uſurped, had the good hap ‘himſelf to gain the title ‘and office of (f) Procurator of *Paleſtine*, and liv'd ‘in great proſperity. This ‘*Antipater* being traiterouſly ſlain by ſome who envied his great felicity, *Herod* his ſon ſucceeded him, ‘whom at laſt *Antonius* and ‘*Auguſtus*, by decree of the Senate, conſtituted ‘King over the *Jews*: whoſe ſons were *Herod* ‘and the other Tetrarchs. Theſe things are ‘common alſo among the *Greek* Hiſtories. Now ‘whenas unto that time the Genealogies not ‘only of the *Hebrews*, but of them alſo who lineally deſcended from ancient Proſelytes, as ‘from *Achior* the *Ammonite*, and *Ruth* the *Moabiteſs*, and thoſe who came out of *Egypt* with ‘the *Iſraelites* and mingled with them, were recorded among the ancient Monuments; *Herod* conſidering that the *Iſraelitical* Pedigrees ‘would avail him nothing, and being prick'd ‘in mind with the conſciouſneſs of his baſeneſs ‘of birth, (g) burnt their ‘ancient recorded Genealogies, ſuppoſing thereby ‘to make himſelf to be ‘thought to come of noble ‘parentage, when none other, aſſiſted by publick ‘Records, were able to ‘bring their Pedigrees ‘from the Patriarchs, or ‘ancient Proſelytes, or ſuch ‘as were called (h) *Georæ*, ‘ſtrangers born, and mingled among the *Iſraelites*. ‘Yet ſome few ſtudious in ‘this behalf having either ‘kept in memory the ‘names of their Anceſtors, ‘or copied them out of ancient Rolls, have got unto ‘themſelves their proper ‘pedigrees, and glory much ‘that they have preſerved ‘the remembrance of their ‘ancient Nobility. Amongſt whom were thoſe ‘men I mention'd before; who by reaſon of ‘their near kindred with our Saviour, were ‘called *Deſpoſyni*. Theſe travelling from *Nazara* and (i) *Cochaba*, towns of the *Jews*, into other regions, plainly expounded the foreſaid ‘Genealogy, partly out of the Book of their (k) *Ephemerides*, and partly out of their Memory, ‘as far as they were able. However then the ‘caſe ſtand, whether thus or otherwiſe, no man *Auguſtus.* ‘in my judgment, and in the judgment of any ‘other ingenious perſon, ‘can find a plainer expoſition. Let us make much ‘of this therefore, tho' we ‘have (l) no proof to confirm it, ſeeing we cannot ‘produce a better and a ‘truer expoſition. *The Goſpel* indeed in all reſpects ‘uttereth moſt true things. And about the end of the ſame Epiſtle he addeth theſe words; ‘*Matthan deſcending from Solomon* begat *Jacob*. *Matthan* deceaſed, *Melchi* of the ‘ſtock of *Nathan* on the ‘ſame woman begat *Heli*. (m) So *Heli* and *Jacob* were brethren by the mother's ſide. *Heli* ‘dying without iſſue, *Jacob* rais'd unto him ‘ſeed by begetting of *Joſeph*, his own ſon by ‘nature, but *Heli* his ſon by law. Thus was *Joſeph* ſon to both. So far *Africanus*." Now the Genealogy of *Joſeph* being thus recited, the Stock alſo of *Mary*, who was of the ſame Tribe together with him, is in effect made apparent. For by the Law of *Moſes*, mingling of Tribes by marriage was forbidden. For the woman is commanded to be joyn'd in marriage to one of the ſame houſe and of the ſame family, that ſo the inheritance of the kindred might not be removed from Tribe to Tribe. But of theſe matters let thus much ſuffice.

(e) This paſſage is altogether fabulous. For the name of *Antipater*'s father was not *Herod*, but *Antipater* an Idumæan; neither was he a Miniſter in the Temple of *Apollo*. See *Joſephus* B. 14. Chap. 2. This *Antipater*, *Alexander* King of the *Jews* made Prefect of all *Idumæa*; and this firſt *Antipater* ſeems to be the founder of all that Greatneſs, to which his poſterity afterwards arrived. For he had the Prefecture of Idumæa during the reign of *Alexander* and *Alexandria*; and, having made an Alliance with the *Aſcalonites*, *Gazites*, and *Arabians* gat great Riches. *Valeſ.*

(f) *Antipater*, the Father of *Herod*, was Procurator of the whole Kingdom of *Judea* under *Hyrcanus*, and managed all affairs, both Military, and Civil. Therefore *Joſephus*, in his 14. B. calls him [ἐπίτροπον, i. e. *Procurator.*] *Valeſ.*

(g) I judge this paſſage alſo to have little of certainty in it. For *Joſephus*, in the book of his own life, mentioning the original and antiquity of his own ſtock, fetches it from the *publick Archives*. Therefore thoſe publick tables, which contained the originals of the Jewiſh families, were extant in *Joſephus*'s time. And ſo it's falſe to ſay that *Herod* burnt them. *Valeſ.*

(h) Two ſorts of Men joined themſelves with the Children of *Iſrael* when they went up out of *Egypt*. The one were native *Egyptians*, whom *Moſes* (*Exod.* 12. 19.) calls ἀυτόχθονας, i. e. *born in the land*: The other ſort were a mixt multitude, whom he there calls γειώρας, i. e. *ſtrangers*. They were extraneous Perſons amongſt the *Egyptians*, who took the land to Till at a certain penſion: The *Jews* were ſuch, before they went up out of *Egypt*. Both theſe ſorts of Men the ſacred Scripture comprehends under the name of *a mixt multitude* (Exod. 12. 38.) *Valeſ.*

(i) *Cochaba* was a Village near *Decapolis*. *Valeſ.*

(k) Many of the *Jews*, ſtudious of preſerving their Pedigree, had private copies thereof, taken out of the *publick Archives*; as we often ſee Gentlemen do at this day amongſt us. *Valeſ.*

(l) How much this explication of the place in the Goſpels is to be valued, appears from theſe words of *Africanus*; who confeſſes it is not confirmed by the teſtimony of any antient Writer: But he would have us admit of it, becauſe none that is better can be brought. Which if it be ſo, I wiſh our *Euſebius* had not mentioned this matter in the entrance of his Hiſtory. It had undoubtedly been better and more adviſedly done, to have paſſed over in ſilence this diſagreement of the Evangeliſts, leſt thoſe Readers, who were not believers (many of which there were at that time) might hence take occaſion to doubt of the truth of the Goſpel. *Valeſ.*

(m) In this way of reconciling this matter, which *Africanus* relates, two things occur, which ſeem to have ſomething of difficulty in them: Firſt, I doubt whether it were lawful for the Brother by the Mother's ſide to marry his Brother's Widow, and to beget Children of her, which were to ſucceed in the name and be accounted of the Family of his Brother. Tae Law (*Deut.* 25. 5.) ſpeaks of the Brother that dwells in the ſame Houſe, and that is of the ſame Stock: But the Brother by the Mother's ſide is not of the ſame Houſe, nor of the ſame Stock: Seeing that the Stock, eſpecially amongſt the *Jews*, was deduced from the Father's Race. Secondly, it may be deſervedly queſtioned, whether in reckoning up the Generations, there be any account had of the adoptive Fathers. *Obed*, who is mentioned in the Genealogy of Chriſt, is an eminent example hereof. For when *Maalon* was dead in the land of *Moab*, and *Ruth* left a Widow without Children, *Booz* the kinſman of *Maalon* (he that was a nearer kinſman than he giving up his right) took *Ruth* to Wife, whereby he might raiſe up Seed to *Maalon*. Yet *Obed* that was begotten of her, is by the Evangeliſts, and in the Book of *Ruth* not called the Son of *Maalon*, but the Son of *Booz*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of Herod's *Cruelty towards the Infants, and after how miſerable a manner he ended his life.*

NOW Chriſt being born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea* at the time before manifeſted, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, *Herod* upon an enquiry made by the * wiſe men that came from the *East*, asking where he was that was born King of the *Jews*? For they ſaid they had ſeen his Star, and had therefore made ſuch a long journey with diligence, becauſe they moſt ardently deſired to worſhip him that was born, as God. *Herod*, *I ſay*, being not a little troubled, judging his Government to be in very imminent danger, demanded of the Doctors of the Law, then in the nation, where they expected Chriſt ſhould be born. When he knew of the Prophecy of * *Micah*, who foretold he was to be born in *Bethlehem*; by one expreſs Edict he commands all the young children both in *Bethlehem* and in all the coaſts thereof from two years old and under, according to the time which he

* Matt. 2. 1, 2, 3.

* Micah. 5. 2.

Augustus. he had diligently enquired of the Wise-men, to be slain. For he supposed, as it was very likely, that Jesus would be involved in the same calamity with them that were about his age. But his Parents having had notice of the whole matter by an Angel that appeared to them, convey'd the young child into *Egypt*, and so he escaped the King's bloody Plot. Thus much indeed the sacred writing of the Gospel sets forth. And now moreover it would be worth the while to see what immediately befel *Herod* upon account of his audacious wickedness acted towards Christ and those of the same age with him; how forthwith, without all delay, the Divine vengeance seized him whilst alive after such a manner, as to foreshew some beginnings of those torments which awaited him after this life. And how he clouded these prosperous successes of his reign, as he judges them to be, with domestick calamities following one upon another, with the murthers of his wife and children, and others of his neerest relations and dearest friends, I shall not now be able particularly to recount, in as much as the rehearsal of this matter would far surpass even all the most savage cruelty of every Tragedy; which *Josephus* in his History has at large declared. But, how after his cruel plot form'd against our Saviour and the other infants, he was forthwith smitten from heaven with a disease, as with a scourge, whereof he died, it will not be unfit to understand from the Author himself, who in his * seventeenth Book of Antiquities relates after how lamentable a manner he ended his life, writing word for word thus; 'But the disease 'of *Herod* grew yet more bitterly violent, God 'exacting this judgment of his enormities upon 'him. He had a gentle fever not expressing it 'self so much to the outward touch and feeling, 'as more grievously burning him within. 'Moreover, he had a vehemently strong appetite after meat, but nothing could suffice 'him; he had an ulcer of the intrails, with sharp 'conflictations especially of the Colick-gut. 'a phlegmatick and shining humour appear'd 'about his feet. Moreover, the disease had gotten about the lower belly, and more than that, 'there was a putrefaction of his genitals, and it 'bred worms; besides, he had a shortness of 'breath, which was also unsavory; a troublesome flux of Rheum, which caused a perpetual difficulty of breathing. And the Patient 'having not strengh to resist these things, there 'follow'd a convulsion of all the parts. It was 'said therefore by the Divines, and those who 'made it their business to give judgment of 'such things, that the hand of God was upon 'the King to punish him for his so oft repeated horrible offences." Thus much therefore the aforeiaid Writer relates in the fore-mention'd Book. And in the Second (*a*) Book of his History he speaks of him after the same manner, in these words: 'After that he was taken 'with a disease, which seising upon the whole 'state and habit of his body, tormented him 'exceedingly with several pains: He had a fever, but not of any acute kind, an insufferable 'itching over all his body, with continual tortures of the Colon: by the humours about 'his feet you would judge him to have been 'hydropical; besides this, a strange inflammation of the lower belly, and such a putrefaction of the genitals as bred worms: moreover, 'a shortness and difficulty of breathing, with a 'convulsion of all the parts. This moved those Augustus. 'of that time who pretended to know the mind 'of God, to term these diseases a punishment inflicted on him from heaven. But altho' he 'struggled with so many distempers, yet he 'hoped to live and recover, and sought for remedy. Passing therefore over *Jordan* he made 'use of the hot-waters that are near *Callirhoe*. 'They fall into the lake *Asphaltites*, but are so 'sweet that they are potable. There, when 'his Physicians thought it good to bathe his 'whole body in warm oyl, being set into a bathing-vessel filled with oyl, he was so weaken'd all over his body, that he turn'd up his 'eyes as if he had been dead. But at the noise 'of his attendants outcries he came to himself 'again. After this, despairing of recovery, he 'gave order for the distribution of fifty (*b*) *Drachms* 'to every one of his common soldiers, but to his 'commanders and friends 'he gave great sums of 'money. From thence he 'return'd to *Jericho*; and 'being now grown very 'melancholy, he did as it 'were threaten death it 'self, and resolv'd upon the 'commission of a most horrible and villanous fact. 'For he commanded all 'the eminent personages 'that were in every town 'of *Judæa* to be summon'd 'together and imprison'd in the *Hippodrome*. 'Then calling for his sister *Salome* and her husband *Alexander*, I know, said he, the *Jews* will 'rejoyce mightily at my death; but if you will 'obey my commands, I can make my self to be 'lamented by many, and obtain an honourable 'funeral: As soon as breath is out of my body 'do you, being guarded with soldiers, kill all 'these men whom I have imprison'd; so all '*Judea*, yea every family shall, tho' against 'their wills, mourn at my death. *And a little 'after he says*, and again when he was tortured, 'partly by want of sustenance, and partly by 'convulsions of his violent cough, being overcome with continual torments he resolved to 'hasten his own death. And having taken an 'apple, he ask'd for a knife, for his manner 'was to cut them himself when ever he eat 'them; then looking round left there should 'be any one that might hinder him, he lifted 'up his right hand, as about to do violence to 'himself. *Moreover, the same Writer relates farther*, 'how that a little before his death 'he most wickedly commanded (*c*) another of 'his own sons, having slain '(*d*) two of them before, 'to be put to death, and 'then soon after died in 'most exquisite torture. And such was the end *Herod* made, suffering a due punishment for his cruelty towards the infants of *Bethlehem*, which he contrived on purpose to destroy our Saviour. After his death an Angel appeared to *Joseph* then in *Egypt*, and commanded him to take the young Child and his Mother and return into *Judea*, telling him they were dead who sought the young Child's life. To which * the Evangelist farther adds,

* Joseph. Antiq. B. 17. c. 8.

(*a*) These words of *Josephus* we meet with now in the 1. B. 21. c. of his History. But in the M. S. Copies of *Josephus*, the Books were otherwise divided than now they are. That division *Eusebius* followed, and therefore no alteration is here to be made. *Vales.*

(*b*) The word δραχμὴ is deriv'd from δραγμὴ, that is, an handful, as containing so many pieces of Brass-money as would make an handful, to wit, six. This word from the Greeks came not only to the Romans, but, after the time of the *Selucidæ*, to the Jews also; so *Ezr.* 2. 69. דרכמונים, the Greek word with a very little alteration, rendred by the 72 δραχμαὶ, by us *Drachms*. Now four *Attick Drachms* make one ordinary Shekel (so I call it to distinguish it from that of the Sanctuary which was twice as much) an ordinary Shekel is two Shillings and Six pence in our Coin. So that according to this account. *Herod*'s largess came to six pounds and five shillings a Man. *Suid.*

(*c*) *Antipater* who was beheaded by his fathers command five days before his death. See *Montague*'s Acts and Mon.

(*d*) *Aristobulus* and *Alexander*, who were strangled, at *Samaria* by his special command. *Id.*

* Matt. 2. 22.

Auguſtus. adds, ſaying, *When he heard that Archelaus reign'd in Judea in the room of his Father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, notwithſtanding being warned of God in a dream he turned aſide into the parts of Galilee.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the Times of Pilate.

Tiberius. THE ſaid Hiſtorian agrees alſo concerning the reign of *Archelaus* after the death of *Herod*, declaring the manner of it, how both by his Father's Teſtament, and alſo by the Decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, he obtained the Kingdom of *Judea*: And how, when after ten years he was depoſed from his Government, his brethren, *Philip* and *Herod Junior*, and (*a*) *Lyſanias* govern'd their Tetrarchies. The ſame Author, in the eighteenth Book of his Antiquities, makes it plainly appear, that *Pontius Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* in the twelfth year of the reign of *Tiberius* (who then was Emperor, ſucceeding *Auguſtus*, who had reigned fifty ſeven years) and continued ſo full ten years, almoſt as long as *Tiberius* lived. From whence their fiction is manifeſtly confuted, who of late have publiſh'd (*b*) Acts againſt our Saviour. In which chiefly the title or note of time, inſcrib'd upon the ſaid Acts, does evidently ſhow the Authors thereof to be liars. For thoſe things which theſe men have impudently feign'd concerning the ſalutary paſſion of our Lord, are ſaid to have been done when *Tiberius* was Conſul the fourth time, which fell out to be the ſeventh year of his reign. At which time it is certain *Pilate* was not come as Governour into *Judea*, if we may believe *Joſephus*; who in his foreſaid Book does expreſly ſhew, that *Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* by *Tiberius*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

(*a*) Saint *Luke* mentions this *Lyſanius*. chap. 3. 1. But *Joſephus* mentions him not in his account of this matter. 'Tis certain he was not *Herod*'s Son, nor yet his Succeſſor. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Acts were Books wherein the Scribes that belonged to the ſeveral places of judicature, recorded the ſentences pronounced by the Judges. See *Calvin*'s Lex. Jurid. the word *Acta*. Theſe Acts of *Pilate* were counterfeited by the Enemies of Chriſtianity, in the Perſecution under *Maximinus*, as *Euſebius* affirms, Lib. 9. c. 5.

CHAP. X.

Of the High-Prieſts among the Jews, *in whoſe time Chriſt preach'd the Goſpel.*

* Luk. 3. 1, 2. AT this time therefore, namely in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, according to the * the Evangeliſt, and the fourth of *Pilate*'s Procuratorſhip of *Judea*, *Herod*, (*a*) *Lyſanias* and *Philip* being Tetrarchs over the reſt of *Judea*, our Lord and Saviour Jeſus, the Chriſt of God, being about thirty years of age, was baptized by *John*, and then firſt began to preach the Goſpel. And the ſacred Scripture ſays, that he finiſh'd the whole time of his preaching under *Annas* and *Caiphas* being (*b*) High-Prieſts, meaning thereby that all his preaching was terminated within that ſpace of time wherein they executed the High-Prieſt's Office. Altho' therefore he began when *Annas* was High-Prieſt, and continued till *Caiphas* came on, yet there are ſcarce full four years contained within this ſpace of time. For, ſince from the time now mention'd, the Laws and Sanctions about holy matters were almoſt aboliſh'd, the High-Prieſthood alſo ceaſed to be for life and hereditary, neither was the worſhip of God rightly performed. But the *Roman* Governours made ſometimes one, ſometimes another High-Prieſt, none bearing that office above a year. (*c*) *Joſephus* indeed in his Book of Antiquities does relate, that from *Annas* to *Caiphas* there were in one continued order four High Prieſts. His words are theſe; 'Valerius 'Gratus having put out *Annas* from being High-'Prieſt, made *Iſmael* the ſon of (*d*) *Baphi* High-'Prieſt; not long after he removed him, and 'made *Eleazar*, ſon of the High-Prieſt *Annas*, 'High-Prieſt; within a year after he deprived 'him, and gave *Simon* the ſon of *Camithus* the 'High-Prieſthood. He, after he had held that 'honour not more than a year, had (*e*) *Joſephus*, 'whoſe name alſo was *Caiphas*, for his Succeſſor.' It is manifeſt therefore that the whole time of our Saviour's preaching was not compleat four years, within which ſpace of time there were as many High-Prieſts made, reckoning from *Annas* his bearing that office, to *Caiphas* his promotion to it, (*f*) every of which bore the office one year. The Holy (*g*) Goſpel therefore is right in noting *Caiphas* to be the High-Prieſt that ſame year in which our Lord's ſalutary paſſion hapned. From which authority of the Goſpel alſo it is evident, that the time of Chriſt's preaching does not diſagree with the account we have laid down. Now our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, not long after his beginning to preach, called twelve men, whom he named Apoſtles, giving to them in particular a title more honourable, and preferring them before the reſt of his Diſciples. Beſides, he choſe other ſeventy men, whom he ſent two by two before his face, into every of thoſe places and cities whither he himſelf would come.

Tiberius. (*b*) In all our copies this word is in the ſingular number [*High-Prieſt*] but in St. *Luke* it is in the plural [High-ieſts.] But theſe words of St. *Luke* do no way mean what *Euſebius* perſwades himſelf they do; to wit, that *Chriſt* began to Preach in that year wherein *Annas* was High-Prieſt, and continued till *Caiphas* came on. For firſt, *Luke* ſpeaks there concerning *John*'s preaching, which was before Chriſt's, and not concerning our Saviour's: Then he ſays, that that preaing of *John* was begun under *Annas* and *Caiphas* being High-Prieſts;

not that there were two High-Prieſts at the ſame time, which is abſurd and was never heard of, but that *Luke* means by theſe words, that in this fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *Caiphas* was High-Prieſt, and *Annas* was one that had born that Office very lately. (See Dr. *Hammond*'s note on *Luke* chap. 3. v. 2. where he treats of this matter learnedly and largely.) Whoſoever had born the High-Prieſts Office, thoſe were called High-prieſts during their lives, and took Tythes; So *Joſephus* declares B. 20. of Antiq. *Valeſ.*

(*a*) I know not why *Euſebius* put *Lyſanias* in the middle between *Herod* and *Philip*, the ſons of *Herod* the great. For *Luke*, whoſe words *Euſebius* does here profeſs that he follows, in that famous place concerning the Baptiſm of Chriſt, names *Lyſanias* in the third place. Wherefore *Euſebius* ſhould have obſerved the ſame order, eſpecially becauſe *Lyſanias* was neither Son, nor Succeſſor to *Herod*. *Euſebius* alſo ſeems to be reproveable here, in that after he had ſaid *Pilate* was then Procurator of *Judea*, he adds, that the reſt of *Judea* was governed by the Tetrarchs, *Herod*, *Philip*, and *Lyſanias*. But *Lyſanias* never had any part of *Judea*. For *Abila* was not a City of *Judea*, but of *Syria*. Yet *Euſebius* may be excuſed, if we ſay, that by *Judea* he underſtood the whole Dominion of *Herod the Great*: For it's manifeſt that he had the Tetrarchy of *Lyſanias* given him by *Auguſtus*. For the *Roman* Emperors uſed to beſtow theſe Tetrarchies on thoſe Kings that were their Confederates and Friends, that they might thereby the more oblige them. It's ſtrange that there is no mention of this *Lyſanius*, of whom St. *Luke* ſpeaks, either in *Joſephus*, *Dion*, or the reſt.

(*b*) In the Greek it is, 'Under the High-Prieſts *Annas* and *Caiphas*.' Which words are not to be underſtood as if there were two High-Prieſts at the ſame time, but that *Annas* was High-Prieſt, and continued till *Caiphas* came on. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Joſeph.* Antiq. B. 18. chap. 4. *Euſebius* is here very much miſtaken; for *Joſephus* does not ſpeak of the ſame times that St. *Luke* does; *Joſephus* ſpeaks of the firſt ten years of *Tiberius*'s Reign, in which time *Valerius Gratus* was Procurator of *Judea*; but *Luke* ſpeaks of *Tiberius*'s ſecond ten years, when *Pilate* was Governour of *Judea*. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) Or *Phabi*, as ſome Copies read it. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) Or *Joſeppus*, or, *Joſepus*, as it is in the old Editions of *Ruſinus*. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) *Euſebius* underſtands *Joſephus*, ſo, as if *Joſephus* had ſaid, that thoſe four High-Prieſts, *Annas*, (or *Ananus*,) *Iſmael*, *Eleazar*, and *Simon* executed the High-Prieſthood, each the ſpace of one year. Indeed *Joſephus* ſays this expreſly of the two laſt; but not ſo of the two firſt. For he declares that *Iſmael* indeed was put out a little after he was made High-Prieſt by *Valerius*: But *Joſephus* is ſo far from making *Ananus* to have been High-Prieſt but one year, that from his words it is plainly gathered, he held the High-Prieſthood three years at leaſt. See *Joſephus*'s Antiq. B. 20. chap. 8. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) He means *John* 11. 18. but the Evangeliſt does not ſay there, that he was made High-Prieſt that ſame year.

CHAP.

Tiberius.

CHAP. XI.

What hath been testified concerning John *the Baptist, and concerning Christ.*

(a) THE sacred History of the Gospel also mentions the beheading of *John* the *Baptist*, by *Herod* Jun. to have been not long after this. To which also agrees *Josephus*, who both makes mention particularly of *Herodias* by name, and also expresly declares, how that *Herod*, having put away his former wife lawfully marry'd to him, took this woman his brother's wife by force from him being yet alive, and married her: she was the daughter of *Arethas* King of the *Arabians*: and that upon her account, *Herod* having slain *John*, went to war with *Arethas*, incensed at the disgrace of his daughter. In which war, he relates that *Herod* and his whole Army were vanquish'd in a Battel, and that these things befel him upon account of his cruelty towards *John*. The same *Josephus* does agree with the Evangelical History in the account it gives of this *John*, especially as to his confessing him to have been a most righteous Man and a *Baptist*. He says further, that *Herod* was depriv'd of his kingdom for the sake of this *Herodias*, and was together with her banish'd to (b) *Vienna* a City of *Gallia*. All this he relates in his 18th Book of Antiquities, where also he writes these very words concerning *John*: 'But some of the *Jews* 'judg'd *Herod*'s Army to have been overthrown 'by God, he avenging justly on him the mur- 'ther of *John* call'd the *Baptist*. For him *Herod* 'had slain, who was a good man, and one that 'exhorted the *Jews* to the exercise of virtue, 'commanding them to deal justly with one a- 'nother, and to behave themselves piously to- 'wards God, and so to come to be baptized. 'For Baptism, said he, was then only well- 'pleasing to God, when it was used, not for the 'excusing of some certain offences, but in or- 'der to the cleansing of the body, the soul being 'before purified by righteousness. Now when 'many flock'd to him from every quarter (for 'they were strangely taken with hearing of 'such discourses) *Herod* fearing lest thro' the 'powerful perswasion of the man, his subjects 'should revolt, (for they seem'd ready to do 'any thing that he advised) judg'd it better to 'cut him off before any innovation hapned by 'him, than, after it was come to pass, and had 'greatly endangered his affairs, to repent he 'did not, when it was too late. Upon this 'very mistrust of *Herod*'s, he being put into 'bonds, was sent to the aforesaid Castle of '*Machærous* and there slain. Thus far he concerning *John*. The same Author in the same *Book* makes mention also of our Saviour in these words; 'About that time there was one Jesus, a 'wise man, if he may be called a man; for he 'wrought wonderful miracles, and taught all 'that with delight would embrace the truth. 'He had many followers, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. 'This was he that was * *called* Christ. Whom 'tho' he was accused by the chief men of our 'Nation, and *Pilate* condemned him to be cru- 'cified, yet those who at first loved him for- 'bore not to worship him. For he appeared 'unto them alive on the third day, as the holy 'Prophets had predicted, who foretold these 'and many more wonderful things concerning 'him. And till this day that Sect continues, 'which of Him are call'd *Christians*. Seeing therefore that this Writer, being a *Jew* born and bred, has in his works recorded thus much of our Saviour and *John* the *Baptist*, what evasion can remain to the Forgers of those Acts against them, that they should not evidently be prov'd to be the most impudent of Men? But thus far of these Matters.

(a) I began the 11 chap. at these words; following the authority of the King's, the Maz. and the Fuketian M. SS. *Vales.*

(b) *Josephus*, in his 18 B. of Antiquit. 9 chap. says he was banish'd by *Caius Cæsar* to *Lions* in *France*. *Vales.*

* Λεγόμενον, *i. e. called*, is to be understood, as *Valesius* supposes.

Tiberius.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning our Saviour's Disciples.

MOreover, the names of our Saviour's Apostles are to all apparently manifest in the Gospel, but as to the seventy disciples, a particular * catalogue of them is no where extant. But *Barnabas* is said to have been one of them, of whom we have frequent mention both in the *Acts* of the Apostles, and also most especially in *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Galatians*. *Sosthenes* also, they say, was another of them, he that together with *Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*: For so says *Clemens* in the fifth Book of his Institutions; where also he affirms *Cephas* (that *Cephas* of whom *Paul* speaks, † *But when Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to the face*) a namesake of *Peter*'s, to have been one of the seventy disciples. *Matthias* also, who was numbred with the Apostles in the room of the Traitor *Judas*, and the other who had the honour to be proposed in the same lot with him, are reported to be of the number of the Seventy. *Thaddæus* likewise, of whom I will by and by adjoin an History as it came to our hands, is reported to have been one of them. But he that shall attentively observe, will find, even from *Paul*'s testimony alone, that our Saviour's disciples were more in number than Seventy. For he * says, *Christ after his Resurrection was seen first of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once; of whom some were fal'n asleep, but the greatest part*, he declares, were alive when he wrote these things. *Then*, says he, *he appeared to James*. (a) He is said to have been one of the Seventy disciples of our Saviour, and also one of the Lord's Brethren. Lastly, there being many more besides the twelve, who were called Apostles by way of imitation, of which sort *Paul* himself was one, he farther adds, saying, *Then he was seen of all the Apostles*. But so much of this. The fore-mentioned History concerning *Thaddæus* was thus:

* There is a Catalogue of the 70 Disciples, written by *Dorotheus*, but it was not extant in *Eusebius*'s time.

† Gal. 2. 11. where instead of *Cephas* we now read *Peter*.

* 1 Cor. 15. 5, 6, 7.

(a) Many of the antient writers affirm, that *James* the brother of our Lord, he that was Ordained the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was not of the Number of the Twelve Apostles but of the Disciples of the Lord. Indeed *Paul*, in his first Epist. to the *Corinthians*, chap. 15. v. 7. seems to favour this opinion, where reckoning up those to whom Christ appeared after his death, after he hath named the Twelve Apostles, and five hundred others, he adds, *After that he was seen of James*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

The History of the Prince of the Edessens.

THE Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being every where famous by reason of his wonderful power, by which he wrought Miracles, drew together an innumerable company even of foreigners, and inhabitants of Countreys far remote from *Judea*, who were sick and troubled with all sorts of pains, hoping to be recovered. Therefore King (a) *Agbarus*, the then worthy

(a) Or, *Abgarus*; for so he is called in some Copies. *Vales.*

Tiberius.

worthy Governour of the (*b*) nations lying beyond *Euphrates*, being much weakned with a sore disease, incurable by human skill; as soon as he heard of the great Name of Jesus, and of his wonderful Works attested by all, sent a Letter to him by a Letter-carrier, humbly beseeching him to vouchsafe to cure his distemper. Now tho' he did not then hearken to his request, yet he vouchsafed to give him answer by his own Letter; wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples, who should both cure him, and also bring salvation to him, and his Relations and Friends. Soon after therefore this promise was exactly fulfill'd: For after his Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension into Heaven, *Thomas*, one of the Twelve Apostles, moved thereto by Divine Impulse, sent *Thaddæus*, chosen one of the Seventy Disciples of Christ, to *Edessa*, to be a Preacher and Evangelist of the Doctrine of Christ. By whom all that which our Saviour had promised was fulfill'd. The written evidence of this matter we have taken out of the Office of Records within the princely City of *Edessa*, in which *Agbarus* then was Governour. For among the publick Records there, wherein the Antiquities of the City and the Acts of *Agbarus* are contain'd, are found these things, there preserved to our days. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the very words of the *Letter*, which we have taken out of the ancient Rolls, and faithfully translated out of the *Syriack* tongue in these words, thus;

(*b*) *Agbarus* was Ruler over one nation only; for he was Prince of the *Arabians*, but not of them all: For the *Arabians* were divided into many Tribes; and each Tribe had its distinct Præfect. This name was common to the Princes of *Edessa*. It is an *Arabick* term, and signifies *most powerful*. Vales.

A Copy of the Letter written by King Agbarus *to* Jesus, *and sent to him to* Jerusalem *by* Ananias *the Courier.*

'*Agbarus* Prince of *Edessa*, to *Jesus* the Good 'Saviour, who hath manifested himself within 'the Confines of *Jerusalem*, sendeth greeting. 'I have heard of thee, and of the cures wrought 'by thee without Herbs or Medicines; for, as 'it is reported, thou dost restore Sight to the 'Blind; thou makest the Lame to walk; thou 'cleansest the Leprous, and thou dost cast out 'Devils and unclean Spirits, and thou healest 'those that are tormented with Diseases of a 'long continuance, and thou dost raise the Dead. 'When I heard all this of thee, I was fully per'swaded to believe one of these two things, ei'ther that thou art very God, and art come 'down from Heaven to do such things, or else 'the Son of God, and so performest them. 'Wherefore, I have now written to thee, be'seeching thee to come to me, and cure my 'disease: for I have heard that the *Jews* mur'mur against thee, and contrive to do thee mis'chief. I have a City, a little one indeed, but it 'is beautiful, and capable of receiving us both." Thus wrote *Agbarus*, as then but a little enlighten'd from above. It is also worth while to hear the Answer of *Jesus*, return'd to him by the same Courier; short indeed it is, but it has much of power and efficacy in it: It was thus:

The Answer of Jesus *to* Agbarus *the King, sent by* Ananias *the Courier.*

'Blessed art thou, *Agbarus*, who hast believ'd 'in me whom thou hast not seen. For it is '(*c*) written of me, that they which have seen 'me should not believe in me, that so they which 'have not seen me may believe and be saved.

(*c*) In what part of the *Old Testament* these words occur I am yet to seek. Indeed, in the Gospel of St. *John* it is written, that our Lord said to *Thomas* after his Resurrection, *Joh.* 20. 29. *Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.* But this Epistle of Christ to King *Agbarus*, if it be genuine, preceded that Reprehension of the Apostle *Thomas* some years. *Vales.*

Tiberius.

'But as concerning what thou writest about my 'coming to thee, *know*, that all things for which 'I am sent must be here by me fulfilled; which 'being finish'd, I shall be taken up and return 'to him that sent me: but after I am ascended, 'I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall 'cure thy distemper, and give life to thee, and 'to them that are with thee." To this Letter there is this farther added in the *Syriack* Language; 'After *Jesus* was ascended, *Judas*, called also (*d*) *Thomas*, sent '*Thaddæus* the (*e*) Apostle, 'who was one of the Seventy Disciples, to *Agbarus*. When he was come 'thither, he abode with *Tobias* the son of *Tobias*. As 'soon as it was heard that 'he was come, having manifested himself by the 'miracles he wrought; *Agbarus* was told, that the Apostle of *Jesus* was come 'thither according to his promise in his Letter. Now '*Thaddæus* began to cure every disease and distemper 'by the power of God to the wonder of all. 'When *Agbarus* heard of the great and wonderful works wrought by him, and how in the 'name and by the power of *Jesus Christ* he cured diseases, he had some suspicion, that this 'was the person about whom *Jesus* wrote to 'him, saying, when I am taken up, I will send 'thee one of my Disciples, who shall heal thy 'distemper. Having therefore called for *Tobias*, 'with whom *Thaddæus* abode, *I have heard, said he*, 'that there is a certain powerful man come from '*Jerusalem*, who lodges at thy house, that performs many cures in the name of *Jesus*. There 'is a stranger, Sir, *replied he*, come to my house 'who does many miracles: Bring him, said *Agbarus*, to me. *Tobias* went home to *Thaddæus*, 'and told him, *Agbarus* the Governour of this 'City having sent for me, commands me to 'bring thee to him, that thou may'st cure his 'distemper. I will go, *replied Thaddæus*, for it 'is chiefly upon his account that I am with 'power sent hither. *Tobias* therefore getting 'up early next morning, took *Thaddæus* along 'with him, and went to *Agbarus*. When he was 'come to *Agbarus* (his Nobles being present 'and standing round him) there appeared a 'wonderful sight in the face of the [illegible] '*Thaddæus*, as he came in to him, and [illegible] 'he worship'd him. All that were pre[illegible]-'dred at that, for they saw nothing [illegible]nt 'which appear'd only to *Agbarus* [illegible] he 'ask'd *Tha[illegible]æus*, Art thou in tru[illegible]ciple 'of *Jesus* the Son of God, who [illegible]thus to 'me, I will send thee one of my D[illegible]es, who 'shall cure thy distemper, and gi[illegible] to thee, 'and to all with thee? *Thaddæus* [illegible]ered, For 'as much as thou hast firmly belie[illegible] the Lord '*Jesus* who sent me, therefore [illegible] I sent to 'thee, and if thy faith in him does [illegible]ll increase, 'according to thy belief thou shalt have the de'sires of thine heart fulfilled. *Agbarus* made him 'answer, I did so firmly believe in him, that I 'would have raised forces to have destroy'd the '*Jews* who crucified him, had I not been inhi'bited from that purpose by the *Roman* Empire. '*Jesus Christ*, replied *Thaddæus*, our Lord God 'fulfilled the will of his Father, and having finished

(*d*) *Thomas* indeed, that was one of the Twelve Apostles, was called *Didymus*; but that the same person was sirnamed *Judas*, is not, that I know, any where else to be found. Upon this account therefore this Story is deservedly to be suspected. *Vales.*

(*e*) Apostle here is to be taken in a large sense; (see *Eusebius* at the latter end of the foregoing Chapter:) after the same manner every Nation and City termed them Apostles, from whom they first received the truth of the Gospel. This name was not only given to the Twelve, but all their Disciples, Companions and Assistants, were generally called Apostles. *Vales.*

Tiberius. ‘nished that, was taken up to his Father. *Agbarus* said unto him, I believed both in Him ‘and in his Father. Therefore, said *Thaddæus*, I ‘lay my hand on thee, in the name of the same ‘Lord Jesus Christ: and having done so he was ‘presently cured of the disease and distemper ‘that he had. *Agbarus* wondred greatly when ‘he saw that really accomplish'd which he had ‘heard concerning Jesus, by his Disciple and ‘Apostle *Thaddæus*, who without the help of ‘Herbs or Medicines, restored him to his for‘mer soundness: and not only him, but one ‘*Abdus* also, the son of *Abdus*, who had the Gout; ‘he coming and falling down at *Thaddæus*'s feet, ‘receiv'd a blessing by prayer and the laying on ‘of his hands, and was healed. Many others al‘so of the same City with them were cured by ‘the Apostle, who wrought wonderful miracles ‘and preached the word of God. After all this ‘*Agbarus* spake thus, We believe, *Thaddæus*, ‘whatever thou dost, thou performest by the ‘power of God, and therefore we greatly ad‘mire thee. But, we pray thee moreover, give ‘us some farther account of the *Advent* of Je‘sus, how and after what manner it was; of ‘his power also, and by what virtue he wrought ‘those mighty works we have heard. I shall ‘now be silent, replied *Thaddæus*, because I am ‘sent to publish the word of God: but assem‘ble all the men of thy City together to me ‘to morrow, and I will preach the word of God ‘to them, and will disperse the word of life a‘mong them, and expound the *Advent* of Je‘sus, after what manner it was, his Commission, ‘and for what reason his Father sent him; the ‘power of his works, the mysteries he declar'd ‘to the world, by what power he wrought so ‘great miracles, his new preaching, the slen‘der and mean reputation he made himself of, ‘the despicableness of his outward man, how Tiberius. ‘he humbled himself even unto death, how ‘he lessen'd his Divinity, how many and great ‘things he suffer'd of the *Jews*, how he was ‘crucified, how he descended into Hell, and ‘rent asunder that Inclosure never before se‘vered; how he rose again, and together with ‘himself, raised those from the dead who had ‘lain buried many ages; how he descended ‘from Heaven alone, but ascended to his Fa‘ther accompanied with a great multitude; ‘how with glory he is set down at the right ‘hand of God his Father in Heaven, and how ‘he will come again with power and glory to ‘judge both quick and dead. *Agbarus* therefore ‘commanded the men of his City to come to‘gether very early and hear *Thaddæus* preach. ‘After this he commanded, that gold and silver ‘should be given to *Thaddæus*; but he refused ‘it, saying, how shall we, who have left all ‘that was our own, take any thing that is ano‘thers? These things were done in the (*f*) three (*f*) This Three hundredth and fortieth year according to the account of ‘hundredth and fortieth year. All this being ‘translated word for word out of the *Syriack* ‘tongue, and not unprofitable to be read, we ‘have thought good to set down opportunely ‘in this place.

the *Edessens*, falleth with the first year of the two hundredth and second Olympiad. For the *Edessens* numbred their years from the hundredth and seventeenth Olympiad, fixing their Æra upon the first year of *Seleucus* his Reign in *Asia* (as *Eusebius* writes in his Chronicon) from which time to the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad, there are just three hundred and forty years. Now the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad falleth with the fifteenth year of *Tiberius Cæsar*; in which year, as many of the Antients believed, our Blessed Saviour suffered and ascended. So that this account falls right, placing *Thaddæus* his coming to *Edessa*, and his curing King *Agbarus* on the same year, in which our Blessed Saviour suffered. Note, that the *Edessens* began their year, from the Autumnal Æquinox, according to the custom of the *Syrians*, and almost all the *Eastern* Nations. *Vales.*

THE

SECOND BOOK
Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

The PREFACE.

WHatsoever was necessary to be premised by way of Preface *to Our* Ecclesiastical History, *both concerning the Divinity of the comfortable Word, the Antiquity of the Points of our Doctrine and Evangelical Polity; and also moreover concerning the Manifestation our Saviour lately made of himself, his Passion and the Election of the Apostles, we have treated of in the foregoing Book, and briefly summ'd up the Proofs thereof. Now therefore in this, we will diligently look into what followed upon his Ascension; partly from what we find noted in Holy Writ, and partly from other Records, which we will mention in due place.*

CHAP. I.

Of those things which were instituted by the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ.

(*a*) At these words we began the first Chapter, following the Authority partly of *Rufinus*, partly of the King's, *Maz.* and *Fuk.* M. SS. or, what goes before is a Preface. *Vales.*

(*a*) FIRST of all therefore, *Matthias*, who, as before, has been manifested, was one of the Lord's Disciples, by lot was elected into the Apostleship of the Traitor *Judas*. Then, seven approved men were by prayer and imposition of the Apostles hands ordain'd Deacons for the publick administration of the Churches affairs; of which number *Stephen* was one: who (*b*) immediately after his Ordination, as if he had been made Deacon only for this, was the first that, after the Lord, was slain by those very *Jews* that had been the Lord's mur-

(*b*) The year wherein *Stephen* suffered Martyrdom is not agreed on by all: Some say it was the third year after Christ's passion, which was the last of *Tiberius*, so *Syncellus*. Others say he was martyr'd on the 7th of the Calend. of *Jan.* that same year in which Christ suffered. So *Scaliger* says in his Excerpt. Chronolog. which he puts out with *Euseb.* Chronicon. p. 68. and this seems to have been the opinion of *Eusebius*, as appears from this place. *Vales.*

Tiberius. therers, who ſtoned him to death: And thus he, being the firſt of the worthily victorious Martyrs of Chriſt, gain'd a crown (*c*) anſwerable to his name. Then *James* alſo, who was term'd the (*d*) brother of our Lord, becauſe he alſo was called the ſon of *Joſeph:* for *Joſeph* was the father of *Chriſt, to whom Mary being eſpouſed, before they came together ſhe was found with child of the Holy Ghoſt,* as the ſacred Hiſtory of the Goſpel doth declare: This ſame *James, I ſay,* who for his eminent virtue the Antients, ſirnamed the Juſt, was, as they relate, the firſt that had the Epiſcopal ſeat of the Church at *Jeruſalem* deliver'd to him. So *Clemens* affirms in the ſixth Book of *his Inſtitutions.* For he ſays, That *after our Saviour's Aſcenſion,* Peter, James, *and* John, *altho' our Lord had preferr'd them before the reſt, did not contend for the dignity, but choſe* James the Juſt *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. The ſame Author in the ſeventh Book of the ſame Work, ſays this farther of him; *The Lord after his Reſurrection conferred the gift of knowledge upon* James the Juſt, John *and* Peter, *which they delivered to the reſt of the Apoſtles, and thoſe to the Seventy Diſciples, one of whom was* Barnabas. But there were two *James's*; the one ſirnamed *the Juſt,* who was caſt head-long from the Battlements of the Temple, and beaten to death with a Fuller's Club: The other was beheaded. *Paul* makes mention of this *James the Juſt,* writing thus:

* Gal. 1. 19. * *Other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none ſave James the Lord's brother.* At this time alſo all that our Saviour had promiſed to the King of the *Oſdroëni-ans* was fulfilled. For *Thomas,* moved thereto by Divine impulſe, ſent *Thaddæus* to *Edeſſa* to be a Preacher and Evangeliſt of the Doctrine of *Chriſt,* as from a Record there found we have a little before manifeſted. He, when he was come thither, did in the name of *Chriſt* both cure *Agbarus,* and alſo aſtoniſh'd all the Inhabitants of the Country with the wonderfulneſs of his Miracles. And when he had ſufficiently prepared them with ſuch works, and brought them to an adoration of *Chriſt*'s power, he made them Diſciples of his wholſome Doctrine. From that very time until now the whole City of the *Edeſſens* has continued to be conſecrated to *Chriſt*'s name, enjoying no trivial evidences of our Saviour's graciouſneſs towards them. And theſe things are ſaid as from the Hiſtory of the old Records. We will now return again to Holy Writ. After the Martyrdom of *Stephen,* when the firſt and ſoreſt perſecution of the Church at *Jeruſalem* by the *Jews* aroſe, all the Diſciples of *Chriſt,* except the Twelve only, being ſcatter'd throughout *Judea* and *Samaria,* ſome of them travelling as far as *Phœnice* and *Cyprus* and *Antioch,* as holy Scripture teſtifieth, were not able to be ſo bold as to communicate the word of Faith to the *Gentiles,* but preach'd

* Acts. 8. 3. to the *Jews* only. At that time * *Paul* alſo until then made havock of the Church, entring into every houſe of the faithful, halling men and women, and committing them to priſon. Moreover * *Philip,* one of thoſe who was ordain'd Deacon with *Stephen,* being one of them that were diſperſed, went down to *Samaria,* and being full of the Divine Power, was the firſt that preach'd the Word to thoſe Inhabitants. And the Grace of God did ſo effectually co-operate with him, that by his preaching he drew after him *Simon Magus* with many other men. This *Simon,* at that time very famous, did ſo far prevail with thoſe whom he had deceiv'd by his impoſture, that they thought him to be the Great Power of God. Then therefore this very perſon, being greatly amazed at the miracles *Philip* wrought by the power of God, craftily inſinuated himſelf, and ſo far counterfeited a faith in *Chriſt,* that he was baptized. The ſame thing with admiration we ſee now done by the followers of his moſt filthy Sect, who creeping into the Church, as their Fore-father did, like ſome peſtilent and leprous diſeaſe, do deeply corrupt all thoſe into whom they are any way able to inſtil that pernicious and incurable poiſon which lies conceal'd within them. But many of them were caſt out of the Church, as ſoon as their viciouſneſs was diſcover'd: in like manner *Simon* himſelf being at length detected by *Peter,* was deſervedly puniſh'd. Furthermore, when the wholſome preaching of the Goſpel daily increaſed, Divine Providence brought out of the land of *Æthiopia* a man of great authority under the Queen of that Country; for thoſe nations are according to their country faſhion govern'd by a woman, who being the firſt of the *Gentiles,* that by *Philip,* warn'd of God by a viſion, was made partaker of the myſteries of the Divine Word; was alſo the firſt fruits of the faithful throughout the world: returning into his own country, he is reported to have been the firſt publiſher of the Knowledge of the Great God, and of the comfortable Advent of our Saviour in the fleſh: and ſo by him was really fulfilled that prediction of the Prophet, * *Æthiopia ſhall ſtretch out her hand unto God.* At this time, † *Paul,* that choſen veſſel, was made an Apoſtle, not of men, neither by men, but by the revelation of *Jeſus Chriſt,* and God the Father, who raiſed him from the dead; being vouchſafed this calling by a viſion, and a voice from heaven, which came to him at the Revelation thereof.

Tiberius.

* Acts 8. 5, &c.

* Pſal. 68. 31.

† Acts 9. 3, &c.

(*c*) *Stephen,* in Greek ſignifies a Crown.

(*d*) That this *James* was not the Son of the B. Virgin, nor yet of *Joſeph* by one *Eſeba* a former wife; but of *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas* ſiſter to the B. Virgin, may thus be made appear: We read *Jo.* 19. 25. that there ſtood by the Croſs of Chriſt his Mother, and his Mother's ſiſter *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas,* and *Mary Magdalen:* In the reſt of the Evangeliſts we find at the ſame place (*Matth.* 27. 56.) *Mary Magdalen,* and *Mary* the mother of *James* and *Joſes*; and again at the Sepulchre (*Matth.* 28. 1.) *Mary Magdalen* and the other *Mary.* Wherefore that other *Mary* by the conjunction of theſe Teſtimonies, appeareth to be the ſiſter of the B. Virgin, to be the wife of *Cleophas,* and the mother of *James* and *Joſes*; and conſequently *James* and *Joſes* the brethen of the Lord, were not the ſons of *Mary* his mother, nor of *Joſeph* by a former wife, but of the other *Mary,* and therefore called his brethren, according to the language of the *Jews* [See *Gen.* 13. 8. & 12. 5. & 29. 12. [becauſe that other *Mary* was the ſiſter of his mother. See Biſhop *Pearſon* on the Creed. p. 176. Edit. Lond. 1669.

CHAP. II.

How Tiberius *was affected at the Relation* Pilate *ſent him of thoſe things concerning* Chriſt.

WHen the wonderful Reſurrection of our Saviour and his Aſcenſion into Heaven was now divulg'd among all men; becauſe it was of old coſtomary that the Governours of *Provinces* ſhould communicate to the *Emperor* every ſtrange and unuſual accident that hapned within their charge, that ſo nothing that was done might eſcape his knowledge; *Pilate* acquainted the Emperor *Tiberius* with the Reſurrection of our *Saviour Jeſus Chriſt,* now much talk'd of over all *Paleſtine*; giving him an account that he had alſo heard of many other miracles of his, and how that riſing again after he had been dead, he was now by many believ'd to be God. And they ſay that *Tiberius* referr'd this matter to the Senate, but the relation was rejected by them; upon pretence, that they had not firſt approved of the matter,

Tiberius. matter; there being an old law among the *Romans*, that no one should be Deified but by the suffrage and decree of the Senate; but in reality, that the wholsome preaching of the Divine Doctrine might not stand in need of any human approbation or assistance. When therefore the Senate had rejected the Relation concerning our Saviour, *Tiberius* persisted in his former judgment, attempting nothing prejudicial to the Doctrine of Christ. Thus much (*a*) *Tertullian*, a man incomparably well skill'd in the *Roman* Laws, and every way famous, and most renown'd among the *Latin* Writers, in the Apology for the Christians written by him in *Latin*, but afterwards translated into *Greek*, does declare in these very words: 'And (*b*) 'that we may discourse 'concerning the Original 'of these Laws, there was 'an old Decree, that the 'Emperor should conse-'crate no God, before he was approved by the 'Senate. *Marcus Æmilius* knows this concer-'ning his God *Alburnus*. And this makes for 'our advantage, because among you Divinity 'is weigh'd by human approbation. If God 'please not man, he shall not be God. Man 'now must be propitious to God. *Tiberius* there-'fore, in whose time the Christian name made 'its entry into the world, communicated to 'the Senate the account he had received out 'of *Syria Palestine*, whereby the Truth of the 'Divinity of Christ was made apparent; which 'he confirm'd with his own Suffrage. But be-'cause the Senate had not approved of it, it 'was rejected: The Emperor persisted in his 'judgment, threatning the Accusers of the 'Christians with death." Which Opinion Divine Providence, according to his dispensation, instill'd into the mind of *Tiberius Cæsar*, that the Preaching of the Gospel then in its infancy, might without impediment spread over the whole world.

(*a*) *Tertullian* was by birth a *Carthaginian*; his father was a *Centurion* of the Proconsular-Office. He wrote many volumes in Latin, of which his Apology only was done into Greek, but by whom, it is uncertain: He flourish'd under *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*. Vales.

(*b*) In our translation of this quotation out of *Tertullian*, we have followed the Original expression of the Author, according to *Rigaltius* his Edition of him: This Greek Translation being not fully expressive of the Author's mind, as *Valesius* thinks.

CHAP. III.

How the Doctrine of Christ spread in a short time over the whole World.

AND thus by the co-operation of Divine Power, the comfortable Word of God, like the beams of the Sun, on a sudden enlightned the whole world, and presently, agreeable to the Divine * Scriptures, *the sound of the heavenly Evangelists and Apostles went out into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the earth.* And indeed in a short time there were throughout all Cities and Villages Churches gather'd, which like a Threshing-floor filled with corn, were throng'd with infinite multitudes. And they, who deriving their ignorance from their Ancestors and their errors of old, were ensnared as to their Souls with the superstitious worship of Idols, as in an inveterate disease, being freed as it were from their cruel masters, and loosned from their heavy bonds by the power of *Christ*, and the preaching and miracles of his Disciples, did with scorn reject the multitude of of Gods brought in by Devils, and acknowledged there was one only God the maker of all things; and him they worship'd with the Holy Rites of true Religion, by that divine and sober way of worship which our Saviour had spread among mankind. When therefore the Grace of God diffused it self into rest of the Nations; and *Cornelius* of the City (*a*) *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, in the first place together with his whole household by a vision from Heaven and the ministry of *Peter*, embraced the Faith of Christ; and many others of the *Gentiles* at *Antioch* did the same, to whom the Disciples, dispersed upon the Persecution that arose about *Stephen*, preach'd the word of God; the Church at *Antioch* now increasing and prospering, in which many were gather'd together, both Prophets from *Jerusalem*, with whom were *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and besides, all other brethren, in number not a few: The appellation of (*b*) *Christians* then and there first sprang up, as from a pleasant and fertile soil: And *Agabus* also, one of the Prophets there present, foretold the Dearth that afterwards hapned; and (*c*) *Paul* and *Barnabas* were sent to relieve the Brethren by the Ministration.

Tiberius.

(*a*) It was call'd *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* to distinguish it from *Cæsarea Philippi*, which was in *Phœnice*. Vales.

(*b*) That our Saviour's followers were first named Christians in *Tiberius* his Reign, *Tertullian* affirms in his Apology; the place quoted by *Eusebius* in the preceding Chapter. *Vales.*

(*c*) This journey of *Paul*'s to *Jerusalem* can no way fall upon the times of *Tiberius*. For *Luke* writes expresly in the *Acts*, chap. 11. v. 29, 30. that it happened about that time when *Herod Agrippa* was smitten by the Angel of the Lord: Which it is most certain, happened in *Claudius* his time. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

How, after the Death of Tiberius, Caius *made* Agrippa *King over the* Jews, *and punished* Herod *with perpetual Banishment.*

C. Caligula. BUT *Tiberius* having reigned about two and twenty years, died. *Caius* succeeding him in the Empire, presently gave (*a*) *Agrippa* the Kingdom of *Judea*, and made him King over the Tetrarchies both of *Philip* and *Lysanias*. Besides, not long after he gave him *Herod*'s Tetrarchy also, having condemned *Herod* to perpetual banishment, being together with *Herodias* his wife deservedly punished for divers enormities: (This was the *Herod* that was present at our Saviour's Passion:) *Josephus* is a witness of these things also. Moreover, in this Emperor's time *Philo* flourish'd, a man highly esteem'd of for his learning by many, not only among us, but also among foreigners. He was indeed by original extract an *Hebrew*, inferior to none of those that were illustrious in dignity at *Alexandria*. Moreover, what and how great pains he bestow'd about Divine matters, and in the learning of his own nation, it is to all evidently manifest. Besides, how excellent he was at Philosophy and Human Learning, it is needless to relate; for he is said to have excell'd all of his own time in the *Platonick* and *Pythagorean* Philosophy which he much affected.

(*a*) *Caius Cæsar* about the the beginning of his Reign made *Agripa* King first of *Trachonitis*, which was *Philips* Tretarchy. After that, when *Herod*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*, by the perswasion of his Wife *Herodias*, went to *Rome* to get the Regal Dignity of *Caius* the Emperor, *Caius* took from *Herod* his Tetrachy of *Galilee*, and gave it to *Agrippa*. At length, after the death of *Caius*, *Claudius* confirm'd the Kingdom to *Agrippa* which *Caius* had given him, and gave him also *Judea* and *Samaria*, which his Grandfather *Herod* had. And so the whole Kingdom of *Herod* the great was pusse ed by *Agrippa*. See Philo *in Flaccum & in Legat. ad Caium sub finem*; and *Joseph.* Hist. B. 18. so that *Eusebius* is mistaken, in that he says, *Caius* made *Agrippa* King of *Judea*. Vales.

C.Caligulæ.

CHAP. V.

How Philo *went on an Embaſſage to* Caius *upon the* Jews *account.*

MOreover this man compriz'd in (a) five Books the calamities that befel the *Jews* in *Caius*'s Reign; wherein he ſets forth both the madneſs of *Caius* proclaiming himſelf to be God, and alſo his inſolent carriage in his Government in innumerable *inſtances*; likewiſe the diſtreſſes the *Jews* underwent in his Reign; and declares how himſelf went Embaſſador to *Rome* upon account of his country-men that dwelt at *Alexandria*; and how that, reaſoning before *Caius* for the Laws and Cuſtoms of his own nation, he obtain'd nothing beſides laughter and reproaches, and narrowly eſcaped the danger of being put to death. *Joſephus* mentions all this in his eighteenth Book of *Antiquities*, writing thus much word for word: 'Moreover, there hapning a ſedition at *Alexandria* among the *Jews* that dwelt there, and the 'Greeks, (b) three of each 'Faction were ſent Embaſſadors to *Caius*. Now *Apion* was one of the *Alexandrian*'s Embaſſadors, who 'railed bitterly againſt the 'Jews, laying many things 'to their charge, and amongſt the reſt that they 'neglected to worſhip Cæſar. For when all the ſubjects of the *Roman* Empire built Temples and 'Altars to *Caius*, and at all points worſhip'd him 'as they did their Gods, the *Jews* only, *ſaid he*, 'accounted it a vile thing to erect Statues to 'him, and to ſware by his name. When *Apion* 'had urg'd theſe and many other vehement accuſations againſt them, whereby he hoped, as 'it was likely, to incenſe *Caius*, *Philo* chief of 'the *Jewiſh* Embaſſy, a man every way famous, 'brother to *Alexander* (c) *Alabarthes*, and not unskilful 'in Philoſophy, was able 'and ready with an Apology to anſwer his Accuſations. But *Caius* forbad 'him, commanding him to depart immediately from his preſence. And the Emperor was 'ſo highly incenſed, that none doubted but he 'would moſt ſeverely puniſh the *Jews*. But '*Philo* being much reviled went out, and, as they 'ſay, ſpake to the *Jews* that were about him to 'be of good courage, for 'altho' (d) *Caius* was angry 'with them, yet he had now 'really rendred God his adverſary." Thus much *Joſephus* relates. And *Philo* himſelf, in the account which he wrote of this his Embaſſy, does exactly relate every particular thing that was then done. Whereof omitting moſt part, I will hereunto annex only ſo much as ſhall make it evidently plain to the Readers, that theſe miſeries ſtraightway without any delay befel the *Jews* upon account of their enormous impieties committed againſt *Chriſt*. Firſt of all therefore he relates, that in the Reign of *Tiberius* one *Sejanus* of the City of *Rome*, a perſon who then could do much with the Emperor, did uſe his utmoſt endeavour to deſtroy that whole nation: and that in *Judea*, *Pilate*, in whoſe time that horrible wickedneſs was moſt audaciouſly committed againſt our Saviour, attempting ſomething about the Temple at *Jeruſalem* which yet ſtood, contrary to the Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the *Jews*, rais'd vehement commotions among them. C.Caligulæ.

(a) There are now extant only two Books of *Philo*'s concerning this Subject, the one entitled *in Flaccum*, the other *de Legatione ad Caium*; ſo that either *Euſebius* forgot their number, or elſe they were heretofore divided into five Volumes; Neither can any one ſuſpect the other three to be loſt: For in thoſe two, we now have, are contained all that happened to the *Jews* under *Caius* his Empire. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Philo* ſays there were five Embaſſadors of the *Jews* ſide ſent to *Rome*; See his *de Legat. ad Caium ſub finem*. Theſe Embaſſadors were ſent upon two accounts, firſt, the *Jews* complained that the *Alexandrians* defiled their *Proſeucha's* by bringing the Emperor's Statues into them; and then, that the *Alexandrians* went about to deprive the *Jews* of their freedom of the City *Alexandria*. Valeſ.

(c) So that the chief Magiſtrate among the *Jews* at *Alexandria* was called: He held his place as long as he lived; and at his death the *Jews* choſe another into his room. See *Philo* in *Flaccum*. Valeſ.

(d) *Philo*'s meaning here is, that *Caius* indeed was angry with the *Jews* as to appearance, and in words; but that in reality he did arm God, and ſet him in arry againſt himſelf. For, in that *Caius* would have himſelf called god, he provoked God to take vengeance of him. Ἀνθιπαρεξάσεν (whence the word here uſed is derived) is a military term, and ſignifies, *to ſet an army in array againſt an enemy*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

How great Miſeries befel the Jews, *after their audacious Wickedneſs committed againſt* Chriſt.

HE *relates further how*, after the death of *Tiberius*, *Caius* aſſuming the Government, was every way ſorely injurious towards many, but above all he moſt heavily annoy'd the whole *Jewiſh* nation, which in ſhort we may underſtand from *Philo*'s own (a) words, writing thus word for word: 'So great therefore was the 'extravagancy and pride of *Caius*'s carriage to-'wards all, but more eſpecially towards the 'Jewiſh nation, which he bitterly hated, and appropriated to himſelf all 'their (b) *Proſeucha's* in the 'reſt of the Cities, beginning with thoſe at *Alexandria*, filling them with 'his own Images and Statues. For in that he ſuffered others to conſecrate 'Statues to him, he ſeem'd 'in a manner to dedicate 'them to himſelf. And he 'changed and transform'd 'the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, 'which hitherto had remain'd undefiled and dignified with all the priviledges of a Sanctuary, 'and made it into a Temple dedicated to himſelf, 'cauſing it thence-forward 'to be called the Temple of 'CAIUS (c) JUNIOR 'JUPITER (d) CONSPICUOUS." Moreover, the ſame Author, in his ſecond Book which he entitled *Of* (e) *Virtues*, relates innumerable other calamities, ſuch as are grievous beyond all expreſſion, that befel the *Jews* dwelling at *Alexandria*, during the Government of the foreſaid *Caius*. To whom *Joſephus* agrees, who notes that thoſe troubles with which the whole *Jewiſh* nation was moleſted, began even from the times of *Pilate*, and from thoſe enormous facts committed againſt our Saviour. Let us therefore hear what he alſo declares in his ſecond Book of the *Jewiſh* Wars, in theſe (f) words, ſaying, 'Pilate being by *Tiberius* ſent Procurator 'into *Judea*, brought into *Jeruſalem* by night 'the veiled Images of *Cæſar*, which are called 'his

(a) *Philo* in *Legat. ad Caium* about the end.

(b) The *Jews* had two ſorts of places, beſides their Temple, (which was for ſacrifice) for religious duties; *viz.* their *Proſeuchæ*, and *Synagogues*; the difference between them was this; the *Proſeucha* was a Plot of ground encompaſſed with a wall or ſome other incloſure, and open above; the uſe of it was properly for Prayer; a Synagogue was a covered Edifice, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the People inſtructed in divine Matters; beſides, the Synagogues were within, the *Proſeuchæ* without the Cities. They were in uſe before the Captivity, as may be gathered from *Joſ.* 24. 26. *Pſal.* 74. 7. See *Acts* 16. 13. Mr. *Mede*.

(c) So *Caligulæ* was called, to diſtinguiſh him from *Julius Cæſar*, who was alſo called *Caius*, and was deified. *Valeſ.*

(d) Ἐπιφανὴς, Conſpicuous. *Valeſius* tranſlates it *præſens*; *præſentes dii ſunt vel qui ſtatim præſtant, vel qui coluntur & videntur.* Donat. in Terent. Phorm. That is, *the Propitious or Conſpicuous Gods were ſuch, as were at hand, or ſuch as were viſible to the worſhippers.* Hence *Antiochus* King of *Syria* was called *Epiphanes* by his flatterers.

(e) *Valeſius* thinks that by this *Second Book of Virtues* muſt be underſtood *Philo*'s Book *in Flaccum*; and his reaſon is, becauſe *Philo* does no where elſe but in that Book, relate the calamities that befel the *Jews* of *Alexandria*.

(f) Joſ. Bell. Jud. L. 2. c. 8.

C.Caligula.

'his Statues. As soon as it was day this raised 'a great commotion among the *Jews*. For those 'who were near were astonish'd at the sight, 'in that their Laws were violated and tram-'pled on. For they account it a detestable thing 'to place any graven image in the City." These things if thou compares't with the Evangelical writing, thou shalt understand that that voice they utter'd before *Pilate*, crying out **they had no other King but* Cæsar, was soon (g) after revenge'd upon them. The same Writer relates another following calamity inflicted on them by Divine Vengeance, in these words: 'After 'this *Pilate* raised another commotion amongst 'them; exhausting the Stock of the sacred 'Treasury (it is called the (h) *Corban*) in making a Conduit; wherein the water that was 'to be brought was at three hundred furlongs 'distance. For which there was great indignation amongst the populace: And when *Pilate* was at *Jerusalem*, they flock'd about the 'Judgment-seat, and began to exclaim. But he '(for he foresaw there would be a tumult amongst them) mingled armed Soldiers, clad 'like the common people, amongst the multitude, and, forbidding them to use their swords, 'but commanding them to strike those that cried out with clubs, gave them a sign from his 'Tribunal. So the *Jews* were beaten, and many of them killed, some by the blows they receiv'd perish'd, others being trodden to death 'in the crowd by those of their own party that 'fled. And so the multitude, being astonish'd at 'the calamity of those that were slain, were silent." Moreover, the same writer relates innumerable other commotions raised in *Jerusalem*; and shews, that even from that time forward both the City and all *Judea* was distracted with seditions, wars, and continual contrivances of mischief following one upon another, until at last the siege in the Reign of *Vespasian* by way of revenge befel them. After this manner therefore hath Divine Vengeance pursued the *Jews* for their execrable wickedness committed against Christ.

* Joh. 19. 15.

(g) In this place *Eusebius* is mistaken, in that he thought that those things which *Josephus* relates concerning the images of *Tiberius* brought into the City of *Jerusalem* by *Pilate*, happened after the death of Christ. But *Josephus* attests (in the 2d. B. of the Jewish wars, and in his 18 B. Antiq.) that this happened at the beginning of *Pilate*'s Government. Now *Pilate* was sent by *Tiberius* into *Judea* in the twelfth year of his Reign. It's absurd therefore to say, that those mischiefs, which befel the *Jews* long before Christ's death, happened to them for no other cause than for their wickedness committed against Christ. Besides, *Eusebius* thought, that one and the same Act of *Pilate*'s was mentioned both by *Philo* and *Josephus*. But *Josephus* speaks of the Images of the Emperor; and *Philo*, of the gilded Bucklers, which had no Image, but only the name of the Emperor to whom they were dedicated, and *Pilate*'s name that made that dedication. Moreover, what *Josephus* relates, happened in the first year of *Pilate*'s Government; but, what *Philo* reports, came to pass when *Pilate* had been many years Governour. *Vales.*

(h) *Corban* comes from קרב, which signifies *promiscuously* to draw nigh, and to offer: The Evangelist renders *Corban*, a gift (*Matth.* 15. v. 5.) *i. e.* that which is presented and consecrated to God in the Temple: It signifies also the place where the Offerings so called were laid up. Dr. *Hammond.*

CHAP. VII.

That Pilate *made himself away.*

IT is also worth knowing, how that this same *Pilate*, who condemned our Saviour, in the Reign of *Caius*, whose times we now treat of, fell, as it is famed, into so great troubles, that he was (a) forc'd to be his own murderer and revenger, laying violent hands on himself: Divine Justice, as it was meet, not long deferring his punishment. This those *Grecians* do record, who have written (b) *Olympiads*, giving an account of what was done, and in what time perform'd.

C.Caligula.

(a) That is, by reason of despair. This is confirm'd by *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*; In the 3d year of *Caius Caligula*, says he, *P. Pilate* falling into great troubles killed himself. King *Agrippa* (*apud Philon. in Legat. ad Caium*) gives this description of this *Pilate*, ἦν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπὴς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθαδοῦς ἀμείλικτος; That is, he was of an inflexible nature, and withal arrogant and cruel: Which testimony is so much the more considerable, because it came out of *Agrippa*'s mouth, who was an eye-witness of *Pilate*'s detestable Acts. A character well befitting him that condemn'd our Saviour. *Vales.*

(b) There were amongst the *Grecians*, games instituted for the exercise of their youth, to the honour of *Jupiter Olympus*, near unto whose Temple they were performed in the Olympian field. The time was (as only *Pindar* has revealed) at the full Moon which followed the Summer Solstice. They were celebrated every fifth year: And the interval was called an OLYMPIAD, consisting of four *Julian* years, and the odd Bissextile day. The restitution of these Games by *Iphitus*, is so much more taken notice of than the first celebration by *Hercules*. That this, which was many years after, is yet accounted for the first Olympiad, upon which the *Grecian* Chronology fixeth it self, as upon the certain term, to which their reckoning does refer. See Mr. *Jo. Gregory of Oxford, de Æris & Epoch.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Dearth that hapned in Claudius's *Time.*

Claudius.

BUT *Caius* having held the Empire not full out four years, *Claudius* the Emperor succeeded him. In whose times a Dearth oppress'd the whole world, of which those Historians make mention, who are wholly averse from our Religion. And so the prediction of the Prophet *Agabus*, of whom there is mention in the *Acts of the Apostles*, concerning this Dearth that should come upon all the world, was compleated. *Luke* having in the *Acts* mentioned this Dearth that happened in the time of *Claudius*, adds this farther, saying, *That the brethren which were in Antioch, every one according to his ability, sent to them who were in Judea by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.* Acts 11. 28, 29, 30.

CHAP. IX.

The Martyrdom of James *the Apostle.*

NOW *about that time*, to wit, in the Reign of *Claudius*, *Herod the King stretch'd his hands to vex certain of the Church: and he killed James the brother of John with the sword.* Concerning this *James*, *Clemens*, in the Seventh Book of *his Institutions*, relates a memorable History, speaking as he had heard from his Predecessors: For he says, 'That he that '(a) accused him before the 'Judgment-seat, seeing him 'openly and willingly te-'stifie and declare the faith 'of Christ, was moved 'thereat, and profess'd that 'he also was a Christian. 'And so, says he, they were 'both together led away to 'suffer. And as they were 'going, he besought *James* 'to pardon him; who, af-'ter a short deliberation, 'said, peace be to thee, 'and kissed him; and so 'they were both beheaded 'together." Then also, as Holy *Writ declares, (b) *Herod* perceiving that the killing of *James* very much pleased the *Jews*, set up *Peter* also,

Acts 12. 1, 2.

(a) It was usual for those that were accused, to be brought before the judgment-seat by a Soldier or Apparator: The Greek word (ὁ εἰσαγωγεύς) will bear that sense, as well as *Accuser*, but we have translated it Accuser, upon the account of *Clemens* his following words, saying, that this person asked *James* forgiveness, which, if he had accused him, he had reason to do; but had he been only an Officer or Soldier, and had done no more but brought in *James* before the Judge, he may seem to have done no more than the duty of his place, what he was commanded; and so needed not have asked *James* forgiveness. *Vales.*

* Acts 12. 3, &c.

(b) This *Herod*, called also *Agrippa*, was eldest son to *Aristobulus* by *Bernice* his Wife, daughter of *Salome* Sister to *Herod* the great: Which *Aristobulus* was eldest son to *Herod* the great by his Wife *Mariamne* the *Assamonean*. See *Montague*'s Acts, and Mon. chap. 4. Sect. 34. So that this *Herod* was Grandchild to *Herod* the great. *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 18. c. 7.

Claudius. and having put him in bonds, would forthwith have put him to death, had he not been miraculouſly deliver'd out of priſon by a Divine apparition, *to wit*, by an Angel coming to him by night; being diſmiſt for the miniſtration of preaching. All which hapned to *Peter* by the diſpoſition of Divine Providence.

CHAP. X.

How Agrippa, *called alſo* Herod, *perſecuting the Apoſtles, preſently felt Divine Vengeance.*

BUT the King's attempt to do violence to the Apoſtles remain'd not long unreveng'd; for a chaſtiſing Miniſter of Divine Juſtice purſued him: He therefore, ſoon after his bloody plot againſt the Apoſtles, going down to *Cæſarea*, as it is related in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and being there upon the great feſtival-day dreſs'd in a white and royal garment, made an Oration to the people from his lofty throne; and when all the multitude gave a ſhout with loud acclamations at his Oration, as at the voice of God and not of Man, Sacred Writ declares that he was *immediately ſmitten by an Angel, and was eaten up of worms and gave up the ghoſt.* But the conſent between Holy Writ and the Hiſtory of *Joſephus*, in the account given of this ſtrange thing, is worthy of admiration. In which he, giving evident teſtimony to the truth in his nineteenth * Book of *Antiquities* does plainly declare this wonderful thing in theſe words thus, 'The 'third year of his Reign over all *Judea* was now 'compleated; when he went to the City *Cæ-* 'ſarea, heretofore call'd *the Tower of Straton*. There 'he exhibited ſhows in honour of *Cæſar*, know-'ing that (*a*) Feſtival to 'have been inſtituted for 'the proſperity of him. 'Hereunto flock'd a great 'multitude of thoſe who 'were honourable and ex-'cell'd in dignity, through-'out that (*b*) whole Pro-'vince. On the ſecond day 'therefore of the ſhews, be-'ing cloath'd with Robes 'made all of ſilver admira-'bly wrought, he entred 'the *Theatre* early in the 'morning. When the ſilver 'of his Robes, ſhining by reaſon of the beams 'the riſing-ſun caſt on them, made a wonderful 'gliſtering, ſtriking thoſe who ſtedfaſtly look'd 'on him with wonder and amazement, preſently 'his Flatterers, ſome from one place, ſome from 'another, cry'd out with voices moſt pernicious 'to him, terming him God; and beſeeching him 'to be propitious to them. Hitherto, ſaid they, 'we have reverenced thee as a Man, but now 'we acknowledge thee to be above mortal na-'ture. But the King neither rebuked them, nor 'rejected their impious flattery, preſently after 'looking up he eſpy'd an (*c*) Angel ſitting over 'his head; whom he forthwith underſtood to be 'the cauſe of miſchief towards him, having '(*d*) heretofore been the *foreteller* of his proſpe-'rity. A pain that pierced his very heart im-'mediately ſeiz'd him. He had beſides a griping 'all over his belly, which began with a vehement 'ſharpneſs, and was continual and without in-'termiſſion. Looking therefore upon his friends, 'I your God, ſays he, am now compelled to end 'my life; *fatal neceſſity* forthwith demonſtrating 'the falſhood of your boaſting acclamations e-'ven now utter'd concerning me: I, who by 'you was ſtiled immortal, am now ſnatch'd a-'way by death. But that deſtiny is to be born 'with which God hath decreed. We have in no 'wiſe liv'd ill and deſpicably, but in ſuch ſplen-'dor as was look'd upon to be moſt fortunate. 'When he had ſpoken theſe words, he was ſpent 'with the vehemency of his pain. Being there-'fore preſently carried into the Palace, a ru-'mour was immediately ſpread abroad that the 'King was in imminent danger of his life; 'ſtraightway the whole multitude with their 'wives and children (*e*) ſit-'ting upon ſpread ſack-'cloth, after their country 'faſhion, made ſupplicati-'ons to God for the King. 'Every place was fill'd with 'wailings and lamentati-'ons. But the King lying in 'an high Bed-chamber, 'look'd down upon them as 'they lay proſtrate, and 'could not refrain weeping. 'At length having been for 'five days ſpace continual-'ly tormented with pains of 'his belly, he died in the 'fifty fourth year of (*f*) his 'Age, and the ſeventh of 'his Reign. For firſt he 'reign'd four years under 'Caius Cæſar, having go-'vern'd the Tetrarchy of '*Philip* three years; in the 'fourth he had *Herod*'s Te-'trarchy annex'd: the three 'laſt years of his Reign he 'paſs'd under *Claudius Cæ-'ſar*. Thus far *Joſephus*: wherein, as alſo in other paſſages, I much admire him, in that he agrees ſo exactly with the Holy Scripture. But if any one ſhould think that there is ſome diſagreement about the name of the King; both the time and the action do evidently ſhew that he was the ſame perſon: ſo that either his name was changed by ſome miſtake of the Tranſcriber, or elſe this King had, as many others have, two names.

* *Joſeph.* Antiq. B. 19. c. 7.

(*a*) This Feſtival was inſtituted firſt by *Herod* the great in honour of *Auguſtus*, in the 192 Olympiad, ſays *Joſephus*, (Antiq. L. 16. c. 9.) at the City *Cæſarea*. *Agrippa* went to *Cæſarea* to celebrate it, in the 4 year of *Claudius*, at the beginning of the 206 Olympiad. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) He means *Syria*, or (which was part of it) *Phœnicia*; which was call'd the *Province*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Judea* where *Agrippa* then reign'd. Indeed *Luke* ſays expreſly (*Acts* 12. 20.) that the principal Men of *Tyre* were then preſent, which *Tyre* was the chief City of *Phœnicia*. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Joſephus* calls it τὸν βα-βαῶνα, *an Owl*: See his words in the B. and chap. laſt cited.

(*d*) *To wit*, in the reign of *Tiberius*: When *Agrippa*, being in bonds, and leaning againſt a Tree, as he ſtood before the Palace of *Tiberius*, ſaw an Owl ſitting over his Head. A *German* being by, one of his fellow-priſoners foretold this to portend great felicity to *Agrippa*. See the Story at large in *Joſeph.* Antiq. B. 18. c. 8.

Claudius.

(*e*) This was the uſual poſture of the *Hebrew* mourners. See *Job* 2. 3. *Eſai.* 47. 5. *Lament.* 2. 10. *Jonah* 3. 63, &c. conſonant hereunto, the Reverſes of the Medals both of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, made for the memory and celebration of the conqueſt of *Judea*, were imprinted with a ſilent woman ſitting on the ground, and leaning her back to a Palm-tree, with this inſcription, *Judæa Capta*, i. e. *Judea ſubdued*. Note here that the Reverſes made to commit victories to memory were always writen upon with ſome repreſentation of proper reſpect to the place conquered. I know the poſture of ſitting is a ceremony of Roman lamentation too. But it was firſt us'd among the *Jews*, from whom the Romans learned it. Mr. *Gregory* of *Oxford*. Chap. 4. pag. 25, &c.

(*f*) This Man had two Sons, and three daughters; his ſons were, *Agrippa* the younger mentioned *Acts* 25. and *Druſus* who died young. His daughters were, *Bernice*, *Mariamne* and *Druſilla*, which laſt married *Felix* the Procurator of *Judea*, as we have it in the *Acts*: *Bernice* is alſo mentioned in the *Acts* coming in great pomp with her brother *Agrippa* to hear *Paul*. *Joſeph.* Antiq.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Impoſtor Theudas, *and his Aſſociates.*

BUT becauſe *Luke* does moreover in the * *Acts* bring in one *Gamaliel* ſpeaking in the conſultation the *Jews* had about the Apoſtles, of one (*a*) Theudas *that aroſe up in thoſe days boaſting himſelf to be ſome body, who was ſlain; and all, as many as obey'd him, were ſcatter'd*: we alſo will adjoyn the relation of *Joſephus* concerning this very perſon. Who, in the Book before cited expreſly declares thus much word for word: 'When 'Fadus was *Procurator* of *Judea*, a certain Impo-'ſtor, by name *Theudas*, perſwaded a multitude 'of people to take their Goods with them and 'follow him to the River of *Jordan*: For he 'ſaid that he was a Prophet, and that he would 'by his command, part the Waters of the 'River,

* Acts 5. 36.

(*a*) This *Theudas* *Joſephus* mentions Antiq. B. 20. c. 5. but that was in *Claudius*'s reign, in the time of *Fadus*'s Preſecture. And ſo that cannot be the perſon

Claudius. mention'd in the *Acts*; for that *Theudas* was before *Judas Galilæus* (*Acts* 5.39.) and he was in the time of *Cyrenius*'s being

'river, and afford them an easie passage over. 'By such speeches he deceived many. But *Fadus* suffered them not to take the benefit of 'their madness, but sent out a body of horse a-'gainst them, which falling on them at un-'awares, partly killed them, and partly took 'them prisoners. And having taken *Theudas* a-'live they beheaded him, and carried his head 'to *Jerusalem*." After this the same Writer makes mention of the Dearth which hapned in the Reign of *Claudius*, after this manner.

Governour of *Syria*. That *Theudas* in the *Acts* there fore must needs be some other Person, whom the *Jews* had recorded in their Writings, and from thence *Gamaliel* there recites the story, though we have no other record of it. This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, in L. 6. *de Emendat. Tempor.* and of *Casaubon* in Exercitat. 2. c. 18. and of Dr. *Hammond* in his notes on *Acts* 5. 36. *Valesius*, in his annotations, dissents from all these learned Men, and says that by those words of St. *Luke* [*after this man rose up Judas of Galilee*] is meant, that *Judas* his insurrection was before that of *Theudas*; which exposition he confirms, by saying, that when ever we begin to reckon from the last, as nearest to us, (so he supposes St. *Luke* there does) we must necessarily place the last person first in such a reckoning, and the first last: So that notwithstanding St. *Luke* says (*after this man rose up Judas of Galilee*) yet *Judas* his insurrection was long before *Theudas*'s. This he illustrates by two examples of such an expression, one taken out of *Tertullian* in *Apologet.* the other out of *Clemens Alexandr.* Lib. 7. *stromat.* But then being not able to reconcile the time of *Theudas* his insurrection with the time *Josephus* places it in, *to wit*, in the time of *Fadus* his Procuratorship, he says *Josephus* was mistaken, placing it later than he should have done. For he will by no means allow two *Theudas's*. Another way he has to make up this difference, that is, he thinks St. *Luke* in his expression used a Prolepsis, anticipating the insurrection of *Theudas* ten years, and makes *Gamaliel* speak that which was agreeable to his present purpose: And thus *Eusebius*, he thinks, understood St. *Luke*'s words. The Reader has here the opinion of both sides, and is left to his liberty to believe which he pleases.

CHAP. XII.

Of Helena *Queen of the* Osdroënians.

(a) *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 20. c. 3. * This famine happened on the 5 and 6 years of *Claudius*. Vales. † Acts 11. 28, 29, 30.

'(a) AT that time there hapned to be a 'great * Dearth throughout all *Ju-'dea*. When Queen *Helena*, buying Bread-corn 'in *Egypt* at a very dear price, distibuted it to 'them that were in want." All which we find agreeable to what is related in the *Acts of* † *the Apostles*; where we have this moreover, *That the Disciples which dwelt at Antioch, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea; which also they did, and sent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.* But of this *Helena*, which *Josephus* has mentioned, there is an illustrious (b) Sepulchral-monument yet to be seen, standing in the Suburbs of *Jerusalem*, which is now called *Ælia*; and she is said to have been Queen of the *Adiabeni*.

(b) There were three Pyramids standing three furlongs from *Jerusalem*, where the bones of this *Helena* were buried, says *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 20. c. 2. he mentions them again in his 6 B. of the *Jews* Wars. *Jerom* mentions them in his Oration *de Obit.* B. *Paulæ*, and says they were standing in his time. *Pausanias* (in *Arcadicis*) reckoning up the stately Sepulchres he had seen, admires two above all the rest, *to wit*, that of *Mausolus* in *Caria*, and this of *Helena* in *Judea*. This *Helena* had a Palace in *Jerusalem*, says *Josephus*, in the 6 B. of the *Jews* Wars. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of Simon Magus.

BUT the Faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being now every where diffused among all men; that enemy of man's salvation, plotting to possess himself of the Royal City, brings thither the fore-mentioned *Simon*. And, joyning his enchantments to that man's craftiness, he made many that dwelt at *Rome* his own by inducing them into error. This *Justin* evidences; a man very famous amongst the Professors of our Religion soon after the Apostles time; whose worth we will give account of in due place. Let us read what he has writ in his (a) second Apology to *Antoninus* for our Doctrine, where he says thus: 'And 'after the ascension of our 'Lord into heaven, the Devils sent forth certain men 'who stiled themselves 'Gods: whom you were so 'far from persecuting, that 'you worship'd them. Amongst them there 'was one *Simon* a *Samaritane*, of the Village 'named *Gitton*, who in the Reign of *Claudius* 'Cæsar, having performed many magical wonders by the assistance and art of Devils within 'your City *Rome*, the Metropolis of the Empire, 'was accounted a God by you, to whom you 'dedicated an image, as to a God, in an Island 'of the River *Tiber*, between the two Bridges, 'with this *Latin* Inscription, (b) SIMONI DEO SANCTO, that is, to *Simon the Holy God*. Him almost all the *Samaritans*, and some of other nations, confess to be the great God, and worship him; as also one (c) *Helena*, at that time a constant companion of his, who heretofore was a Prostitute in the Stews of *Tyre*, a City of *Phœnicia*; and her they 'term the prime Notion '(or first Conception) from 'him. Thus far he: with whom agrees *Irenæus* in his first Book against Heresies, wherein he sets forth the Life of this man, his impious and most impure Doctrine, which it would be superfluous here to relate; since any one that has a desire may fully understand from the foresaid Books of *Irenæus*, wherein these things are accurately deliver'd, the original, the life, the grounds and reasons of the false opinions, and the endeavours and purposes not only of this *Simon*, but also of all other Arch-Hereticks. We have heard that this *Simon* was indeed the chief Captain and first Author of all Heresie. From which time even to our age, those who are followers of his Heresie, altho' they pretend to have embraced throughout their whole lives, the Christian Religion renown'd amongst all men for its modesty and sanctity; yet nevertheless they relapse to the superstitious worship of Devils, which they seem'd to have abandon'd, prostrating themselves before the Images and Pictures of *Simon* and his forementi-on'd *Helena*, whom they worship with sweet perfumes, sacrifices and oblations. And those things which are transacted in secret amongst them, which, say they, do forthwith strike terror into the minds of those that at first hear them, and which (to use the terms of their own written Oracle) do make them tremble and shake by reason of astonishment, are in truth full of terror, amazement of mind, and outra-

Claudius.

(a) This place of *Justin* is now to be found not in his first but in his second Apology. *Eusebius* in citing *Justin*'s Apologies follows not the order of our common Editions. For he always calls that the first which our Editions term the second; and that the second which they call the first: Of which more hereafter. *Vales.*

(b) The Learned have long since observed, that *Justin*, by reason of his unskilfulness in the Latin tongue, was here mistaken; thinking that the Image dedicated to *Semon Sancus* was consecrated to *Simon Magus*. 'Tis certain, that image which *Justin* had seen in the Island of *Tiber*, was lately dug up, with this inscription upon it, *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio. Sancus* was a God among the *Sabins* that had the charge of bargains and contracts, whence he had the names of *Sangus* and *Fidius*. By him the Romans were wont to swear. Some *Samaritans*, no doubt, deceived *Justin*, making him believe this Image was dedicated to their *Simon Magus*. Vales.

(c) *C. Rufinus* calls her *Selene*. Vales.

gious

Claudius. ragious madneſs: ſo that it is impoſſible not only to commit them to writing, but even for men of modeſty to utter them through their lips, by reaſon of their exceſſive obſcenity and uncleanneſs not to be named. For there is not, nor can there be invented any thing ſo impure, which their moſt lewd Sect does not far ſurpaſs; deluding ſilly women laden with all manner of iniquity.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Peter *the Apoſtle's Preaching at* Rome.

THE Devil, that hater of all goodneſs and moſt treacherous enemy of man's ſalvation, at this time produced this *Simon* the author and contriver of ſo much miſchief, that he might be the great Antagoniſt of the Divine Apoſtles of our Saviour. But the Divine and Celeſtial Grace, which is always aſſiſtant to its Miniſters, by their appearance and preſence ſoon quenched the flame, enkindled by the Devil, humbling and depreſſing by them all haughtineſs and ſwelling pride that exalted it ſelf againſt the knowledge of God. Wherefore, neither the devices of *Simon*, nor of any other which then were hatch'd, became any ways prevalent during the age of the Apoſtles. For the ſplendour of the truth vanquiſhed and prevailed againſt all machinations; and the power of the Divine Word, which had newly enlighten'd mens minds from heaven, did both flouriſh upon earth, and alſo was converſant and did effectually co-operate with the Apoſtles. Straightway therefore the foreſaid Impoſtor, having the eyes of his mind blinded by a divine and wonderful ſplendour and light, as ſoon as he was detected by the Apoſtle *Peter* in *Judæa* in what he had wickedly committed, took a a great journey over-ſea, and fled from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern parts; concluding that he could no other way live freely, and according to his own mind. Arriving at *Rome*, by the help and aſſiſtance of a Devil (*a*) there lying in wait, he in a ſhort time ſo far perfected his attempt, that the inhabitants of that City ſet up an image to him, and worſhip'd him as God. But all ſucceeded not long according to his mind. For ſoon after, in the Reign of *Claudius*, the benign and moſt endearing Providence of God brought *Peter*, that valiant and great Apoſtle, for courage chief of all the reſt, to *Rome*, againſt this mighty deſtroyer of mankind, who, as a ſtout Leader of God, armed with celeſtial weapons, brought that precious merchandiſe of intelligible light from the Eaſt to thoſe that dwelt towards the Weſt: declaring to them that Light and Doctrine comfortable to the ſoul, *to wit*, the publication of the kingdom of Heaven.

(*a*) *Euſebius* ſpeaks of a Devil, which had made his reſidence and fixt his habitation in *Rome*, being then the Metropolis of the whole World. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XV.

Of *the Goſpel according to* Mark.

WHen therefore he had publiſh'd to them the Divine Word, immediately the power of *Simon* was extinct, and, together with the man (*a*) himſelf deſtroy'd. But ſo great a luſtre of Piety enlightned the minds of them that were the hearers of *Peter*, that they thought it not ſufficient barely to hear him once, nor were contented to have receiv'd the publication of the Doctrine of the Celeſtial Word by word of mouth and unwritten. Therefore they earneſtly entreated *Mark*, *Peter*'s follower, whoſe Goſpel is at this day extant, that he would leave with them ſome written record of that Doctrine they had heard. Neither did they deſiſt till they had prevailed with the man; and thus they gave the occaſion of writing that *Goſpel*, which is called *the Goſpel according to Mark*. When the Apoſtle *Peter* underſtood by the Revelation of the Holy Spirit what was done, he was much delighted with the ardent deſire of the men, and confirm'd that writing by his authority, that ſo thenceforward it ſhould be read in the Churches. (*b*) *Clemens* in his Sixth Book of Inſtitutions relates this paſſage. To whom the Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, by name *Papius*, may be added as a witneſs. Furthermore, *Peter* mentions *Mark*, in his former Epiſtle, which, as they ſay, was written at *Rome*; *Peter* himſelf does intimate thus much (calling *Rome* by (*c*) a figure *Babylon*) in theſe words; * *The Church that is at Babylon elected together with you, ſaluteth you, and ſo doth Marcus my ſon.*

Claudius.

(*a*) From theſe words of *Euſebius* it is concluded that the death of *Simon Magus* happened at *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*: For *Euſebius* writeth that *Peter* came to *Rome* in *Claudius* his reign, and that preſently after, *Simon*'s magical arts were by his coming deſtroyed, together with the Author. Though there be others that ſay *Simon* was deſtroyed in *Nero*'s time. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) This place of *Clemens* is quoted again by *Euſebius* in his 6 B. Eccleſ. Hiſt. at which place more ſhall be ſaid of it. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Rome* was parallel to *Babylon* in many things. *Valeſ.*

* 1 Pet. 5. 13.

CHAP. XVI.

That Mark *firſt preached the knowledge of Chriſt to the* Egyptians.

BUT this *Mark* (*a*) going into *Egypt* is reported to have been the firſt publiſher there of the Goſpel he had written, and to have ſettled Churches in the very City of *Alexandria*. And furthermore, that ſo great a multitude both of men and women, who there embraced the Faith of Chriſt, profeſs'd from the very beginning ſo ſevere and ſo philoſophical a courſe of life, that *Philo* vouchſafed in his writings to relate their converſe, their aſſemblies, their eating and drinking together, and their whole manner of living.

(*a*) *Euſebius* in his Ch. places *Mark*'s going into *Egypt* on the ſecond year of *Claudius*: the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronic. and *Georg. Syncellus* ſay he went in the third year of *C. Caligula*: it's the opinion of *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that *Mark* went thither in the ninth year of *Claudius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVII.

What Philo *relates of the* Aſcetæ *in* Egypt.

IT is reported that this *Philo* in the times of *Claudius* came to be familiarly acquainted with *Peter* at *Rome*, who then preach'd the word of God there: neither is this unlikely. For that work of his, of which we ſpeak, being by him elaborated a long time after, does manifeſtly contain all the Eccleſiaſtical Rules which are to this preſent obſerved amongſt us. And ſeeing he deſcribes evidently the lives of the (*a*) *Aſcetæ* amongſt us, he does make it ſufficiently perſpicuous that he did not only ſee, but alſo very much approve of and admire the Apoſtolical men of his time, who being, as it is probable, originally *Jews*, upon that account did then obſerve in a great meaſure the *Judaical* Rites and Cuſtoms. Firſt of all therefore, in that Book which he intitled, *Of Contemplative Life, or, of Suppliants*, having profeſſed that he would inſert

(*a*) He means not *Monks*; for they were an Order of a later date. *Valeſius* ſays they were Chriſtians who led a retired, and more ſevere and ſtrict ſort of life: So they were called from that Philoſophical term [ἄσκησις] which ſignifies the exerciſe of virtue and abſtinence: And any one that led ſuch a life was called ἀσκητὴς, i. e. *Aſceta*.] The Reader may have farther ſatisfaction in this matter in Biſhop *Montague*'s *Acts & Mon.* Chap. 7. where he will find this buſineſs diſcuſſed at large.

nothing

Claudius. says that the men were called (b) *Therapeutæ*, and the women that were conversant among them *Therapeutriæ*: And he adjoyns the reason of that appellation, either because like Physicians they healed the minds of those that resorted to them, curing them of their vicious affections, or because they worship'd the Deity with a pure and sincere service and adoration. Further, whether *Philo* himself gave them this name, devising an appellation agreeable to the manners and dispositions of the men; or whether they were really so called from the beginning, the name of *Christians* having not yet been every where spread and diffused, it is not necessary positively to affirm or contend about it. But he attests that in the first place they part with their goods; saying, 'that as soon as they be-'take themselves to this course of Philosophi-'zing they put over their wealth and posses-'sions to their Relations. Then casting away 'all care of worldly matters, they leave the Ci-'ties, and make their abode in gardens and so-'litary places; well knowing, the conversing 'with men of a different and disagreeing per-'swasion to be unprofitable and hurtful." Which thing the *Christians* of that time seem to me to have instituted out of a generous and most fervent ardour of faith, endeavouring to emulate the Prophetical severe course of life. Therefore in the * *Acts of the Apostles* (which contain nothing but the perfect truth) it is shewed, that all the Disciples of the Apostles selling their possessions and goods, divided the price among the brethren according as every one had need, that so there might not be any indigent person among them. For, as the Word says, *As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prizes of the things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* After *Philo* has attested the very same things with these, of the *Therapeutæ*, he adds thus much farther concerniug them, word for word saying, 'This (c) sort of men in-'deed is diffused far and 'wide over the whole 'world. For it was requi-'site that both *Greeks* and '*Barbarians* should be par-'takers of so excellent a 'benefit. *Egypt* especially 'is full of them, throughout all its divisions, 'but most of all about *Alexandria*: but from all 'places the principal of them retire themselves 'into a most commodious place above the Lake '*Maria*, situate upon a little rising hill, excel-'lently well seated both for wholsomeness of 'air and safe conveniency of abiding, as into the 'Country of the *Therapeutæ*." Then, after he had described their houses, after what manner they were built, he speaks thus of the Churches they have in divers places. 'In every house 'there is a Chapel they called a *Semnæum*, and '*Monasterium*, in which alone by themselves 'they perform the mysteries of an holy life. 'They bring in thither neither meat nor drink, Claudius. 'nor any corporal provisions or necessaries; 'but only the Law, and the Divine Oracles of 'the Prophets, and Hymns and such like, 'whereby knowledge and piety are increased 'and perfected." And a little after he says; 'All the interval of time from Sun-rising to the 'Evening they spend in meditations of Phi-'losophy: For reading the holy Scriptures, they 'philosophize after their Country way, and ex-'pound allegorically. For they suppose that 'the words are only Notes and Marks of some 'things of a mystical nature, which are to be 'explained (d) figuratively. 'They have writings of 'some ancient persons, 'who have been heretofore 'famous Leaders of their 'Sect, and have left them 'many monuments of that 'learning which consists in 'dark and secret expressi-'ons, which they using as 'originalplatforms, do imi-'tate thereby that course 'of study." These certainly seem to be words of such a man as had heard some of our *Religion* expounding the Holy Scriptures. And it is very likely that the writings of those ancient persons, which he says they had, were the Gospels and Writings of the Apostles, and certain Expositions of the ancient Prophets, of which sort many are contained both in other Epistles of *Paul*, and also in that written to the *Hebrews*, Afterwards *Philo* thus writeth concerning the new Psalms composed by them. 'They do 'not only spend their time in contemplation, 'but they (f) compose 'Songs and Hymns to the 'praise of God of all sorts 'of *metre* and *musical* verse, 'which they write in grave 'and seemly Rhimes." He relates many other things of them in that Book I mention'd: but I judg'd these fittest to be selected and pick'd out, in which certain marks of Church discipline are proposed. But if any one shall think what *Philo* here says to be in no wise proper to the Evangelical Polity, but may be adapted to others besides those I have mention'd, he will certainly be convinc'd by *Philo*'s following words; in which, if he shall duly weigh the matter, he will receive a most undoubted testimony of this thing. Now he writes thus: 'Having first laid temperance as a certain 'foundation, they build thereupon the other 'virtues: for none of them takes either meat or 'drink before sun-set; for they hold it requisite 'to spend the day in the study of Philosophy, 'and the night in making necessary provision 'for the body. Therefore they allot the whole 'day to study, but allow a very small portion 'of the night for bodily provision. Some of 'them forget to eat for three days together, so great

(b) That these *Therapeutæ* were not Christians we will shew hereafter. Some think they were *Essens*; but that is unlikely; for *Philo* never terms them so in that Book wherein he describes them, but at the very beginning calls them *Therapeutæ*: besides, the *Essens* (as *Philo* himself witnesses in his Apology for the *Jews*, cited by *Eusebius*, *Lib.* 8. *De Preparat.*) were only in *Judæa* and *Palæstine*; but these *Therapeutæ*, he says were scatter'd all over the (then known) world. Lastly, *Philo* attributes many things to these *Therapeutæ*, which the Sect of the *Essens* by no means allowed: as for example, that they had women conversant among them called *Therapeutriæ*: Now *Philo* says expresly that the *Essens* hated womankind: See *Philo de vita Contemplat.* and *Joseph. Hist. of the Jewish Wars*, Book 2. Chap. 12. *Vales.*

(c) *Philo*'s Description of these *Therapeutæ* in these following words can no way agree with the Christian Professors in those times. For they were then few in number, neither did they look upon any Country as their own, besides the Heavenly Jerusalem. *Vales.*

(d) Ἐν ὑπονοίαις, that's the term in the original. So the ancient *Greeks* called that which the latter call ἀλληγορίας; that is, *an Allegory*, as they term it; when one thing is said, another is to be understood. *Vales.*

(e) From these words of *Philo* we may easily perceive that these *Therapeutæ* were not *Christians*. For the Professors of Christianity were then of a very fresh date. Besides, what writings could these be? The Books of the Prophets they were not, for *Philo* separates them from these, speaking of them a little before: They could not be the Gospels, nor the Epistles of the Apostles, for they were scarce written in *Philo*'s age, however they could not then be call'd the writings *of ancient persons*, at least by *Philo*. *Val.*

(f) The composition of *Psalms* and *Hymns* was not in use so early in the Church, as these words of *Philo* must suppose, if we understand them to be spoken of the *Christians*, that came in after the times of *Antoninus*, when learned men began to embrace the *Christian* Faith. So that neither can these words of *Philo* be any ways understood of *Christians*. The *junior Pliny* indeed (in his Epistle to *Trajan*, *Lib.* 10. *Epist.* 97.) says it was a custom of the *Christians* in their *Cœtus*, *carmen Christo tanquam Deo dicere secum invicem*; i. e. *to say one with another by turns a Verse or Hymn to Christ as unto God.* But there is a difference between saying and composing a *Song* or *Hymn*; and besides, this was long after *Philo*'s time. See Dr. *Hammond*'s Preface to *his Exposition on the Psalms*; and Mr. *Gregory's Posthumous Works*, Discourse 2d.

* Acts 4. 34, 35, 36.

Claudius. ‘great is their deſire of knowledge that poſ-
‘ſeſſes them. But ſome others of them are ſo
‘well pleaſed with, and feed ſo richly and de-
‘liciouſly upon the banquets of wiſdom, which
‘ſets before them wholſome precepts as a moſt
‘ſumptuous feaſt, that they are wont ſcarce to
‘taſte any neceſſary food in twice that ſpace,
‘*to wit*, in ſix days time.” We ſuppoſe theſe words of *Philo* to be evidently and without all doubt ſpoken concerning thoſe of our Religion. But if after all this any one ſhall ſtill perſiſt in a peremptory denial of theſe things, he will at length recede from his obſtinate difficulty of belief, being perſwaded to ſubmit to ſuch manifeſt demonſtrations as are no where to be found but in the *Chriſtian* Religion, compoſed according to the rule of the Goſpel. ‘*Philo* ſays further
‘therefore, that among theſe men, *of whom we*
‘*ſpeak*, there are certain women converſant,
‘many of which continue Virgins being old;
‘not out of neceſſity, like ſome of thoſe amongſt
‘the *Grecian* Prieſts, but voluntarily preſerving
‘their chaſtity out of an ardent affection to and
‘deſire of wiſdom; in the embraces and fami-
‘liarity whereof they earneſtly affect to ſpend
‘their lives; having deſpiſed all bodily plea-
‘ſures, and deſiring earneſtly not a mortal iſ-
‘ſue but an immortal; which that mind on-
‘ly that loves and is beloved of God can of it
‘ſelf bring forth.” After many other expreſſi-
ons, he ſpeaks yet more plainly thus: ‘Their
‘Expoſitions of Holy Writ are figurative by
‘way of *Allegories*: for theſe men ſuppoſe the
‘whole Law to be like a living creature; the
‘bare words whereof are, as it were the body,
‘and the inviſible ſenſe, that lies hid under the
‘words, reſembles the ſoul. Which ſenſe this
‘Sect have and do make it their *Religion* earneſt-
‘ly to ſearch into and contemplate, beholding
‘in the words, as in a glaſs, the admirable beau-
‘ty of the meaning.” There is no neceſſity of adding farther here an account of their aſſemblies, of the diſtinct apartments of their men and women, and of their ſeveral ſtudies and holy exerciſes, now in uſe amongſt us, more eſpecially about the feaſt of our Lord's Paſſion, when we are wont to practiſe them in faſtings, watchings, and attentive reading of holy Scriptures. All which the man we have ſo often mention'd, does relate in his writings accurately, after the ſame manner in which we only at this time obſerve them: Eſpecially he mentions the (g) Vigils of the great Solemnity, the holy exerciſes therein, and the Hymns we are wont to recite. And how, when one has begun to ſing a Pſalm harmoniouſly and gravely, the reſt, ſilently hearkening, do after ſing out in *Chorus* the latter parts only of the verſes. ‘And how through-
‘out thoſe days lying in ſtraw upon the ground,
‘they wholly abſtain from wine (*as he has ſaid in*
‘*theſe expreſs words*) and eat nothing that has *blood*
‘in it: water is their only drink, and their
‘food is bread with ſalt and hyſſop. Farther he deſcribes the order and degrees of their Governors, *to wit*, (h) thoſe who perform the Eccleſiaſtical Offices, then the Miniſtrations of the Deacons, and laſtly the Epiſcopal preſidency over all. He that deſires to know theſe things more accurately, may be therein informed from the fore-mentioned Hiſtory of *Philo*. It is therefore apparently evident to every one, that *Philo* writing thus, did mean thereby thoſe firſt Preachers of the Evangelical Doctrine, and the Diſcipline, at the beginning delivered by the Apoſtles. *Claudius.*

(g) *Euſebius* means that whole week which precedes the feaſt of *Eaſter*, which the Greek Fathers call μεγάλην ἑβδομάδα, *the great week*, and we the *Paſſion week*. But in *Philo*'s Book there is no mention of this feaſt of *Eaſter*. He ſpeaks indeed μεγάλης ἑορτῆς, *of a great ſolemnity*; but by his following words 'tis evident he means the *Jewiſh-feaſt of weeks*, or, our *Pentecoſt*. Valeſ.

(h) He means the *Presbyters*; concerning whom, ſee *Philo*, in his ſaid Book, *De vitâ contemplat.* p. 899. Edit. *Par.* *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

What Writings of Philo's *have come to our hands.*

MOreover this *Philo* being a man of a fluent utterance, and abundant in ſentences, alſo lofty and high in contemplations upon the holy Scriptures, compiled a diverſe and variable expoſition of the ſacred Volumes of holy Writ: partly explaining in a fit and agreeable ſeries and order, the ſubject-matter of the things contain'd in *Geneſis*, which he entitled *The Allegories of the Holy Laws*: and partly making particular and diſtinct explications of thoſe Chapters in Scripture which contain any thing in them that is dubious, with objections thereupon and ſolutions thereof; which alſo he fitly entitled *Queſtions and Solutions upon Geneſis and Exodus*. There are beſides elaborate tracts of his peculiarly written concerning certain Problems; ſuch as are, two Books *Of Husbandry*, and as many *of Drunkenneſs*, and ſome others, having different and fit Titles: Such is that, (a) *Of the things which a ſober mind prayeth for, and which it deteſteth*; and that, *Of the confuſion of Languages*; and that, *Of* (b) *flight and invention*; and that, *Of Aſſemblies upon account of obtaining Learning*: and concerning the ſubject, *Who is the Heir of Divine things*, or, *of Diviſion into parts equal, and their contraries*: and alſo that, *Of the three Virtues which with others* Moſes *wrote of*. Beſides, that, *Of them whoſe names are changed, and for what reaſon they are changed*: In which Book he ſays, he wrote *Of Teſtaments the firſt and the ſecond*. There is alſo another Book of his, *Of removals in journey, or ſhifting of places*, and *of the life of a wiſe man perfected according to righteouſneſs*, or, *Of unwritten Laws*, and alſo, *Of Giants*, and, *that God is immutable*; alſo, (c) *That Dreams are ſent from God*, according to the opinion of *Moſes*'s five Books. And thus many are the Books he wrote on *Geneſis* which have come to our hands. We have alſo known five Books of his, *of Queſtions and Solutions upon Exodus*; and alſo that, *of the Tabernacle*, and that *of the Decalogue*, and thoſe four Books, *of thoſe Laws which in* ſpecie *have reference to the chief heads of the Decalogue*; and that, *of thoſe beaſts fit for ſacrifice*, and, *what be the kinds of ſacrifices*; and that, *of the rewards and puniſhments propounded in the Law as well to the Good as to the Evil*; and, *of curſes*. Beſides all theſe, there are extant of his particular Books,

(a) This Book of *Philo*'s is not now extant. *Valeſ.*

(b) In *Suidas* this Book is called, περὶ φυσεως καὶ εὑρήματος· which inſcription *Suidas* took from *Sophronius* the interpreter of *Jerom*. But our excellent M. SS. *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Henry Savill*'s have it thus, καὶ ὁ περὶ φύσεως καὶ αἱρέσεως. Wherefore I agree with *Nicephorus*, who rightly diſtinguiſh'd the two Books of *Philo*: the one of which was entitled, περὶ φυγῆς καὶ αἱρέσεως, *Of flight and choice*; the other, περὶ φύσεως καὶ εὑρέσεως, that is, *Of nature and invention*. Whence it appears that that Book of *Euſebius*'s, which *Nicephorus* made uſe of, was in this place more correct than our copies. *Valeſ.*

(c) 'Tis manifeſt that *Philo* wrote three Books on this Subject, *That Dreams are ſent from God*. The firſt of which is loſt; the ſecond is extant in the *Paris* Edition of *Philo*, pag. 465. in the beginning whereof he makes mention of a former Book which he had written on that ſubject. The third is alſo extant in the ſame Edition, pag. 1108. but miſplaced. Whether he wrote any more than theſe three, is uncertain. *Suidas* mentions five Books of *Philo*'s *De Somniis*. Valeſ.

Claudius.

Books, as that, *Of* (*d*) *Providence*, and a *Discourse* compiled by him; (*e*) *Of the Jews*, and, *of the man leading a civil life*: also, *Alexander*, or, *That Brutes are endowed with Reason.* Besides, of this, *That every wicked man is a Slave*, to which follows in order this Book, *That every man studious of Virtue is free.* After these he compiled that Book *Of Contemplative life*, or, *of Suppliants*, out of which we have cited those things concerning the lives of the Apostolical men. Also, the interpretations of the (*f*) *Hebrew* names in the Law and in the Prophets, are said to have been done by his diligence. This *Philo* coming to *Rome* in the time of *Caius*, wrote a Book of *Caius*'s hatred of God, which, by way of scoff and irony, he entitled, *Of Virtues*; which Book, it's said, he rehearsed before the whole *Roman* Senate in the time of *Claudius*; and the piece was so taking, that his admirable Works were thought worthy to be dedicated to the Publick Libraries. At the same time, when *Paul* travel'd from *Jerusalem* round about to *Illyricum*, (*g*) *Claudius* expel'd the *Jews* from *Rome*. (*h*) At which time *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, with other *Jews*, departing from *Rome*, arrived in *Asia*, where they conversed with *Paul* the Apostle, then confirming the foundations of those Churches there newly laid by him. Even the lost. But Holy Book of the *Acts* teaches us these things.

(*d*) In the *Mar.* and *Fuk.* M.SS. it's written τὸ περὶ σπουδαίας, truer; for there was only one Book that bore this Title. In a M. S. Copy of *Philo*'s Works in the Library of *Auspurg*, this Book of *Philo*'s, *De Providentiâ*, is confounded with another of his *Adversus Flaccum.* Indeed this Book, *De Providentiâ*, is there is an eminent fragment of it in *Eusebius De preparat.* Libr. 8. cap. *Ultim.* and in Libr. 7. cap. 21. *Vales.*

(*e*) I doubt not but it should be written ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων, *For the Jews*, for so this Book is quoted by *Eusebius* in his 8 B. *De Preparat. Evangel.* chap. 10. where there is a most elegant place produced ἐκ τῆς φίλωνος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἀπολογίας, *i. e.* out of the Apology of *Philo* for the *Jews*. *Rufinus* confirms this our emendation; who turns this place thus, *de Judæis Apologeticus Liber.* Vales.

(*f*) *Jerome* makes mention of this Book of *Philo*'s, in his interpretation of the *Hebrew* names. Moreover, *Philo* having only interpreted those names that occur in the Law and the Prophets, *Origen* added afterwards an interpretation of the words and names of the New Testament; supplying that which seemed to be wanting in *Philo*'s Book, as *Jerome* writes in that Book of his now mentioned. *Vales.*

(*g*) *Eusebius* took this out of the *Acts of the Apost.* chap. 18. v. 2. And *Orosius* writes, as he had it out of *Josephus*, that this was done in the ninth year of *Claudius*. But that place of *Josephus* which *Orosius* quotes is not now extant. Therefore *Orosius* seems to me to have forgotten himself. And truly, it is not very likely, that *Claudius* the Emperor, who had so great a kindness for the *Jews*, as appears by his many Edicts extant in *Josephus*, should drive the *Jews* in particular out of the City. I should rather think, whenas there was a great famine at *Rome* (which in *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon* is said to have happened in the tenth year of *Claudius*) that *Claudius* expelled all Foreigners out of the City, amongst whom were the *Jews* also. For so *Augustus* did before; and 'twas frequently practised by the following Emperors, as oft as the City of *Rome* was in any scarcity of Provision: And so I judge that place of *Luke* in the *Acts* is to be understood. But if any one, relying on the Authority of *Suetonius* (whose Words are these; *Judæos impulsore* CHRISTO *assiduè tumultuantes Româ expulit*; in the Life of *Claudius*. See Dr. *Hammond*'s *Annot. on Acts* 26. v. 31.) does reject this our Opinion, I will not much withstand him. All the Chronologers downwards follow *Orosius*; as does also *Baronius* in his *Annals*. Whom I much wonder at, in that when he had placed this Edict of *Claudius* on the ninth year of his Reign, he should also cast the *Jerusalem* Council upon the same year. Which is manifestly repugnant to the History of the *Acts of the Apostles*. For, after the *Jerusalem* Council, which is related *Acts* 15, *Paul* going back to *Antioch*, delivered the Epistle of the Apostles to the brethren, and is said to have tarried there some time. After this, being parted from *Barnabas*, he went into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, Preaching the Word of God. Then he travelled into *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, and *Mysia*, where he was warned by the Holy Spirit in a dream to sail into *Macedonia*, and first Preach'd the Faith of Christ at *Philippi*; after that, at *Thessalonica* and *Berea*. Sailing thence to *Athens*, he stayed there a good while expecting *Timothy* and *Silas*; and Preach'd the Word of God to the *Athenians*. Then going to *Corinth* he found *Aquila* and *Priscilla* there, who were lately come from *Italy* thither, upon account of the Edict of *Claudius*, commanding all *Jews* to depart from *Rome*, as it is in the 18 chap. *Acts*. From all this it's apparent, that there was a good distance of time between the Council held at *Jerusalem*, and the Edict of *Claudius*; in which space all this we have related was dispatch'd by *Paul* the Apostle. In *Chronico Alexandrino*, the Council at *Jerusalem* is placed on the sixth year of *Claudius*; he had better have said the seventh. For so all things agree exactly. For *Paul* staid at *Antioch* the remaining months of that year wherein the Council was; then the following year he travelled through *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*. At length in the ninth year of *Claudius*, he came into *Greece*. Vales.

(*h*) Ὅτε ἀκύλας, that is, *at which time Aquila*, &c. for it may be read in two words, thus ὅ τε, as I found it written in the King's, and the *Fuk.* M. SS. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIX.

Claudius.

What a Calamity befel the Jews *at* Jerusalem *on the very Day of the* Passover.

BUT *Claudius* yet ruling the Empire, there hapned to be so great a tumult and disturbance at *Jerusalem* on the Feast of the *Passover*, that there were (*a*) thirty thousand *Jews* slain, being those only who by force were press'd together about the Gates of the *Temple* and trodden under-foot by one another. So that that *Festival* was turn'd into mourning over the whole Nation, and lamentation throughout every Family. Thus much also *Josephus* relates almost word for word. But *Claudius* made *Agrippa*, the son of *Agrippa*, (*b*) King of the *Jews*; having sent (*c*) *Felix* Procurator of the whole Country of *Samaria* and *Galilee*, and also of the Region beyond *Jordan*. And when he had reigned thirteen years and eight months, he died, leaving *Nero* his Successor in the Empire.

(*a*) The same number he sets down in his *Chronicon*. But *Josephus*, in his 2 B. of the *Jewish Wars*, says there was somewhat more than ten thousand kill'd. But in his 20th B. of *Antiquities*, which Work he compiled after his History, he accounts the number of the slain to be twenty thousand. Which number I would rather agree too, because these Books, as I said, were written last by him. *Vales.*

(*b*) This *Agrippa* the younger, to speak properly, was never King of the *Jews*. For after the death of *Agrippa* his father, who dy'd the fourth year of *Claudius*, *Claudius* took him being very young and kept him with him, neither did he permit him to succeed in his father's Kingdom. Afterwards *Herod* the King of *Chalcis* being dead, *Claudius* gave *Agrippa* his Uncle's Kingdom; which when he had held 4 years, *Claudius* in the twelfth year of his Reign gave him *Thraconitis*, which was the Tetrachy of *Philip*, and also the Kingdom of *Lysanias*; having first taken *Chalcis* from him: He transferred to him also the authority over the Temple, and the power of electing the High-priests, which his Uncle *Herod* had. A little after, *Nero* added to his Kingdom part of *Galilee*, as *Josephus* writes in his twentieth B. of Antiq. Which being thus, it's apparent *Eusebius* was mistaken, who wrote both here and in his *Chronicon*, that *Agrippa* the younger succeeded in his father's Kingdom presently after the death of his father, and was made King of the *Jews* by *Claudius*. Altho' *Eusebius* says not here expresly that he was by *Claudius* made King presently after his father's death. Indeed, out of *Josephus* it may be evidently shown that the younger *Agrippa* was not made King immediately after his father's death. For in his second Book of the Jewish Wars, chap. 13. he makes the twelfth year of *Nero*, wherein the Jewish War began, to be the same with the seventeenth of King *Agrippa*. Therefore the younger *Agrippa* began to reign the eighth year of *Claudius*. Moreover, I will not deny that he was King of the *Jews*, seeing he was King of *Galilee*, and is by *Justus* reckoned among the Kings of the *Jews*. But I deny that ever he was King of *Judea*. For after the death of the Seniour *Agrippa*, which happened in the fourth year of *Claudius*, *Judea* was brought into the form of a *Province*, and every year the Procurators of *Cæsar* were sent thither, as *Josephus* relates. *Vales.*

(*c*) In the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, *Felix* is said to have been sent Procurator into *Judea* by *Claudius*, in the eleventh year of his Reign. But in *Scaliger*'s Edition of that Work, it is more rightly placed on the tenth year of *Claudius*. Yet it seems to be truer, that *Felix* was sent into *Judea* in the ninth of *Claudius*. For *Tacitus*, in his twelfth Book, says, *That* Felix *was lately set over the* Jews, (*Sulla* and *Otho* being Consuls, which was the tenth year of *Claudius*:) And in *Acts* 24. *Paul*, pleading his cause before this same *Felix*, which was done on the thirteenth year of *Claudius*, speaks thus to him: *For as much as I know that thou hast been for many years a Judge unto this Nation.* Moreover *Rufinus* is mistaken, in that he thinks these are *Josephus*'s Words, when as it appears that they indeed are *Eusebius*'s. *Vales.*

CHAP. XX.

What was done at Jerusalem *in the Reign of* Nero.

Nero.

NOW in *Nero*'s time, *Felix* being Procurator of *Judea*, *Josephus* relateth in the twentieth Book of *his Antiquities*, that there

Nero. was again a *Sedition* of the *Prieſts* one againſt the other, in theſe words: 'There aroſe alſo a Sedition of the Chief Prieſts, againſt the Prieſts and the Chief of the People of *Jeruſalem*. And each of them forming for themſelves a company of moſt audacious fellows, and ſuch as endeavoured to make innovations, behaved themſelves as Captains; and encountring they railed againſt each other, and threw ſtones at one another. There was no body to rebuke them; but, as in a City deſtitute of a Governour, theſe things were licentiouſly done. And ſo great impudence and preſumptuous boldneſs poſſeſt the Chief Prieſts, that they dared to ſend their ſervants to the Threſhing-floor, and take the Tythes due to the Prieſts. Whence it came to paſs that the pooreſt of the Prieſts were ſeen to periſh for want of ſuſtenance. In ſuch ſort did the violence of the Seditious prevail over all juſtice and equity." And again the ſame Writer relates, that at the ſame time there aroſe a ſort of *Thieves* in *Jeruſalem*, who in the day-time, as he ſays, and in the very midſt of the City, kill'd thoſe they met with; but eſpecially on the *Feſtivals*, being mix'd among the crowd, and hiding little daggers under their garments, they ſtabb'd the moſt eminent (*a*) perſonages; and when they fell, theſe murtherers would diſſemble themſelves to be of the number of thoſe that grieved. Whereby they were undiſcovered, becauſe of the good opinion all men had of them. And firſt, *he ſays*, *Jonathan* the High-Prieſt was killed by them, and after him many were ſlain daily; and, *he ſays*, the fear was more grievous than the calamity, in that every one, as in war, hourly expected death.

(*a*) Τὰς διαφόρους; ſo it is in *Joſephus*. *Gelenius* renders it, *enemies*: which I like not. For *Joſephus* by that term means τὰς διαφέροντας; *the moſt eminent Perſonages*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXI.

Of that Egyptian *who is mentioned in the* Acts of the Apoſtles.

AFter theſe things *Joſephus* adds, having interpoſed ſome other words: 'But the '*Egyptian* Falſe Prophet annoy'd the *Jews* with 'a greater miſchief than theſe. For he, coming 'into the Country, being a *Magician*, and having gotten himſelf the repute of a *Prophet*, gather'd together about thirty thouſand men 'ſuch as he had ſeduced; and leading them out 'of the *Wilderneſs* to the Mount called the *Mount of Olives*, prepared by force from thence to 'enter *Jeruſalem*; and having vanquiſh'd the '*Roman* Guards, to ſeize the Principality over the people, reſolving to make them his 'Guard, who together with him by violence entred the City. But *Felix* prevented his attempt, 'having met him with the *Roman* Soldiers; and 'all the people joyn'd their aſſiſtance in repelling his injurious violence. So that, the aſſault 'being made, the *Egyptian* fled with a few, and 'moſt of his party were ſlain and taken priſoners." Theſe matters *Joſephus* relates in the ſecond Book of his *Hiſtory*; and it's worthy our (*a*) obſerving, together with what is here related of this *Egyptian*, thoſe things which are declared of him in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: There, in the time of *Felix* it is ſaid by the Chief Captain at *Jeruſalem* unto *Paul*, when the multitude of the *Jews* raiſed a tumult againſt him; * *Art not thou the Egyptian which before theſe days madeſt an uproar, and leddeſt into the Wilderneſs (b) four thouſand men that were murtherers?* But thus much concerning the Times of *Felix*.

(*a*) Ἐπισῆσαι, ſignifies properly *to attend to*, or *obſerve*. In this ſenſe *Euſebius* uſes the word chap. 18. of this Book, and in B. 3. chap. 24. This word occurs in *Athenæus*, *Polybius*, and others. *Valeſ.*

* Acts 21. 28. See *Joſephus* Antiq. B. 20. c. 6, & 7. See alſo Dr. *Hammond* on *Acts* 21. 38.

Nero. (*b*) *Joſephus* ſays there were thirty thouſand Men: Which is to be underſtood, as that the number of the whole multitude was 30000, of which 4000 only were murtherers. And ſo *Joſephus* will be reconciled to *Luke*. But I agree not with *Euſebius*, who writes that this was done in *Nero*'s time. For in *Acts* 21. this *Egyptian* is ſaid to have been overthrown a little before *Paul*'s coming to *Jeruſalem*. Now *Paul* came thither in the laſt year of *Claudius*: which may be gathered from the 24 chap. *Acts*, where *Luke* writes that *Portius Feſtus* was ſent as ſucceſſor to *Felix*. Seeing therefore *Feſtus* was ſent into *Judea* in the ſecond year of *Nero*, the overthrow of this *Egyptian* muſt neceſſarily fall on the laſt year of *Claudius*. The narration of *Joſephus*, who ſeems to refer all this to the times of *Nero*, deceived *Euſebius*. But *Euſebius* ought to have conſidered, that *Joſephus* does in that place relate all the Acts of *Felix* together, as well what he did under *Claudius*, as what under *Nero*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXII.

How Paul, *being ſent bound from* Judea *to* Rome, *having made his defence, was wholly acquitted.*

BUT *Feſtus* is by *Nero* ſent as Succeſſor to this *Felix*: in whoſe time *Paul* having pleaded for himſelf is carried bound to *Rome*; *Ariſtarchus* was with him, whom ſomewhere in his *Epiſtles* he deſervedly ſtiles his Fellow-priſoner: And *Luke*, who committed to writing the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, concluded his Hiſtory here, having ſhew'd that *Paul* lived two full years at *Rome*, enjoying in a great meaſure his liberty; and, that he preached the Word of God, no man forbidding him: Then, having made his defence, it is moreover reported that the Apoſtle travel'd again upon account of the miniſtration of preaching; and that, coming the ſecond time to the ſame City, he ended his life by Martyrdom in this Emperor's Reign. At which time, being in bonds, he wrote the *ſecond Epiſtle* to *Timothy*, ſignifying therein both his former defence, and alſo his approaching death. Take his own teſtimony hereof. *At my firſt anſwer* (ſays he) *no man ſtood with me, but all men forſook me, I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge: notwithſtanding the Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthned me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion.* By which words he makes it plainly evident, that at the firſt time, that his preaching might be fulfill'd, he was deliver'd out of the mouth of the Lion; ſpeaking, as it was likely, of *Nero*, becauſe of his cruelty. (*a*) But afterwards he has not added any thing like unto theſe words [*He ſhall deliver me out of the mouth of the Lion:*] for by he Spirit he ſaw that his end was now near at hand: wherefore, having ſaid [*and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion*] he adds this, [*The Lord ſhall deliver me from every evil work, and will preſerve me unto his heavenly Kingdom;*] evidently ſignifying that his Martyrdom was at hand; which he more plainly foretels in the ſame *Epiſtle*, ſaying, *For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.* Moreover, in this *ſecond Epiſtle* to *Timothy*, he manifeſtly declares, that only *Luke* was then with him when he wrote it; but, at his firſt anſwer, that not ſo much as he was with him then. Whence 'tis agreeable to reaſon to think, that *Luke* concluded the *Acts of the Apoſtles* at that time, having continued the Hiſtory ſo long as he accompanied *Paul*. Theſe things we have ſpoken, that

(*a*) Indeed this place is very obſcure; and therefore *Muſculus* (as alſo Dr. *Hammer*) omitted it. But, having conſidered upon it long and much, at length I apprehended the true ſenſe of this place. *Euſebius* therefore ſays, that from the ſecond Epiſtle of

Nero. that we may make it manifeſt that the martyrdom of *Paul* was not conſummated at that firſt coming of his to *Rome*, which *Luke* mentions. For it's likely, that *Paul*'s apology for his opinion was more eaſily admitted by *Nero*, he behaving himſelf more mildly at the beginning of his Empire; but proceeding afterwards to the commiſſion of moſt horrid and villainous acts, thoſe things againſt the Apoſtles together with many other perſons, were by him taken in hand.

Paul to *Timothy* this may be gathered, *to wit*, that *Paul* in his firſt defence was acquitted by the Judges

ſentences; but afterward at his ſecond defence he was condemned. The former part hereof he apparently manifeſts in theſe words [*At my firſt defence no Man ſtood with me*;] and whenas he ſays [*I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon*,] which is as much as if he had ſaid, *I was ſnatch'd from* Nero's *jaws*. But *Paul* ſpeaks far otherwiſe of his ſecond accuſation. For he does not ſay [*The Lord delivered me out of the mouth of the Lyon*] as he had ſaid before. For he foreſaw, God revealing it to him, that he ſhould by no means any longer avoid the ſword of the perſecutor, but ſhould end his life by a glorious martyrdom. Therefore when he had ſaid of his firſt accuſation [*I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon*] concerning his ſecond, with which he was then charged, he adds theſe words [*The Lord ſhall deliver me from every evil work, and will preſerve me unto his heavenly Kingdom*] apparently manifeſting his death by theſe words. This is the meaning of this place, which neither the the Tranſlators, nor I my ſelf at firſt underſtood. Wherefore in the words of *Euſebius*, it muſt be read [ἔτι ἓν] in two diſtinct words, or elſe the accent muſt be changed, thus ἔτιεν. Indeed, in the *Maz.* M.S. it is thus written [ἐπ ἓν] in two diſtinct words. Moreover *Jerome*, in his Book *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, has quoted this place of *Euſebius*, where he ſpeaks of *Paul*; but he apprehended not *Euſebius*'s meaning, as it will be apparent to the Reader. Wherefore *Sophronius* alſo, when he tranſlated this place of *Jerome*, into Greek, omitted ſome words, which ſeemed to hinder the meaning. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How James, *call'd the Brother of the Lord, was martyr'd.*

MOreover *Paul* having appealed to *Cæſar*, and being by *Feſtus* ſent to *Rome*, the *Jews*, who had plotted a deſign againſt him, being now diſappointed of their expectation, ſet upon *James* the Brother of the Lord, to whom the Epiſcopal ſeat at *Jeruſalem* was given by the Apoſtles. And of this ſort were their villainous practices againſt him: leading him forth publickly, they required him to renounce the faith of Chriſt before all the people. But when he, contrary to the expectation of all, had ſpoken freely and with a greater boldneſs than they look'd for, before the whole multitude, and had confeſs'd that our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt* was the Son of God; being no longer able to endure the teſtimony of the man, they ſlew him, who was believed by all to be a moſt juſt perſon, by reaſon of that ſingular eminence he arriv'd to, in his leading a philoſophical and pious courſe of life; taking the vacancy of the Government as a fit opportunity for this their licentiouſneſs. For *Feſtus* being at that time dead in *Judea*, that Province was without a Preſident and Procurator. Now the manner of this *James*'s death, the words of *Clemens* before quoted by us have manifeſted; he having declared, that he was caſt headlong from the battlement of the Temple, and beaten to death with a club. But moreover, (*a*) *Hegeſippus*, being one of thoſe who were of the firſt ſucceſſion after the Apoſtles, does in the Fifth Book of *his Commentaries* moſt accurately relate theſe things concerning this *James*; ſpeaking after this manner: 'James, the Brother of our Lord, undertook, together with the Apoſtles, the government of the Church: That *James* who was ſurnamed *the Juſt* by all, even from the times of our Lord until ours. For many were called by the name of *James*; but this man was holy from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor ſtrong drink; nor eat any creature wherein there was life. There never came razor upon his head; he anointed not himſelf with oyl, neither did he uſe a bath. To (*b*) him only it was lawful to enter into the *Holieſt of Holies*. He wore no woollen, but linnen garments; and went into the *Temple* alone, where he was found upon his knees, making ſupplication for the forgiveneſs of the people: in ſo much that his knees were become hard and brawny, like thoſe of a Camel, by reaſon of his continual kneeling to worſhip God, and to make ſupplication for the remiſſion of the people. Wherefore upon account of his moſt eminent righteouſneſs he was called *Juſtus* and (*c*) *Oblias*, which ſignifies in *Engliſh*, *the defence and righteouſneſs of the people*, as the Prophets declare concerning him. Therefore certain men of the (*d*) ſeven Hereſies among that people of the *Jews*, which we have before written of in our *Commentaries*, ask'd him, which is the (*e*) gate of *Jeſus*? And he ſaid, that that *Jeſus* was the *Saviour*. Some of them believ'd that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*: but the forementioned Sects believ'd neither the (*f*) *Reſurrection*, nor that he was come to *reward* every man according to his works. But as many as believed, believed by the means of *James*. Therefore many of the chief men believing there was a commotion among the *Jews*, and *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who ſaid that all the people were in danger to think *Jeſus* to be the *Chriſt*. Coming altogether therefore unto *James*, they ſaid unto him, we beſeech thee reſtrain the people, for they are in an error concerning *Jeſus*, ſuppoſing him to be the *Chriſt*; we entreat thee, perſwade all thoſe who come together at the day of the *Paſſover*, *that they may think aright* concerning *Jeſus*: for we all put our confidence in thee; and we and all the *people* bear thee witneſs that thou art juſt, and reſpecteſt not the perſon of any man: perſwade the multitude therefore that they be not deceiv'd about *Jeſus*: for we and all the people put our confidence in thee: ſtand therefore upon the battlement of

Nero.

(*a*) The firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles is extended to the times of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. For in his Reign *Polycarp* the diſciple of *John* the Apoſtle was crowned with Martyrdom. *Hegeſippus* therefore is rightly ſaid to have lived in the firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles, in that he flouriſhed in the Reign of the Sons of *Antoninus Pius*. And coming to *Rome* when *Aniceta*s was Biſhop, he ſtayed there to *Eleutherus*'s time. In the *Alexandrian* Chronicle (which I would more willingly call the *Antiochian*) *Hegeſippus* is ſaid to have died in the Reign of *Commodus*. He was therefore cotemporary with *Ireneus*: who alſo was next to the firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles, as *Euſebius* teſtifies, Book 5. chap. 20. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Scaliger*, in his *Animadverſ. Euſebian.* p. 178. has examin'd this whole paſſage of *Hegeſippus*'s, and finds fault with many things in it; which are well worth reading. See alſo *Dionyſius Petavius in Not. ad Hereſim* 78. *Epiphanii*, & *P. Halloixius*, in his Notes on the Life of *Hegeſippus*, chap. 3. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) The learned *Nich. Fuller*, Book 3. chap. 1. of his *Miſcellan*, has thus corrected this place. ἑκαλεῖτο τὸ σαδδίκ, καὶ Ὠζλεὰμ, ὅ ἐστιν, δίκαιος, καὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ; *i. e.* He was called *Saddick*, and *Ozleam*, which ſignifies in Engliſh, *a juſt man, and the defence of the people*. For צַדִּיק in Hebrew ſignifies, *a juſt man*. And *Ozleam* is made up of theſe two Hebrew words עֹז לְעַם, which ſignifie, *the ſtrength*, or, *defence of the people*; the Letter ל being the ſign of the *Genitive* or *Dative caſe* with the Hebrews. The original of this appellation is taken from *Pſalm* 28. 9. where we meet with theſe words in the original, יְהוָה עֹז לְעַמּוֹ יִתֵּן *The Lord ſhall give ſtrength to his people*. *Fuller's Miſcell.* B. 3. chap. 1.

(*d*) This place of *Hegeſippus*, wherein, he ſays, he wrote concerning the ſeven Hereſies, we ſhall meet with in the 4 B. of *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* where we will ſpeak more concerning them. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) By *Gate* here, is meant nothing elſe, but the way of Entrance to Chriſt; which is, by Faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Agreeable hereto it's ſaid *Pſal.* 118. 20. *This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous ſhall enter into it.* Valeſ.

(*f*) The *Phariſees*, who were one branch of theſe Sects, believ'd the Reſurrection from the dead. *Valeſ.*

Nero. 'the *Temple*, that from an high thou may'ſt 'be conſpicuous, and thy words readily heard 'by all the people; for upon account of the 'Paſſover, all the Tribes, together with the '(*g*) Nations are come together. Therefore the foreſaid *Scribes* and *Phariſees* 'placed *James* upon the battlement of the *Temple*, and 'cried out to him, and ſaid, 'O *Juſtus!* whom we all 'ought to put our confidence in; becauſe the people are miſled after Jeſus 'who was crucifi'd, declare 'to us, which is the gate of 'Chriſt who was crucified: 'and he anſwer'd with a 'loud voice, Why do ye 'queſtion me about Jeſus 'the ſon of man? He even 'ſits in heaven at the right 'hand of great power, and 'will come in the clouds of 'heaven. Now when many 'were fully ſatisfied and 'confirmed and glorified God for this teſtimony of *James*, and cry'd, 'ſaying, (*h*) *Hoſannah* to the '(*i*) ſon of *David*, then the 'ſame *Scribes* and *Phariſees* 'ſaid again to one another, 'we have done ill in exhibiting ſuch a teſtimony 'to Jeſus; but let us go up 'and caſt him down, that 'ſo the people being terrified may not give credit 'to him. And they cried 'out, ſaying, O, O, even '*Juſtus* himſelf is alſo ſeduced. And they fulfill'd that 'which was written in *Iſaiah*. (*k*) *We will deſtroy the righteous, for he is troubleſome to us; wherefore they ſhall eat the fruit of their doings.* 'They went up therefore 'and caſt down *Juſtus*, and 'ſaid amongſt themſelves, 'Let us ſtone *James the Juſt*; and they began 'to ſtone him, for he was not fully dead after his 'fall; but turning he kneeled, ſaying, I intreat 'thee, O Lord God the Father, *forgive them, for they know not what they do.* As they were thus 'ſtoning of him, one of the Prieſts of the ſons 'of *Rechab* the ſon of (*l*) *Rechabim*, teſtified of by *Jeremy* the Prophet, cried 'out, ſaying, (*m*) Ceaſe, 'what do ye? *Juſtus* prays 'for us. And one of them, 'being one of the Fullers, 'took a leaver, with which 'he uſed to ſqueeze garments, and ſmote *Juſtus* 'on the head; and ſo he 'was martyr'd. (*n*) And 'they buried him in that place, and (*o*) his *Grave-ſtone* as yet remains near the *Temple*. This man 'was a true and ſubſtantial witneſs both to *Jews* 'and *Gentiles*, that Jeſus was 'the Chriſt: and ſoon after '*Veſpaſian* beſet *Judea* round 'about, and took the *Jews* 'captive.' Theſe things *Hegeſippus*, having related fully and largely, does therein agree with *Clemens*. But *James* was a perſon ſo admirable, and ſo much cried up amongſt all men for his *righteouſneſs*, that the moſt ſober men of the *Jews* were of opinion that this was the cauſe of the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, which immediately follow'd upon his *Martyrdom*: and that this ſiege befel 'em upon no other account than that audacious *villany* committed againſt this *James*: *Joſephus* therefore was not afraid to teſtifie this in writing, declaring himſelf in theſe words: 'Theſe things 'befel the *Jews* in the way 'of revenge for *James the* 'Juſt, who was the Brother of *Jeſus* call'd *Chriſt*; 'becauſe the *Jews* had murther'd him, being a 'moſt righteous perſon." And the ſame Author in the *twentieth Book of his Antiquities*, relates his death in theſe words: 'C*æſar*, being certified of '*Feſtus*'s death, ſent *Albinus* Procurator into *Judea*: but *Ananus* the younger, who as we ſaid 'before had gotten the High-Prieſthood, was 'a man as to his diſpoſition raſh and exceſſively 'bold. He embraced the Sect of the *Sadduces*, 'who in matters of judgment are cruel above 'all the *Jews*, as we before manifeſted. *Ananus* 'therefore, being ſuch an one as we have deſcrib'd him to be, ſuppoſing he had a fit opportunity, in that *Feſtus* was dead, and *Albinus* 'yet upon his journey, call'd an aſſembly of the 'Judges; into which he cauſed the Brother of 'Jeſus call'd Chriſt (whoſe name was *James*) 'with certain others to be brought, whom he 'accuſed as violators of the Law, and ſo deliver'd them up to be (*p*) ſtoned. But as many 'as ſeem'd to be the mildeſt and moſt modeſt in

(*g*) *Petavius* does here deſervedly reprove *Scaliger*, who had denied, that it was lawful for any *Gentile* to be preſent at the Feſtival of the *Jews*. For beſides that place which *Petavius* quotes; *John* 12. 20. we are ſupplied with many teſtimonies out of *Joſephus*, to evidence this matter. *Vitellius* the Preſident of *Syria* went up to *Jeruſalem* at the feaſt of the Paſſover, and was honourably entertained by the *Jews*: As we may read chap. 6. B. 18. of *Joſephus*'s Antiq. He writes the ſame concerning *Quadratus* the Preſident of *Syria*, B. 20. of his Antiq. *Valeſ.*

(*h*) This word *Hoſanna*, is a corruption of the *Hebrew* word, הוֹשִׁיעָנִי (which ſignifies, *preſerve me*, or, *make me ſafe*,) being the *Imperative mood Hiph.* with the *Affixe* נִי derived from the *Theme* יָשַׁע. See the original Text of *Jer.* 17. 14. And alſo, ſee Biſhop *Pearſon* on the *Creed*, in his marginal notes, pag. 70. Edit. *Lond.* 1669.

(*i*) Theſe words, which *Hegeſippus* ſays the *Jews* then utter'd, ought to be underſtood of Chriſt, rather than of *James*. For when *James* was ſet upon the battlement of the Temple, and had declar'd Jeſus to be the Chriſt and Redeemer of mankind, thoſe that embraced the Faith of Chriſt began to cry out *Hoſanna*, to the Son of *David*, that is, to Jeſus Chriſt. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) So the 72 Tranſlate *Eſai.* 3. v. 10. Their words are theſe, Νῦν σωιῶμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστί· τοίνυν τὰ γενήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται. But the *Hebrew* copy differs much from this Tranſlation, אִמְרוּ צַדִּיק כִּי־טוֹב כִּי פְרִי מַעֲלְלֵיהֶם יֹאכֵלוּ. Which our Tranſlation following, renders thus in Engliſh, *Say ye to the righteous, that it ſhall be well with him; for they ſhall eat the fruit of their doings.* Compare the *Sept.* Tranſlat. of *Iſai.* 3. 10. with the *Hebrew Text* of that place.

(*l*) As if he had ſaid, one of the Prieſts, the ſon of *Rechab*, of the family of the *Rechabites*; which laſt words [υἱῶν ῥαχαβείμ] are therefore added, that *Rechab*, the father of this Prieſt, might be diſtinguiſh'd from other *Rechabs*. For many were call'd by the ſame name of *Rechab*: But this Man, of whom *Hegeſippus* ſpeaks, was of the ſtock of the *Rechabites*, ſpoken of by the Prophet *Jeremy*, chap. 35. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſ.* 78, writes, that theſe words were not ſpoken by the *Rechabite* Prieſt, but by *Simeon* the Son of *Cleopas*. Valeſ.

(*n*) Ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ; ſo the King's M. S. reads it; which *Stephens* followed in his Edit. But our other three M. SS. *Mag. Med.* and *Fuk.* have it thus, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ ναῷ; that is, *and they buried him in that place, near the Temple*; which reading *Nicephorus* and *Ruſinus* do confirm. *Valeſ.*

Nero. (*o*) How can it be that the *Grave-ſtone*, or *Monument* of this *James* ſhould remain after the deſtruction of the City by the *Romans*? Neither is that very likely, which *Hegeſippus* ſays, *to wit*, that *James* was buried near the Temple. For the *Jews* uſed to bury their dead without the City; as appears from the Goſpel, and from the *Sepulchre* of *Helena*, which before we ſpoke of, at chap. 12. of this Book. *Ruſinus* therefore leaves out this whole clauſe, in his Verſion. In the moſt antient *Mag.* M. S. I found (at the Grave-ſtone) this note written in the margin: Ἰσέον ὅτι ἡ στήλη αὕτη λίθος ἦν ἀμορφος, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τεθαμμένου Ἰακώβου; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι νῦν οἱ χειμαρροὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν αὐτῶν λίθους ἰσᾶσιν, οὐδὲ γράμματα ἐν αὐτοῖς γράφουσιν, ἢ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐγχαράττουσιν; That is, *you muſt know that this Monument was nothing elſe but a ſtone not formed into any ſhape, upon which the name of* James *there buried was cut: From whence even to this time the Chriſtians ſet up ſtones on their Sepulchres, and either write Letters thereon, or engrave the ſign of the Croſs.* Valeſ.

(*p*) What can be more different, yea contrary, than this relation of *Joſephus*'s, and that of *Hegeſippus*, about *James*'s Martyrdom? For *Joſephus* ſays, he was condemned in a publick Council of the *Jews*; and *Hegeſippus*, that he was murthered in a ſedition and tumult of the people: *Hegeſippus* relates, that he was killed with a Fuller's Club in the midſt of the City: But *Joſephus* declares that he was ſtoned; which was always done without the Gates of the City. Farther, *Joſephus* ſhews us the year, wherein *James* died, by theſe two Remarks, *to wit*, that it was when *Ananus* was High-prieſt, and when *Albinus* came firſt into *Judea*. *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, writes that *Albinus* ſucceeded *Feſtus* in the ſixth year of *Nero*'s Empire; and yet the ſame Author places the Martyrdom of *James* on the year following, which manifeſtly contradicts what *Joſephus* has related: For he expreſly ſays that *James* was murthered before *Albinus* came into that Province. *Euſebius* therefore ought to have included the beginning of *Albinus* his Procuratorſhip, and *James* his Martyrdom in the ſame year. But *Baronius* denies all this, and proves, that the Martyrdom of *James* happened on the ſeventh year of *Nero*; which aſſertion he confirms both from the conſent of all the Antients, and alſo from *Joſephus* his Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars, B. 2. chap. 12. But I judge that the conſent of *Jerome*, *Nicephorus*, and others, who wrote from, and follow'd *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon* (*Euſebius*'s opinion not being diſcus'd) is not much to be eſteem'd of: Now the place in *Joſephus* proves nothing elſe, than that *Albinus* was Procurator of *Judea* in the fourth year before the Jewiſh War began, and in the ſeventh before the City was taken. But from that place in *Joſephus* it cannot be concluded that *Albinus* began his Procuratorſhip in the ſeventh year before the taking of *Jeruſalem*. Yea, it ſeems truer in my judgment, that *Albinus* came

came into *Judea* in the fourth year of *Nero*. For *Porcius Festus* Governed *Judea* two years, as appears by his Acts, of which *Josephus* relates but few. To him succeeded *Albinus* in the fourth year of *Nero*, and continued there to the tenth of that Emperor, as *Eusebius* has out of *Josephus* rightly observed. Therefore *James* was Martyred in the fourth year of *Nero*. *Epiphanius* confirms this our conjecture (in *Heres.* 78.) where he says *James* presided over the Church at *Jerusalem* about twenty four years, from the Lord's Ascension. *Vales.*

Nero.

'the City, and who were the strictest observers of the Law, were very much offended 'hereat; and sending privately to the King, they intreated him to write to (*q*) *Ananus*, to warn him that he should not any more attempt any such thing. For that he had not done this first fact regularly and legally. And some of them also went to meet *Albinus* journeying from *Alexandria*, and informed him, that it was not lawful for *Ananus* without his consent to assemble the *Sanhedrim*. *Albinus* being induced to believe what they said, wrote in great anger to *Ananus*, threatning that he would punish him. And King *Agrippa* for this very thing took the High-Priesthood from him, which he had held three months, and constituted *Jesus* the son of (*r*) *Dammæus* High-Priest." Thus much concerning *James*, whose the first of those called the *General Epistles* is reported to be. But you must know it is (*f*) suspected to be spurious. Therefore not many of the Antients have made mention of it, like as neither of that called *Jude*, being also one of the Seven, termed the *General Epistles*: Yet notwithstanding we know, that these with the rest have been publickly read in most Churches.

(*q*) *Nicephorus* (in his second B. chap. 4.) thinks this *Ananus* to be the same with that *Ananias*, who commanded *Paul* to be smitten; of whom *Luke* speaks *Acts* 23. 2. But herein he is much out: for *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedæus* (of whom *Luke* there speaks) was High-priest in *Claudius*'s Empire, from his seventh year to the beginning of *Nero*'s reign; a Man that was the most potent of all the *Jews* in his age, as *Josephus* testifies in his twentieth Book *of Antiq.* But moreover, that Catalogue of High-priests, which is there put down by *Nicephorus*, is to be made up out of *Josephus*'s Books: And after *Joseph* the Son of *Cama*, *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedæus* is to be placed, of whom *Josephus* speaks in the 3 chap. of his twentieth Book. After him was *Ishmael* the Son *Phabæus*, made High-priest by *Agrippa* junior. After whom succeeded *Joseph*, surnamed *Cabus*, the Son of *Simon*; and then *Ananus*, the Son of *Ananus*, who is here spoken of. *Vales.*

(*r*) In *Josephus* and *Nicephorus* it is *Damnæus*. Vales.

(*f*) *Rufinus* and *Christophorson* translated this place so, as if this were the opinion of some; which sense we have followed in our Version. But, having now considered the matter better, we think otherwise, *to wit*, that *Eusebius* did absolutely pronounce this Epistle to be *Spurious*. *Jerome* (*de Jacobo*) says thus, *Unam scripsit Epistolam, quæ & ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente, obtinuerit autoritatem*: That is, *He wrote one Epistle, which is affirmed to have been set forth by another, under his name; though by degrees in process of time it hath obtained authority.* Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

How, after Mark, Annianus *was constituted the first Bishop of the Church of the* Alexandrians.

BUT *Nero* being in the eighth year of his Reign, *Annianus*, the first after *Mark* the (*a*) Apostle and Evangelist, succeeded in the publick charge of the Church at *Alexandria*; (*b*) being a man beloved of God, and in all respects admirable.

(*a*) In the King's M. S. it is written, μέγκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, that is, Mark *the Apostle and Evangelist*; but in the rest of the M. SS. *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil.* these words [ἀπόστολον καὶ, i. e. *Apostle and*] are wanting: which neither are in *Rufinus*'s translation. I know indeed, that *Mark* may deservedly be called an Apostle; in that he was the first that Preach'd the faith of Christ to the *Alexandrians*. *Athanasius* (*in Synopsi*) indeed calls *Mark* and *Luke* Apostles. *Idatius* also (*in Fastis*) stiles *Luke* and *Timothy* Apostles. See what we noted above at the last chap. of the first Book. But we do not here enquire what title *Mark* deserv'd, but only what *Euseb.* wrote. *Vales.*

(*b*) This whole clause is wanting in our three M. SS. copies, *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* and in the translation of *Rufinus*. But because it was in the King's M. S. we have put it in. We have also written the name of *Annianus* with a double *n*; from the authority of the *Maz.* and *Med.* M. SS. To which agree *Rufinus*, *Jerom*, and others. For *Annianus* is a Roman name, and is derived from *Annius*. Vales.

CHAP. XXV.

Nero.

Of the Persecution in the time of Nero, *in which* Paul *and* Peter *were for Religion graced with Martyrdom at* Rome.

THE Empire being now confirm'd to *Nero*, he giving his mind to the commission of nefarious facts, arm'd himself against the very worship of the Supream God. Indeed, how wicked a person he was, our present leisure will not permit us to describe. But, in as much as many have related in most accurate *Treatises* those things that were done by him, he that is desirous may from thence see the cruelty and insolent rage of the man. Whereby having without all consideration destroy'd an infinite number of men, he arriv'd to such an height of murdering cruelty, that he forbore not his most familiar and most beloved friends; but slew his Mother and his Wife, with innumerable others that were related to him, as if they had been enemies and adversaries, by sundry kinds of death. This indeed also ought together with the rest to have been ascrib'd to him as one of his titles, That he was the first of the Emperors that demonstrated himself to be an Adversary to the worship due to God. Thus much again *Tertullian* the *Roman* does *record*, saying after this manner: '(*a*) Consult your 'Records. There you will 'find that *Nero* was the first, 'who with the Imperial 'Sword raged against this 'Sect then greatly flourish-'ing at *Rome*. But we even 'boast of such a beginner 'of our persecution: for he 'that knows him, may un-'derstand that nothing but 'some great Good was con-'demned by *Nero*." Thus therefore this man, being proclaim'd the first and chiefest enemy of God, set upon slaughtering the Apostles. Wherefore they relate that in his time *Paul* was beheaded at *Rome*, and also *Peter* crucified. And the name of *Peter* and *Paul* unto this present time remaining upon the Burial-places there doth confirm the story. In like manner, even an (*b*) Ecclesiastical man, by name *Caius*, who flourish'd in the time of *Zephyrinus* Bishop of *Rome*, and wrote against *Proclus* a great defender of the opinion of the *Cataphrygians*, says these very words concerning the places where the sacred bodies of the aforesaid *Apostles* were deposited: 'I am a-'ble to shew the Trophies 'of the Apostles: For if 'you would go to the *Va-'tican*, or to the way O-'stia, you will find the 'Trophies of those who 'founded this Church. And

(*a*) He that translated *Tertullian*'s Apology into Greek, (were it *Eusebius*, which I think not to be true, or whoever it was;) he understood not *Tertullian*'s words. Neither is this true of this place only, but of many others also of *Tertullian*, which are produced in Greek by *Eusebius* in this Work. *Vales.* *Tertullian*'s Words are these: *Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum* Neronem *in hanc Sectam, tum maxime* Romæ *orientem Cæsariano gladio ferociisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum à* Nerone *damnatum.* Tertul. Apolog. p. 6. Edit. *Rigal.*

(*b*) The term [*Ecclesiastical*] is used in three senses. Sometimes it's taken for a Christian, and opposed to an Heathen, or Gentile: So *Jerome* in his Preface to his Book, *De Scriptor. Eccleiast.* Sometimes it denotes a Catholick, and is opposed to an Heretick; So *Jerome* also in his Preface to St. *Matthew*, and on Chap. 13. *Ezechiel.* So *Origen* also, *Tome* 16. Explanat. on St. *John*'s Gospel. Lastly, sometimes it signifies a *Clergy-man*, and is opposed to a Laick, or Secular Person. So *Jerome* again, in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, and in his 46 Epist. to *Rusticus*. I would rather take this word in the second sense here, both because that signification of this word is more frequent, and also in regard *Eusebius*, speaking here of *Caius*'s Book against *Proclus*, gives each of them his proper Epithet: he stiles *Caius* [*an Ecclesiastical Man*] and *Proclus* he calls [the defender of the opinion of the *Cataphrygians*,] i. e. *an Heretick*. The Sect of the *Cataphrygians* was divided into two parts; the Ringleader of the one party was *Proclus*; of the other *Æschynes*. So *Tertullian*, in his Book *De præscript. Hæret.* Vales.

(*c*) *Peter* was buried in the *Vatican*; *Paul* in the *Viâ Ostia*. Vales.

Nero. that they both ſuffer'd martyrdom at the ſame time, *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*, writing to the *Romans*, doth thus affirm; 'So alſo you, (*d*) by 'this your ſo great an admonition, have joyn'd 'together the plantation both of the *Romans*, 'and alſo of the *Corinthians*, made by *Peter* and 'Paul. For both of them coming alſo to our 'City of *Corinth*, and having planted us, did in 'like manner inſtruct us. Likewiſe they went 'both together into *Italy*, and having taught 'there, ſuffer'd martyrdom at (*e*) the ſame 'time." And thus much I have related, that the *Hiſtory* hereof might be yet farther confirm'd.

(*d*) *Dionyſius* here anſwers the Epiſtle of *Soter* and of the Roman Clergy; who, writing, to the *Corinthians*, had in a friendly way admoniſhed them, as *Euſebius* hereafter declares, B. 4. Chap. 23. The ſame thing *Clemens Romanus* in his Epiſtle had before done. *Dionyſius* therefore ſays to *Soter*; *You by this your admonition have again united the Plantation of the* Roman *and* Corinthian *Churches heretofore made by* Peter *and* Paul. This I have the more largely explained, becauſe the Tranſlators, and eſpecially *Chriſtophorſon*, have been much miſtaken in the Verſion of this place. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) *Dionyſius* does not expreſly ſay that *Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered on the ſame day, but only at the ſame time; which may be ſo underſtood, as that there might be an interval of many days between their ſufferings. *Prudentius* [περὶ στεφάνων] ſays that they were both Martyr'd on the ſame day, but not in the ſame year: And that there was a years ſpace between their deaths. With *Prudentius* agrees *Auguſtine*, in his 28 Sermon, *De Sanctis*; And *Arator*. Lib. 2. Hiſt. Apoſt. But *Simeon Metaphraſtes* takes theſe words of *Dionyſius* ſo, as if he ſaid that *Peter* and *Paul* were Martyred on the ſame day together. His words are to be found in *Comment. de peregrinat.* Pauli ac Petri, *apud Surium, Tome* 3. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the Jews *were vex'd with innumerable Miſchiefs, and how at laſt they entred upon a War againſt the* Romans.

(*a*) MOreover *Joſephus*, diſcourſing at large about the calamities that hapned to the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, makes it manifeſt in expreſs words, amongſt many other things, that a great number of the moſt eminent perſonages amongſt the *Jews*, having been cruelly beaten with ſcourges, were crucified even in *Jeruſalem* by the command of *Florus*. For it hapned that he was Procurator of *Judea*, when the War at firſt broke out, in the twelfth year of *Nero*'s reign. Afterwards, he ſays, that, 'After the revolt of the *Jews* there followed great 'and grievous diſturbances throughout all *Syria*, thoſe of the *Jewiſh* Nation being by the 'Inhabitants of every City every where deſtroy'd as enemies, without all commiſeration: In ſo much that a man might ſee the '(*b*) Cities filled with dead bodies that lay unburied; and the Aged together with the Infants caſt forth dead; and Women, not having ſo much as any covering upon thoſe parts which nature commands to be conceal'd; and the whole (*c*) Province was full of unſpeakable calamities: But the dread of what was threatned was greater and more grievous than the miſchiefs every where perpetrated." Thus much *Joſephus* relates word for word. And ſuch was the poſture of the *Jews* affairs at that time.

Nero.

(*a*) At theſe words I began the chapter, following the authority of the King's M. S. But in the *Maz.* M. S. we found another reading, and a different diſtinction. For that begins the Chapter from theſe words (which are the concluſion of the foregoing Chapter) [*And thus much I have related*, &c. and it points the whole place thus, [*And thus much I have related that the Hiſtory hereof might be yet farther confirmed. Moreover*, Joſephus, *diſcourſing*, &c.] and puts the full point after theſe words [*makes it manifeſt in expreſs words.*] The ſame reading is obſerved by the *Med.* and *Fuk.* M. SS. But the reading and punctation in the King's M. S. ſeems to me to be much better; which both *Nicephorus* and *Ruſinus* followed. I had almoſt forgot to put you in mind, that theſe words [τὸ ὕσσαλον] in the title of this Chapter, ought to be taken *adverbially*; for ſo *Ruſinus* tranſlates it; *Ut innumeris Judæi malis afflicti ſint, ac noviſſimè contra Romanos arma moverint.* Valeſ.

(*b*) Theſe are the words of *Joſephus* in his ſecond Book of the *Jews* Wars, p. 814. Edit. *Genev.*

(*c*) In the original 'tis here τὴν ἐπαρχίαν; in *Joſephus* and *Nicephorus* 'tis written τὴν ἐπαρχίαν. By the *Province* we muſt in this place underſtand *Judea*, which after the death of *Agrippa* the Elder was reduced into the form of a Province, and govern'd by Procurators ſent from the Emperor. *Valeſ.*

THE

THIRD BOOK
Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

CHAP. I.

In what Parts of the World the Apoſtles *preached* Chriſt.

NOW the affairs of the *Jews* being in this poſture, the Holy Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Saviour, being diſperſed over the whole world *preached the Goſpel*. And *Thomas*, as tradition hath it, had *Parthia* allotted to him; *Andreas* had *Scythia*; *John Aſia*, where after he had ſpent much time he died at *Epheſus*. *Peter*, 'tis probable, preached to the * *Jews* (*a*) *ſcattered throughout Pontus and Galatia, and Bithynia, Cappadocia and Aſia.* (*a*) The Jews were diſperſed at ſeveral times, and for ſeveral cauſes. Firſt, when they were carried Captive into *Babylon* and into *Egypt* and *Syria*; and alſo when they were ſubdued by *Pompey*. Then, in the times of the *Maccabees*, they did of their own accord remove out of *Judea* into *Egypt*. For the Law forbad not the *Jews* to remove into other Countreys, as it is manifeſt from the Book of *Ruth*. Thirdly, they diſperſed themſelves upon account of gaining Proſelytes, which they admitted of all *Nations*, whence it came to paſs that they were ſcattered over the whole World. *Valeſ.* Thoſe *Jews* that were diſperſed in *Europe* had their chief Aſſembly at *Alexandria*; and there the *Septuagint* Tranſlation of the Bible was in uſe; and thence they were called (*John* 7. 35.) διασπορὰ Ἑλλήνων, *the diſperſion of the Helleniſts*: And of theſe there were many alſo in *Jeruſalem*, which uſed the ſame tranſlation of the Seventy

* 1 Pet. 1. 1.

Seventy two, being thus skill'd in the Greek tongue; and these living not in *Greece* are yet call'd (*Acts* 6. 1.) Ελληνισαὶ, because they used the Greek language and the 72 translation, whereas the other are called there (See *Acts* 6. 1.) Ἑβραῖοι, *Hebrews*, who used the *Jerusalem* Paraphrase. The *Asian* dispersion is mentioned 1 *Pet.* 1. 1. they had *Babylon* for their Metropolis, and used the *Targum*, or *Caldee* Parapraſe of *Onkelos* in their Synagogues.

Nero. Who at last coming to *Rome*, was crucified with his head downwards; for so he desired to suffer. It is needless to say any thing of *Paul*; who having fully preach'd the Gospel of Christ from *Jerusalem* unto *Illyricum*, at last suffer'd Martyrdom at *Rome* in the time of *Nero*. Thus much (*b*) *Origen* declares word for word *in the Third Tome of his Expositions on Genesis.*

(*b*) It is very doubtful where these words of *Origen*'s, whom *Eusebius* here quotes, do begin; whether it be at those words, *And Thomas*, &c. or rather at those, *Peter 'tis probable*, &c. For *Eusebius* has not shown us where they begin. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

Who first presided over the Roman *Church.*

AFter the Martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter*, *Linus* was the First that was elected to the Bishoprick of the *Roman* Church. *Paul*, writing from *Rome* to *Timothy*, makes mention of him in the Salutation at the end of the Epi-
* 2 Tim. 4. 21. stle; saying, * *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Prudens, and Linus, and Claudia.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Epistles of the Apostles.

INdeed, one Epistle of *Peter*'s, called his First, hath by general consent been receiv'd as genuine; for that the worthy *Antients* in former ages quoted in their writings, as being unquestionable and undoubted. But as for that called his (*a*) *Second Epistle*, we have been inform'd by the tradition of our Predecessors that it was not acknowledged as part of the *New Testament*. Yet, because to many it seem'd useful, 'twas diligently read together with the other Scriptures. But the Book called *his Acts*, and the *Gospel that goes under his name*, and that Book termed *his Preaching*, and that stiled *his Revelation*, we know these have in no wise been accounted genuine Writings: because no Ecclesiastical Writer either ancient or modern hath quoted any authorities or proofs taken out of them. But in the procedure of our *History* we will make it our chief business to shew, together with the Successions, what Ecclesiastical writers in every age have used the authority of such Writings as are question'd as spurious: likewise what they say of those *Scriptures* that are canonical and by general consent acknowledged as genuine, and also what concerning those that are not such. And thus many are the Writings ascribed to *Peter*, of which I have known only one Epistle accounted to be genuine, and universally acknowledged as such by the *Antients*. But of *Paul*'s there are *fourteen Epistles* manifestly known, and undoubted. Yet it is not fit we should be ignorant, that some have rejected that to the *Hebrews*, saying, it is by the *Roman* Church denied to be *Paul*'s. Now what the *Antients* have said concerning this Epistle, I will in due place propose. But as for those *Acts* that are called his, we have been inform'd from our Predecessors, that they are not accounted as unquestionable and undoubted. And whereas the same Apostle, in his *Salutations* at the end of the Epistle to the *Romans*, makes mention among others, of one *Hermas*, who, they say, is Author of that Book intitled *Pastor*; you must know that that *Treatise* also has been question'd by some; upon whose account it must not be placed amongst those which by general consent are acknowledged as genuine: but by others it has been judged a most useful Book, especially for such as are to be instructed in the first *Rudiments* of *Religion*. Whereupon we know it is at this time publickly read in *Churches*; and I do find that some of the most ancient Writers do quote it. Let thus much be spoken in order to a representation of the Holy Scripture, to discriminate those Books, whose authority is in no wise contradicted, from those that by general consent are not acknowledg'd as genuine.

Nero.

(*a*) That this 2d Epistle of S. *Peter* was not at first receiv'd in the Church of Christ with so universal agreement and consent as the former, may be concluded from this passage in *Eusebius*. But notwithstanding, there are great and sure evidences of this Epistles being written by the acknowledg'd Author of it, as (1.) the Title of *Simon Peter* with the Addition of *An Apostle of Jesus Christ* (Chap. 1. v. 1. (2.) There is a whole passage in this Epistle (Chap. 1. v. 16, 17.) which doth signally belong to *Peter*, that of having been on the holy Mount with Christ, and hearing those words, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. which certainly belongs to the transfiguration, *Matth.* 17. where only *Peter* and *James* and *John* were present with Christ. (3.) This is said to be a 2d Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 1.) written much to the same purpose with the former. (4.) St. *Jude* speaking (v. 18.) *Of the scoffers that should come*, &c. cites that Prediction from *the Apostles of our Lord Jesus* (v. 17.) where it is reasonable to believe that this Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 3.) is referred to; for in it those very words are met with (and are not so in any other Apostolick writing) *Knowing this first*, &c. Compare *Jude* the 17 and 18. v. with 2 Epist. *Pet.* 3. chap. v. 3. All this in all Copies stands unmoved to secure the authority of this Epistle, and to convince us of the author of it. See Dr. *Hammond*'s Preface to the 2d. *Epist. Pet.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the first Succession of the Apostles.

THat *Paul* therefore, preaching to the *Gentiles*, laid the foundations of those *Churches* from *Jerusalem*, and round about unto *Illyricum*, is manifest both from his own * words, and also from what *Luke* has related in the † *Acts*. Likewise in what Provinces *Peter*, preaching the Gospel of Christ to those of the Circumcision, deliver'd the Doctrine of the *New Covenant*, is sufficiently apparent from his own * words out of that *Epistle* of his, which, we have said, is universally acknowledg'd as genuine; which he wrote to the *Jews* that were dispersed throughout *Pontus* and *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Asia*, and *Bithynia*. Now how many and what sincere followers of them have been approved as sufficient to take the charge of those *Churches* by them founded, it is not easie to say; except such and so many as may be collected from the words of *Paul*. For he had very many fellow-labourers, and, as he termed them, fellow-soldiers; many of which were by him vouchsafed an indeleble remembrance, he having in his own *Epistles* ascrib'd to them an everlasting commendation. But *Luke*, enumerating in the *Acts*, the Disciples of *Paul*, makes mention of them by name. Moreover, *Timothy* is reported to have been the first that was chosen to the Bishoprick of the *Ephesian* Church: as also *Titus*, of the Churches in *Crete*. *Luke*, by original extract an *Antiochian*, by profession a *Physician*, for the most part accompanied *Paul*; and being diligently conversant with the rest of the Apostles, has left us, in two Books written by Divine inspiration, Lessons that are medicinable for our

* Rom. 15. 19.
† Acts from 14. to 11. chap.
* 1 Epist. Pet. 1. 1.

Nero. ſouls, which he procured of them. The one is *the Goſpel*, which he * profeſſes he wrote as they delivered it unto him, *who from the beginning were Eye-witneſſes and Miniſters of the Word*, in all which things, he ſays, *he had perfect underſtanding from the very firſt.* The other is *the Acts of the Apoſtles*, which Treatiſe he compoſed now not of ſuch paſſages as he had received by report, but of what he had ſeen with his own eyes. They ſay alſo that *Paul* was wont to mean the *Goſpel according to Luke*; when, ſpeaking as it were of his own *Goſpel*, he ſays, † *According to my Goſpel.* Of the reſt of the Followers of *Paul*, *Creſcens* is by the Apoſtle himſelf declared to be one; who was ſent by him into (*a*) *Gallia.* *Linus* alſo, whom, in his *ſecond Epiſtle* to *Timothy*, he mentions to be at *Rome* with him, who was before manifeſted to have been the firſt that was choſen to the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, after *Peter.* *Clemens* alſo, who was likewiſe conſtituted the third Biſhop of *Rome*, is atteſted by *Paul* himſelf to have been his Fellow-labourer and Companion in ſufferings. Furthermore, that *Areopagite* (by name *Dionyſius*, whom *Luke* in the *Acts* records to have been the firſt that believed after the Sermon made by *Paul* to the *Athenians* in (*b*) *Areopagus*) another *Dionyſius*, one of the Antients, a Paſtor of the *Corinthian* Church relates to have been the firſt Biſhop of the *Athenian* Church. But as we go on with this Work of ours, we will in due place declare the Succeſſions of the Apoſtles in their ſeveral times. Now we will proceed to that part of our Hiſtory which follows in order.

* Luke 1. 1, 2, 3.

† 2 Tim. 2. 8.

(*a*) These words of St. *Paul* occur 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. where we now read, *Creſcens to Galatia.* But the Antients, among whom *Euſebius* ſeem to have read *Gallia*: ſo *Epiphanius* in *Hæreſ. Alogor.* and *Hieronymus* in *Catalog.* and *Sophronius* and others.

But the other reading is the trueſt, which *Clemens* confirms in his *Conſtitut. Apoſt.* *Theodoret* reads *Galatia*, but ſays that thereby is meant *Gallia.* Valeſ.

(*b*) *Areopagus* was the Senate or ſtanding Court of Judicature in *Athens*, by whoſe Laws and Orders any new Gods were received among them; and therefore as ſoon as they perceived that *Paul* was a promulger of ſtrange Deities, they bring him to the *Areopagus* to have him examined what Gods they were that he thus Preached. Two Judicatures they had at *Athens*; one every year changed, made up of 500 choſen Men, of whom the Republick conſiſted; the other perpetual, which judged of Murthers and the like capital Offences; and this was in *Areopago*; of which and the cuſtoms thereof, See *Budæus* on the *Pandects.* Why it was called *Areopagus*, ſee St. *Aug. de civit. Dei* L. 18. c. 18. The Judges which ſat in this Court were call'd *Areopagitæ*, who were look'd upon with ſuch reverence, that an *Areopagite* ſignified proverbially *an excellent Perſon.* Gell. L. 12. c. 7. *Dionyſius* was one of theſe *Areopagites.*

CHAP. V.

Of the laſt Siege of the Jews *after* Chriſt's *Death.*

Veſpaſian. AFter *Nero*, who held the Government thirteen years, *Galba* and *Otho* having reigned a year and ſix months; *Veſpaſian* grown famous in the Wars againſt the *Jews*, was made Emperor in *Judea*, being proclaimed by the Army there. He therefore going immediately to *Rome*, committed the management of the War againſt the *Jews* to his ſon *Titus.* Moreover, after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, when the *Jews*, beſides the audacious wickedneſs committed againſt him, had now contrived and executed very many cruel deſigns againſt his Apoſtles; (firſt *Stephen* being ſtoned to death by them; then after him *James* the ſon of *Zebedee* and brother of *John* beheaded, and laſt of all that *James* who was firſt choſen into the Epiſcopal ſeat there, after our Saviour's Aſcenſion, murther'd according to the forementioned manner;) when the reſt of the Apoſtles, were by innumerable wiles laid wait for to be put to death; and being driven out of *Judea*, were gone to preach the Doctrine of the Goſpel to all Nations, aſſiſted by the power of Chriſt who had ſaid unto them; * *Go and teach all nations in my name:* And furthermore, when the whole Congregation of the Church in *Jeruſalem*, according to an Oracle given by revelation to the approved perſons amongſt them before the War, were commanded to depart out of the City, and inhabit a certain City (they call it (*a*) *Pella*) beyond *Jordan*; into which when thoſe that believed in *Chriſt* had remov'd from *Jeruſalem*, and when the Holy Men had as it were totally relinquiſh'd the princely *Metropolis* of the *Jews*, and the whole Country of *Judea*: then at length Divine Vengeance ſeiz'd them who had dealt ſo unjuſtly with *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and utterly deſtroy'd that wicked and abominable Generation from among men. But, how great calamities then befel the whole Nation in every place; and how they eſpecially who were Inhabitants of *Judea* were driven to the extremity of miſery; and how many * *Myriads* of men, together with women and children, were deſtroy'd by Sword and Famine, and by infinite other kinds of death; and how many and what Sieges there were of the Jewiſh Cities; and how great miſeries and more than miſeries they beheld who fled into *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, as into the beſt fortified *Metropolis*; and alſo the manner and order of the whole War, and every particular action therein; and how at length the *abomination of deſolation* predicted by the Prophets was ſet up in the very *Temple of God*, heretofore famous, but now about to ſuffer all manner of pollution, and to undergo its laſt deſtruction by fire: He that is deſirous to know it, may accurately read all this in the Hiſtory written by *Joſephus.* But, how the ſame Writer relates, that a multitude of about thirty hundred thouſand perſons aſſembled together from all parts of *Judea* at that time of the *Paſſover-feaſt*, were ſhut up in *Jeruſalem* (*as it were*, ſays he, *in a priſon*) I think it requiſite to ſhew in thoſe his own words. (*b*) For it was fit, that at that very time (wherein they had kill'd the Saviour and Benefactor of all, Chriſt the Son of God,) that in the ſame days, *I ſay*, they ſhould be ſhut up as it were in a priſon, to receive that deſtruction from Divine Vengeance which awaited them. But I will omit the particular relation of thoſe miſeries which befel them, and their great ſufferings by the Sword and otherwiſe, and do think it neceſſary to propoſe only the Calamities of the Famine; that ſo they who ſhall read this our Work may from that part *of their Sufferings* underſtand, that the Divine Puniſhment for their enormous Impieties committed againſt the Chriſt of God, did not long after light upon them.

Veſpaſian.

* Matth. 28. 19.

(*a*) So ſays *Epiphanius* (*in Hæreſ. Nazaræorum* cap. 7.) *to wit*, that the Chriſtians who dwelt in *Jeruſalem* being forewarn'd by Chriſt of the approaching Siege removed to *Pella.* But in his Book (*de ponderibus & menſuris*) he writes that the Diſciples of Chriſt being warned by an Angel, removed to *Pella*: And afterwards when *Adrian* rebuilt *Jeruſalem* and called it after his own name *Ælia Colonia*, they returned thither. *Valeſ.*

* A Myriad is ten thouſand.

(*b*) Immediately before theſe words Bp. *Chriſtophorſon* (in his Latin tranſlation of *Euſebius*) inſerts a paſſage at length out of *Joſephus* his Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Wars, B. the 6th, both againſt the authority of all the M. SS. Copies, and alſo without any neceſſity. Neither *Ruſinus* nor *Nicephorus* hath inſerted this paſſage of *Joſephus*'s; and *Euſebius* did ſufficient to intimate it, and to produce ſome words from it, as are thoſe, ὥσπερ ἐν εἱρκτῇ, i. e. *as it were in a priſon*; which Words *Euſebius* does ſufficiently ſhew to be *Joſephus*'s, in that he ſays, ὥσπερ ἐν εἱρκτῇ ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς, &c. In the common Editions of *Euſebius* theſe words ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς were wanting, which we have put in, warranted thereto by the old M. SS. Copies, *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* we found thoſe Words alſo in the King's M. S. which *Robert Stephens* made uſe of in his Edition of *Euſebius*; who too much favour'd his own conjecture, by expunging thoſe words here, and putting them in a little after, thus, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐῤῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ὑποτυπώσασθαι, againſt the authority of all Copies. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

Vespasian.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Famine that oppressed the Jews.

COme on therefore, let us again take the fifth Book of *Josephus*'s History into our hands, and rehearse the Tragedy of those things then and there done. * "Moreover, (*says he*) for 'those that were rich to stay it was equally de-'structive. For they were slain for their wealth 'under a pretence of their revolting to the ene-'my. Together also with the famine, the in-'solent rage of the seditious increased, and both 'those mischiefs daily grew more extreamly 'sharp and violent. Besides, there was no 'food any where openly to be seen; but they 'rush'd violently into houses, and made a strict 'search: and when they had found any, they 'beat the masters of the houses after a most cruel 'manner, because they denied they had any: 'but if they found none, they tortured them, 'as if they had most carefully hid it. Moreover, 'the bodies of the wretches were a certain sign 'whether they had any food or no: for those 'who were yet strong and lusty they supposed 'had plenty of provision; but such as were al-'ready lean and macerated, they medled not 'with. For it seem'd irrational to kill those that 'were ready to die for want of sustenance. Ma-'ny also privately exchanged their estates, the 'richer sort for one measure of wheat, the poo-'rer for one of barley: then locking themselves 'up in the inmost receſſes of their houses, some 'of them by reason of their excessive want of 'food, eat the unground corn; others made 'bread of it after such a manner as necessity 'and fear advised them. Indeed there was no 'where any table furnish'd; but they snatch'd 'the meat while it was raw from the fire, and '(*a*) tore it from one another. The food was 'miserable, and the spectacle truly worthy of 'lamentation; in that the stronger sort got all, 'whilst the weaker bewailed their own condi-'tion. Famine doubtless is superior to all the 'affections of the mind; but nothing is so ut-'terly destroy'd by it, as is a dutiful and obser-'vant behaviour. For that which otherwise is 'worthy of a reverent regard, in this case (*to wit, in the necessity of famine*) is contemn'd. 'Therefore the wives tore the meat from their 'husbands, the children from their parents; and, 'which was most exceedingly lamentable, the 'mothers snatch'd it out of the very mouths of 'their infants; yea, they spared not to deprive 'them of those very drops of milk which were 'their only sustenance to keep them alive, whilst 'their most beloved babes languish'd in their 'arms. And whilst they eat such food as this, 'they notwithstanding could not secure them-'selves from being discover'd; because the sedi-'tious were every where at hand, preying upon 'them: for when they at any time saw a house 'shut, that was a sign that those within were 'eating victuals; and immediately breaking o-'pen the doors they rush'd in, and squeezing the 'bits of meat even out of their very jaws, they 'took them away. The old men, who would 'not part with their food, were beaten; and the 'women which hid what they had in their 'hands were drawn about by the hair of the 'head. No compassion was shewn to the hoa-'ry-head, or to infants; but lifting up the lit-'tle children on high, hanging at their morsels 'of meat, they dash'd them against the pave-'ment. Now to those who prevented their in-'cursion, and before-hand devoured what they 'would by force have taken away, they were 'more inhuman, as if such had done them an 'injury. Moreover, they invented cruel ways 'of torments for the searching out of provision; 'for they stop'd up the passage of the Privities 'of those miserable men with the pulse called '*Orobos*, and thrust sharp rods up their funda-'ments; and to force any person to confess he 'had but one loaf of bread, or to extort from 'him a discovery of his having but one hand-'ful of meal hidden, he underwent such tor-'ments as are most horrible to be heard. Now 'the tormentors themselves were not oppress'd 'with hunger; for it would have seem'd less 'cruel for them to have done all this out of ne-'cessity: but they did it to exercise their outra-'gious insolence, and to procure themselves 'provision for the following days. Those also, 'who by night crept out as far as the *Roman* 'watch to gather wild herbs and grass, they 'met; and when they supposed they had now 'escaped the enemy, these men by force took 'from them what they had gotten. And when 'they often intreated, and by the most sa-'cred name of God beseech'd them to commu-'nicate some part of that to them which they 'had brought off with the hazard of their lives, 'they imparted nothing thereof to them; yea, 'they were to look upon it to be a kindness, 'that they were not also kill'd, as well as rob'd 'of what they had gotten." To this, after some other words, he adds, saying, 'The *Jews*, after 'they were hindred from going out of the Ci-'ty, were depriv'd of all hope of relief. And the 'famine encreasing extreamly, consumed the 'people throughout every house and family. 'The houses were fill'd with women and infants 'destroy'd by the famine: and the narrow streets 'with dead old men: the children and young 'men as pale as ghosts wander'd up and down 'the market-places, and fell down where-ever 'the distemper seiz'd any of them; neither were 'the sick able to bury their relations: and those 'who were strong were loth to undertake it, 'both upon account of the vast numbers of the 'dead, and also because of the uncertainty of 'their own condition. For very many dropt 'down dead upon those whom they were in-'terring. Many also betook themselves to their 'Coffins or Sepulchres before death seiz'd 'em. 'Neither was there mourning or lamentation 'in these calamities; but the famine had sup-'press'd every one's affection. And they who 'struggled with the very pangs of death, with 'dry eyes beheld those who went to rest before 'them. A profound silence and darkness loa-'den with death encompass'd the City. But the 'thieves were more pernicious than all this; for 'they digg'd through into houses, now turn'd 'into burial-places, and rob'd the dead: and 'taking away the coverings from off the corps, 'went out laughing. They also tried the (*b*) edges 'of their swords upon the dead bodies: and some 'of those that lay along, and yet alive, they 'run through, to make trial of the sharpness of 'their weapons: but those that beseech'd 'em 'to make use of their hand and sword upon 'em, 'by way of scorn they let alone to be destroy'd 'by the famine. And every one of them that di-'ed, leaving the seditious yet surviving, (*c*) fix'd 'their

Vespasian.

* *Joseph.* Hist. of the Jewish Wars, Book 5. Chap. 26.

(*a*) *Josephus* means that those wretched people tore the meat from one another; not that they greedily devoured it, as *Christophorson* took his meaning to be, he translating it, *avidè ore abripiebant*. That is the meaning of those words ἐφέλκοντες δι' ἑαυτῶν. *Vales.*

(*b*) In *Josephus* it is ἀίχμας ἀπ' ξιφῶν; but in the M. SS. copies of *Eusebius* it is ἀκμὰς, &c. which is the better reading: For the *Greeks* call that ἄκμην, which the *Latines* call *aciem*, and we in *English* the *edge*, &c. *Vales.*

(*c*) Observe here the religion of the *Jews*, who in what parts of the world soever they were always prayed to God with their Eyes turn'd towards the holy City, and Temple. We have an example of this custom in *Dan.* 6. 10. and 1 *Kings* 8. 48. and 1 *Esdr.* 4. 58. Hence perhaps was derived the custom of the Christians, to pray towards the East. *Vales.*

Veſpaſian.

'their eyes ſtedfaſtly upon the Temple. At firſt 'they gave command that the dead ſhould be 'buried at the charge of the publick Treaſury, 'not being able to endure the ſtench of the 'dead bodies: but afterwards being inſufficient 'to continue ſo doing, they caſt them from the 'walls into deep pits; which *Titus* having view'd 'round, when he beheld them fill'd full with 'the dead, and a thick gore iſſuing from the 'putrified bodies, he ſigh'd, and ſtretching forth 'his hands, call'd God to witneſs, that it was 'not his fact." To all this, after the interpoſition of ſome words, he adds, ſaying; 'I will 'not be afraid to declare what grief commands 'me to ſpeak; I think, had the *Romans* been 'ſlack to deſtroy thoſe flagitious wretches, that 'either they would have been ſwallow'd by 'the earth opening under them; or that the 'City would have been drown'd by an inun'dation; or, that, like *Sodom*, it would have 'been deſtroy'd by lightning. For it had brought 'forth a generation of men by far more abomi'nably impious than thoſe, who had ſuffer'd 'ſuch things. By reaſon therefore of the deſpe'rate outragiouſneſs of thoſe men, the whole 'body of the people was together with them 'deſtroy'd." And in his Sixth Book he writes thus: 'Of thoſe who periſh'd being deſtroy'd 'by the famine throughout the City, the mul'titude was innumerable; the afflictions that 'befel them can't be utter'd. For in every houſe 'where there appear'd but the leaſt ſhadow of 'proviſion, there was fighting; and ſuch as 'were deareſt friends ſtrove one with the other, 'ſnatching from one another the miſerable pro'viſion of their life. Neither were thoſe that di'ed believed to expire for want of ſuſtenance. 'But the Thieves ſearch'd thoſe that gave up the 'ghoſt, leſt any one having meat in his boſom 'ſhould feign himſelf to die. The Thieves 'themſelves, empty and hollow for want of ſu'ſtenance, wandred and hunted up and down 'like mad dogs, ſtriking againſt the doors like 'drunken men; and by reaſon of their ſtupified 'condition, breaking into the very ſame houſes 'twice or thrice in one hour. Neceſſity made 'all things to be eaten: and what was unfitting 'to be given to the moſt ſordid irrational crea'tures, they gather'd up, and endured to eat. 'Therefore at the laſt they did not forbear to 'eat girdles and ſhoes; and pluck'd the leather 'from off their bucklers and eat it. The ſtumps 'of old hay were made food by ſome; and o'thers gather'd the very ſtalks or ſmall fibres of 'plants, and ſold the leaſt weight of them for 'four (*d*) *Attick drachms*. But what need I ſpeak 'of the ſharpneſs and extremity of the famine, 'as to the eating things without life? for I will 'declare ſuch a fact, the like whereof is no where 'recorded either among the *Grecians* or *Barba'rians*; which may ſeem both horrid to be re'lated, and alſo incredible to be heard. And 'indeed leſt I might ſeem to poſterity to feign 'monſtrous ſtories, I could very willingly leave 'this ſad accident unmention'd; but that I have 'innumerable witneſſes thereof, *to wit*, men 'that are cotemporary with me: And beſides, 'I ſhould do my Country a very frigid and in'conſiderable kindneſs, ſhould I go about to 'conceal the rehearſal of what it really ſuffer'd. 'A woman, of the Region beyond *Jordan*, by 'name *Mary*, the daughter of *Eleazar*, of the 'village *Bathezar*, (which word ſignifies, *The 'houſe of Hyſſop*) for deſcent and wealth eminent,

(*d*) That is, ten Shillings in our coin. See note on B. 1. chap. 8. in the margin, concerning the word *Drachms*.

Veſpaſian.

'flying with the reſt of the multitude into *Je'ruſalem*, was there together with them beſieg'd. 'All her goods, which ſhe had taken with her 'out of the Region beyond *Jordan* and brought 'into the City, the Tyrants robb'd her of. The 'remains of what ſhe had, which was of grea'teſt value and price, and what ever proviſion 'of food ſhe could any way procure, the Spear'men breaking in daily took from her. A moſt 'vehement indignation moved the woman; and 'oftentimes ſhe reviled and curſed thoſe rave'nous pillagers, and provok'd them againſt her 'ſelf. But when none of them could be either 'inſtigated by anger, or moved by compaſſion 'to kill her; and ſhe being grown weary of 'finding victuals for (*e*) others; and proviſion 'being now no where to be found; the famine 'alſo having entred her very bowels and mar'row, and her anger being more exceedingly 'hot than the famine was ſharp; ſhe took Fury 'and Neceſſity as her adviſers, and in a hoſtile 'manner invaded nature it ſelf. And having 'ſnatch'd up her ſon (for ſhe had a ſucking-'child) *Miſerable Babe*, ſaid ſhe, *amidſt theſe Wars, 'Famine and Sedition, for whom ſhall I preſerve 'thee? Amongſt the* Romans *if they let us live, we 'ſhall be Slaves; and the Famine muſt precede that 'Servitude; but the Seditious are more miſchievous 'than both thoſe evils. Be thou therefore my food, a 'Fiend to take revenge upon 'the Seditious, and a Story for 'men to talk of, which is on'ly yet wanting to compleat 'the Calamities of the* Jews. 'Having ſaid this, ſhe kills 'her ſon; then *roaſting* him, 'ſhe eat half of him; the 'remainder ſhe kept co'ver'd. The Seditious came 'immediately, and having 'ſmelt the horrible ſavour, 'threatn'd to kill her forth'with, if ſhe would not 'bring out to them what 'ſhe had provided. But 'ſhe, anſwering that ſhe 'had reſerv'd a good part for them, uncover'd 'the remains of her ſon. Horror and aſtoniſh'ment of mind ſuddenly ſeized them; and they 'ſtood benumm'd as it were, with amazement 'at the ſpectacle. This, ſaid the woman, is the 'ſon of mine own womb, and this mine own 'fact: eat, for I have eaten of him already; 'be not you nicer than a woman, or more com'paſſionate than a mother. But if you are re'ligious and abhor this my ſacrifice, I have ea'ten the one half already, and let the reſt alſo 'remain with me. After this they went out 'trembling, abaſh'd at this very one thing, and 'with much ado yielded to leave this food with 'the mother. Immediately the whole City was 'filled with the noiſe of this deteſtable fact; 'and every one ſetting before his eyes this un'natural deed was horribly afraid and trembled 'as if it had been audaciouſly perpetrated in '(*g*) his own houſe. And now all who were ſore'ly preſs'd with the famine, earneſtly haſtned 'to die, and happy were they accounted, who 'were taken away by death before they heard 'and ſaw ſo great calamities." Such was the puniſhment the *Jews* underwent for their iniquity and impiety againſt the Chriſt of God.

(*e*) That is for the Thieves, not for her ſelf: And therefore it is in the original ἐυρεῖν σιτίον ἄλλοις; not ἄλλας, as the *Genева* Edit. of *Euſebius* adds in the margin. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) The *Jews*, as well as the *Grecians*, believed, that the Ghoſts of ſuch as had been murdered followed thoſe that kill'd them, to take revenge of them. In this ſenſe thoſe words may be taken, that occur Gen. 4. 10. *The voice of thy brother's blood cryeth unto me from the ground*: i. e. thy brother, whom thou haſt wickedly ſlain, requires that I ſhould revenge him, and puniſh thee for his murder: Then it follows v. 12. *A fugitive and a vagabond ſhalt thou be in the earth*; i. e. thy brother's Ghoſt, whom thou haſt ſlain, ſhall follow thee every where, and be always troubleſome to thee. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) That is; all the Citizens were ſtricken with ſuch an horror at this fact, as if it had been done in their own houſes. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

Vespasian.

CHAP. VII.

Of Christ's Predictions.

BUT it is worth while to adjoyn hereunto the most true Prediction of our Saviour, wherein he manifestly foretels these very things after this manner: **And wo unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day: for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.* But the same Writer adding together the whole number of those that were destroy'd, says, that by the Famine and by the Sword an hundred and ten Myriads perish'd: and that the Seditious and the Thieves that were left, discovering one another, after the City was taken, were put to death: that the tallest and comliest of the young men were reserv'd to adorn the triumph: that of the rest of the multitude, such as were above seventeen years of age were sent bound to the Mines in *Egypt*; and that very many were distributed through the Provinces to be destroy'd in the Publick Shews by the Sword and by Wild Beasts: that those who were under seventeen years of age were carried Captive and sold; and that the number of those only amounted to (*a*) ninety thousand. These things were done after this manner in the second year of the Reign of *Vespasian*, agreeable to the *Presages* and *Predictions* of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, who by his Divine Power foreseeing these things, as if they had been present, wept and lamented, according to the History of the Holy Evangelists, who have related his very words; one while speaking as it were to *Jerusalem* it self: *If thou hadst known* (said he) *even thou at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee.* Then speaking concerning the people: *For there shall be* (said he) *great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled:* And again, *when ye shall see Jerusalem compass'd with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.* Now whosoever does compare the words of our Saviour with the rest of our Writers relations of the whole War, he can't but with admiration confess the *Prescience* and *Prediction* of our Saviour to have been truly divine, and exceeding wonderful. Therefore concerning those things which befel the whole *Jewish* Nation after the *Salutary Passion* of *Christ*, and after those words, whereby the multitude of the *Jews* desired a Thief and a Murderer should be released from his punishment of death, and that the Prince of Life should be destroy'd, it is needless to (*b*) add any thing to the relation given by *Josephus*. So much only is requisite further to be annex'd, as may represent the endearing Goodness of the most excellent Providence of God, deferring the destruction of these men full forty years after their most audacious Villany committed again Christ. During which space, many of the Apostles and Disciples, (and *James* himself the first Bishop there, he that was called the Brother of the Lord) being yet alive, and making their abode in the City of *Jerusalem*, continued to be a most impregnable Fortification to that place: Divine visitation hitherto patiently forbearing them; that, if peradventure they would yet repent of what they had done, they might obtain remission and salvation; and to so great a patience and forbearance, adding wonderful signs from Heaven, foreshewing what was about to befal them unless they repented. Which signs, having been accounted worthy to be recorded by the foresaid * Writer, nothing hinders but we may here propose to those that shall look upon this our Work.

*Matt. 24. v. 19, 20, 21.

(*a*) *Eusebius* is here mistaken; for *Josephus* does not say so; but only affirms that the number of those that were taken captive, during the whole War, by the *Romans*, amounted to ninety thousand Men. The Words of *Josephus* are to be seen at the latter end of his sixth Book of the Hist. of the *Jewish Wars*. Vales.

Luke 19. 42,43,44.

Luke 21. 23, 24.

Luke 21. 20.

(*b*) Ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν; these are the Words of *Eusebius*; by which he means, not his own History, as Bishop *Christophorson* thought, but the History of *Josephus*: In our translation therefore we have expressed his name; but it is not, we confess, in the original of *Eusebius*. Vales.

Vespasian.

* That is, *Josephus.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Prodigies that appear'd before the War.

LET us then take the sixth Book of *his History*, and rehearse what is therein related by him in these words; 'Therefore those Impostors, and such as feign'd themselves to be sent 'of God, and by their false perswasions deceiv'd 'the wretched people at that time: so that they 'neither gave heed to, nor believed those evident Prodigies which foreshew'd their desolation to be at hand. But being like persons 'thunder-struck, and having neither eyes nor 'understanding, they contemned and disregarded the fore-warnings of God. First, a Star in 'the likeness of a Sword stood over the City; 'and then a (*a*) *Comet* continued a whole year. Further also, when, before 'the revolt and the first beginnings of the War, the 'people were gather'd together to the feast of *Unleavened Bread*, on the 'eighth day of the month *April*, at the (*b*) ninth hour 'of the night, so great a 'light shined round about 'the Altar and the Temple, 'that it seem'd to be bright 'day; and so continued for 'the space of half an hour: 'And this was judged by 'those that were unskilful 'a good sign; but by the '(*c*) *Scribes* that were skill'd in the Law, it was 'immediately concluded to portend those ca-'lamities which afterwards hapned: and at 'the same Feast, a Cow, led to be sacrificed by

(*a*) We read ὅτε, as it is in *Josephus* B. 7. pag. 960. But *Nicephorus* thought that this Star which appeared in the likeness of a Sword, and the *Comet* which continued a whole year, was all one; which as we judge, is not right. *Vales.*

(*b*) The *Jews* divided the whole νυχθήμερον, i. e. *night and day*, or four and twenty hours, into eight parts, each of them containing 3 hours; the 3d, the 6th, the 9th, and the 12th hour of the day; and the like again for the several watches of the night: The ninth hour of the night (or third watch) according to their account, was commonly betwixt our hours of twelve and three a clock in the Morning. See *Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic.* Chap. 13.

(*c*) The *Scribes* amongst the *Jews* were the same with the Doctors of the Law, as *Petavius* has well observed, in *Animadvers. ad Hæres.* 15 *Epiphanii*. Their office it was, to keep the holy Books of the Law, and to read them in the presence of the People, in the Temple and in the Synagogues. But their principal Office was to be assessors with the chief Priests and Elders in the great Council called the *Sanhedrim*. See the 6 and 23 *Chapters of the Acts*. The name of *Scribe* therefore was the name of a Magistrate among the *Jews* as well as the among *Grecians*. And as the [γραμματεῖς] *Scribes* in *Greece* were to be present at Assemblies and Judicatures, and to have the custody of the Laws and Statutes made by the People, and Decrees made by the Senate; so also were the *Scribes* amongst the *Jews* the keepers of the Law. That this was no small honour, appears from many places in the Gospel; where our Blessed Saviour reproves their pride and insolence. After the same manner, amongst the *Grecians*,

cians, the *Scribes* [γραμμ τῆς] were in great authority, as appears from that which S. *Luke* relates *Acts* 19. 35. [*our tranſlation calls him Town-Clerk, how truly, Mr.* Jo. Gregory *of* Oxford *will tell you in his Notes on the Text*; chap. 9. p. 43. *of his Works.*] Amongſt the *Jews* the *Scribes* were ſo much the more reſpected by how much that Nation above all others eſteemed their own Laws: Of which the *Scribes* were not only the *keepers*, but the *interpreters* alſo. Moreover they were conſulted as being taken to be Men of great knowledge and skill, and who were beſt able to interpret Signs and Prodigies; and alſo who beſt knew the myſteries of the Law. So we read *Matth.* 2. 4. *Herod* there conſults the *Scribes*; and in this place of *Joſephus* here, the *Scribes* foretel the meaning of the Prodigies. Moreover the Magiſtrate of the City of *Jeruſalem* who was called Στρατηγὸς, had his Scribe, as *Joſephus* tells us B. 20. But whether this Scribe was among the number of thoſe that were interpreters of the Law, it is hard to ſay. Farther, the [Ἱερογραμματεῖς] amongſt the *Egyptians* were certain Prieſts who look'd after the Ordinances about the things Sacred, and had the keeping of the myſtical Learning, and foretold things to come; concerning whom ſee *Joſeph.* L. 2. c. 5. where he calls them Ἱερέας. Theſe, after the *Cantor* and the *Horoſcopus* went in the third place into the Temple, wearing Wings on their Heads, and carrying before them in their Hands, Ink, and a Pen, with a Book. They had alſo the *Hieroglyphical* Books *of Mercury*, and thoſe of *Coſmography*, and *of the ſcituation of Countries*, and of *Egypt*, and of the *Nile*, and of *the places conſecrated in honour of their Gods*, committed to their cuſtody, as *Clem. Alexandrinus* writes in his 6 B. *Lucianus* ſaith that theſe ſort of Men had been of long continuance in *Egypt*. Valeſ.

Veſpaſian. 'the High-Prieſt, brought forth a Lamb in the 'midſt of the Temple. Alſo the *Eaſtern-Gate* 'of the *Inner-Temple* made all of Braſs, exceeding maſſy, and ſcarcely to be ſhut in the evening by twenty men, (being made alſo very 'ſtrong by vaſt iron hinges on which it moved, 'and having bolts that went into the ground a 'great depth,) was ſeen to open of its own accord about the ſixth hour 'of the night. (*d*) Not many days after the Feaſt, 'upon the one and twentieth of *May*, was ſeen a 'Ghoſt for Prodigiouſneſs wholly incredible. 'But that which I am now 'about to ſay would ſeem an idle ſtory, were 'it not related by thoſe that ſaw it, and had 'not the ſubſequent calamities been anſwerable to ſuch Prodigies. For before Sun-ſet 'there was ſeen in the air over the whole Country, Chariots, and whole Companies of armed 'men, running up and down in the Clouds, 'and inveſting Cities. Alſo at the feaſt, called '*Pentecoſt*, the Prieſts, as it was their manner, 'going by night into the Temple to perform 'their offices, reported that they perceived at 'firſt indeed a motion and heard a noiſe; but 'that afterwards they heard a voice as of a great 'multitude, ſaying, *Let us depart hence:* But what 'was more dreadful than all this; one *Jeſus*, 'the ſon of *Ananias*, a country-man of the ordinary rank, four years before the War, (the 'City being then in perfect peace and in a flouriſhing condition) coming to the Feaſt in 'which it's cuſtomary for all to make Tabernacles to the honour of God near the *Temple*; 'on a ſudden began to cry out with a loud voice: '*A voice from the Eaſt, a voice from the Weſt, a voice from the four Winds, a voice againſt Jeruſalem and the Temple, a voice againſt the Bridegrooms and the Brides, a voice againſt all the People.* This 'he went up and down crying, day and night throughout all the narrow ſtreets and croſsways of the City. But ſome of the chief of 'the people were very much diſturb'd at this ominous cry, and, being highly incenſed, took 'the man and beat him with many and alſo 'grievous ſtripes. But he neither ſpoke any 'thing for himſelf, nor ſaid any thing in private to thoſe that (*e*) beat him, but perſiſted 'crying thoſe very words he did before. Then *Veſpaſian.* 'the (*f*) Magiſtrates, ſuppoſing (as indeed it was) that the man was moved by Divine impulſe, bring him to the *Roman* (*g*) Preſident, 'where being beaten with 'ſtripes till his very bones 'were bare, he neither intreated for himſelf, nor ſhed a tear: but to the 'utmoſt of his power changing his voice into 'a doleful tone, he anſwer'd every ſtripe, *Wo, Wo to Jeruſalem.*" There is another thing alſo more wonderful than this, which the ſame Writer relates, ſaying, that a Prophecy was found in the Holy Scriptures comprehending thus much, *to wit*, That about that time one was to come out of their Country who ſhould rule over the whole world; which this Writer underſtood to have been fulfilled in (*h*) *Veſpaſian.* But he did not rule over the whole world, only obtain'd the *Roman* Empire. This therefore may more juſtly be referr'd to Chriſt, to whom it was ſaid by the Father: * *Deſire of me and I ſhall give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance; and the utmoſt parts of the earth for thy poſſeſſion:* And *the* † *ſound of whoſe Holy Apoſtles* at the very ſame time *went out into all Lands, and their words unto the ends of the world.*

(*d*) After theſe Words *Euſebius* omits ſome paſſages that are extant in *Joſephus*, as, of this Prodigies being told to the Στρατηγὸς, or Magiſtrate; for an account of whom, and his office ſee the Learned *Hammond* in his Notes on *Luke* 22. 52.

(*e*) The reading muſt be, πρὸς τὸς παίοντας, i. e. *thoſe that beat him*, as it is in *Joſephus*; not παόντας, i. e. *thoſe that were preſent*; although *Ruſinus* followed that reading. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) That is, the Magiſtrate of the Temple, the chief Prieſts, and the Scribes. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) That was *Albinus*, who then was Procurator of *Judea.* Valeſ.

(*h*) *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & conſtans opinio; eſſe in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæâ profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Romano quantùm eventu poſteà prædictum patuit. Judæi ad ſe trahentes, rebellarunt.* So *Suetonius* in the Life of *Veſpaſian.*

* Pſal. 2. 8.

† Pſal. 19. 4.

CHAP. IX.

Of Joſephus, *and the Writings he left.*

AFter all this, it is fit that we ſhould not be ignorant of this ſame *Joſephus*, who has given us ſo great aſſiſtance in the Hiſtory we now have in hand, from whence, and of what ſtock he came. And he himſelf does manifeſt even this alſo, ſaying after this manner: 'Joſe-'*phus* the ſon of (*a*) *Mattathias*, a Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*, 'who my ſelf alſo at firſt 'fought againſt the *Romans*, 'and was by neceſſity forc'd 'to be preſent at what was 'done afterwards." This man was eſteem'd the moſt eminent perſon of all the *Jews* of thoſe times, not only by his own country-men, but alſo by the *Romans*: inſomuch that he was honour'd with a Statue dedicated to him in the City of *Rome*, and the Books compiled by him were accounted worthy to be placed in the Publick Library, He wrote all the *Jewiſh Antiquities* in twenty entire Books; and the Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh War*, in his own time, in ſeven Books; which Hiſtory he himſelf teſtifies, he put forth not only in *Greek*, but alſo in his own Country language; and he is worthy to be credited both in this, and in other things. There are alſo two other Books of his extant very worthy to be read, which are about the *Ancientneſs of the Jews:* in which he anſwers *Apion Grammaticus*, who at that time wrote a (*b*) Volume againſt the *Jews*, and ſome others who had attempted

(*a*) In the King's M. S. it is Μαθίας· and ſo alſo in *Joſephus*, in the Book *of his own Life*, and in the proeme to his Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh Wars*. In *Sophronius*'s Book, *De ſcriptoribus Eccleſ.* it is, Ἰώσηπος μαθίου ὑός. So alſo *Sozomen* calls him in the beginning of his firſt Book. And *Ruſinus* calls the father of *Joſephus Matthias*; *Joſeppus*, ſays he, *Mathiæ filius, ex Hieroſolymis ſacerdos.* So it is written in the moſt excellent M. S. of the *Pariſian* Church. *Valeſ.* *Suetonius*, in the Life of *Veſpaſian*, has this paſſage of *Joſephus*; *Unus ex nobilibus captivis* Joſephus, *cùm conjiceretur in vincula; conſtantiſſime aſſeveravit fore, ut ab eo brevi ſolveretur, verum jam Imperatore.*

(*b*) The Words of *Euſebius* are σωλάξαλα λόγον; but *Nicephorus* writes λόγους, which *Joſephus* ſeems to confirm, who teſtifies that *Apion* wrote more Books than one againſt the Jewiſh Nation. But *Jerom*, in *Catalogo*, where he ſpeaks of *Joſephus*'s Writings, defends the ordinary reading. *Valeſ.*

Vespasian. attempted to calumniate the (c) Antiquity and Laws of the *Jewish* Nation. In the former of these he sets forth the number of the Canonical Books of that called the *Old Testament*, which of them are among the *Hebrews* unquestionable and undoubted, as being received from ancient Tradition; discoursing of them in these words.

(c) *Josephus* in his Books against *Apion*, answers not only those who had calumniated the Laws and Institutions of the *Jews*; but also he more especially writes against those who had forged certain Falsities concerning the Original and Antiquity of the *Jews*, as appears by his first Book. But about the end of his second Book he answers *Apollonius*, *Molon*, and *Lysimachus*, who had written some lyes about the Laws and Institutions of the *Jews*. The word πάτεια therefore in this place must mean both these, *to wit*, *the Antiquity, and the Laws of the Jewish Nation.* Vales.

CHAP. X.

How Josephus *makes mention of the* Holy Bible.

'THere are not therefore amongst us an innumerable company of Books disagreeing and contradicting one another; but only (a) two and twenty, containing an historical account of all times; which are worthily believed to be Divine. And five of these are the Works of *Moses*, which comprehend both the Laws, and also a continued Series of the Generations of Men, and what was done by them from their first Creation until his own death. This space of time wants little of three thousand years. And from the death of *Moses* until the Reign of *Artaxerxes* King of the *Persians*, Successor to *Xerxes*, the Prophets, who succeeded *Moses*, wrote what was done in their Ages, in thirteen Books: The remaining four contain Hymns to God, and Precepts and Admonitions for the well-ordering of Men's lives. Also from *Artaxerxes* until our own times every thing is indeed recorded, but these Books have not been accounted worthy of the like authority with the former, in that the Succession of the Prophets was not so accurately known. But it is manifestly apparent how highly we revere our own Writings: For in so many Ages now pass'd over, no one has dared either to add or to diminish from them, or to change any thing therein; but it is implanted upon all us *Jews* immediately from our very birth, to think that these are the Precepts of God, and to persevere in them, and, if need so require, willingly to die for them." And let these words of this Writer be profitably here inserted. He compiled also another elaborate Work not unworthy of himself, about the *Empire of Reason*, which some have entitled *Maccabees*, because it contains the Conflicts of those *Hebrews*, in the Writings called the *Maccabees*, so termed from them, who valiantly fought for the Worship of God. And, at the end of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*, he intimates, as if he purposed to write in four Books (according to the opinion of the *Jews*, which they had received from their Ancestors) *of God*, and *of his Essence*, also *of Laws*, why according to them some things are lawful to be done, and others forbidden. Himself also in his own Books mentions other Works compiled by his diligence. Moreover it is also consonant to reason to adjoyn those words of his which he has inserted at the (b) *Conclusion* of his *Antiquities*, for the Confirmation of the Quotations and Authorities we have taken out of him. He therefore, blaming (c) *Justus Tiberiensis*, (who had taken in hand, as well as he, to write an History of those very Times,) as having not related the Truth, and accusing the Man of many other faults, at last adds thus much in these words: 'But I was not, in that manner 'as you were, timerous concerning my Writings, 'but gave my Books to the Emperors themselves, 'when the deeds done were fresh and almost yet 'to be seen: For I was conscious to my self, 'that I had all along faithfully observed the deli-'very of the Truth; upon account whereof, ho-'ping for their evidence, I was not disappointed 'of my expectation. And moreover I com-'municated my History to many others, some 'of whom were actually present in the War; 'as was King *Agrippa*, and (d) several of his 'Relations: Also *Titus* the Emperor was so wil-'ling that the knowledge of what was done 'should be delivered to Men solely out of them, 'that he (e) subscribed my Books with his own 'Hand, and gave command they should be

(a) There were so many Books of the Scripture amongst the *Jews*, as they had letters in their Alphabet; So *Origen* tells us in his exposition of the first Psalm, and *Jerom in præmio galeato*; where also he says that there were among them three ranks of these Holy Volumes; the first contained the *Law*; the second the *Prophets*; the third the *Hagiography*. All which agrees very well with *Josephus*. But in this they differ; *Josephus* makes thirteen Books to be of the second Order; *to wit*, following the Series of the times. But of the third, he reckons only four, disagreeing from St. *Jerom*; who in the foresaid Preface, and in that of his before the Prophecy of *Daniel*, reckons up eight Books of the *Prophets*, and nine of the *Hagiography*. But *Josephus* seems to have placed the Book of *Joshua* and *Judges*, also those of the *Kings*, *Chronicles* and *Ezra*, amongst the Prophetical Writings; not that they contain Prophecies, as the Books of the Prophets do; but because they were written by Men that were Prophets. *Vales.*

Vespasian.

(b) *To wit*, in the *Book* of his own Life, pag. 1026 *Edit. Genev.* which Book is the conclusion of his twentieth and last Book of his *Antiquities*; from which it is separated unadvisedly in the Greek and Latin Editions. Now that it is the conclusion of the 20 B. of *Antiquities*, *Josephus* himself tells us at the close of that Book, and at the end of this Book, *of his own Life*. *Scaliger* therefore is mistaken, in his *Animadvers.* on *Euseb.* p. 188. where he says, *Eusebius* forgot himself here; and so is *Christophorson*, who, supposing this place in *Eusebius* to be corrupted, alter'd it. But had they seen the Greek MSS. Copies of *Josephus*, or had they consulted the *Basil. Edit. of him*, they might easily have found, that which I have said to be true, *to wit*, that this Book of *Josephus*'s, of his own Life, was nothing else but an Appendix or Conclusion of his 20 Book of *Antiquities*. Vales.

(c) Our MSS. Copies, *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* have it thus written, Τιβερέα; corruptly as I judge. For both *Stephanus Byzantius* doth acknowledge it to be Τιβεριέα; and also *Jerom*, in his Book *De Scriptorib. Ecclesiast.* calls him *Justus Tiberiensis*; whom we have followed. But *Scaliger* stiles him *Tiberiadensis*. This *Justus* wrote an History of the Jewish Wars, as *Josephus* tells us in his Book, *De vitâ suâ*; and *Stephanus*, in the word Τιβεριάς. Besides, this History he wrote a *Chronicle of the Kings of the Jews*, as *Photius* testifies, in *Bibliotheca*: Which Work he dedicated to King *Agrippa*, as *Scaliger* affirms, in *Animadvers. Euseb.* pag. 176. And he adds these Words: *Nemo de obitu Regis* Agrippæ *certiùs pronuntiare potuit quam is qui illi opus suum dedicavit*, i. e. *No body could speak more certainly of the death of King* Agrippa, *than he who dedicated his Work to him.* Which I indeed wish had not dropt from so acute a Man. For how can an Historian testifie of the death of him to whom he dedicates his History? Unless we say that *Justus* dedicated his *Chronicle* to *Agrippa*, when he was dead, which is absurd. But as *Scaliger* without all ground asserted, that *Justus Tiberiadensis* dedicated his *Chronicle* to King *Agrippa*; so what he infers therefrom is also absurd. But from *Photius* his testimony it is manifest, that that Work was put forth by *Justus* after the death of King *Agrippa*. *Josephus* relates that the History of the Jewish Wars was published by *Justus* also after the death of *Agrippa*, although it was written twenty years before. A Book of this same *Justus*'s, whose title was Στέμματα, is quoted by *Laërtius*, in the Life of *Socrates*; which *Photius* says was the same with his *Chronicle*. Vales.

(d) He means *Julius Archelaus* and *Herod*, as *Josephus* himself declares, in his first Book against *Apion*. *Julius Archelaus* was Brother-in-law to King *Agrippa*; for he had married his Sister *Mariamne*; so says *Josephus* at the end of his 19 and 20 Books of *Antiquit.* Vales.

(e) *Nicephorus*, in his 3 Book, Chap. 11. interpreting these Words of *Josephus*, says that *Titus* with his own hand copied out the Books of *Josephus* his History of the Jewish Wars. See what *Johannes Langus* has noted at that place of *Nicephorus*. But all Interpreters who have translated this place of *Josephus* into Latin, understand thereby that *Titus* only subscribed the Books of *Josephus* with his own hand, and did not copy them out himself. But I would rather follow the opinion of *Nicephorus*. Neither do these Words of *Josephus* [ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἀυτῇ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία, δημοσιεύεσθαι προσέταξεν] seem to sound any thing less to me. Thus this place is pointed in all Copies as well as MS. as Printed. But if this place of *Josephus* were to be understood only of *Titus* his subscribing *Josephus* his Books with his hand, then the distinction or comma ought to be put after the word χειρὶ: But here you see it put after the word Βιβλία. *Vales.*

Veſpaſian.

(f) publickly read. And King *Agrippa* wrote ſixty two Epiſtles, teſtifying therein, that the Truth was delivered by me." Two whereof *Joſephus* there adjoyns. But let thus much be thus far manifeſted concerning him. We will now proceed to what follows.

(f) In the moſt excellent MSS. *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and in Sir *Henry Savil*'s MS. it is written [ἀμοσιεύεσθαι;] which reading all Interpreters ſeem to have followed: But I like *Ruſinus* his Verſion beſt, who tranſlates it: *To be publickly read*; in which ſenſe the ſame Word is uſed by *Euſebius* in chap. 22. of his ſecond Book, where he ſpeaks of the General Epiſtles of *James* and *Jude*; and in chap. 3. of his third Book. But from theſe Words of *Joſephus* we may gather, that the Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars was put out by him in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*; but *his Antiquities* were publiſhed by him in the thirteenth year of *Domitian*, as he himſelf teſtifies at the end of his 20 Book, and at the cloſe of his Book, *of his own Life*. But, that which *Scaliger* affirms, in *Animad. Euſeb.* p. 187. *to wit*, that the Book of *Joſephus* his own life was by him put out ſeven years after *his Antiquities*, ſeems not probable to me; for that Book is, as we made it out before, only the concluſion of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*; and at the end of it *Joſephus* reckoning up the Roman Emperors, concludes with *Domitian*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XI.

How, after James, Simeon *governed the Church at* Jeruſalem.

After the Martyrdom of *James* and the taking of *Jeruſalem*, which immediately followed thereupon, report goes, that the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord, who were yet alive, met together from all parts in the ſame place, together alſo with the Kinſmen of our Lord according to the fleſh, (for many of them hitherto ſurvived,) and that all theſe held a conſultation in common who ſhould be adjudg'd worthy to ſucceed *James*: And moreover, that *all* with one conſent approved of (a) *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas*, of whom the Hiſtory of the Goſpel makes mention, to be worthy of the Epiſcopal Seat there; which *Simeon*, as they ſay, was Couſin-German by the Mother's ſide to our Saviour: For *Hegeſippus* relates, that *Cleophas* was the (b) Brother of *Joſeph*.

(a) This account of *Euſebius*'s here, agrees not with what he has written in that work of his called his *Chronicon*: For there he writes, that preſently after the death of *James*, *Simeon* was elected; *to wit*, in the ſeventh year of *Nero*. But here he makes it evident, that after the murder of *James*, the Epiſcopal See was vacant for the ſpace of about eight or nine years. Which interval of time, that the Author *Chronici Alexandrini* might fill up, he places the death of *James* on the firſt year of *Veſpaſian*. Valeſ.

(b) That is, becauſe (as we conjecture) he married *Mary* which was Siſter to the Bleſſed Virgin; upon which account *Simeon* the Son of this *Cleophas* is here called *Couſin-German by the Mother's ſide* to our Saviour; for ſo we tranſlate the word [ἀνεψιὸν;] not *patruelem*, i. e. *Couſin-German by the Father's ſide*, as it is in the Verſion of *Valeſius*; but *conſobrinum*, i. e. *Siſter's Son*. For *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, and the Bleſſed Virgin were Siſters. See *Jo.* 19. 25. and ſo *Simeon* the Son of the former *Mary*, and our Saviour the Son of the latter, were Siſters Children. See the Learned Bp. *Pearſon* on the Creed, p. 175, & 176. Edit. Lond. 1669. And *Petavius*, in *Hæreſ.* 78. *Epiphan.* cap. 7, & 14. and alſo St. *Jerom*, in *Catalog.*

CHAP. XII.

How Veſpaſian *commanded that the Deſcendants of* David *ſhould be ſought out.*

And moreover, it is reported, that *Veſpaſian* after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, commanded all thoſe that were of the Kindred of *David* to be diligently ſought out, leſt any one of them who were of the Royal Race ſhould be left remaining amongſt the *Jews*; and that a moſt ſore Perſecution was thereby again brought upon the *Jews*.

Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XIII.

That Anencletus *was the Second Biſhop of the* Roman *Church.*

But when *Veſpaſian* had reigned ten years, his Son *Titus* ſucceeded him in the Empire: In the ſecond year of whoſe Reign, *Linus* Biſhop of the *Roman* Church, having held that publick Charge twelve years, delivered it to (a) *Anencletus*. And *Titus*, after he had reigned two years and as many months, was ſucceeded by his Brother *Domitian*

(a) I know not why *Rob. Stephens* read *Anacletus*, ſeeing that all our Books have it written *Anencletus*. And ſo *Nicephorus Conſtantinopolitanus*, and his Tranſlator *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* in Chronolog. *Tripartit.* reads it. So alſo *Nicephorus Caliſtus* in Libr. 3. cap. 2. and *Georgius Syncellus*, and the MSS. copies of *Ruſinus*. So likewiſe *Irenæus* (in Lib. 3. where he reckons up the *Roman* Biſhops in order) names him *Anencletus*; and omits the name of *Cletus*, which to me ſeems to be made of a piece of the word *Anencletus*. Neither does *Optatus*, nor St. *Auguſtine*, in his 165 Epiſtle (where he counts up the Romiſh Biſhops) acknowledge *Cletus*. But on the contrary, in two very ancient Catalogues of the *Roman* Biſhops, one whereof is in the *Monaſtery of S. German*, and the other in the *Jeſuits Colledge at Clermont* ——there is no mention of *Anencletus*; but only of *Cletus*, who ſucceeded *Linus*, and ſat eleven years, one month, and two days. From whence 'tis evident that *Cletus* and *Anencletus* was the ſame Man. See more of this in *P. Halloixius, in notat. ad* cap. 7. *vitæ Irenæi.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XIV.

That Avilius *was the Second Biſhop of* Alexandria.

Domitian.

Furthermore, in the fourth year of *Domitian*, (a) *Annianus* the firſt Biſhop of the *Alexandrian* Church, having there ſpent two and twenty years compleat, died. After whom ſucceeded (b) *Avilius*, being the ſecond Biſhop there.

(a) That is, the firſt after *Mark*. So *Euſebius* ſaid before, concerning *Linus* Biſhop of *Rome*, at the 2 Chap. of this Book. For *Mark* was the Apoſtle of the *Alexandrians*, as we before have ſaid. But the Apoſtles were not reckoned amongſt the number of the Biſhops. There was therefore no need of putting in here μετὰ Μάρκον, as *Nicephorus* did. See *Selden*'s Notes *ad Eutychium patriarcham Alexandr.* Valeſ.

(b) *Ruſinus* and the other Tranſlators call this Man *Abilius*; and alſo *Jerom* himſelf, in *Chronico*, not ſo rightly as I judge. For he ought to be called *Avilius*, which is a *Roman* name; as well as *Annianus*, who was Biſhop before *Avilius*. Beſides, the order of the Chapters is here diſturbed in the common Edition; this Chap. of the ſucceſſion of *Avilius* being put before that of the ſucceſſion of *Anencletus*: But we by the direction of the MSS. Copies *Maz.* and *Fuk.* have placed them in their true order. This was a very ancient miſtake; for in the Index of the Chapters prefixed before the 3 B. of *Ruſinus* his Tranſlation, and in all the Greek Copies except in that of *Fuk.* the ſame Error is committed. But in the Body of the *Maz.* MS. (which Book has the Titles of the Chapters exactly placed in their order) this Error is corrected. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XV.

That Clemens *was the Third Biſhop of the* Roman *Church.*

Also in the twelfth year of this Emperor's Reign, *Anencletus* having been Biſhop of the *Roman* Church twelve years, had to his Succeſſor *Clemens*; whom the Apoſtle, writing an Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, declares to be his Fellow-labourer, ſaying; * *with* Clement *alſo, and with other my fellow-labourers, whoſe names are in the book of life.*

* Phil. 4. 3.

CHAP.

Domitian.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Epistle of Clemens.

MOreover, there is extant one Epistle of this *Clemens*'s, which by general consent is acknowledged as genuine, and is singularly excellent and admirable; which he wrote in the name of the *Roman* Church to that of the *Corinthians*, there being at that time a Faction raised in the *Corinthian* Church: which Epistle also we have known to have been publickly read in many *Churches* before the whole Congregation, both in times past, and also in our own *memory*. Now, that in the time of the aforemention'd *Clemens* there was a Faction raised in the *Corinthian* Church, *Hegesippus* is a Witness worthy to be credited.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Persecution in Domitian's *Time.*

(a) *Rufinus* thought these words that follow here, were the words of *Hegesippus*, whom *Eusebius* quoted at the end of the foregoing chapt. whence it appears that *Rufinus* read as it is in our MSS. copies, *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* μάρτυς ὁ ἡγήσιππος λέγων. πολλήν γε μὴν, &c. Moreover in *Rufinus* the chap. 17. begins at those words, *Now that in the time of the forementioned*, &c. as I observed it to be also in the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* M.SS. But I rather approve of the ordinary writing and distinction. *Vales.*

(a) BEsides, *Domitian* having shown much cruelty towards many, and by unjust sentences put to death no small company of Men of *Rome* that were nobly descended and illustrious, and having punish'd innumerable other most eminent Persons undeservedly with Banishment and loss of Goods, at length rendred himself the Successor of *Nero* as to his hatred of God, and his fighting against him: For he raised the second Persecution against us; altho' his Father *Vespasian* had design'd nothing injurious towards us.

(b) Εὐπατρείδης has the same import with εὐγενὴς, that is, it signifies *one that is descended from an illustrious and noble stock.* So *Gregor. Nazianz.* in Oration 40. μὴ ἀπαξιώσης συμβατρίδην σε πενήτι, πλούσιος ὢν· ὁ εὐπατρείδης τῷ δυστυχεῖ. St. *Jerom.* in *Chronico Anno* 8. *Domitian.* says, *Domitianus plurimos nobilium in exilium mittit, atque occidit.* Vales.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning John *the Apostle, and his Revelation.*

IN this Persecution 'tis reported, that *John* the Apostle and also Evangelist, who yet lived, was banish'd into the Isle *Patmos*, upon account of the Testimony he exhibited to the Word of God. Indeed, * *Irenæus*, writing concerning the number of the name of *Antichrist* mentioned in the † *Revelation* of *John*, does in these very words, in his fifth Book against *Heresies*, thus speak concerning *John*: 'But if at this present time * his 'name ought publickly to be preach'd, it would 'have been spoken of by him who saw the Revelation. For it was seen not a long time since, 'but almost in our age, about the latter end of '*Domitian*'s Reign." But so mightily did the Doctrine of our Faith flourish in those foremention'd times, that even those Writers, who were wholly estranged from our Religion have not thought it troublesome to set forth in their Histories both this Persecution, and also the Martyrdoms suffer'd therein. And they have also accurately shewn the very time; relating, that in the fifteenth year of *Domitian*, *Flavia Domitilla*, Daughter of the Sister of *Flavius Clemens* at that time one of the *Consuls* at *Rome*, was, together with many others also, banish'd into the Island *Pontia*, for the Testimony of Christ.

* Lib. 5. c. 5.

† Rev. 13.

* That is, *Antichrist*'s name.

Domitian.

CHAP. XIX.

How Domitian *commanded that the Descendants of* David *should be slain.*

WHen the same *Domitian* gave command that the Descendants of *David* should be slain, there goeth an ancient report that some Hereticks accused the Posterity of *Jude*, (who was the Brother of our Saviour according to the flesh) as being of the Off-spring of *David*, and bearing affinity to Christ himself. And this *Hegesippus* manifests word for word, saying thus.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning those that were related to our Saviour.

'THere were yet surviving (who were related to our Lord) the Nephews of that 'Jude, who was called the '(a) Brother of Christ after 'the flesh, whom they accused as being descended 'from *David*. And these '(b) *Evocatus* brought to 'Cæsar *Domitian*. For *Do*'mitian was afraid of the 'coming of Christ, as well 'as *Herod*. And he asked 'them, if they were of the 'Stock of *David*; and they 'acknowledged it. Then 'he questioned them how 'great Possessions they had, 'or what quantity of Mo'ney they were Masters of; 'and they said, that they 'both had but nine thou'sand (c) Pence, a moiety 'whereof belonged to each 'of them: and these they 'said they had not in rea'dy Money, but in Land 'of that value, being only 'thirty nine Acres; of which 'also they paid (d) tribute, 'and themselves were main'tained by their own la'bour. And then they 'shewed their Hands; pro'ducing, as an evidence of 'their working, the hard'ness of their Skin, and a 'brawniness imprinted on 'their Hands by reason of 'their assiduous labour. Be'ing also ask'd concerning 'Christ and his Kingdom, 'of what sort it was, and 'when and where it would 'appear; they return'd an'swer, that it was neither 'Worldly nor Terrestrial, 'but Celestial and Angeli'cal, that it should be at the 'end of the World, when he 'would come in Glory to 'judge the Quick and Dead,

(a) So he is called *Matt.* 13. 55. But it was the usual language of the *Jews* to call the first Cousins brethren. See Bishop *Pearson* on the Creed, pag. 175, 176. Edit. *Lond.* 1669. See also Bishop *Montague*'s Acts and Mon. chap. 4. S. 6. concerning the *Despoyni.*

(b) *Rob. Stephens*, in his Edition of *Eusebius* calls him Ἰούκατος, and so does the *Med.* M. S. but in the King's M. S. I found it written [ὁ Ἰκκαβάτος] which *Rob. Stephens* observed also in his Notes added at the latter end of his Edition. *Georg. Syncellus, in Chronico*, reads it ὁ Ἰσόκατος. We from our three M.SS. Copies, *to wit*, *Maz. Fuk.* and Sir *Henry Savil*'s, have made good the true writing of this place, τούτους δ' ὁ Ἰσόκατος ἤγαγε, *and these Evocatus brought*, &c. This reading *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* do confirm; the Words of *Rufinus* are, *Hos Revocatus quidam nomine, qui ad hoc missus fuerat, perduxit ad Domitianum. Nicephorus*, Lib. 3. cap. 10. has it written ὁ Ἰκκάτος. These *Evocati* were Soldiers of an higher degree who having performed their service and being dismiss'd, were upon occasion summon'd by the Emperor himself. There is mention of these in the ancient Inscriptions, Evoc. *Aug.* i. e. *Evocatus Augusti.* No Man need wonder, that *Hegesippus*, a Greek writer, should make use of a Latin word here; for that is usual with him; and in this very relation of his he has [δηλατωρεύειν] and [δηνάρεια] both Latin words. *Vales.*

(c) So we translate the word [δηνάρεια] warranted thereto by the same translation of that word, occurring *Matth.* 22. 19. The value of that Peny there shewed Christ, was, says Dr. *Hammond* on the place, a whole *Attick Drachm*; but what value these here were of, it is hard to say, in regard there were several sorts of these *Denarii*, which were also of a different value. See *Voss. Etymol.*

(d) Φόροι were *Tributes*, or *Taxes*, raised upon Lands, and they were commonly paid in Wheat, Barley, Wine, and the like; as it appears from *Cod. Theodosian.* Τέλη was the *Toll* gathered by the Publicans, who farmed it commonly; it was paid in ready money. The word here is φόρους; which we therefore render *Tribute.* *Vales.*

Domitian. ‘and reward every Man according to his deeds. ‘Upon which anſwer *Domitian* condemn'd them ‘not, but ſcorning them as deſpicable perſons, ‘he diſmiſt them unbound, and by Edict appeaſed ‘the Perſecution raiſed againſt the Church. But ‘they, thus releaſed, (as 'tis ſaid) afterwards pre- ‘ſided over Churches, as being both Martyrs, ‘and alſo allied to our Lord; and, peace enſu- ‘ing, they liv'd till the Reign of *Trajan*." So far *Hegeſippus*. But moreover, (e) *Tertullian* alſo makes mention of *Domitian*: *Domitian* alſo attempted a Perſecution, who was a Limb of *Nero* as to cruelty. ‘But being alſo but a Man, he ſoon de- ‘ſiſted from his Enterprize, reſtoring even thoſe ‘whom he had baniſh'd." But after *Domitian* had reign'd fifteen years, *Nerva*, having ſucceeded him in the Empire, the *Roman* Senate decreed that *Domitian*'s Titles of Honour ſhould be abrogated, and that ſuch as were by him unjuſtly baniſh'd ſhould return to their Houſes, and have their Goods reſtored. This they relate who committed to writing the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. Moreover, the Account of the Antients amongſt us declares that then alſo the Apoſtle *John*, was releaſed from his Baniſhment in the Iſland, and took up his habitation again at *Epheſus*.

(e) *Tertullian*'s words are theſe, *Tentaverat & Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate. Sed quia & homo, facilè cœptum repreſſit, reſtitutis etiam quos relegaverat*: They are in his Apolog. But whoſoever it was that tranſlated his *Apology* into Greek, he has not rendred his words well. For *Tertullian*'s words are to this effect, *That after* Nero, *who firſt raged againſt the Chriſtians*, Domitian *alſo, like another* Nero, *attempted the ſame; but as Men are fickle and mutable, he ſoon deſiſted from his enterprize.* But *Euſebius*, or whoſoever he was that tranſlated *Tertullian*'s *Apology*, takes the meaning of thoſe words [*Quia & homo*] to be, as if *Tertullian* had ſaid, *That* Domitian *was ſomething of a Man, but* Nero *was rather a ſavage Beaſt than a Man.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXI.

That Cerdo *was the third that preſided over the* Alexandrian *Church.*

Trajanus. BUT *Nerva* having reign'd ſomething more than a year, *Trajan* ſucceeded him. It was his firſt year, wherein *Cerdo* ſucceeded *Avilius* who had govern'd the *Alexandrian* Church thirteen years. This *Cerdo* was the third from *Annianus*, who firſt preſided there. At this time alſo *Clemens* yet govern'd the *Roman* Church, he being alſo the third that after (a) *Paul* and *Peter* had the Epiſcopal Dignity there: *Linus* being the firſt, and after him *Anencletus*.

(a) Here, and before, we may obſerve *Paul* put before *Peter* by *Euſebius*. In the Seals of the *Roman* Church *Paul* is put on the right hand, and *Peter* on the left, as *Baronius* obſerves, in *Expoſitione Concil. Nicen.* and *Euſebius* ſeems to make them both Biſhops of *Rome* together. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

That Ignatius *was the ſecond that preſided over the* Alexandrian *Church.*

MOreover, *Euodius* having been conſtituted the firſt Biſhop at *Antioch*, the ſecond was *Ignatius*, a man famous in thoſe times: *Simeon* likewiſe was the ſecond, who, after our Saviour's Brother, at the ſame time (a) entred upon the publick charge over the Church at *Jeruſalem*.

(a) The King's M.S. reads according to our tranſlation, τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἦν. But the other four M. SS. *i. e. Maz. Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Henry Savil*'s have it written τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν, *had the publick charge*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

A Relation concerning John *the Apoſtle.*

AT the ſame time the Apoſtle and alſo Evangeliſt *John*, (the ſame whom *Jeſus* loved) remaining yet alive in *Aſia*, govern'd the Churches there, being return'd from his Exile in the Iſland after the death of *Domitian*: for that he was hitherto alive, it is ſufficiently confirm'd by two, who evidence the matter: and they are very worthy of credit, having been conſtant Aſſertors of Catholick ſound Doctrine: I mean theſe perſons *Irenæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*: the former of whom, *in his ſecond Book againſt Hereſie*, writes thus word for word: * ‘And all the Elders that * *Irenæus.* ‘were converſant in *Aſia* with *John* the Diſci- Lib. 2. ‘ple of our Lord, do teſtifie that *John* deliver'd cap. 39. ‘it to them: for he continued among them un- ‘til *Trajan*'s time." And in the third Book of that Work he manifeſts the ſame thing in theſe words: ‘Moreover, the Church at *Epheſus* was ‘founded indeed by *Paul*, but *John*, continuing ‘among them until *Trajan*'s time, is a moſt faith- ‘ful Witneſs of the Apoſtolick Tradition." And *Clemens* likewiſe, having evidently ſhown the time, adds withal a Relation very neceſſary for thoſe who delight to hear good and profitable things (in that Work of his which he entitled, *Who that rich man is that ſhall be ſaved.*) Let us therefore take his Book and read the Story, which is thus. ‘Hear a Relation, which is not a feign'd ‘Story, but a real Truth, delivered concerning ‘*John* the Apoſtle, and kept in remembrance. For ‘after the death of the Tyrant he return'd from ‘the Iſland *Patmos* to *Epheſus*, and being thereto ‘requeſted, he went to the neighbouring Pro- ‘vinces, in ſome places conſtituting Biſhops, in ‘others ſetting in order whole Churches, (a) and ‘other where electing into the Clergy ſome one ‘or other of thoſe who were made known to him ‘by the Spirit. Coming therefore to one of the ‘Cities not far diſtant, the (b) name whereof ſome ‘mention; and moreover having (c) refreſh'd ‘the Brethren; at length caſting his eyes upon a ‘Youth of a goodly ſtature of Body, comely ‘Countenance, and lively Diſpoſition, he look'd ‘upon him whom he had Ordain'd Biſhop, and ‘ſaid, This Youth I do with all imaginable care ‘commit to thy charge, in the preſence of the ‘Church, and of Chriſt as a Witneſs. And when ‘he had undertaken this charge, and promiſed ‘his utmoſt care thereof, *John* declared and de- ‘fired the ſame again; and afterwards returned ‘to *Epheſus*. But the (d) Presbyter, taking home ‘the Youth committed to his cuſtody, educated ‘him, and kept him within compaſs, and che- ‘riſhed him, and at length baptized him: but af- ‘ter that he abated ſomething of his great care ‘and caution over him, becauſe he had fortifi'd him ‘with that moſt abſolute defence, *to wit*, the (e) *Seal*

(a) The Words of *Euſebius* in the Edit. of *Valeſius* (which in our tranſlation we follow) are theſe, ὅπου δὲ κλήσῳ ἕναγέ τινα κληρώσων, &c. In *Rob. Stephen*'s Edit. of *Euſebius*, it is thus, ὅπου δὲ γε κλῆσον ἕνα τινὰ κληρώσων, &c. *Valeſius* ſays, he alter'd the reading here upon account of the Authority of the three M. SS. *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* rejecting the reading of the King's M. SS. (which *Rob. Stephens* followed) in that he was not able to make ſenſe of it: And moreover, ſays *Valeſius*, *Ruſinus* his Verſion confirms this our Emendation; for he tranſlates this place thus: *Rogabatur etiam vicinas luſtrare provincias, quò vel Eccleſias fundaret, in quibus non erant locis; vel in quibus erant, ſacerdotibus ac miniſtris inſtrueret, ſecundùm quod ei de unoquoque Spiritus Sanctus indicaſſet.* Valeſ.

(b) The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls the name of this City *Smyrna*. Valeſ.

(c) Ἀναπαύσας τὸς ἀδελφός. This Verb occurs often in the New Teſtament, as in 1 *Cor.* 16. 18. 2 *Cor.* 7. 13. &c. where our *Engliſh* tranſlation generally renders it [*to refreſh*] upon which account we thus tranſlate it here.

(d) See Dr. *Hammond*, concerning the uſe of this word *Presbyter* by the Apoſtles and Writers of the New Teſtament, and by the Fathers in the firſt Apoſtolical times, in his Notes on *Acts* 11. 30.

(e) The Primitive Chriſtians ſo termed Baptiſm, as *Gregor. Nazianz. Orat.* 40. where he obſerves that Baptiſm is called by Chriſtians by divers names; δώρεαν καλοῦσιν χάρισμα, Βάπτισμα, χρῖσμα, φώτισμα, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, σφραγῖδα πᾶν ὅτι τίμιον, &c. Now the reaſon why Baptiſm is called σφραγῖδα, a Seal, is annex'd by the ſame *Gregory Nazianz.* becauſe, *to wit*, Baptiſm is, as it were, a preſervation, or a mark of dominion. *Valeſ.*

Trajan.

‘of

Trajan.

'the Lord. But, having obtain'd his freedom 'a little too early, some idle dissolute young 'men, that were inured to all manner of Vice, '(*f*) keep him company: 'And first of all, they entice him with sumptuous 'Banquets; then going out 'by night to rob and strip 'those they could meet 'with, they carry him along 'with them; afterwards they desire him to be 'their Complice in greater Rogueries: So by 'little and little he was accustom'd to lewdness; 'and because he was high-spirited, having once 'left the right way (like a strong hard-mouth'd 'Horse holding the Bitt between his Teeth,) he 'was so much the more fiercely hurried into de- 'struction. In fine, despairing of the Salvation 'of God, he spent not his thoughts now upon 'any trifling design; but attempted some enor- 'mous wickedness, and in as much as he was whol- 'ly past all hope, he (*g*) scorn'd to run the hazard 'of so mean a punishment as other *Thieves* did. 'Taking therefore those his Accomplices, and ha- 'ving form'd them into a troop of Thieves, he 'was readily made their Commander in chief; 'being the fiercest, the most bloody, and cruellest 'person of them all. Some time after, and there 'hapning some necessity for it, they send again 'for *John*; who, after he had set in order those 'things upon account whereof he came, said; 'Come on, Bishop, restore us that which was com- 'mitted to thy custody, which I and Christ deli- 'ver'd to thee to take care of, in the presence of 'the Church as witness, over which thou dost pre- 'side. But he at first was astonish'd, supposing him- 'self to be falsely accused about money which he 'had not receiv'd; neither could he give credit to '*John* concerning his demand of what he had 'not, nor yet durst he disbelieve him. But when '*John* had said, I demand the young Man and 'the Soul of our Brother; the old Man, fetching 'a deep sigh, and also weeping, said, he is dead. 'How? and what kind of death? To God, said 'he, he is dead; for he proved wicked, and ex- 'treamly naught, and in conclusion a Thief. And 'now in stead of continuing in the Church, he 'hath taken possession of the Mountain with a 'troop of Associates like himself. The Apostle 'therefore having rent his Garment, and with a 'great outcry smiting his Head, I left, said he, 'an excellent Keeper of our Brother's Soul! But 'let an Horse be presently brought me, and let 'me have a Guide to direct me in the way. He 'rode (as he was) forthwith from the Church, 'and coming to the place, is taken by the Watch 'which the Thieves had set; he flies not, nor 'makes entreaty, but calls out, For this purpose I 'came, bring me to your Captain: He in the 'mean time, armed as he was, stood still; but as 'soon as he knew *John* approaching, being a- 'shamed, he fled: but he, forgetful of his Age, 'with all possible speed pursued him; crying out, 'Son, why dost thou flee from thy Father, un- 'arm'd and aged? Have compassion on me, my 'Son; fear not; as yet there is hopes of thy sal- 'vation; I will intercede with Christ for thee; if 'need require, I will willingly undergo death for 'thee, as the Lord underwent it for us; I will by 'way of recompence give my Soul for thine; 'stand still; believe me, Christ hath sent me. He, 'having heard this, first stood still looking down- 'ward; then he threw away his Armour; after- 'wards trembling, he wept bitterly, and embrac'd 'the approaching old Man, craving pardon as 'well as he could for crying, and being as it were 'baptized the second time with tears; only he hid 'his Right Hand. The Apostle promising him, 'and solemnly swearing that he had obtain'd re- 'mission for him of our Saviour, praying, knee- 'ling, and kissing the young Man's Right Hand, 'as being now cleansed by repentance, brought 'him into the Church again. And partly by a- 'bundant prayers making supplication for him, 'partly with continual fastings striving together 'with him, and also comforting his Mind with divers (*h*) Sentences out of Holy Scripture, he 'departed not, as they say, until he had (*i*) re- 'stored him to the Church; having hereby shown 'a great example of true repentance, an illustri- 'ous instance of Regeneration, and a Trophie 'of a conspicuous Resurrection.

Trajan.

(*f*) Περισθείεσθαι, the word here in the original is the same, in signification, with προσέρχεσθαι, i. e. *accedere ad aliquem, adjungi, to be of the same company, or to be familiarly acquainted*: only it is taken in a bad sense. *Vales.*

(*g*) *Gruterus* reads it, ἐκ ἠξίωσε· and so *Rufinus* and *Musculus* seem to have read; I should ratherlike ἀπηξίωσε, *he scorned*, &c. *Vales.*

(*h*) Ῥήσεις λόγων, are *sayings* or *sentences taken out of the holy Bible*, with which *John* comforted the young Man's mind. *Vales.*

(*i*) There is a difference between *being brought in*, and *restored to the Church*: He is brought into the Church, who promises he will repent: But he is restored to the Church, who, having been actually and truly penitent, is received into it again, and owned as a member thereof. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Order of the Gospels.

THese words of *Clemens* we have here inserted, upon account both of the Story it self, and the Profit it may yield to the Readers. But, we will now declare and recount the unquestionable Writings of this Apostle. And indeed the Gospel according to him, well-known to all the Churches throughout the World, must in the first place be without controversie acknowledg'd and received as undoubted and genuine. Now that it was truly, and upon a good account put in the fourth place after the other three Gospels by the Ancients, may after this manner be made apparent. Those Heavenly and truly Divine Persons (I speak of the Apostles of Christ) having been as to their Lives and Conversations perfectly purified, and as to their Souls adorn'd with all manner of Vertue, were indeed rude of speech and uneloquent; but they put their confidence in that divine and wonderful power of working Miracles bestow'd on them by our Saviour, and neither attempted nor knew how to be (*a*) Embassadors of their Master's Precepts in wittiness of words and artificiousness of language. But they solely made use of the demonstration of the Divine Spirit cooperating together with them, and the power of *Christ* with which they were fully endow'd, and which by them perform'd Miracles; and so they publish'd the knowledge of the Kingdom of Heaven to the whole world; making it the least of their care to be diligent about writing Books: And this they did, because they were employ'd about a more excellent and more than human work. Indeed *Paul*, who was the most powerful of them all in the furniture of words, and the most able in weighty expressions, hath left in writing nothing more than some very (*b*) short Epistles; although he could have disclosed innu-

(*a*) The word in the Original is πρεσβεύειν, which we translate, *to be Embassadors of*, warranted thereto from the same word occurring 1 *Cor.* 5. 20. and there so translated. This Word signifies the Apostolical Office, and that from God to Men, offering pardon on his part, and requiring on their part reformation for the future. See Dr. *Hammond* on 2. *Cor.* 5. 20.

(*b*) It is doubtful whether *Eusebius* would call *Paul*'s Epistles *short* or *few*: Both may be said of them; *to wit*, that they are *few*, being in number not above fourteen; and they are *short* to them that Piously and Religiously read them over. *Origen* in *Libro* 5. *Expositionum in Evangeli. Johan.* calls them, ὀλιγοστίχους, that is, *containing few Verses*: He that desires to read *Origen*'s Words, will find them hereafter quoted in the sixth B. of *Eusebius*, chap. 25. *Vales.*

Trajan. merable ſecrets, becauſe he attained unto a contemplation of thoſe things that are in the third Heaven, and being caught up into the divine Paradiſe, was vouchſafed to hear there unſpeakable words. Moreover, the reſt of our Saviour's Preachers, both the Twelve Apoſtles, and alſo the Seventy Diſciples, together with innumerable others beſides them, were not unexperienced in theſe things. And yet of all the Diſciples of the Lord, only *Matthew* and *John* have left us written Records; who alſo, as report ſays, were neceſſitated to write. For *Matthew*, having preach'd firſt to the *Hebrews*, and being about going to other Nations, did in his own Country language pen the Goſpel according to him; ſupplying by writing the want of his preſence and converſe among thoſe, (c) whom he was now to leave. Now, when ſoon after *Mark* and *Luke* had ſet forth the Goſpels according to them, *John* they ſay, ſpent all that time only in Preaching, and at length came to Write for this reaſon. The three firſt written Goſpels having been now deliver'd into the hands of all, and of *John* himſelf, they ſay, that he approved of them, and confirm'd the truth thereof by his own teſtimony; only there was wanting in writing an account of thoſe things done by *Chriſt* at the firſt beginning of his Preaching. And the thing is true: for 'tis evidently perſpicuous, that the other three Evangeliſts have committed to writing only thoſe things which were done by our *Saviour* in one years ſpace, after *John the Baptiſt*'s being ſhut up in priſon; and that they have expreſly evidenc'd the ſame at the beginning of their Hiſtory. For, after the forty days Faſt, and the Temptation that follow'd thereupon, *Matthew* does plainly ſet forth the time of his own writing, ſaying, * *When he had heard that John was caſt into priſon, he departed* out of Judea *into Galilee.* And in like manner *Mark*; † *Now after that John,* ſays he, *was put in priſon, Jeſus came into Galilee.* And *Luke* alſo, before he begins the relation of the Acts of Jeſus, does in like manner make this remark, ſaying, that *Herod, adding yet this to all the evils he had done, ſhut up John in priſon.* Therefore they ſay, that the Apoſtle *John*, being for theſe cauſes thereto requeſted, has declared in a Goſpel according to him, the time paſſed over in ſilence by the former Evangeliſts, and what was done by our Saviour therein, (and they were the things that he did before the impriſonment of the *Baptiſt*;) and that he manifeſts the ſame thing, partly when he ſays thus; *This beginning of miracles did Jeſus*; and partly when he makes mention of the *Baptiſt*, whilſt he is ſpeaking of the Acts of Jeſus, as being at that time * *Baptizing in Arnon, near to (d) Salem*: And this he evidently declares by ſaying thus; *For John*, ſays he, *was not yet caſt into priſon.* Therefore *John* indeed in the penning of the Goſpel according to him, declares thoſe things that were done by Chriſt, the *Baptiſt* being as yet not caſt into priſon; but the other three Evangeliſts give an account of thoſe things Chriſt did after the *Baptiſt*'s confinement to priſon. And to him that ſhall attentively conſider theſe things, it will not appear that the Goſpels diſagree one with the other; ſeeing the Goſpel according to *John* contains the firſt part of the Acts of Chriſt; but the remaining three give a relation of what was done by him at the latter end of the time. With good reaſon therefore has *John* paſs'd over in ſilence the Genealogy of our Saviour after the fleſh, as having been before written of by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and has begun with his Divinity, reſerv'd as it were by the Divine Spirit for him, as being the more excellent perſon. Let thus much therefore be ſpoken by us concerning the writing of the Goſpel according to *John*. Now what was the occaſion of writing the Goſpel according to *Mark* hath been manifeſted by us in what we ſaid * before. And *Luke* alſo himſelf, in the beginning of his Goſpel, hath ſhewed the cauſe for which he compiled that Hiſtory; for he makes it manifeſt that, becauſe many had raſhly taken in hand to make a declaration of thoſe things which he himſelf moſt certainly knew, he judg'd it neceſſary to diſengage us from the uncertain conjectures made by others, and therefore hath in his own Goſpel deliver'd a moſt firm and true account of thoſe things, the evidence whereof himſelf had ſufficiently obtain'd, having been aſſiſted therein both by the company and converſe of *Paul*, and alſo by his familiarity with the reſt of the Apoſtles: And thus much now concerning theſe things. But at a more opportune ſeaſon we will endeavour to manifeſt, by a Quotation of the ancient Writers, what has been ſaid by others concerning this very matter. Among the Writings of *John*, beſides his Goſpel, alſo the former of his Epiſtles hath without controverſie been admitted as genuine, both by thoſe men that are Modern, and alſo by the Antients: the two other Writings of his are queſtion'd. The Opinion concerning his Revelation is even at this time on both ſides much controverted among many: But this Controverſie alſo ſhall at a ſeaſonable opportunity be diſcuſs'd by the authority of the Antients.

(c) *Nicephorus*, Libr. 2. chap. 45. reads it τὸ λεῖπον τῆς αὐτῦ παρεσίας; and *Ruſinus* and *Muſculus* tranſlate it as we have done. But *Chriſtophorſon* interprets it otherwiſe; thus, *and what ſeemed to be wanting to thoſe from whom he departed whilſt he was preſent with them, that he fully made up by his ſedulity and labour in writing.* In which tranſlation this is to be blamed, *to wit*, in that he ſays *Matthew* wrote his Goſpel after his departure from the *Hebrews*, when as *Euſebius* ſays the contrary; For in the Greek it is, ἀφ' ὧν ἐξέλλεσο, i. e. *from whom he was going*. *Athanaſius* in his Tract *de Libr. S. Scrip.* and *Chryſoſtome*, write that *Matthew* firſt wrote his Goſpel at *Jeruſalem*: And *Nicephorus* and the Author of *Chronic. Alexandr.* ſay he wrote it in the 15th year after Chriſt's Aſcenſion. *Chriſtophorſon* referred thoſe Words τότοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐξέλλεσο to the Words λεῖπον; whereas they are referred to the Word ἀπεπλήρε. And in the King's *Maz.* and *Med.* M. SS. after the word παρεσία and ἐξέλλεσο, the comma is put. *Valeſ.*

(d) In the moſt antient *Maz.* M. S. I found it written σαλεὶμ with a dipthong, i.e. *Saleim.* Valeſ.

* Book 2. Chap. 15.

* Matt. 4. 12.

† Mar. 1. 14.

Luk. 3. 19, 20.

Joh. 2. 11.

* Joh. 3. 23, 24.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning thoſe Divine Writings, which are without controverſie acknowledged; and thoſe which are not ſuch.

BUT it will in this place be ſeaſonable ſummarily to reckon up thoſe Books of the *New Teſtament* which have been before-mention'd. In the firſt place therefore is to be ranked the *four Sacred Goſpels*: Next to which follows the Book of *the Acts of the Apoſtles*: After that are to be reckon'd the *Epiſtles of Paul*; after which follows that which is called *the Firſt Epiſtle of John*, and in like manner *the Epiſtle of Peter* is to be admitted as authentick. Then is to be placed, if you think good, the *Revelation of John*: the Opinions concerning which I will in due place declare. And theſe are the Books that with general conſent are acknowledg'd. Among thoſe which are queſtion'd as doubtful, which yet are approved and mention'd by many, is that which is called the *Epiſtle of James*, and *that of Jude*, alſo *the Second Epiſtle of Peter*, and thoſe called the *Second and Third Epiſtles of John*, whether they were written by the Evangeliſt, or another of the ſame name with him. Amongſt the

Trajan.

the (*a*) *Spurious* Works let there be rank'd, both the Work intitled *The Acts of Paul*, and the Book called *Pastor*, and the *Revelation of Peter*; and moreover that which is called the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and that named the (*b*) *Doctrines of the Apostles*; and moreover, as I said, the *Revelation of John* (if you think good) which some, as I have said, do reject, but others allow of, and admit among those Books that are received as unquestionable and undoubted. And among these some do now number the (*c*) *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, with which those of the *Hebrews* that have embraced the Faith of Christ are chiefly delighted. All these Books may be question'd as doubtful. And I thought it requisite to make a Catalogue of these also, that we may discriminate those Scriptures that according to Ecclesiastical Tradition are true and unforg'd, and with general consent receiv'd as undoubted, from those other Books which are not such, nor incorporated into the *New Testament*, but are question'd as doubtful; which yet have been acknowledg'd and allow'd of by many Ecclesiastical Persons: And further that we may know these very Books, and those others that have been put forth by Hereticks under the name of the Apostles, containing as well the supposed Gospels of *Peter*, *Thomas*, and *Matthias*, and of some others besides them; as also the supposed Acts of *Andrew* and *John*, and other of the Apostles. Of which Books no (*d*) Ecclesiastical Writer even from the Apostles times hitherto hath in any of his Works vouchsafed to make the least mention. But moreover also, the manner of the Phrase and the Stile wherein they are written are much different from the Apostolick natural propriety and innate simplicity: and the meaning and drift of those things delivered in these Books, being mightily dissonant from Orthodoxal truth, doth manifestly evince that they are the forgeries of Heretical Men. Upon which account they are not to be rank'd amongst the *spurious* Writings, but altogether to be rejected, as wholly absurd and impious. But we will now proceed to what follows of our History.

(*a*) *Eusebius* does here use this word [νόθοις] very improperly, *to wit*, to signifie those Books whose Authority is doubtful; whereas those Books are to be called νόθοι, which are adulterated and forged by *Hereticks*, of which sort he makes mention at the end of this Chapter; which that it may more manifestly appear, you must understand, there are three sorts of Sacred Books. Some are without Controversie true; others without Controversie false; a third sort are those, of which the antients doubted. This latter sort can't be called νόθοι, because many accounted them to be genuine: It remains therefore that the second sort only be called νόθοι, i.e. *Spurious* Books. Of which sort is *Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans*, which St. *Jerome* says was with one consent exploded by all. But *Eusebius* corrects himself in chap. 31. of this Third Book, where he manifestly differences the *Spurious* Books from those which are doubtful. See his Words there. *Gregory Naz.* in *Iambico carmine ad Seleucum*, manifestly confirms our opinion. For of the Books of Sacred Scripture, some, says he, are genuine and true, which he there reckons up; others are supposititious, which he calls νόθους, *Spurious*; a third sort he makes those to be, which come neerest to those Books that are genuine; which division *Gregory* had from *Origen*, out of his 13 *Tome of Explanat. in Johan.* But to speak properly, there are but two sorts of Sacred Books, those namely that are true, and those whose authority is asserted by some, and questioned by others. For the *Spurious* Books deserve not to be reckoned amongst the Sacred Books. *Vales.*

(*b*) Concerning this Book see the Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher* in his Dissertation on *Ignatius*'s Epistles, Chap. 7. Edit. *Oxon.* 1644.

(*c*) Concerning this Gospel, St. *Jerome*, *in Catalogo*, where he is speaking of *James* the brother of our Lord, says thus, *Evangelium quoque quod appellatur secundùm Hebræos, & à me nuper in Græcum Latinumque Sermonem translatum est, quo & Origenes sæpe utitur*, &c. *Julianus Pelagianus*, Lib. 4. speaks of this Gospel, where he accuses *Jerome*, because in his Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, he made use of an authority of a fifth Gospel, which he himself had translated into Latin. But that which *Eusebius* adds, that the *Jews* which embraced Christianity are chiefly delighted with this Gospel, makes him seem to mean the *Nazareans* and *Ebionites*; for they use to read that Gospel written in Hebrew, as St. *Jerom* shews, in *Esai.* c. 11. and in *Ezech.* c. 18. *Vales.*

(*d*) *Eusebius* speaks not here of the Successors of the Apostles, which title belongs only to Bishops; but he speaks of the Ecclesiastical Writers, who in a perpetual succession have flourished in the Church. Therefore τῆς κατ' διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, is the same as τῆς κατὰ γενεὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, i.e. *of the Ecclesiastical Writers in every Age.* For, as heretofore among the *Jews* there was a succession of Prophets, tho' sometimes interrupted (as *Josephus* says in his first Book against *Apion*;) so in the Church there always was a succession of Learned Men and Writers which were called *Ecclesiasticks*. Moreover in the M. SS. *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* it is written κατὰ τὰς διαδοχὰς, with the Article. *Vales.*

Trajan.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Menander *the Impostor.*

MEnander, succeeding *Simon Magus*, shew'd himself to be, as to his Disposition and Manners, a second (*a*) Dart of Diabolical force no whit inferior to the former. He also was a (*b*) *Samaritan*; and, arriving to no less height of imposture than his Master, abounded much more in greater and more monstrous illusions: for he said that he himself was a Saviour, sent from above for the salvation of men from invisible ages; and he taught that no man could otherwise overcome the Angels the makers of this world, unless he were first instituted in the magical knowledge delivered by him, and initiated in the Baptism by him imparted. Of which Baptism those that were adjudg'd worthy, they, he affirmed, would be partakers of a perpetual immortality in this very life; they should be no longer subject to death; but continuing in this present life should be always young and immortal. And indeed 'tis easie to know all this from the Books of *Irenæus*. And *Justinus* in like manner having made mention of *Simon*, adds also a Narration of this Man, saying; 'And we knew one *Menander* a *Samaritan* also of 'the Village *Caparattæ*, a Disciple of *Simon*'s, who 'being moved by the fury of Devils, and coming 'to *Antioch*, seduced many by magical art; who 'also perswaded his followers that they should not 'die; and at this time there are some of his Sect 'that profess the same." Wherefore it was the device of the *Diabolical power* by such *Impostors*, going under the name of *Christians*, to endeavour to calumniate by Magick the great Mystery of Godliness, and by them to expose to reproach the Ecclesiastical opinions concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection of the Dead. But those who joyn'd themselves to such *Saviours* as followers of them, were frustrated of the true hope.

(*a*) I wonder that all Interpreters have err'd in the translation of this word. *Rufinus* renders it *Scutum*, a *buckler*; *Langus* and *Musculus*, *armaturam*, *armour*; *Christophorson*, *propugnaculum*, a *bulwark*. But ὅπλον here signifies *telum*, a *dart*. Therefore ὅπλον τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας is the same with ὄργανον, *an instrument of diabolical force*. Val. (*b*) In four of our M. SS. copies, *to wit*, *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Hen. Savil*'s, I found a far different punctation of this place from that which *Christophorson* followed, as appears by his Version. For in the said M. SS. it is thus pointed, ὅπλον δεύτερον ὑ χεῖρον τῦ πρώτου, τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυσθαι τ τρόπον· ἦν γ οὗτος σαμαρεύς. And truly this punctation is far better than the vulgar. For what can the meaning of these words be [τ τρόπον ἦν γ αὐτὸς σαμαρεύς?] I know the *Jews* hated the *Samaritans*, as the worst of Men; insomuch that the name of *Samaritan* was accounted by the *Jews* the greatest reproach. But here *Menander*'s Country is spoken of; his Manners *Eusebius* speaks of hereafter. Moreover he is said to be a *Samaritan* in the same sense that *Justin* in *Apologet.* and *Clemens* in *Libr. Recognit.* calls *Simon* a *Samaritan*; i.e. *he was of the Province or Country of Samaria*, he came not out of the very City *Samaria*. For *Simon* was of the Village *Gitton*; but *Menander* of the Village *Caparattæ*. Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Heresie of the Ebionites.

THE malicious Devil being unable to remove others from the love of the Christ of God, finding that they might (*a*) some other way be surpriz'd, he made them his own. These the Antients fitly term'd *Ebionites*, in that they had a poor and low opinion of *Christ*: for they accounted him an ordinary man, and nothing

(*a*) Θαυματαλήπτως. A new word made up of a strange kind of composition: of θάτερον, and λαμβάνω, *to take* or *catch on some other side*, or *some other way*. Vales.

Trajan.

thing more than a man; juſtified only for his proficiency in Vertue, and begotten by *Mary*'s accompanying with her Husband: And they aſſerted that an obſervance of the Law was altogether neceſſary for them, ſuppoſing they could not be ſaved only by Faith in Chriſt and a life agreeable thereto. But others among them being of the ſame name have eſchewed the monſtrous abſurdity of the fore-cited Opinions, denying not that the Lord was begotten of the Virgin by the Holy Ghoſt: But notwithſtanding, theſe in like manner alſo, not confeſſing that he exiſted before all things, as being God the Word, and the Wiſdom of the Father, are led into the ſame impiety with the former; eſpecially in that they make it their buſineſs to maintain and obſerve the bodily worſhip of the Law. They alſo think that all the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul* ought to be rejected, calling him an Apoſtate from the Law: they made uſe only of the Goſpel called *The Goſpel according to the Hebrews*; the reſt they made ſmall account of: They obſerv'd alſo the Sabbath and all other Judaical Rites in like manner as the *Jews* do; but on *Sundays* they perform'd the ſame things with us in remembrance of the Lord's Reſurrection. From whence, becauſe of ſuch opinions by them held, they got this name, *to wit*, the appellation of *Ebionites*, a name that betokens the poverty of their underſtanding. For by this name a Beg-

(*b*) אֶבְיוֹן gar is called amongſt the (*b*) *Hebrews*.

ſignifies *Egenus, a beggar*, in Hebrew; from the theam אָבָה *Voluit, deſideravit*; becauſe a beggar *deſires*, or *craves ſupplies for his wants*. *Buxtorf*'s *Lexic. Rab.* See *Origen.* Lib. 4. *de Princip.* concerning theſe Hereticks.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Arch-Heretick Cerinthus.

WE have heard that at the ſame time there was one *Cerinthus* a Founder of another Hereſie. *Caius*, whoſe words I before quoted, in that Diſputation of his now extant, writes thus concerning him. 'But *Cerinthus* alſo, who 'by Revelations written *by himſelf*, as it were by 'by ſome great Apoſtle, hath feign'd monſtrous 'Narrrations as if they had been ſhew'd him by 'Angels, and ſets them abroach amongſt us, 'ſaying, that after the Reſurrection the Kingdom of Chriſt will be terreſtrial, and that men 'living again in the fleſh at *Jeruſalem* ſhall be 'ſubject to Deſires and Pleaſures. He alſo be-

(*a*) Θέλων πλανᾶν. So it is Printed in *Rob. Stephen*'s Edition, I know not by what accident. Which error of the Preſs the *Geneva-Edition* afterwards followed: But we, from our M.SS. copies, and from *Nicephorus* his Book, have made good the true reading of this place, thus, θέλων πλανὰν, *deſirous to induce Men into error*, &c. *Valeſ.*

'ing an enemy to Divine Scripture, and (*a*) de-'ſirous to induce men into error, ſays that there 'ſhall be the number of a thouſand years ſpent 'in a Nuptial Feaſt." And *Dionyſius* alſo, who in our time was choſen Biſhop of the Church of *Alexandria*, (*b*) in his ſecond Book concerning Promiſes, ſpeaking ſomething of the *Revelation of John*, as from ancient tradition, mentions this Man in theſe words: 'But *Cerinthus*, the 'Founder of the Hereſie called from him the 'Cerinthian Hereſie, *was*, *they ſay*, *the Author of that*

(*b*) It ſhould be thus written ἐν δ δὲ τέρῳ περὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελιῶν, *in his ſecond Book concerning promiſes*. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* wrote two Books *of promiſes*, or *rewards*, which God promiſed to give to to pious Men after this Life. The ſecond of theſe was written againſt *Nepos* a Biſhop of *Egypt*, who from the *Revelation of John* aſſerted that Chriſt's Kingdom would be terreſtrial, as *Euſebius* declares in his ſeventh Book. *Valeſ.*

Book, (*c*) being deſirous to put a creditable name upon his own forgery. For this was one of the Tenets of his Doctrine, that the Kingdom of Chriſt ſhould be terreſtrial: And thoſe things which he, being a lover of his body, and altogether carnally minded, earneſtly luſted after, in them he dreamt the Kingdom of Chriſt conſiſted, *to wit*, in the Satiety of the Belly, and of thoſe parts beneath the Belly; that is, in Meats, Drinks and Marriages, and in thoſe things whereby he thought theſe might with a (*d*) greater pretence and ſhew of piety be procured, *that is*, in Feaſts, Sacrifices, and in the ſlaying of Offerings." Thus far *Dionyſius*. But *Irenæus*, in his *firſt Book againſt Hereſies*, does recite ſome more ſecret falſe Opinions of this Man's; and in his *third Book* he delivers in writing a certain Story (unworthy to be forgotten) as from the Tradition of *Polycarp*, ſaying, that *John* the Apoſtle going on a time to the Bath to bath himſelf, and underſtanding that *Cerinthus* was within, retired in great haſte from that place, and fled out at the door, not enduring to go under the ſame roof with him; and that he perſwaded thoſe who were with him to do ſo alſo, ſaying, Let us be gone, leſt the Bath fall, *Cerinthus*.that enemy of the Truth being within it.

Trajan.

(*c*) This place of *Dionyſius* is to be found whole and entire in the 7th B. of this Hiſtory, chap. 25. from thence is to be had the explication of this paſſage. Some ſay *Dionyſius* there ſaid that the Book of the Revelation was made by *Cerinthus* the Arch-Hereticks, who publiſhed it under the name of *John the Apoſtle*, that he might get the greater authority for his own Opinions. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *Chriſtophorſon*, in ſtead of [ἐυφημότερον] read [ἐυδυμότερον] from B. 7 c. 25. But that place in B. 7. is rather to be corrected by this, than this corrupted from that. Our M. SS. Copies *Maz.* and *Med.* have it written ἐυφημότερον in B. 7. So alſo *Nicephorus* in his 3d B. c. 14. Under the name of Feaſts and Sacrifices *Cerinthus* hid his Luſts, that he might make a ſhew of honeſty and decency.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Nicholas, *and thoſe Hereticks who bear his name.*

(*a*) AT this time the Hereſie called the Hereſie of the *Nicholaites*, continued for a very ſhort time; of which alſo the *Revelation of John* makes mention. Theſe boaſted of *Nicholas* (one of the Deacons, who together with *Stephen* were Ordain'd by the Apoſtles to miniſter to the poor) *as the Author of their Sect*. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the third of his *Stromatῶn* relates thus much of him word for word: 'He, they 'ſay, having a beautiful Wife, being after our 'Saviour's Aſcenſion blamed by the Apoſtles for 'his Jealouſie, brought his Wife forth, and per-'mitted her to marry whom ſhe had a mind to. 'For this deed, they report, is agreeable to that 'ſaying of his, *to wit*, *That we ought to abuſe the 'Fleſh*. Thoſe therefore who follow his Here-'ſie, (*b*) ſimply and raſhly aſſenting to this ſay-'ing, and imitating this deed, do moſt impu-'dently give themſelves over to Fornication. 'But I am given to underſtand that *Nicholas* 'made uſe of no other Woman beſides her he 'married; and that thoſe of his Children which 'were Daughters remained Virgins when they

(*a*) In the M. SS. *Maz. Med.* and Sir *H. Savil*'s it is ἐπὶ τάτῳ, i. e. *after him*, to wit, *Cerinthus*. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Theſe Words [ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίτως, i. e. *ſimply and raſhly*] ought to be referred to the Word [καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντες, i. e. *aſſenting to*] and not to the Word [εἰρημένῳ, i. e. *this ſaying:*] Which being not minded by *Chriſtophorſon*, he widely miſtook *Clemens* his meaning. For *Clemens* does not ſay that that fact, or that ſaying was done or ſaid by *Nicholas* raſhly and inconſiderately. Yea, he delares in the 2d of his *Stromatῶn* about the latter end, that this ſaying [δεῖ ὧδε χρᾶσθαι τῇ σαρκί] was one of *Nicholas* his Apophthegms, or Pithy Speeches. Which ſaying of his, his followers interpreted ſo, as if *Nicholas* had commanded every one to abuſe his Fleſh with all manner of voluptuouſneſs and laſciviouſneſs: But *Nicholas* meant the clean contrary by this his ſpeech, *to wit*, that the Fleſh ought not to be indulged to, but to be kept under, and wearied out with continual exerciſes of Vertue. *Valeſ.*

were

Trajan.

'were old; and his Son continued undefil'd by women. Which things being thus, his bringing of 'his Wife, (over whom he was said to be jealous) 'forth before the Apostles, was a sign of his re-'jecting and bridling his passion; and by those 'words of his [*that we ought to abuse the Flesh,*] '(c) he taught Continence, and an abstaining 'from those Pleasures which are with so much 'earnestness desired by men. For, I suppose, he 'would not (according to our Saviour's com-'mandment) serve two Masters, Pleasure and the 'Lord. Moreover, they say, that *Matthias* taught 'the same Doctrine, that we should war against 'the Flesh, and abuse it, allowing it nothing of 'pleasure; but that we should enrich the Soul 'by Faith and Knowledge." Let thus much therefore be spoken concerning those who endeavour'd about that time to deprave the Truth, but on a sudden were wholly extinct.

(c) These words are spoken by *Clemens Alexandrinus* by way of *Enallage*; for thus they are to be taken, as if he had said, τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν σαρκὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡδονῶν ἐν ᾗ λέγει, i.e. *by those words of his* [*that we ought to abuse the flesh*] *He taught Continence and an abstaining from pleasures*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning those Apostles that are found to have been married.

BUT *Clemens*, whose words we even now recited, after that Passage of his before-quoted, does reckon up those Apostles that are found to have been married, upon account of such as despise Marriage; saying, What will they repre-'hend even the Apostles also? For *Peter* and *Philip* 'begat Children; and *Philip* match'd his Daugh-'ters to Husbands. *Paul* also, in one of his E-'pistles, fears not to name his Wife, whom he 'carried not about with him, that he might with more expedition perform his Ministration." But because we have mention'd these things, it will not be troublesome to produce also another Story of his worthily memorable, which he hath set forth in the seventh of his *Stromatωn*, after this manner: 'Now they say that St. *Peter*, seeing his 'Wife led to be put to death, rejoyced because she 'was call'd by God, and because she was return-'ing home: and that calling her by her name he 'exhorted and comforted her, saying, O *woman 'remember the Lord.* Such was the Wedlock of the 'Saints, and such the entire Affection of most dear Friends." And thus much, being pertinent to the *subject* now in hand, we have here seasonably plac'd.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Death of John *and* Philip.

INdeed, both the time and manner of the death of *Paul* and *Peter*, and moreover the place where after their departure out of this life their Bodies were deposited, we have before manifested: concerning the time of *John*'s death we have already also in some sort spoken; but the place of Sepulchre is demonstrated by the Epistle of *Polycrates* (who was Bishop of the *Ephesian* Church) which he wrote to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*; wherein he mentions both him and also *Philip* the Apostle and his Daughters after this manner. 'For 'also in *Asia* the Great (a) Lights are dead, which 'shall be raised again at the last day, the day of 'the Lord's coming, wherein he shall come with 'Glory from Heaven, and shall find out all his 'Saints: I mean (b) *Philip* one of the Twelve A-'postles who died at *Hierapolis*; and two of his 'Daughters who continued Virgins to the end 'of their lives. Also his other (c) Daughter, who 'having lived by the guidance of the Holy Ghost, 'died at *Ephesus*. And moreover *John*, who leaned 'on the Breast of the Lord, and was a Priest and 'wore a (d) plate of Gold, and was a Martyr and 'a Doctor; this *John*, I say, died at *Ephesus*." And thus much concerning their deaths. And also in the *Dialogue* of *Caius*, of which we a little before made mention, *Proculus*, against whom he instituted the dispute, agreeing with what we have inforced concerning the death of *Philip* and his Daughters, says thus; 'After that also, 'the four Propheteses the Daughters of *Philip* 'were at *Hierapolis* a City of *Asia*, their Sepulchre 'is there, and also their Father's." Thus he, *Luke* likewise in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* makes mention of the Daughters of *Philip* that lived then at *Cæsarea* of *Judea* with their Father, who were endow'd with the gift of Prophecy, saying word for word thus: 'We came unto *Cæsarea*, and we 'entred into the House of *Philip* the Evangelist, '(which was one of the Seven) and abode with 'him. And the same Man had four Daughters, 'Virgins, which did Prophecy." Having thus far therefore treated of those things which came to our knowledge, both concerning the (e) Apostles and the Apostolick times, and the Sacred Writings they left us, both those that are question'd as doubtful, which yet are publickly read by many in most Churches, and those also that are altogether spurious and repugnant to Apostolical sound Doctrine, we now proceed to the subsequent part of our History.

Trajan.

(a) Μεγάλα στοιχεῖα. *Jerome* and *Musculus* translate it *Elementa, elements, or foundations.* *Christophorson* turns it *Seminaria, Seedplots:* But *Rufinus* best of all, calls it *Lumina, Lights.* For the *Grecians* were wont to call the Signs of the Zodiack στοιχεῖα. So *Diogen. Laert.* in the Life of *Menedemus.* Now the Heathens call'd those Signs so, because they thought the Principles of the lives and fortunes of Men were placed in them. See *Epiphan. in Hæres. Pharisæorum.* Vales.

(b) *Christophorson* in this place did in no wise perform the office of a good translator, who for *Philip* one of the Twelve Apostles put in *Philip* one of the seven Deacons. It was an ancient mistake, to confound *Philip* the Deacon and Evangelist with *Philip* the Apostle. And because they read *Acts* 21. v. 8, 9. that *Philip* had four daughters, Virgins, that Prophecied, they asserted *Philip* the Apostle was married and begot daughters. So, besides *Polycrates*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* said in the foregoing chap. and so said *Papias*, as we shall see hereafter. But from the *Acts* of the Apostles it may be manifestly gathered, that *Philip* the Deacon (he that Baptized the Eunuch, and that had the four Daughters that were Propheteses) was not the same with *Philip* the Apostle, but another Man. See *Isidore Pelusiota*, in his first Book Epist. 447. and so on, where he evidently demonstrates this. *Vales.*

(c) This third Daughter of *Philip*, *Polycrates* separates from the other two which died Virgins; whence it may be collected that she was married. Neither is this repugnant to the *Acts* c. 21. For it may be answered that then when these things were done that *Luke* mentions, *Philip*'s Daughters were Virgins: But afterwards one of them was given in marriage by her Father. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* seems to intimate thus much in those words of his, which *Eusebius* quotes in the foregoing chap. Moreover *Christophorson* confounds this third daughter of *Philip*'s with the two former. Whose translation did much trouble *Baronius* as appears from his *Annals, ad Annum Christi* 58. chap. 113. *Eusebius* repeats this passage of *Polycrates* in his fifth Book chap. 24. where *Christophorson* does rightly distinguish the three Daughters of *Philip*, and amends his former error. But it may here be deservedly questioned, why *Polycrates* mentions only three Daughters of *Philip's*, whereas in the *Acts* they are counted four. I answer *Polycrates* mentioned only those that died and were buried in *Asia*, as may be seen from his whole Epistle which is recited in the fifth Book of *Euseb.* Hist. seeing therefore one of the four Daughters died at *Cæsarea*, or some where else, upon that account *Polycrates* mentions her not. Moreover of these Daughters of *Philip*, one was called *Hermione*, the other *Eutychis.* For so it is in *Menæo Græcorum die* 4. Sept. See the place. *Vales.*

(d) Τὸ πέταλον, that's the word *in Polycrates* here quoted by *Eusebius.* The 72 use this word Exod. 28. 36. for so they translate צִיץ the Hebrew word there, which properly signifies *a floor*, but by our translators is in English rendred *a plate* there, and afterwards, Exod. 39. 30. it is called *a plate of the Holy Crown.* It was a long plate of Gold, two fingers broad, and reach'd from one Ear of the Priest to the other, says *Maimon.* in his Treatise *of the Implements of the Sanctuary*, Chap. 9. Sect. 1. See *Ainsworth* on the Pentat.

(e) In our four MSS. copies, *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Hen. Savil's*, I found it written περὶ τε τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων αὐτῶν, i.e. *concerning the Apostles themselves, the word* ἀυτῶν being in them added. *Vales.*

CHAP.

Trajan.

CHAP. XXXII.

How Simeon *the Biſhop of* Jeruſalem *ſuffered Martyrdom.*

AFter the Perſecution of *Nero* and *Domitian*, report goes, that under this Emperor, whoſe times we now recount, there was a Perſecution raiſed againſt us by piece-meal throughout every City, which proceeded from a popular Inſurrection. In which we have by tradition received, that (*a*) *Simeon* the ſon of *Cleophas*, who we declar'd was conſtituted the ſecond Biſhop of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, finiſh'd his life by Martyrdom. And this the ſame Writer atteſteth, ſeveral words of whoſe we have before quoted, *that is*, *Hegeſippus*: Who, giving a relation of certain Hereticks, adds, that this *Simeon*, being at that time by them accuſed and tormented divers ways, and for the ſpace of many days, becauſe he was a *Chriſtian*, ſtruck with a great amazement both the Judge and thoſe about him, and at length died by the ſame kind of ſuffering that the Lord did. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the Writer relating theſe things word for word, thus: 'Some of thoſe Hereticks accus'd 'Simeon the ſon of *Cleophas*, as being a Deſcendant 'from *David*, and a *Chriſtian*; and ſo he ſuffered 'Martyrdom when he was an hundred and twenty years old, under *Trajan* the Emperor, and '(*b*) *Atticus* of the *Conſular* 'order *then Preſident of Syria.*" And the ſame Author ſays, that thoſe his accuſers, (ſuch as were of the Royal Family of the *Jews* being at that time ſought for) hapned to be convicted, as belonging to that Family. Now, ſhould any one ſay that this *Simeon* was one of thoſe who both ſaw and heard the *Lord*, he would ſpeak what is in no wiſe abſurd, having as an undoubted Evidence thereof the great length of his life, and the mention made in the Goſpels of *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*; whoſe Son that he was, * our former words have manifeſted. Alſo the ſame Writer ſays, that others, related to one of thoſe called the Brethren of our Saviour (whoſe name was *Judas*) lived until this † Emperor's Reign, after their profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt under *Domitian*, * which we mentioned before. For thus he writeth, 'They 'come therefore and preſide over the whole 'Church, as being Martyrs, and of the Kindred 'of our Lord. And a profound Peace enſuing over the whole Church, they continued alive till 'the times of *Trajan* the Emperor, until the foreſaid *Simeon*, the ſon of *Cleophas* (who was (*c*) *Unkle* to our Lord) being accuſed by the (*d*) Hereticks, was in like manner alſo impeach'd for the '(*e*) ſame thing before *Atticus* the Preſident. And 'being cruelly tortured for many days he with 'conſtancy profeſſed the Faith of Chriſt; in ſo much that the Preſident and all thoſe about him 'wondred greatly, how a man of an hundred 'and twenty years old as he was, could have endured ſuch torments. And in fine, it was order'd he ſhould be crucified." Moreover the ſame Man, relating what was done in thoſe times, adds, that until then the (*f*) Church continued a pure and undefiled Virgin; thoſe who endeavour'd to corrupt the ſound Rule of wholeſome Doctrine, if any ſuch perſons there were, abſconding themſelves hitherto in obſcure darkneſs. But after the ſacred company of the Apoſtles was by various kinds of death become extinct, and that generation of thoſe men, who were accounted worthy to hear with their own ears the Divine Wiſdom, was gone, then the conſpiracy of impious Error took its riſe from the deceit of Falſe Teachers; who, in as much as not one of the Apoſtles was then ſurviving, did now at length with a bare face attempt to preach up —— the knowledge falſely ſo call'd, in oppoſition to the Doctrine of the *Truth*. (*g*) And thus much this Author, treating of theſe things, has after this manner ſaid. But we will proceed to what in order follows of our Hiſtory.

Trajan.

(*a*) In the King's MS. it is Σίμων, *Simon*, as *Rob. Stephens* obſerved. *Jerom*, in Chronico, teſtifies that the name of this Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was written two ways, *to wit*, *Simeon* and *Simon*. The ſame *Georg. Syncellus* obſerves, and alſo the Author *Chronici Alexandrini*. Valeſ.

(*b*) That is, when *Atticus* was Deputy of *Syria*. The *Syrians* us'd to ſhew their years, by the name of theſe their *Preſidents*. Moreover, of the Emperor's Deputies ſome were of the *Conſular* Order; others of the *Pretorian*. Wherefore *Atticus* is here called ὑπατικὸς, to ſhew that he was of the *Conſular* Order, or had been *Conſul*. In the MS. Copies of *Ruſinus* his tranſlation (that is in the King's Library) it is, *Martyr effectus eſt cum eſſet annorum centum* XXV. i.e. *he was Martyred when he was* 125 *years old*. Valeſ.

* Book 3. chap. 11.

† i.e. *Trajan's*.

* Book 3. chap. 20.

(*c*) That is, becauſe he married *Mary* Siſter to the Bleſſed Virgin. See Note A in chap. 11. of this Book.

(*d*) The Author *Chronici Alexandrini* ſuppoſes that the *Cerinthian* Hereticks and the *Nicholaites* are here meant: To whom I do not aſſent. *Hegeſippus* means thoſe Sects which at that time were potent at *Jeruſalem*, to wit, the *Phariſees*, *Sadduces*, and others, of whom hereafter, at Book 4. Chap. 22. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) That is, becauſe he Preach'd the Faith of Chriſt, as he ſaid before, and ſays again, Book. 4. Chap. 22. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) This *Hegeſippus* ſpoke of the *Church* of *Jeruſalem* in particular, *to wit*, that it continued a Virgin until the death of *Simeon*, unto *Trajan*'s time. The words of *Hegeſippus* you will meet with hereafter, at chap. 22.

(*g*) All theſe Words, to the end of the Chapter, are wanting in the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. neither doth *Ruſinus* acknowledge them in his tranſlation, as appears therefrom. And this whole Clauſe ſeems to me to be Spurious and ſuppoſititious. For whoſoever added it, thought the Words that went before were *Hegeſippus*'s; whereas they are not his, but *Euſebius*'s, as we may ſee from chap. 22. B. 4. *Valeſ.*

B. 4. *Euſebius* ſeems to have attributed that to the whole Church which *Hegeſippus* ſpake of the Church at *Jeruſalem* in particular. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

How Trajan *forbade that the Chriſtians ſhould be ſought after.*

MOreover, ſo great a Perſecution raged againſt us at that time in many places, that *Plinius Secundus* the moſt eminent amongſt the Governours of Provinces, being moved at the multitude of Martyrs, gave the Emperor an account of the great numbers of thoſe that were deſtroy'd becauſe of their Faith; and together therewith certified him, that he found they did nothing of Impiety, nor acted any thing contrary to the Laws; only that they roſe at break of day, and ſung Hymns to Chriſt, as unto God; but that they abhor'd the commiſſion of Adultery and Murther, and ſuch-like horrid crimes; and that they did all things conſonant to the Laws. Upon account of which *Trajan* made this Edict, That the Chriſtians ſhould not be ſought out; but if by accident they were lighted on, they ſhould be puniſh'd. Which being done, the moſt vehement heat of the Perſecution that lay heavy upon us, was in ſome meaſure quench'd: but to thoſe who had a mind to do us miſchief there remain'd Pretexts no whit leſs fair and ſpecious; in ſome places the People, in others the Rulers of the Provinces, forming treacheries againſt us; in ſo much that even when there was no open and general perſecution, yet there were particular ones throughout the Provinces, and very many of the Faithful underwent various ſorts of Martyrdoms. We have taken this account out of *Tertullian*'s Apology, written in *Latin* (of which we before made mention) the Tranſlation whereof is thus; 'But we 'have found that the inquiſition after us has been 'prohibited. For *Plinius Secundus*, when he 'was Governour of the Province, having con'demned ſome Chriſtians, and deprived other 'ſome

Trajan. ‘some, being at length troubled at their great ‘number, asked advice of *Trajan* then the Em‘peror, what he should do with the residue, say‘ing, that, besides their obstinacy in not sacri‘ficing, he found nothing of impiety in their re‘ligious Mysteries, only that they held early As‘semblies in singing Hymns to Christ as unto ‘God, and that they had a (*a*) certain Symbol or ‘Signal of their Polity; that they forbade Mur‘ther, Adultery, Fraud, Perfidiousness, and such‘like crimes. Then *Trajan* returned answer, that ‘those sort of Men should not indeed be diligent‘ly sought out, but if by chance (*b*) they were ‘lighted on and brought before the Governours, ‘they should be punished.” And this was then the posture of Affairs.

(*a*) He that translated the Words of *Tertullian* into *Greek*, has rendred them unhappily. For neither does ἐπιστήμη signifie *discipline*, nor διαφυλάσσειν, *to agree together*. I would therefore rather translate these Words of *Tertullian* thus, ᾗ ἵνα ὥσπερ τὶ σύμβολον ἔχωσι τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας, i. e. *and that they had a certain Symbol or Signal of their Polity.* Vales.

(*b*) Here also the Greek Translator of *Tertullian* hath done ill; for *Tertullian*, or rather *Trajan*, calls those *Oblatos*, who were brought in before the Judges; for so the Latines use to speak. The sense therefore of the Emperor *Trajan*'s Rescript against the Christians is this, that the Governours of Provinces should not too diligently hunt after the Christians by sending out Spies and Officers to take them, but if any Christians were by chance found out by their Officers, or if they were made appear to be such by their Accusers, that then they ought to be punished. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That Evarestus *was the Fourth that governed the* Roman *Church.*

Clemens, one of the *Roman* Bishops, having left his Episcopal Office to *Evarestus*, finished his life in the third year of the foresaid Emperor's Reign; when he had had the charge of the Doctrine of the Divine Word for full nine years space.

CHAP. XXXV.

That Justus *was the Third that governed the Church at* Jerusalem.

BUT moreover, *Simeon* having finished his life after the foresaid manner, a certain *Jew*, by name *Justus*, succeeded in the Episcopal Seat at *Jerusalem*; there being then an innumerable company of the Circumcision (of which he was one) that believed in Christ.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning Ignatius *and his Epistles.*

MOreover, at this time *Polycarp* a Disciple of the Apostles flourished in *Asia*, to whom was committed the Bishoprick of the Church at *Smyrna*, by those that saw and ministred to the Lord. At the same time (*a*) *Papias* was famous, who also was Bishop of the Church at *Hierapolis*, a man most eminently learned and eloquent, and knowing in the Scriptures. *Ignatius* also, renown'd amongst many even to this day, who was chosen Bishop of *Antioch*, being the second in succession there, after *Peter*. Report goes that this Man was sent from *Syria* to *Rome* to be made food for Wild Beasts, upon account of the Profession of his Faith in Christ. And being led through *Asia* under the custody of a most watchful Guard, he confirm'd the Churches in every City through which he passed, by Discourses and Exhortations; warning them most especially to take heed of the Heresies, which then first sprung upand increased: And he exhorted them firmly to keep the Traditions of the Apostles, which he thought necessary for the more certain knowledge of Posterity to be put in writing, having confirm'd them by his own testimony. Coming therefore at length to *Smyrna*, where *Polycarp* then was, he wrote one Epistle to the Church at *Ephesus*, mentioning *Onesimus* the Pastor there; and another to the Church at *Magnesia* standing on the River *Meander*, wherein again he makes mention of *Damas* the Bishop: and another to the Church at *Trallis*, the Governour whereof at that time he declares was *Polybius*. Besides these Epistles he wrote also to the Church at *Rome*, wherein he earnestly beseeches them that they would not intreat him to avoid Martyrdom, lest they should defraud him of his desired hope. Out of which Epistle 'tis worth our quoting some short Passages for the confirmation of what we have said. Thus therefore he writes word for word: ‘From *Syria* ‘to *Rome* I fight with Beasts, by sea and land, day ‘and night, bound to ten Leopards, that is, to a ‘File of Soldiers, who being kindly treated by me, ‘become (*b*) worse. But by ‘their Injuries I am the ‘more instructed; but for ‘all that I am not justified. ‘Oh! that I might enjoy the ‘Wild Beasts that are pro‘vided for me! which I e‘ven heartily wish may be ‘found to be fierce! which ‘I will allure to devour me ‘immediately, that they ‘spare me not, as out of ‘fear they have left some ‘untouch'd. But if they be ‘unwilling to do it, I will ‘compel them by force. ‘Pardon me; I know what ‘is good for me: Now I ‘begin to be a Disciple: ‘(*c*) Let nothing visible or ‘invisible divert me from, ‘or envy my happiness of ‘attaining Christ Jesus. Let ‘Fire and the Cross, the As‘saults of the Wild Beasts, ‘the pulling asunder of ‘Bones, the cutting off of Members, the stam‘ping in pieces of the whole Body, the punish‘ment of the Devil, come upon me; so I may ob‘tain Christ Jesus. And thus much he wrote from the foresaid City to the Churches before named. Being now gone beyond *Smyrna*, he from *Troas* again sent Letters to those at *Philadelphia*, also to the Church at *Smyrna*, and privately to *Polycarp* the Prelate thereof: To whom, because he well knew him to be an Apostolical Man, he entrusted his Flock at *Antioch*, being a very true and good Pastor; requesting him, that he would have a diligent care thereof. The same person writing to those of *Smyrna*, borrows some words, which whence he had I (*d*) know not;

Trajan.

(*b*) In the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. 'tis read χείρονες γένωμαι. A little after I read, with *Isaac Vossius*, ἃ ἐγὼ εὔχομαι σύντονά μοι εὑρεθῆναι, that is, *which I heartily wish may be found to be fierce*, which amendment *Rufinus* his Translation confirms. For thus he turns it, *Quas & ergo opto acriores parari.* Therefore *Rufinus* read, σύντονα, not σύντομα, which signifies [*soon, or straight-ways.*] The same Error is amended by us hereafter, in the sixth Book; for there συντόμως was Printed for συντόνως. *Vales.* But Bishop *Usher* reads χείρες; and also, σύντομα. See his Annotat. on this Epistle, Number 48.

(*c*) It is as much as if *Ignatius* had said, Let nothing envy me the Glory of being a Disciple of *Christ*; Let no Man pluck me from his Embraces. The holy Martyr alludes, as he uses to do, to those Words of St. *Paul, Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ?* Rom. 8. 35. *Vales.* See Bishop *Usher*'s Notes on *Ignatius* Epist. to the *Romans*, Number 52.

(*a*) This whole Elogie of *Papias* is wanting in our MSS. copies, *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* Neither did *Rufinus* read these Words in his Copies, as may be gathered from his Translation. Wherefore I doubt not but they were inserted by some unskilful *Scholiast*, against the mind and opinion of *Eusebius*. For how can it be, that *Eusebius* should here stile *Papias* a Man *most excellently learned, and very skilful in the Scriptures*, whenas himself does at the end of this Book expressly affirm, that *Papias* was *a Man of an ordinary Wit, and altogether ignorant and simple.* Vales.

(*d*) This passage of *Ignatius*'s concerning Christ is taken out of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; which was either omitted by *Eusebius*, or unknown to him. *Jerome*, in his Book *De Eccles. Scriptor.* informs us hereof; as also in his 18 B. of Commentaries on *Esaiah*. See *Usher*'s Annotat. on *Ignatius* his Epistles, pag. 48. number 23.

some

Trajan. ſpeaking thus much concerning *Chriſt*; 'But I 'both know and believe that after the Reſur-'rection he was in the fleſh; and that, coming 'to *Peter* and thoſe who were about him, he ſaid 'unto them, take hold of me, handle me, and 'ſee, for I am not an incorporeal Spirit: And 'ſtraightway they touch'd him, and believed." *Irenæus* alſo ſpeaks of his Martyrdom, and mentions his Epiſtles, ſaying thus: 'As one of our 'Men, condemn'd to the Wild Beaſts for his Faith 'in God, ſaid, I am the Bread-corn of God, and 'I muſt be ground by the Teeth of Wild Beaſts, 'that I may be found to be pure Bread." And *Polycarp* mentions the ſame Epiſtles in that of his to the *Philippians*, in theſe very words: 'I therefore 'beſeech you all to obey thoſe that are over you, 'and to exerciſe all manner of Patience, which 'you have evidently ſeen, not only in thoſe Bleſ-'ſed Men *Ignatius*, *Rufus*, and *Zoſimus*, but alſo 'in others of us; likewiſe in *Paul* himſelf, and in 'the other Apoſtles; being fully perſwaded that 'all theſe ran not in vain, but proceeded in Faith 'and Righteouſneſs; and that they are in that 'place due to them from the Lord, together with 'whom they ſuffer'd. For they loved not this 'preſent World, but him who died for us, and 'was by God raiſed for us again." And a little after he adds; 'Both you and *Ignatius* wrote to 'me, that if any one went into *Syria*, he ſhould 'carry your Letters thither: Which I will do if 'I can get a fit opportuity; either I my ſelf, or 'ſome other, whom I will ſend as a Meſſenger 'on purpoſe for you. Thoſe Epiſtles of *Ignatius* 'ſent by him to us, and all the other we had 'here with us, we have ſent to you, according 'as you enjoyn'd us; they are made up with this 'Letter; from which Epiſtles you may profit ve-'ry much; for they contain Faith, Patience, 'and whatever is conducible to our Edification 'in the Lord." And thus much concerning *Ignatius:* After whom ſucceded *Heros* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning thoſe Preachers of the Goſpel who at that time were eminent.

AMong thoſe who were illuſtrious in thoſe times *Quadratus* was one, who, as fame ſays, flouriſhed at the ſame time with the Daughters of *Philip*, in the gift of Prophecy. Many others alſo beſides theſe were famous at that time, having obtain'd the firſt place among the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles: Who, becauſe they were the (*a*) eminent Diſciples of ſuch Men, built up thoſe Churches, the Foundations whereof were every-where laid by the Apoſtles; promoting greatly the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and ſcattering the ſalutary Seed of the Kingdom of Heaven at large over the whole World. For many of the then Diſciples, whoſe Souls were inflamed by the Divine Word with a more ardent deſire of Philoſophy, firſt fulfilled our Saviour's Commandment, by diſtributing their Subſtance to thoſe that were neceſſitous; then after that travelling abroad, they perform'd the work of Evangeliſts to thoſe who as yet had not heard the word of Faith; being very ambitious to preach Chriſt, and to deliver the Books of the Divine Goſpels. And theſe Perſons, having only laid the foundation of Faith in remote and barbarous places, and conſtituted other Paſtors, committed to them the culture of thoſe they had perfectly introduc'd to the Faith, departed again to other Regions and Nations, accompanied with the Grace and Cooperation of God. For the Divine Spirit as yet wrought many wonderful works by them; inſomuch that at the firſt hearing, innumerable multitudes of men did with moſt ready minds altogether admit of and engage themſelves in the worſhip of that God who is the Maker of all things. But it being impoſſible for us to recount by name all thoſe who in the firſt Succeſſion of the Apoſtles were Paſtors or Evangeliſts in the Churches throughout the world, we will here commit to writing the mention of their names only, whoſe writings, containing the Apoſtolical Doctrine they delivered, are to this day extant amongſt us. Trajan.

(*a*) In our MSS. *Maz Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Henry Savil's*, it is written, διαπρεπεῖς μαθηταί, i. e. *eminent*, or *excellent Diſciples*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Epiſtle of Clemens, *and thoſe other Writings, which are falſly attributed to him.*

AS for example, the Epiſtles of *Ignatius*, which we have reckoned up, and that of *Clemens* acknowledg'd by all as undoubted, which he wrote in the name of the *Roman* to the *Corinthian* Church. Wherein, ſeeing he has inſerted many Sentences taken out of the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, and ſometimes had made uſe of the expreſs words of it, it evidently manifeſts that that Work is not new; whence it has ſeem'd agreeable to reaſon to reckon this Epiſtle amongſt the reſt of the Writings of that Apoſtle. For *Paul* having written to the *Hebrews* in his own Country-Language, ſome ſay that *Luke* the Evangeliſt, but others that this *Clemens*, of whom we ſpeak, tranſlated that Work. Which latter ſeems the trueſt Opinion, becauſe both the Stile both of *Clemens*'s Epiſtle, and alſo of that to the *Hebrews* appears to be very like; and the Senſe and Expreſſions in both the Works are not much different. You muſt alſo know that there is a ſecond Epiſtle, which is ſaid to be *Clemens*'s: But we know for certain that this is not ſo generally acknowledg'd, nor approved of as the former, becauſe we are ſure the Antients have not quoted any Authorities out of it. Further alſo, ſome have of late produced other voluminous and large Works, as if they were his, containing the (*a*) Dialogues of *Peter* and (*b*) *Apion*; (*c*) of whsch there is not the leaſt mention extant amongſt the Antients; neither does there appear in them the (*d*) pure Form of Apoſtolical ſound Doctrine. Now therefore 'tis apparent which are the genuine and undoubted Writings of *Clemens*: we have alſo ſpoken ſufficiently concerning the Works of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*.

(*a*) In the 10th Book *Recognit.* of *Clemens Romanus* there is mention of *Appion*, who is ſaid to have come to *Antioch* with *Anubion* about the ſame time that the Apoſtle *Peter* came thither. But there is nothing ſaid there of *Peter*'s diſpute with *Appion*. What ſhall we ſay then? That the Book of *Clemens* which contains *Peter*'s diſpute with *Appion* is different from his Books *Recognit.*? To me indeed they ſeem not to be two Books. For if there had been two Books of *Clemens*'s, the one *Recognit.* the other containing the diſpute of *Peter* with *Appion*, why ſhould *Euſebius* mention one only, and omit the other; There was therefore but one Book of *Clemens*'s, entitled πράξεις, or περίοδοι Πέτρου. But 'twas divided into two parts; the former mentioned *Matidia* and *Fauſtinianus* to be acknowledged of their Children; in the ſecond part was contained the Dialogues of *Peter* and *Appion*. Indeed *Rufinus*, who tranſlated that Book of *Clemens*'s into Latin, does teſtifie, in his Epiſtle to *Gaudentius* the Biſhop, that there were two parts of this Book in the Greek; in the one of which ſome things occurred which the other had not: He writes alſo, that on ſet purpoſe he omitted ſome things, becauſe they diſagreed from ſound Doctrine. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) This name is written with a double *p*, in all our MSS. but that of Mr. *Fukett*, where 'tis writ with a ſingle *p*, as it is in *Joſephus* and others. *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* chap. 112. agrees with our Copies; and

and *Clemens* also in B. 10. *Recognit.* where he says that *Appion Pliſtonicenſis* came to *Antioch* with *Anubion*. Lastly *Agellius*, in his 6 B. says *Appiõn Græcus homo qui Pliſtonices eſt appellatus.* Undoubtedly *Appion* is a *Roman* name, wrested into a *Greek* form, as is μαρκίων, κοσπατίων, and the like. *Appion* was a common name amongst the *Egyptians* derived from *Apis*, whom they worshipped; as, *Serapion*, *Anubion*, and the like. *Ptolemæus* King of the *Cyrenæ* was called *Apion*. Wherefore seeing this Grammarian the Son of *Pliſtonices* was an *Egyptian*, it seems that he should be called *Apion*, rather than *Appion*. For *Appion* that was Consul in *Justinian*'s time, the Latin Annals calls *Appion*, but the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls him *Apion*. Valeſ.

(c) But *Origen*, in his 3d Book *Explanat.* on *Geneſis*, makes mention of these Books of *Clemens*'s; and quotes a passage out of them, which is still extant in the Books of *Clemens*'s *Recognit.* This quotation of *Origen*'s is in the 22 chap. *Philocal.* (pag. 81. Edit. *Cambr.* 1658.) and in the common Editions of that piece the place is said to be taken out of his B. 2. against *Celsus*; but in the Books of *Origen* against *Celsus* now extant, it is not to be found. This quotation out of *Clemens* is indeed in his 3d B. *Explanat.* on *Geneſis.* ——But I have observed that *Origen* does often quote Books, whose Authority is unknown; wherein he does, like the Bee, gather Honey from venomous Flowers. *Valeſ.*

(d) *Photius* testifies the same, chap. 112. *Biblioth.* and before him, *Rufinus* in his Epistle to *Gaudentius* the Bishop, *to wit*, that in those Books *Recognit.* of *Clemens*'s there are some things said concerning the Son of God, which disagree from the true rule of Faith, and make for the opinion of the *Arrians*. *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſ. Ebionæorum* chap. 15. does expressly affirm, that those Books of *Clemens Romanus*, entitled ὡς ὑπὸ πέτρου, were corrupted and falsified by the *Ebionites*. Valeſ.

Trajan.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Book of Papias.

THE Books of *Papias* now extant, are five in number, which he entitled, *An Explication of the Oracles of the Lord.* *Irenæus* mentions no more than these five to have been written by him, saying thus; 'And these things *Papias*, the Auditor 'of *John*, the Companion of *Polycarp*, one of the 'Ancients, attests in writing, in the fourth of 'his Books; for he compiled five." Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Papias*, in his Preface to his Books, does not evidence himself to have been a Beholder or an Auditor of the Holy Apostles, but only, that he received the Matters of Faith from those who were well-known to them; which he declares in these words: 'But it shall not be tedious to 'me, to (a) set down in order, together with my Interpretations, those things 'which I have well learn'd 'from the Elders, and faithfully remembred, the truth 'whereof will be confirm'd 'by me. For I delighted not 'in those who speak much, 'as most do, but in those 'that teach the truth: Nor 'in those who recite strange and unusual Precepts; but in such as faithfully rehearse the Commandments given by the Lord, and which proceed from the Truth. Now if at any time I met 'with any one that had conversed with the Elders, I made a diligent enquiry after their sayings, what *Andrew*, or what *Peter* said; or what '*Philip*, or *Thomas*, or *James*, or *John*, or *Matthew*, or any other of the Lord's Disciples, were 'wont to say; and what *Aristion*, and *John* the 'Elder (the Disciples of our Lord) utter'd. For 'I thought that those things contain'd in Books 'could not profit me so much, as what I heard from 'the Mouths of Men yet surviving." In which words 'tis very observable that he recounts the name of *John* twice; the former of whom he reckons among *Peter*, *James*, *Matthew*, and the rest of the Apostles; manifestly shewing thereby that he speaks of *John* the Evangelist: But, making a distinction in his words, he places the other *John* with those who are not of the number of the Apostles; putting *Aristion* before him; and expressly calls him *The Elder*. So that hereby is shown the truth of their Relation, who have said that there were two in *Asia* who had that same name; and that there are two Sepulchres at *Ephesus*, and each of them now called the Sepulchre of *John*. Now I judg'd it very requisite to make this observation. For 'tis likely that the second, (unless any one would rather have it to be the first) saw that Revelation which goes under the name of *John*. Further, this *Papias*, whom we speak of, professes he received the sayings of the Apostles from those who had been conversant with them; and was, as he says, the Hearer of *Aristion* and *John* the Elder. Indeed he mentions them often by name, and has set down in his Works those Traditions he receiv'd from them. And thus much has been said by us, not unprofitably, as we judge. It is also worth our adding to the fore-quoted words of *Papias*, other Relations of the same Authors, wherein he gives an account of some Miracles, and other Passages, which he received by tradition. Indeed, that *Philip* the Apostle together with his Daughters lived at *Hierapolis*, has been manifested by what we said * before. Now we are to shew, that *Papias*, who liv'd at the same time, mentions his receiving a wonderful Narration from the *Daughters* of *Philip*. For he relates, that in his time a dead was Man raised to life again: And further, that there came to pass another Miracle about *Justus* who was sirnamed (b) *Barsabas*, how that he drank deadly *Poison*, and by the Grace of the Lord sustain'd no harm. That this *Justus*, after our Saviour's Ascension, was together with *Matthias* set forth by the Holy Apostles, and that they pray'd that one of them might in stead of the Traytor *Judas* be allotted to fill up their number; the Book of the *Acts of the Apostles* doth after this manner relate — *And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was sirnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they pray'd and said.* Moreover the same Writer has set down some other things which came to him barely by word of mouth, *to wit*, certain strange Parables of our Saviour's, and Sermons of his, and some other more fabulous Relations: Among which he says there shall be a thousand years after the Resurrection from the Dead, wherein the Kingdom of Christ shall be corporally set up here on earth: And, I judge, he had this opinion from his misapprehending the Apostolical Discourses, in that he did not see through those things they spake mystically by way of similitude. For he seems to have been a man of a very narrow understanding, as it may be conjectur'd from his Books. Yet he gave occasion to very many Ecclesiastical Persons after him to be of the same erroneous Opinion with him; who had a regard for the Antiquity of the Man, as for example, to *Irenæus*, and to every one also who has declared himself to be of the same Opinion. He relates also in his Books other Interpretations of the aforesaid *Aristion*'s, of the sayings of the Lord; and the Traditions of *John the Elder*. To which we do refer the studious Readers, and judge it requisite now only to adjoyn to his fore-mentioned words a Passage he relates concerning *Mark* the Evangelist, in these words; 'This also the Elder said; *Mark*, being the (c) Interpreter of

(a) In the King's MS. it is συνκαλαξαι ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις, agreeable to our Translation. *Rufinus* reads this place so, as appears by his Translation. For he renders it thus, *Non pigebit autem nos tibi omnia quæ quondam à Presbyteris didicimus, & benè retinemus, recordantes exponere cum interpretationibus noſtris.* But in the other MSS. *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Nicephorus*, it is, συνλαξαι. *Valeſ.*

Trajan.

* Chap. 31. of this 3d Book.

(b) In 3 of our MSS. *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* it is Βαρσαββᾶν, *Barsabbas.* Valeſ.

Acts 1. 23, 24.

(c) *Jerom*, in *Catalogo*, calls *Mark* the interpreter of *Peter* from this place of *Papias*, as I judge. Hence 'tis, that many of the *Greeks* write, that the Gospel of *Mark* was dictated by *Peter*. So *Athanasius* in his Treatise, *de Libris Sacræ Scripturæ*. Which, how it's to be understood, *Papias* declares in this place. For it is not to be supposed that *Mark* wrote his Gospel from the mouth of *Peter* dictating to him; but, when he heard *Peter* Preaching the Word of God to the *Jews* in Hebrew, *Mark* carefully digested those things in the Greek Language, which concerned Christ. *Valeſ.*

Trajan. ‘ *Peter*, accurately wrote whatever he remembred; ‘ but yet not in that order, wherein Chriſt either ‘ ſpake, or did them: For he was neither an ‘ Hearer of the Lord's, nor yet his Follower; ‘ but, as I ſaid, he was afterwards converſant ‘ with *Peter*, who preach'd the Doctrine of the ‘ Goſpel profitably to thoſe that heard him, but ‘ not ſo as if he would compoſe an Hiſtory of the ‘ Lord's Sayings. Wherefore *Mark* committed ‘ nothing of error, in that he wrote ſome things ‘ ſo as he had remembred them. For he made ‘ this one thing his chiefeſt aim, *to wit*, to omit ‘ none of thoſe things he had heard, nor yet to ‘ deliver any thing that was falſe therein.” Thus much *Papias* relates concerning *Mark*. Concerning *Matthew*, he ſays this; *Moreover Matthew wrote his Divine Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them, as they were able.* This *Papias* alſo has quoted Authorities taken out of the *Firſt Epiſtle of John*, and likewiſe out of the *former Epiſtle of Peter*. He has ſet down alſo another Relation about a Woman who was accuſed of many Crimes before the Lord; which Relation is contain'd in the Goſpel according to the *Hebrews*. And thus much we have uſefully and diligently obſerved, and added to thoſe things which before he had ſet down. Trajan.

THE FOURTH BOOK Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

Who were the Biſhops of the Roman *and* Alexandrian *Churches in the Reign of* Trajan.

ABOUT the (*a*) twelfth Year of *Trajan*'s Empire, *Cerdo* the Biſhop of the *Alexandrian* Church, * whom we a little before mentioned, departed this life; and *Primus*, the fourth from the Apoſtles, was elected to the publick charge of that Church. At the ſame time alſo, *Evareſtus* having finiſh'd his eighth Year, *Alexander* undertook the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, who was the fifth in ſucceſſion from *Peter* and *Paul*.

(*a*) In the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*, the beginning of *Primus* his being Biſhop of *Alexandria* falls upon the 10th year of *Trajan*,

Alſo the beginning of *Alexander*'s being made Biſhop of *Rome* is placed on the 10th year of *Trajan*. But in the digeſting of the years of the Biſhops both of *Rome*, and alſo of other Cities, I have obſerved that *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon* does often diſſent from his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. Whether it be the fault of the Tranſcribers, or of *Jerom* the Tranſlator, or of *Euſebius* himſelf, I cannot poſitively affirm: For in ſo great a diverſity it's difficult to aſſign the cauſe of the miſtake. But, ſeeing that the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* was written by *Euſebius* after *his Chronicon*, whereſoever ſuch a diſagreement occurs, that ſeems rather to be followed, which is aſſerted in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. Valeſ.

* Book 3. chap. 21.

CHAP. II.

What the Jews *ſuffer'd in this Emperor's Time.*

MOreover, the Doctrine and Church of our Saviour flouriſhing daily, increaſed more and more: But the Calamities of the *Jews* were augmented by continual Miſchiefs following one upon another. For, the Emperor entring now upon the eighteenth Year of his Reign, there aroſe again a Commotion of the *Jews*, which deſtroy'd a very great number of them. For both at *Alexandria*, and over, all the reſt of *Egypt*; and moreover throughout *Cyrene*, they being ſtirr'd up as it were by ſome violent and contentious Spirit, raiſed Sedition againſt the (*a*) *Greeks* and *Gentiles* with whom they dwelt. And they increaſing the Faction very much, on the enſuing Year enkindled a great War; *Lupus* was at that time Governour of all *Egypt*. Moreover it hapned that in the firſt encounter they were too hard for the *Greeks*; who flying to *Alexandria*, took the *Jews* that were in the City alive, and ſlew them. But thoſe *Jews* who inhabited *Cyrene*, being fruſtrated of aſſiſtance in the War from them, perſiſted to infeſt and deſtroy the Country of *Egypt* and all its (*b*) Prefectures, by Pillages and Robberies, one *Lucuas* being their Leader: Againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Marcius Turbo* with Horſe and Foot, and alſo with Naval Forces: He in many Engagements, having made the War againſt them long and tedious, deſtroy'd many Myriads of *Jews*, not only of thoſe of *Cyrene*, but alſo of thoſe of *Egypt*, who flockt together to give aſſiſtance to their King *Lucuas*. But the Emperor ſuſpecting that thoſe *Jews* in *Meſopotamia* would alſo ſet upon the Inhabitants there, commanded (*c*) *Lucius Quietus* to clear that Province of them: who engaging with them, deſtroy'd a very great number of them that dwelt there: for which ſucceſsful piece of ſervice he was appointed Deputy of *Judea* by the Emperor. And thus much thoſe Heathens, who committed to writing the Tranſactions of thoſe times, do almoſt in the very ſame words relate.

(*a*) The *Jews* who dwelt in the Cities & Towns with the *Grecians* and *Gentiles*, and had equal freedom thereof with them, did frequently diſagree with them; tumults being uſually raiſed by reaſon of their different Religions. For the *Grecians* ſcorned that the *Jews* ſhould be fellow-citizens with them and enjoy the ſame priviledges they did; on the other hand, the *Jews* would not live in a meaner condition, than the reſt of the Citizens did. Hence aroſe frequent Contentions, both in *Egypt*, and alſo in *Syria*, as *Philo* and *Joſephus* do atteſt. Therefore in our Tranſlation we have inſerted both [*Grecians and Gentiles*] becauſe one word ſeemed not to ſuffice. For the *Jews* did not only aſſault the *Grecians*, but the Natives alſo of *Egypt* and *Lybia*: Nor again, the *Gentiles* only, but the *Chriſtians* likewiſe, of whom there was then no ſmall number in *Egypt* and *Cyrene*. Valeſ.

(*b*) This deſtroying of all *Egypt* and *Lybia* by the *Jews*, beſides *Dion*, *Oroſius* mentions, in his 7 B. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) This

(c) This Man was a *Moor*, not of the Province of *Mauritania*, but of the barbarous *Moors*, who were Allies of the *Roman* Empire. At first he commanded a Troop of *Moors*; not long after he was condemned for his lewdness, and in disgrace cashiered. But afterwards in the *Dacick* War, when the Army stood in need of the assistance of the *Moors*, he did a brave piece of Service. Upon which account being rewarded and honoured, he did more and braver exploits in the second *Dacick* War. At length, in the *Parthian* War, which *Trajan* waged against the *Parthians*, he was so valiant and fortunate, that he was chosen into the *Prætorian* Order, bore a Consulship, and Governed the Province of *Palestine*, which Promotion first made him to be envied, then hated, and at last ruined him. Thus much *Dion Cassius* relates, in *Excerpt.* Vales.

CHAP. III.

Who, in the Time of Adrian, *wrote Apologies in defence of the Faith.*

Adrian. WHen *Trajan* had held the Empire twenty years compleat, excepting six months, *Ælius Adrianus* succeeded in the Government: To whom *Quadratus* dedicated and presented a Book, wherein he had comprized an Apology for our Religion; because certain malicious Men endeavour'd to molest the Christians. This Work is still extant amongst many of the Brethren, and we also have it. From which Book may be seen perspicuous evidences of the Man's Understanding, and of his truly (*a*) Apostolical Faith and sound Doctrine. The same Writer makes his own Antiquity sufficiently evident, by what he relates in these very words: 'The Works of our 'Saviour were always conspicuous, for they were 'true. Those that were healed, such as were 'raised from the dead, did not only appear after 'they were healed, and raised; but also were afwards seen of all; and that not only whilst our 'Saviour was conversant upon earth, but also after he was gone they continued alive a great 'while; insomuch that some of them survived 'even to our Times." Such a person indeed was *Quadratus*. *Aristides* also, a faithful Man of that Religion profess'd by us, left in like manner, as *Quadratus* did, an Apology for the Faith, dedicated to *Adrian*. And this Man's Book is, to this day, preserved by many persons.

(*a*) The Phrase in the original is [ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοτομίας, i.e. *of his Apostolical right division.* This word occurs (2 Tim. 2. 15.) In the *Old Testament* the Greek Translators use of the word belongs to a way or path to go in, which was wont to be cut out that it might be fitter for use; thence the Latin Phrase, *viam secare*, i.e. *to cut a way*, that is, *to go before and direct any in their journey.* And with the word [ὀρθὸς, *right*] joined with it, it is to go before one, and direct him in the straight way to such a place. Hence the *Syriack* Version of the *New Testament* renders this Phrase in *Timothy* [ὀρθοτομεῖν τὸν λόγον,] recte prædicare sermonem, i.e. *rightly to preach the word.* *Fuller's Miscellan.* B. 3. chap. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Who were ennobled with the Title of Bishops over the Roman *and* Alexandrian *Churches in this Emperor's Time.*

IN the third year of *Adrian*'s Empire, *Alexander* the Bishop of *Rome* died, having compleated the tenth year of his Administration. *Xystus* was Successor to him: and about that time, *Primus* dying in the twelfth year of his Presidency over the *Alexandrian* Church, *Justus* succeeded him.

CHAP. V.

Who were Bishops of Jerusalem *from our Saviour, even to these Times.*

MOreover, the space of time which the Bishops of *Jerusalem* spent in their Presidency over that See, I could in no wise find preserved in writing. For, as report says, they were very short-lived: But thus much I have been informed of from old Records, that unto the Siege of the *Jews* in *Adrian*'s Time, there were in number fifteen Successions of Bishops there: All whom they say, were by birth *Hebrews*, who had sincerely embraced the knowledge of Christ; insomuch that by those, who were then able to give judgment as to such matters, they were approved to be worthy of the Episcopal Office. For that whole Church at *Jerusalem* was made up of believing *Jews*, who had continued stedfast in the Faith from the Apostles Times even to the then Siege; wherein the *Jews*, revolting again from the *Romans*, were vanquished and destroyed by no small Wars. The Bishops therefore that were of the Circumcision then ceasing, it will be now requisite to give a Catalogue of them in their Order from first to last. The first therefore was *James*, called the Brother of the Lord; after him the second was *Simeon*; the third *Justus*; the fourth *Zaccheus*; the fifth *Tobias*; the sixth *Benjamin*; the seventh *John*; the eighth *Matthias*; the ninth *Philip*; the tenth *Seneca*; the eleventh *Justus*; the twelfth *Levi*; the thirteenth *Ephres*; the fourteenth (*a*) *Joseph*; the fifteenth and last *Judas*: And thus many were the Bishops of the City of *Jerusalem*, from the *Apostles* to this time we are now treating of; all which were of the Circumcision. But now, *Adrian* being in the twelfth year of his Empire, *Telesphorus* the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded *Xystus*, who had compleated the tenth year of his Episcopal Office over the *Romans*; and within a years space and (*b*) some months *Eumenes*, the sixth in Order, succeeded in the Presidency over the *Alexandrian* Church; his immediate Predecessor there having sat eleven years.

Adrian.

(*a*) *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, calls him *Joses*. So *Joseph* the Brother of the Lord, of whom *Matthew* and *Mark* speak in their Gospel, is by *Jerom* and others called *Joses*.

Ephres also is, by *Nicephorus*, called *Ephrem*. Vales.

(*b*) Or, *one month*; for so *Rufinus* seems to have read in his Copy. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

The last Siege of the Jews *in the Time of* Adrian.

BUT when the Rebellion of the *Jews* again increased exceedingly, * *Rufus* the President of *Judea*, having had Auxiliary Forces sent him from the Emperor, marched out against them; and, making use of their Madness and Desperation as an occasion of his sparing none, he slew Myriads together both of Men, Women and Children; and by the Law of War reduced their Country to servitude and subjection to the *Romans*. The Leader of the *Jews* at that time was by name *Barchochebas*, a name indeed that signifies a Star, but otherwise he was a Man that was a Murderer and a Robber; who by reason of his name did monstrously pretend to his Followers, being (*a*) Slaves, that he was a Star come down from Heaven to enlighten them who were now oppressed with servitude. But the War growing sharp in the eighteenth year of *Adrian*'s Empire at the City (*b*) *Betthera*, which was the best fortified place, and not far distant from *Jerusalem*; and the Siege continuing a long time; the Innovators also having been utterly destroy'd by famine and thirst; and the Author of this their Madness undergone

* His name was *Tinius Rufus*. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, says this Rebellion happened on the 16 year of *Adrian*; at which time the said *Rufus* was President of the Province of *Judea*. Vales.

(*a*) He calls the *Jews* slaves, because of their poverty and baseness of birth; for most of them were descended of those Captives, who were sold under *Titus*. Vales.

(*b*) Or, *Bithera*; there was a Town called *Betthar*, which was two and fifty Miles distant from *Jerusalem*; another Village there was called *Bethar*, which was twelve Miles off *Jerusalem*: Both these *Jerom* calls *Bethoron*. Vales.

Adrian.

condign puniſhment; from that time that whole Nation was (*c*) altogether interdicted to enter into the Country about *Jeruſalem*; the Law, Edict and Sanctions of *Adrian* having commanded them, that they ſhould not ſo much as from afar off behold their Paternal Soil. *Ariſton* of (*d*) *Pella* relates this. Thus the City being made deſtitute of the *Jewiſh* Nation, and wholly cleared of its old Inhabitants, was poſſeſs'd by Foreigners that dwelt there, and (*e*) afterwards made a *Roman* City; and, changing its name, was, in honour of the Emperor *Ælius Adrianus*, called *Ælia*. And when there was a Church there gather'd of the Nations that dwelt in it, *Mark* was the firſt who, after the Biſhops of the Circumciſion, undertook the publick Adminiſtration of Matters there.

(*c*) The ſame is atteſted by *Tertullian*, Apologet. c. 16. by *Celſus* in the latter end of B. 8. of *Origen* againſt him; and by *Gregor. Naz.* in his 12 Orat. Only on one day (that whereon *Jeruſalem* was taken and deſtroyed by the *Romans*) the *Jews* out of all Nations were wont to meet in *Paleſtine*, and having paid a ſum of Money to the Soldiers, they entred into that part of the City where *Solomon*'s Temple heretofore ſtood; and there they bewailed the deſtruction of the City and Temple. See *Scaliger* in Animadverſ. *Euſeb.* p. 198. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) That was a City of *Syria*, which, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, was the Seat of the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem*; as *Euſebius* teſtifies. This *Ariſton* of *Pella* wrote a Book entitled *a Diſpute of Jaſon and Papiſcus*; this Book *Origen* makes mention of in his 4 B. againſt *Celſus*: But the Preface of it is only now extant amongſt the Works of *Cyprian*. Valeſ.

(*e*) *Euſebius* is here doubly miſtaken; both in that he ſays *Jeruſalem* was wholly deſtroyed in *Adrian*'s time; and alſo becauſe he thought that *Ælia Capitolina* was built by the ſame *Adrian* after the Siege of *Betthera*. As to the firſt; it's evident from *Joſephus*, that *Jeruſalem* was totally deſtroyed by *Titus*, in ſo much that it was ploughed. As to the ſecond, *Ælia* was ſo far from being built by *Adrian* after this Victory obtained over the *Jews*, that this War was begun by the *Jews* upon that very account. For when the *Jews* ſaw the Soil of their City occupied by Strangers; and perceived that in that very place where the Temple had been, *Jupiter Capitolinus* was worſhipped and ſacrificed to; being not able to endure that, they took Arms, and began this War which *Euſebius* here relates. Which was begun in the 16 year of *Adrian*, and ended the 18 of his Empire. But *Ælia Capitolina* was built long before, *to wit*, in the ſecond year of *Adrian*: From whoſe times to thoſe of *Conſtantine the Great* it was always called *Ælia*. But from the time of *Conſtantine the Great* it recovered again the name of *Jeruſalem*, both upon the account of the honour of that name, and alſo becauſe of its Prerogative, being the firſt Epiſcopal Seat. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

Who at that time were the Authors of falſe Doctrine.

NOW, the Churches throughout the whole World ſhining like moſt bright Stars, and the Faith in our Saviour and Lord Jeſus Chriſt flouriſhing among all Mankind, the Devil that Hater of Good, as being always the Enemy of Truth, and moſt malicious Impugner of Man's Salvation, uſing all his Arts and Stratagems againſt the Church, at firſt arm'd himſelf againſt it with outward Perſecutions: But then afterwards being excluded from them, he made his aſſaults by other methods, making uſe of evil Men and Impoſtors, as being the pernicious Inſtruments for deſtroying of Souls, and Miniſters of Perdition; deviſing all ways, whereby theſe Impoſtors and Deceivers, cloathing themſelves with the title of our Religion, might both lead into the Pit of Deſtruction, thoſe of the Faithful whom they had enticed to themſelves, and alſo divert ſuch as were unskilful in the Faith from the way that leads to the comfortable Word, by ſuch means as they attempted to put in practice. From that *Menander* therefore, whom we a little * before manifeſted to have been the Succeſſor of *Simon*, there was hatch'd a Serpentine Breed, double-mouth'd as it were, and double-headed, which conſtituted the Founders of two different and diſagreeing Hereſies; *Saturninus*, by birth an *Antiochian*, and *Baſilides*, an *Alexandrian*; whereof the former in *Syria*, the other in *Egypt*, ſet up Schools of moſt deteſtable Hereſies. Moreover, *Irenæus* makes it manifeſt that *Saturninus* feign'd moſtly the ſame things that *Menander* did; but that *Baſilides* under a pretext of more myſtical matters, moſt mightily enlarged his Inventions, forming monſtrous and fabulous Fictions for the making up of his impious Hereſie. There being many Eccleſiaſtical Men therefore, who at that time were Defenders of the Truth, and eloquent Maintainers of the Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical Doctrine, ſome of them forthwith comprized in writing explanatory accounts of the fore-manifeſted Hereſies, which they left as Cautions and Preventions to Poſterity: of which there is come to our hands a moſt ſtrenuous Confutation of *Baſilides*, of *Agrippa Caſtor's*, a moſt eminent Writer in thoſe times; wherein he diſcovers the horrible impoſture of the Man: Diſcloſing therefore his Secrets, he ſays that he made four and twenty Books upon the (*a*) Goſpel, and that he counterfeited for himſelf Prophets named by him (*b*) *Barcabbas* and *Barcoph*, and ſome (*c*) others who never were in being; and that he gave them barbarous names to aſtoniſh thoſe who were admirers of ſuch things; and that he taught that it was a thing indifferent to taſte of Meats offer'd to Idols, and that in times of Perſecutions thoſe did not imprudently who abjured the Faith: and that, after the manner of the *Pythagoreans*, he enjoyn'd a five years ſilence to his Followers: the foreſaid Author having recounted theſe things and others like them concerning this *Baſilides*, hath moſt diligently detected and brought to light the error of the forementioned Hereſie. But *Irenæus* writeth alſo, that *Carpocrates*, the Father of another Hereſie termed *the Gnoſtick Hereſie*, was Cotemporary with theſe. Theſe *Gnoſticks* thought that thoſe magical Deluſions of *Simon*'s were not to be expoſed covertly as he did, but publickly and openly; boaſting of amorous Potions accurately and curiouſly made by them, and of certain Spirits that were cauſes of Dreams, and (*d*) Familiars, and of certain other ſuch-like Deluſions, as if theſe were the greateſt and only excellent things. And agreeable hereunto they taught, that thoſe who would arrive to perfection in their *Myſteries*, or rather deteſtable *Wickedneſſes*, muſt act all things that were moſt filthy and unclean; being no other ways able to avoid the Rulers of the World (as they call them) unleſs they diſtributed to all of them their dues by moſt filthy and deteſtable acts of obſcenity. The Devil therefore who delights in miſchief, making uſe of theſe Inſtruments, it came to paſs that he both miſerably enſlaved ſuch as were ſeduc'd by them, and ſo led them into deſtruction; and alſo gave thoſe Nations that were unbelievers a great occaſion of abundantly ſlandring the Divine Doctrine; a report ariſing from them being diffuſed to the reproachful detraction of the whole Chriſtian Religion. Upon this account therefore chiefly it happened that an impious and moſt abſurd ſuſpicion concerniug us was ſpread abroad amongſt thoſe who then

Adrian.

(*a*) *Euſebius* ſays not upon what Goſpel *Baſilides* wrote theſe Books, perhaps *Baſilides* made theſe Books upon his own Goſpel; for he wrote one, and ſet his own name to it, and called it [*the Goſpel according to Baſilides*] as *Origen* atteſts in his 1 Homil. on *Luke*; and *Jerom* in his Preface to St. *Matthew*. Theſe Books were called *Baſilides*'s *Exegeticks*. *Clemens* (Lib. 4. Stromat.) quotes ſome places out of the 23d of theſe Books. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Or, *Barcabas*: Upon theſe Prophets, *Barcabbas* and *Barcoph*, *Iſodore* the Son of *Baſilides* wrote ſome Books of *Expoſitions*, as *Clemens Alexandr.* ſhews, B. 6. *Stromat.* Valeſ.

(*c*) *Euſebius* ſpeaks here of thoſe Prophets whom *Baſilides* feigned for himſelf. Our Author is right in his ſaying that *Baſilides*'s Hereſie ſprang up in *Adrian*'s Reign. For then the Hereticks began to creep out of their holes: They thought (the *Apoſtles* being all dead) that they had then an opportune time to divulge their Errors. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) So they were called, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to be aſſiſtant to Men; and kept them from Diſeaſes, and unfortunate Accidents. Magicians had ſuch Spirits as theſe at their command, by whoſe help they did miraculous things. *Valeſ.*

* Book 3. chap. 26.

Adrian. then were Unbelievers; as if we used detestable carnal Copulation with Mothers and Sisters, and fed upon nefarious Meats. But these Crafts of the Devil's did not long succeed with him; the Truth asserted and confirmed itself, and in process of time shone forth most clearly and apparently. For these Devices of the Adversaries, being repelled by their own force, forthwith became extinct; Heresies of a different sort newly design'd and cut out, and succeeding one after the other, the former forthwith melted and fell away, and being dissolved into kinds that were of divers sorts and fashions, were, some one way, some another, destroy'd. But the brightness of the Catholick and only True Church, being always the same, and so continuing stedfast and like itself, was greatly increased and augmented; the Gravity, the Sincerity, the Ingenious Freedom, the Modesty, and Purity of an Holy Conversation and Philosophical Course of Life, shooting forth a splendor over all Nations both *Grecians* and *Barbarians*. That reproachful Detraction therefore wherewith our Religion had been overspread, was instantly suppress'd. Wherefore our Doctrine continued to be the only, and the (*e*) prevailing Opinion among all Men, and was confess'd to be most eminently flourishing upon account of its Gravity, its Prudent Modesty, and its Divine and Wise Precepts; in so much that no one hitherto hath been so audacious, as to charge our Faith with any foul Slander, or any such reproachful Detraction, as those our old Adversaries were formerly ready and willing to make use of. But moreover, in these times the Truth again produced many that were its Defenders, who engaged these impious Heresies, not only with unwritten Arguments, but also with penn'd Demonstrations.

(*e*) Κρατοῦσα is the term in the original, hence the *Christian* Religion was by the Heathens call'd κρατοῦσα δόξα, i. e. the *prevailing opinion*; and the Christians were termed κρατοῦντες by *Porphyrius*, in his Book *da Oraculor. Philosoph.* which place *Eusebius* quotes, in his 9th B. *Præparat. Evangel.* cap. 10. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

What Ecclesiastical Writers there were in those Times.

(*a*) In my opinion *Hegesippus* is not rightly placed in the times of *Adrian*; neither do his words, here quoted by *Eusebius*, evince so much. It's certain, *Hegesippus* wrote his Books when *Eleutherus* was Bishop of *Rome*, as he himself attests in the 22 chap. of this Book. He was contemporary therefore with *Irenæus*, who then composed his Elaborate Books against the Heresies. Indeed our *Eusebius*, retracting as it were his former opinion, does, in the 21, and 22 chap. of this Book, place *Hegesippus* in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*. Val.

A Mongst which flourish'd (*a*) *Hegesippus*, out of whom we have quoted many words in our foregoing Books, when we delivered some Passages of those things done in the Apostles Times from his relation thereof. He therefore having in five Books set forth the certain relation of the Apostolick Doctrine in a most plain Series, evidently shews the time wherein he flourished; writing thus concerning those who at first set up Images ——— *For whom they made Monuments and Temples, as until now they do. Of which number is* Antinous *the Servant of* Cæsar Adrianus, *in honour of whom there is a Sacred* (*b*) *Game instituted, called* Antinoium, *which is celebrated now in our days. For* Adrian *also built a City, and named it* Antinous, *and instituted* (*c*) *Prophets.* At the same time also *Justin*, a sincere lover of the true Philosophy, as yet spent his time about, and was studious in, the Writings of the *Gentile* Philosophers: He in like manner declares this very time, in his Apology to *Antoninus*, writing thus: *We judge it not absurd here to mention* Antinous *also who lived very lately; whom all men through fear have undertaken to worship as a God, notwithstanding they evidently know who he was, and from whence he had his Original.* The same Author, mentioning also the War then waged against the *Jews*, adds thus much; *For in the* (*d*) *late Jewish War*, Barchochebas, *who was the Head of the Jewish Rebellion, gave command that the Christians only should be most cruelly tormented, unless they would deny Jesus Christ, and blaspheme.* But moreover, declaring in the same Book, his own Conversion from the *Gentile* Philosophy to the Worship of the True God, that it was not done by him rashly and unadvisedly, but with judgment and consideration, he writes thus: 'I also my-'self, being much addicted to, and affected with 'the *Platonick* Philosophy, hearing the Christi-'ans calumniated, and seeing them undaunted at 'Death, and at whatever else is accounted ter-'rible, thought it impossible that such Men 'should live wickedly and be given to Voluptu-'ousness. For, what sensual or intemperate per-'son, and one who accounts Human Flesh good 'food, could willingly embrace death, which 'would deprive him of his desires? and would not 'rather use his utmost endeavour to live continu-'ally in this life, and conceal himself from the 'Magistrates? much less would he voluntarily 'offer himself to be put to death." Moreover, the same Author relates, that *Adrian* (having received Letters from that most Eminent Governour (*e*) *Serenius Granianus* concerning the Christians, setting forth how unjust it was they should be slain uncondemn'd, meerly to gratifie the clamours of the People, when no accusation appear'd against them) wrote an Answer to (*f*) *Minutius Fundanus* Proconsul of *Asia*, wherein he commanded that no one should be put to death without a judiciary Prosecution, and an Accusation lawful and allowable. And *Justin* there produceth the Copy of the Rescript in *Latin*, the Language wherein it was originally written. But before it he premiseth these words: '(*g*) And altho' from 'the Letter of the most Excellent and Renowned 'Cæsar *Adrianus* your Father, we might request 'you would give command, that the judiciary 'Proceedings against us be made according as we 'desire; yet we crave this, not so much because 'it was commanded by *Adrian*, but, in regard 'we know and understand our Petition to be just: 'And moreover, that you may perceive what we 'say herein to be true, we have inserted the Co-'py of *Adrian*'s Letter;" which is thus. To these words *Justin* hath annexed the *Latin* Copy of the Letter; which we, as well as we could, have done into *Greek*, after this manner.

(*b*) Which was celebrated every fifth year, at *Mantinea* in *Arcadia*, says *Pausanias*, *in Arcad.* Vales.

(*c*) Amongst the *Egyptians*, the Chief Priest, who was over the other Priests, and distributed to them the Revenue of the Temple, was called a *Prophet*. For the first Officer of the Temple was the *Cantor*, then the *Horoscopus*, after him the *Scriba*, then the *Vestitor*; last of all the *Propheta* took his place, who carried a Water-pot in his bosom. See *Epiphan.* in 3 B. adverss. Hæres. &c. Concerning these Prophets of *Antinous* instituted by *Adrian* there is mention made in *an old Greek Inscription*, quoted by *Casaubon* in his Notes on *Spartianus*. Wherefore it's no wonder that *Antinous*, deified by *Adrian*, had his Prophets, seeing he was worshipped chiefly by the *Egyptians*. Vales.

(*d*) Ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ, &c. i. e. *in the Jewish war which was not long since.* For the *Greek* word [νῦν] is sometimes us'd in such a sense, as to signifie [*nuper*] i. e. *lately*. In which sense *Justin* uses it, when he speaks of *Antinous* in this chap. *Vales.*

(*e*) Or, *Serennius*; he was Proconsul of *Asia*, and Predecessor to *Minutius Fundanus* in that Government. *Vales.*

(*f*) It may be deservedly questioned, why *Adrian* answer'd not *Granianus*, from whom he received these Letters, but wrote to *Minutius Fundanus* his Successor: The reason, as I suppose, might be this; either *Granianus* died soon after he wrote to *Adrian*; or else he left that Government; For the Proconsuls were annual. *Vales.*

(*g*) *Justin*, in his 2d Apology, as 'tis now commonly written, p. 99. *Val.*

CHAP. IX.

The Rescript of Adrian, *that we Christians should not be unjustly prosecuted.*

'TO *Minutius Fundanus*. I received a Let-'ter, written to me, from that eminent 'Person *Serennius Granianus*, your Predeces-

Adrian. ‘ſor. Indeed, this buſineſs, as I judge, is not ‘to be paſs'd by undiſcuſs'd; leſt both the Chri‘ſtians be moleſted, and alſo an occaſion of do‘ing miſchief given to Sycophants. Wherefore, ‘if the Men of your Province can by a due way ‘of complaint openly charge the Chriſtians with ‘any accuſation, and ſo do it, as that they ap‘pear and anſwer it before the Seat of Judica‘ture; let them make it their buſineſs only to ‘take ſuch a courſe as this *againſt them*; but let ‘them not uſe (*a*) tumultuous outcries and cla‘mours. For 'tis moſt requiſite, if any perſon pre‘fers a complaint, that you ſhould have the cog‘nizance of the matter. If therefore any one ‘does accuſe *them*, and make out that they do a‘ny thing contrary to the Laws, do you give ‘ſentence according to the nature of the offence. ‘But if it be certain, that any does frame an ac‘cuſation meerly out of a malicious detraction, ‘do you determine according to the heinouſneſs ‘of the crime, and take care that due puniſhment ‘be inflicted on him. And thus much concer‘ning the Reſcript of *Adrian*.

(*a*) He means the out-cries, which the People were wont to make in the Theatres, *The Chriſtians to the Lyons!* as *Tertullian* atteſts. Sometimes it ſo happened that the *Proconſuls* and Governours were forc'd to yield to theſe tumultuous Clamours, tho' unwilling to it of themſelves. Wherefore the Emperor *Adrian* admoniſheth *Fundanus* the Proconſul not to ſuffer himſelf to be induced by ſuch requeſts to the perſecution and ſlaughter of the Chriſtians. It was an old cuſtom in the *Roman Empire*, for the populace both in the City and in the Provinces, as oft as they met at the *publick Shews*, to ask of the Emperor, or Governour what they had a mind to, with loud outcries all at once. Inſtances hereof are frequent in the Writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

Who in the Reign of Antoninus *were Biſhops of the* Roman *and* Alexandrian *Sees.*

Antoninus Pius. BUT, *Adrian* having paid the dues of nature after he had reigned one and twenty years, *Antoninus*, ſirnamed *Pius*, ſucceeded in the *Roman* Empire. In whoſe firſt year *Teleſphorus* departing this life in the eleventh year of his Preſidency, *Hyginus* aſſumed the Epiſcopal Government of the *Roman* Church. Moreover, *Irenæus* relates that *Teleſphorus* ended his life with a glorious Martyrdom; manifeſting in the ſame place, that in the times of the foreſaid *Hyginus* Biſhop of the *Romans*, flouriſh'd at *Rome* both *Valentinus* the Introducer of his own Hereſie, and alſo *Cerdo* the Founder of the Error of the *Marcionites*; his words are theſe.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning thoſe who were Arch-Hereticks in thoſe Times.

‘FOR *Valentinus* came to *Rome* when *Hyginus* ‘was Biſhop there: but he flouriſh'd in the ‘Times of *Pius*, and continued to thoſe of *Ani‘cetus*. *Cerdo* alſo, who was Maſter to *Marcion*, ‘flouriſh'd in the Times of *Hyginus*, who was the ‘(*a*) ninth Biſhop; he went into the Church, and ‘openly confeſſing his error, ſo continued at ‘*Rome*; ſometimes teaching privately, other ‘while again acknowledging his error; but be‘ing now and then reprehended for his impious ‘Doctrine, he (*b*) withdrew himſelf from the Aſ‘ſembly of the Brethren. Thus far *Irenæus*, in his *Third Book againſt Hereſies*. Moreover, in *his Firſt Book* he again ſays this concerning *Cerdo*: ‘But ‘one *Cerdo*, deriving the original of his Errors ‘from the Tenets of *Simon*, came to *Rome* in the ‘times of *Hyginus* (who was the ninth that in the ‘Epiſcopal Succeſſion from the Apoſtles had that ‘See) and taught, that that God, who was ‘preach'd under the Law, and by the Prophets, ‘is not the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: for ‘the one is known, the other unknown; the one ‘is juſt, the other good. *Marcion* of *Pontus*, an ‘impudent Blaſphemer, ſucceeding him, did ‘mightily propagate that Opinion.” But the ſame *Irenæus*, having ſounded the bottom of that immenſe depth of matter, full of various errors, which *Valentinus had put together*, does fully diſcover the ſecret and occult Deceit and Wickedneſs, that like a Serpent lurking in its hole, lies hid within him. Moreover, he ſays, there was at the ſame time another perſon (by name *Mark*) who was moſt expert at Magical Deluſions; and further he declares their prophane Rites of Initiation, and their moſt deteſtable Myſteries in theſe very words: ‘For ſome of them prepare a ‘Nuptial-Bed, and perform a ſecret Ceremony ‘by pronouncing ſome words over ſuch as are to ‘be initiated; and a Marriage, they ſay, thus ‘made by them, is ſpiritual, and conformable to ‘the Celeſtial Nuptials: But others of them bring ‘[thoſe that are to be initiated] to the Water, and ‘dipping them, uſe this form of words, In the ‘name of the unknown Father of all, In the ‘Truth the Mother of all, In Him who deſcen‘ded upon Jeſus. Another ſort of them pronounce ‘*Hebrew* names, to put thoſe that are to be initia‘ted into the greater Conſternation.” But *Hyginus* dying, (*c*) after he had been Biſhop four years, *Pius* undertook the Government of the *Roman* Church. Moreover, at *Alexandria Mark* was choſen Paſtor, *Eumenes* having ſat there thirteen years compleat. Which *Mark* dying after he had preſided there ten years, *Celadion* aſſumed the Government of the *Alexandrian* Church: And at *Rome*, *Pius* departing this life in the fifteenth year of his Preſidency, *Anicetus* was preferred to that See. In whoſe time *Hegeſippus* relates that he himſelf came to *Rome*, and continued there until *Eleutherus* was made Biſhop. But at that time flouriſh'd *Juſtin*, and was ſingularly eminent, one that in a Philoſophical habit was an Aſſertor of the Divine Word, and earneſtly contended for the Faith in his Writings: Who, in the (*d*) Book he wrote againſt *Marcion*, mentions the Man to be alive at that time when he compiled that Work. His words are theſe: ‘And one *Marcion* ‘of *Pontus*, who now at this ‘time teacheth his Followers, and inſtructs them ‘[to believe] there is another God greater than ‘him that made the World. This Man alſo, aſ‘ſiſted by Devils, hath perſwaded many through‘out the World to ſpeak Blaſphemy, to deny the ‘Maker of the Univerſe (*e*) to be the Father of ‘Chriſt, and to affirm there is another greater

Antoninus Pius.

(*a*) These Words of *Irenæus* are extant in his 3 B. chap. 4. where *the old Tranſlator* ſeems to have read *the eighth*: Which reading is moſt agreeable to *Irenæus*, as appears from the 3 Chapt. of the ſame Book; where he reckoning up the *Roman* Biſhops, counts *Hyginus* the 8th from the Apoſtles. But in the 1 B. of *Irenæus* chap. 28. it's written [*the 9th*] ſo alſo in *Epiphan.* in Hæreſ. *Cerdon.* and in the Epiſtle of *Cyprian* to *Pompeius*. Valeſ.

(*b*) *Irenæus* does not ſay he was excommunicated; but that he ſeparated himſelf from the Church; whence it appears, that *Cerdo* condemned himſelf, in his own judgment, and ſo prevented the ſentence of the *Church*. *Val.*

(*c*) *Ruſinus* ſeems to have read it otherwiſe; for he tranſlates it thus; *Quarto autem Epiſcopatûs ſui anno cùm deceſſiſſet Hyginus*, &c. i.e. *Hyginus, dying in the fourth year of his being Biſhop*, &c. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *Our Euſebius* forgot himſelf here, in that he ſays, that theſe following Words of *Juſtin*'s were taken out of his Book againſt *Marcion*: They are taken out of *Juſtin's ſecond Apology*, pag. 70. Edit. *Pariſ.* Valeſ.

(*e*) The words [*to be the Father of Chriſt*] are wanting in the common Editions of *Juſtin*; and they ſeem to be ſuperfluous. *Marcion* aſſerted, there were two Gods, the one the Creator, by whom this World was made; the other ſuperior to him, who framed the better and more excellent things: This God, he ſaid, we ought to confeſs, and to deny the other. This is the meaning of *Juſtin*'s Words; to whom agrees *Epiphan.* in Hæreſ. *Marcion. Marcion* held, that that moſt High God was the Father of Chriſt; and that Chriſt came down from Heaven to reprehend the other God *the Maker of this World*, whom he called the God of the *Jews*. Valeſ.

‘than

Antoninus Pius.

'than he that made it: And all their Followers, 'as we said, are called Christians, after the same 'manner as the name of Philosophers, derived 'from Philosophy, is in common given to all 'that profess it, though they differ as to their 'Sects and Opinions." To this he adds further, saying, 'We have compiled a Book against all 'the Heresies that ever were, which, if you be 'willing to read it, we will deliver to you." The same *Justin*, having wrote many elaborate Works against the Heathens, dedicated also some other Books, containing an Apology for our Faith, to the Emperor *Antoninus*, sirnamed *Pius*, and to the *Roman* Senate; for he dwelt at *Rome*: But in his Apology, he makes known himself, who and whence he was, in these words.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Justin's *Apology to* Antoninus.

'TO the Emperor *Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Cæsar Augustus*, and to *Verissimus* his Son the Philosopher, and to *Lucius* (by (*a*) Nature Son of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, but by Adoption Son to *Pius*) the lover of Learning: To the Sacred *Senate* also, and *People of Rome*, I *Justin* the Son of *Priscus*, the Grandchild of *Bacchius*, who were of (*b*) *Flavia Neapolis* a City of *Syria-Palestine*, make my Request and (*c*) Petition in behalf of those Men (being my self one of them) who are unjustly hated and most injuriously treated by all Mankind." And the same Emperor being address'd to by other Brethren, Inhabitants of *Asia*, who were vexed with all manner of Molestations by the Men of their own Province, vouchsafed to send this Edict to the (*d*) Common-Council of *Asia*.

(*a*) *Lucius* was by Nature the Son of *Ælius Verus Cæsar* whom *Adrian* adopted. He dying, *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, upon this condition, that *Pius* should adopt *Marcus* and *Lucius*; as *Spartianus* and *Capitolinus* do declare. But others say, that *Lucius* was adopted by *Marcus*; so *Capitolinus* in the life of *Marcus*. Wherefore in these words of *Justin*, can be no other Person meant by *Cæsar* the *Philosopher*, than *Ælius Verus*, whom *Adrian* adopted. For *Justin* says, that *Lucius* was by nature the Son of *Cæsar* the *Philosopher*, and the adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*. Now, it's evident, *Lucius* was *Ælius Verus*'s own Son: Therefore by *Cæsar* the *Philosopher* must be meant *Ælius Verus*. But there are two things which seem to withstand this Exposition of this Passage. The first is, the surname of *Philosopher* is no way agreeable to *Ælius Verus*. Indeed, *Ælius Verus* (who was adopted by *Adrian*) was a learned Man, and studious, especially in Poetry, as *Capitolinus* says in his Life: But his Morals were in no wise agreeable to the study and profession of Philosophy. Then further, if *Justin* would here mean *Ælius Verus*, why does he not mention his name? For the Appellation of *Cæsar* the *Philosopher*, seems not sufficient to evidence him to be meant; in as much as that Appellation might be common to *Marcus* also. We could easily clear our selves of these difficulties, by admitting the reading of the four MSS. *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil*, where this place is thus written [*And to Lucius the Philosopher, by nature the Son of Cæsar*] which reading *Casaubon* approves of, in his Notes on *Spartianus*. But we judge it not to be good. For it follows in *Justin* [the lover of Learning] where you see *Marcus* and *Lucius* have each their Epithetes: *Marcus* is termed [*the Philosopher*] and *Lucius* [*the lover of Learning.*] Vales.

(*b*) *Neapolis*, a City of *Palestine*, is called *Flavia*, because there was a Colony brought thither by *Flavius Vespasianus*. Before, it was called *Sichem*. Yet *Pliny* does not say there was a Colony there. Afterwards, the Emperor *Severus* deprived it of its priviledges, and reduced it to a Village, because it favoured *Niger*'s side. *Vales.*

(*c*) In the Original 'tis [ἔν]δοξον] *Rufinus* translates it [*postulatum*, i. e. a *Petition*] The Greek Word [ἐντυγχάνειν] signifies, *to go to the Emperor, and make a request to him*; which was most commonly done in Writing: There is extant a form of such a Petition (presented by *Marcellinus* the *Presbyter* to *Theodosius Augustus*) which *Syrmondus* published lately: It begins thus; *Deprecamur mansuetudinem vestram*; i. e. *We earnestly intreat your Graciousness*, &c. *Vales.*

(*d*) See Note B. in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XIII.

The Rescript of Antoninus *to the Common Council of* Asia, *concerning our Religion.*

Antoninus Pius.

'THE Emperor *Cæsar* (*a*) *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus*, Tribune of the People XV. Consul III. to 'the (*b*) Common [Council] of *Asia*, *sendeth* Greeting. We know indeed 'that the Gods do take care 'this sort of men should 'not continue undiscover'd. 'For it is much more suitable for them to punish such 'as refuse to pay them adoration, than for you. You 'confirm those, whom you 'molest and disquiet, in 'their Opinion which they 'have embraced, whilst you 'accuse them of Impiety. 'And it would please them much more to seem to be 'accused and put to death 'for their own God, than to live: upon which account 'they are become Conquerors, and do willingly lose 'their lives, rather than they 'will be induced to do what 'you command them. But 'concerning the *Earthquakes* 'which either have been or 'yet do happen, it will not 'be inconvenient to advertise you (because you despond and are out of heart 'when such accidents come to pass) to compare (*c*) your [*manner of Life and Behaviour*] with theirs. They [*at such times*] put a greater confidence in God; but you, during the whole time (upon which account you seem to us to err through ignorance) neglect the Gods, and are careless both of all other [*religious performances*,] and also of the worship of the Immortal God: And the Christians, who adore him, you are enraged at, and persecute even to death. Concerning these Men many Governors of Provinces heretofore wrote to (*d*) our most Divine Father. To whom he return'd answer, 'that such Men should not 'be molested, unless it appeared they attempted any 'thing prejudicial to the 'State of the *Roman* Empire: And many also have 'given us intimation concerning these Men, whom we answered pursuant to our Father's decree. If therefore any 'one shall still persevere to give disturbance to 'any one of these sort of Men, because he is a 'Christian, the Party accused shall be acquitted, 'although it evidently appears he is a Christian; 'but the accuser shall be obnoxious to punishment. *This Edict* was (*e*) published at *Ephesus* in the

(*a*) *Eusebius* is mistaken in attributing this Rescript to *Antoninus Pius*, whenas it was *M. Aurelius*'s (as appears by the Title) written in the first year of his Reign, when he was Consul III. See *Onuphrii Fast. ad ann. Vrb.* 914. The testimony of *Melito* (which *Eusebius* produces to confirm his opinion in this point) destroys it. For *Melito*, in his Apology, reckons up all the Rescripts of *Antoninus Pius* in favour of the Christians; *to wit*, his Epistle to the *Larisseans*, to the *Thessalonians*, to the *Athenians*, and to all the *Grecians*: Now if this Rescript to the Common Council of *Asia* had been *Antoninus Pius*'s, doubtless *Melito* (being of the Province of *Asia*) would not have omitted it. For he could not be ignorant of it, since it was publish'd at *Ephesus*: And, when he had reckoned up the other Rescripts of *Pius*, why should he not make mention of this, which was written to the people of his own Province? *Vales.*

(*b*) Συνέδριον, i. e. *Council*, is to be understood. For the *Asians* had a Common Council of the whole Province, to which each City sent its Representatives; as *Aristides* declares, in the 4. of his *Orat. Sacr.* And the same Author says there, that this Council met in the *upper Phrygia*, that is, at *Apamea*, or *Synnada*. Yet as it seems, they met in other Cities. There were, in the other *Roman* Provinces, such Councils as these. *Vales.*

(*c*) It should be ὑμέτερα, i. e. *Your*: as it is in *Justin*'s Apology, at the end. *Vales.*

(*d*) Although this Rescript be not *Antoninus Pius*'s; yet it's here produced in an opportune place. For in it is mention made of that Epistle which *Antoninus Pius* wrote to the Governors of Provinces, when they enquired of him what they should do with the Christians. *Melito* makes mention of this Epistle of *Pius*'s; whose words *Eusebius* quotes in chap. 26. of this 4 Book. *Vales.*

(*e*) To some Laws in the *Codex Theodosian.* there is put [*P. P.*] which mark signifies that that Law of the Emperor was made Publick in *such a* City. For the Emperors, as oft as they would have any Edict be taken notice of and known to all, were wont to write with their own hand this word [*Proponatur*, i. e. *Let it be publish'd.*] Vales.

Antoninus Pius.

(*f*) publick Aſſembly of *Aſia*. That theſe things were thus done, *Melito* Biſhop of the Church at *Sardis* (who flouriſh'd in the ſame times) does evidently atteſt, by what he has ſaid in his moſt uſeful Apology, which he made to the Emperor *Verus*, for our Religion.

(*f*) That is, in the room or place where the Council met. It may alſo be taken for the Temple which the Province of *Aſia* built in honour of *Rome* and *Auguſtus*. There is extant an old Coin of *Claudius Auguſtus* whereon there is a Temple to be ſeen with this Title [R. & AUG.] and this Inſcription [COM. ASIÆ.] on both ſides of the Temple. This Temple, I ſuppoſe, was at *Epheſus*, wherein all the Cities of *Aſia* met to ſolemnize their Religious Rites for the proſperity of the Emperor and the *Roman* People: And this Temple was for the uſe of all *Aſia* in common, being built at the publick charge. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

Some Memoirs of Polycarp *the Diſciple of the Apoſtles.*

AT this time, *Anicetus* preſiding over the *Roman* Church, *Irenæus* relates that *Polycarp* (who till now ſurvived) came to *Rome* and diſcourſed *Anicetus* about a Queſtion that aroſe concerning *Eaſter-Day*. And the ſame Author delivers another Relation concerning *Polycarp*, (in *his Third Book againſt Hereſies*) which I judg'd requiſite to adjoyn to what has been mention'd concerning him; it is thus: 'And *Polycarp*, who was 'not only inſtructed by the Apoſtles and con-'verſant with many that ſaw Chriſt, but alſo 'was by the Apoſtles ordained Biſhop of the 'Church of *Smyrna* in *Aſia* (whom we alſo ſaw 'in our younger days; for he lived to a great 'age, and being very ancient, ended his life by 'a glorious and moſt renowned Martyrdom) '*This Polycarp, I ſay*, continually taught what he 'he had learned of the Apoſtles, ſuch Points as 'the Church now teacheth, and ſuch only as are 'true: All the Churches throughout *Aſia* do atteſt 'this, and alſo all thoſe who to this day have been 'Succeſſors to *Polycarp*; who doubtleſs is a Wit-'neſs much more worthy to be credited, and 'gives a firmer aſſurance to the Truth, than ei-'ther *Valentinus* or *Marcion*, or any other Au-'thors of corrupt Opinions. This *Polycarp* com-'ing to *Rome* in the Times of *Anicetus*, converted 'many of the foreſaid Hereticks to the Church 'of God, declaring that he had received the one 'and only Truth from the Apoſtles, which was 'taught by the Church. And there are ſome 'yet ſurviving, who heard him relate, that *John* 'the Diſciple of the Lord going into the Bath 'at *Epheſus* to waſh himſelf; and ſeeing *Cerinthus* 'in it, leapt out, having not bathed himſelf, but 'ſaid, let us make haſte away, leſt the Bath fall, '*Cerinthus* that Enemy of the Truth being with-'in it. This ſame *Polycarp* alſo, when *Marcion* 'on a time came into his preſence and ſaid to him, '(*a*) Take acquaintance of us; return'd him 'anſwer, I take notice of thee to be the firſt be-'gotten of the Devil. So exceedingly cautious 'were the Apoſtles and their Diſciples, not ſo 'much as by ſpeech to have any converſe with 'ſuch as were corrupters of the Truth; as *Paul* 'alſo ſaid, * *A Man that is an Heretick, after the 'firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject: knowing that he 'that is ſuch is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being con-'demned of himſelf.* There is extant alſo of this '*Polycarp*'s a moſt incomparable Epiſtle, written 'to the *Philippians*; from which thoſe who are 'deſirous to be careful about their own Salvati-'on, may learn the Character of his Faith, and 'the Publication of the Truth." Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Polycarp*, in his ſaid Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, which is ſtill extant, quotes ſome Authorities out of the Firſt Epiſtle of *Peter*. Moreover *Antoninus*, ſirnamed *Pius*, having compleated the two and twentieth year of his Reign, *died*, and was ſucceeded by *M. Aurelius Verus* (who alſo was named *Antoninus*, and was his Son) and his Brother *Lucius*.

Antoninus Pius.

(*a*) In the Original the term is [ἐπιγίνωσκε] which in this place is the ſame almoſt in ſignification with the word [*Salutare*, i. e. *to Salute.*] For therefore would *Marcion* have had himſelf taken notice of, that he might be ſaluted. So, anciently in the Church, when the Faithful approach the Holy Table, the *Deacon* was wont to cry aloud often [ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους, i. e. *acknowledge one another*] *to wit*, leſt any prophane Perſon or *Jew* ſhould come to the Sacrament. *Valeſ.* St. *Paul* uſes this term (1 *Cor.* 16. 18.) where our Tranſlation renders it [*acknowledge.*] * Tit. 3. 10, 11.

CHAP. XV.

How, in the Reign of Verus, Polycarp, *together with others, ſuffered Martyrdom in the City of* Smyrna.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

AT this time, when moſt ſore Perſecutions were ſtirr'd up in *Aſia*, *Polycarp* ended his Life by Martyrdom: [The Account of] whoſe Death (as it is yet extant in writing) we judg'd moſt requiſite to be inſerted into this our Hiſtory. It is an Epiſtle, written from the Church over which he preſided, to the Churches throughout (*a*) *Pontus*, which ſets forth the Sufferings of *Polycarp* in theſe words: 'The Church of God 'which is at *Smyrna*, to the Church at *Philome-'lium*, and to all the Congregations of Holy Ca-'tholick Church everywhere, the Mercy, Peace, 'and Love of God the Fa-'ther, and of our Lord Je-'ſus Chriſt be multiplied: 'We have written unto you, 'Brethren, both concer-'ning others who ſuffered 'Martyrdom, and alſo a-'bout the Bleſſed *Polycarp*; 'who by his own Martyr-'dom ſealed up, as it were, 'and put an end to the Per-'ſecution." (*b*) After theſe words, before their Relation concerning *Polycarp*, they give an account of the other Martyrs; deſcribing their Conſtancy of Mind during their Torments: 'For thoſe, 'they ſay, who ſtood round 'were aſtoniſh'd, when they 'ſaw them firſt lacerated 'with Scourges even as deep as their inmoſt Veins 'and Arteries; (inſomuch that the hidden parts 'of their Bodies, and their Bowels were viſible;) 'then laid upon the Shells of a ſort of Sea-fiſh, 'and on ſome very ſharp Heads of Darts and Ja-'velins ſtrew'd on the Ground, and undergoing 'all ſorts of Puniſhments and Torments; and 'in fine, thrown to the Wild Beaſts to be devour'd." But moſt eſpecially they relate, that *Germanicus* was moſt ſignally couragious, who being (*c*) corroborated by Divine Grace, overcame that fear of bodily Death implanted by Nature on the Mind of Man. For when the Proconſul, deſirous by perſwaſion to prevail upon him, propoſed to

(*a*) Inſtead of [κατὰ πόν]τον, i.e. *throughout Pontus*, the reading, as I judge, ſhould be [κατὰ πάντα τόπον, i. e. *Every-where*: Which is confirmed by the Inſcription of the Epiſtle, which is thus, κατὰ πάντα τόπον, &c. i. e. *every-where*, &c. Neither is there any mention of the Churches of *Pontus* in the title of this Epiſtle. For *Philomelium* is not a City of *Pontus*, but of *Lycaonia*, as *Pliny* ſays, or (as others) of *Piſidia*. For ſo in the Acts of the *Council* of *Chalcedon*, one *Paul*, a *Philomelian*, is named among the Biſhops of *Piſidia*. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* Edit. it is [κατὰ πόντον,] i. e. *throughout Pontus*.

(*b*) This whole Epiſtle, concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, is put out by the Learned Biſhop *Uſher*. Our *Euſebius* does not inſert the whole Epiſtle; the Learned Reader may ſee it entire in that Edit. of Biſhop *Uſher*.

(*c*) In Biſhop *Uſhers* Edit. of this *Epiſtle* this place is different from what 'tis here. The Words there are theſe, [ὁ γὰρ γενναιότατος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρώννυεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς; i. e. *For the moſt courageous Germanicus ſtrengthened the imbecillity of others by his great patience in undergoing the Tortures.*

him

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

him his youthfulness, and earnestly entreated him that, being young and in the prime of his years, he would have some compassion on himself: He made no delay, but readily and couragiously enticed the Wild Beast to devour himself, and almost forced and stimulated it, that he might the sooner be dismist out of this unrighteous and wicked life. Immediately upon his glorious death, the whole Multitude, greatly admiring the Couragiousness of the Divine Martyr, and the Fortitude of all the other Christians, on a sudden began to cry out, *Destroy the Impious: Let* Polycarp *be sought after.* Moreover, there following a great tumult upon these clamours, a Man, by name *Quintus*, by extract a *Phrygian*, lately come out thence, seeing the Wild Beast, and the other tortures they threatned to make use of, was daunted and dispirited, and at length gave way to a desire of saving his life. The Contents of the foresaid Epistle do manifest, that this *Quintus* (together with some others) ran with too much rashness, and without any religious consideration, to the place of Judicature; but being forthwith apprehended, he gave all Men a signal example, that none should be so audacious, as to precipitate themselves into such Dangers without a considerate and pious Circumspection. But thus far concerning these Men. Now the most admirable *Polycarp*, when he first heard these things, was not at all disturb'd, but continued to keep himself in a stedfast, serene, and unmoved temper of mind; and resolv'd with himself to continue in the City. But his Friends and those who were about him, beseeching and entreating him, that he would withdraw himself, he was prevailed with, and went out of the City to a Country-house not far distant therefrom; where he abode with a small company, spending the time day and night (being intent upon nothing else) in continued Prayers to the Lord; wherein he craved and made humble supplications and requests for the Peace of all the Churches throughout the World: For that was his constant and continual usage. Moreover, three days before his apprehension, being at prayer in the night-time, and falling into a sleep, he thought he saw the Pillow, whereon his Head lay, on a sudden consumed by a flame of fire. Whereupon being awaked out of his sleep, he forthwith expounded the Vision to those who were then present, and having little less than predicted what was in future to be, he expresly declared to those that were about him, that he should be burnt to death for [the testimony of] Christ. Further, when those that sought for him used their utmost care and diligence to find him out, he was again constrained through the love and affection of the Brethren to remove, as they say, to another Country-house: Whither his Pursuers soon after came, and catch'd up two Boys that were there; by the one of which, after they had scourged him, they were conducted to the House where *Polycarp* lodg'd; and coming in the Evening, they found him reposing himself in an upper Room: Whence he might easily have removed into another House, but he would not, saying, *The Will of the Lord be done.* Moreover, when he understood they were come, as that Epistle relates, he went down, and with a very cheerful and most mild *countenance* talk'd with the Men: insomuch that they (to whom *Polycarp* was before unknown) thought they saw a *wonder*, when they beheld his exceeding great Age, and his venerable and grave (*d*) Behaviour: and they admired so much diligence should be used to apprehend such an old Man. But he, making no delay, presently order'd the Table to be spread for them; then he invites them to a sumptuous Feast, and requested of them one hours space, which he might without disturbance spend in prayer: When they permitted him that, he arose and pray'd, being so full of the Grace of the Lord, that those who were present and heard him pray were struck with admiration, and many of them alter'd their minds, and were now very sorry that so Venerable and Divine an old Man was forthwith to be put to death. Afterwards, the foresaid Epistle contains word for word this subsequent relation concerning him; 'But after he 'had ended his Prayer (wherein he made 'mention of all Persons who at any time had 'been (*e*) conversant with 'him, both small and great, 'noble and obscure; and 'also of the whole Catho-'lick Church throughout 'the World) the hour of his 'departure being now come, 'they set him upon an Ass, 'and brought him to the 'City on the day of the '(*f*) great Sabbath: *Herod* 'the (*g*) *Eirenarch* and his 'Father *Nicetes* met him; 'who taking him up into 'their Chariot, as they sat 'together, endeavoured to 'perswade him, and said, '*For what harm is it to say 'these words, Lord Cæsar, and 'to sacrifice, and so to evade 'punishment?* He at first made 'them no answer; but they 'continuing to be impor-'tunate with him, he said, 'I will never do what you 'endeavour to induce me to. 'They, despairing of per-'swading him, gave him 'opprobrious *language*, and 'thrust him out of their 'Chariot so hastily, that in 'his going down he very 'much bruised the fore-part 'of his Leg. But he, no more 'concern'd than if he had 'suffer'd no harm, went on 'cheerfully and made haste, 'being brought by [a 'Guard] to the † *Stadium*: 'but (there being so great a 'noise made in the *Stadium* 'that few could perfectly 'hear) this voice came from 'Heaven to *Polycarp* as he 'entred the *Stadium*, *Be coura-'gious*, Polycarp, *and behave 'thy self valiantly.* No person 'indeed saw him that spoke, 'but many of us Christians 'heard the voice. When 'therefore he was brought 'before the Tribunal, a 'great shout was made, be-'cause the Multitude heard *Polycarp* was appre-'hended. After that, when he was come near 'him, the (*k*) Proconsul ask'd him whether

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*d*) Or, *countenance*; for in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [προσώπῳ] But in the King's MS. it is [τρόπῳ; i. e. *behaviour*, or, *carriage*;] as we translate it. *Vales.*

(*e*) In the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. in stead of [συμβεβηκότων, i. e. *which happened*, &c.] the reading is [συνδεδηκότων, i. e. *which had been conversant*] and so *Rufinus* read this place, as appears from his Version: And the old Translator of this Epistle, put forth by Bishop *Usher*, is found to have read it so likewise. *Vales.* In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [συμβεβηκότων αὐτῷ, i. e. *which had happened to him.*

(*f*) So it was called whenever the first day of the feast of unleavened Bread fell on the Sabbath-day. See Jo. 19. 31. & 7. 37. For that which among the *Jews* is חג *a feast*, קראי מקרא, *the day of solemn assembly* in any Feast, (and such were the first day, and the last of the feast of Tabernacles; the first and seventh of the feast of unleavened Bread, and the day of *Pentecost*) is by the *Jews*, writing in Greek, called μεγάλη ἡμέρα, *a great day.* So the 72 render it, Isa. 1. 13. where we read *calling of assemblies.* See *Scalig. proleg.* de *Emend. Temp.* p. 6, & 7. Bishop *Usher* (in his Tract *De anno Macedon.* chap. 3.) says, that the *great Sabbath*, mentioned here, was that which immediately preceded *Easter*; the Learned Reader may see the Author and his Reasons.

(*g*) It was the Office of this Magistrate to apprehend seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace, and, having before sent their Indictments, to bring them to the places of Judicature: So says *August.* in his 140, and 159 Epist. Hence 'tis here said, that *Herod*, the *Irenarch* of *Smyrna*, took up *Polycarp* into his Chariot, whom he had commanded to be found out and apprehended by his guards. These *Irenarchs* were made of some of the Members of the Court of Judicature, as the 49th Law in the *Codex Theodos.* does shew. At last *Theodosius* Junior wholly abolished that Office in the East: His Constitution is extant in the *Codex Theodos.* They had under their Command Horse-men, and the *Diogmitæ*, [i. e. *pursuers*] a sort of Soldiers, that were lightly armed, and so more expedite to pursue and take such as were Thieves. *Vales.*

† That was the place where their sacred Games and Shews were exhibited.

(*h*) This *Proconsul's* name was *Statius Quadratus*; for so 'tis truly Printed in the old Latin translation of this Epistle, which the most learned Arch B. *Usher* published. This Man, as I judge, was the same Person with *L. Statius Quadratus*, who was Consul in the reign of *Antoninus*, *anno urb. condit.* 895. *Aristides* makes

makes mention of this *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, in the firſt and fourth of his *Sacred Orations:* Where he alſo calls him a *Rhetorician*. I doubt not therefore but he was the ſame Man with *Quadratus* the Conſul, who, as *Philoſtratus* ſays, was the maſter of *Varus Sophiſta*, who was wont to declaim *extempore* upon any ſubject given; and was a great Emulator of *Favorinus Sophiſta*. In what year he bore the Office of Proconſul of *Aſia*, *Ariſtides* indeed ſays not. But that, as it ſeems to me, may be made out from his Relation. For, in the 4 of his *Orat. Sacr.* *Ariſtides* ſays, that a little after that Plague which raged in *Aſia*, *Severus* was *Proconſul*. *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places that Plague on the 8 year of M. *Aurelius Antoninus*. Therefore *Severus* was *Proconſul* of *Aſia* in the 9 of M. *Aurelius*. When he was *Proconſul*, *Ariſtides* writes, that he received Letters out of *Italy* from the Emperors; *to wit*, from the ſenior *Auguſtus* and his Son; where by the name of *Auguſtus* he underſtands *Marcus*; and the Son of the Emperor is *Commodus*, who was then called *Cæſar*. Next before *Severus*, *Pollio* was Proconſul, as *Ariſtides* atteſts in the ſame place; and immediately before *Pollio*, our *Quadratus* was the *Proconſul* of *Aſia:* For ſo ſays *Ariſtides* in the ſame Oration. So that *Quadratus* was *Proconſul* of *Aſia* in the 7 of *Marcus*'s Empire. On which year alſo *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*. They are in an Error therefore, who ſay the Martyrdom of *Polycarp* happened on the ninth of *Marcus*. For, whereas 'tis manifeſt from the atteſtation of *Ariſtides*, that *Quadratus* (under whom *Polycarp* ſuffered) bore the *Proconſulate* of *Aſia* in the ſeventh year of *Marcus*, the death of *Polycarp* is neceſſarily to be placed on the ſame year. *Valeſ.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'he were *Polycarp*; and when he had confeſſed 'he was, the Proconſul endeavour'd to perſwade 'him to renounce [Chriſt] ſaying, *Have a reverent regard to thine Age* (and ſome other words a-'greeable hereto, which 'tis uſual for them to 'ſpeak) *ſwear by the Fortune of* Cæſar, *change thy 'mind, ſay, deſtroy the Impious:* But *Polycarp*, be-'holding with a grave and ſevere countenance 'the Multitude that was in the *Stadium*, ſtretch'd 'forth his Hand towards them, and ſigh'd, and 'looking up towards Heaven, ſaid, deſtroy the 'Impious. When the Governour was urgent with 'him, and ſaid, *Swear and I will releaſe thee, ſpeak 'reproachfully of Chriſt*; *Polycarp* made anſwer, *I 'have ſerved him theſe eighty and ſix years; during 'all which time he never did me injury; how then can I 'blaſpheme my King, who is my Saviour?* But when 'the Proconſul was again inſtant with him, and 'ſaid, *Swear by the Fortune of* Cæſar: *Polycarp* ſaid, '*Becauſe you are ſo vain-glorious as to be urgent with 'me to ſwear by the Fortune of* Cæſar, *(as you call it) 'pretending your ſelf ignorant who I am; hear me 'plainly and freely making this Profeſſion; I am a Chri-'ſtian: now if you are deſirous to learn the Doctrine of 'Chriſtianity, aſſign me a Day, and you ſhall hear it.* 'The Proconſul ſaid, perſwade the People: I 'have thought good (anſwer'd *Polycarp*) to give 'you an account; for we are taught to attribute 'due honour (ſuch as is not prejudicial to our 'Profeſſion) to Magiſtrates and Powers which 'are ordain'd of God; but I judge them unwor-'thy of having an account given them of our 'Faith. The Proconſul ſaid, I have Wild Beaſts, 'to whom I will caſt thee, unleſs you alter your 'mind. Command them to be brought forth '(ſaid *Polycarp*) for our minds are not to be alter'd 'from better to worſe; but we account that 'change good, which is from Vice to Virtuous 'Actions. He ſaid again to him, ſince you con-'temn the Wild Beaſts, I will give order that you 'be conſumed by Fire, unleſs you change your 'mind. You threaten me (replied *Polycarp*) with 'Fire that burns for an hour, and ſoon after be-'comes extinct; but you are ignorant of that 'Fire of the future Judgment and eternal Puniſh-'ment, which is reſerv'd for the Impious; but 'why do you make delays? order (*i*) which 'you will to be made uſe of upon me. When 'he had ſpoken theſe and many other words, he 'was filled with confidence and joy, and his 'Countenance was repleniſhed with a comely 'gracefulneſs: inſomuch that he was not only 'not overwhelmed with terror at what was ſaid 'to him, but, on the contrary, the Proconſul 'ſtood aſtoniſhed; and ſent the Cryer to make 'Proclamation thrice in the midſt of the *Stadium*, '*Polycarp* profeſſeth himſelf to be a Chriſtian: 'At which words utter'd by the Cryer, the whole 'Multitude both of *Heathens* and *Jews* who were 'Inhabitants of *Smyrna*, in a moſt furious rage 'and with a great noiſe cried out, This is the 'Teacher of *Aſia*, The Father of the Chriſtians, 'The Deſtroyer of our Gods, who gives com-'mand to many Men not to ſacrifice, nor adore 'the Gods. Having ſaid theſe words they cried 'out and requeſted *Philip* the (*k*) *Aſiarch* to let 'forth a Lion upon *Polycarp*. But he made an-'ſwer, that that was not lawful for him to do, 'becauſe the *Amphitheatrical Shews*, or the hun-'ting of the Wild Beaſts were concluded. Then 'they all cried out with a joynt conſent, that *Po-'lycarp* ſhould be burnt alive. For it was neceſ-'ſary that the Viſion which appeared to him upon 'his Pillow ſhould be fulfilled; when, being at 'Prayer, he ſaw that burning, he turn'd to the 'Brethren that were with him, and ſaid prophe-'tically, I muſt be burnt alive. Theſe things 'therefore were with no leſs celerity done than 'they had been ſpoken; the Multitude immedi-'ately brought together Wood and dried Branches 'of Trees out of their Shops, and from the Baths; 'but the *Jews* eſpecially moſt readily (as it was 'their uſage) aſſiſted in this buſineſs. Now when 'the Pile of Wood for the Fire was made ready, '*Polycarp*, having uncloathed himſelf, and un-'looſed his Girdle, endeavoured alſo to put off 'his own Shoes; a thing which before he never 'did, becauſe every one of the Faithful continu-'ally ſtrove who ſhould ſooneſt touch his Skin: 'For he was always reverenced for his godly 'courſe of life, even before he came to be gray-'headed, preſently therefore all the (*l*) Inſtru-

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*k*) These *Aſiarchs* were the Prieſts of the Community (or whole Body of Inhabitants) of the Province of *Aſia*: For as the People of *Aſia* had Temples built by common charge, ſacred Games, ſacred Feaſts in common, and a Common-Council; ſo alſo they had a Prieſthood called *Aſiarchia*, that is, the common Prieſthood of *Aſia*; and thoſe who executed this ſacerdotal Office (which conſiſted in the managing their publick Sports or Spectacles) were termed *Aſiarchs*. Theſe *Aſiarchs* were elected after this manner: Each City of *Aſia*, at the beginning of every year (that is, about the *Autumnal Equinox*) had a publick meeting, wherein they appointed one of their own Citizens to be an *Aſiarch*; then they ſent Deputies to the Common-Council of the Province, who declared to them his name whom they had made choice of at home: After which the Common-Council choſe about ten to be *Aſiarchs*, out of the number of all thoſe, whom each City had elected to that Office. See *Ariſtides*, in *Orat. Sacr.* 4ta. Now the difficulty is, whether all theſe, who were elected by the Common-Council, executed this Office all together, or whether only one of them was *Aſiarch*; *Valeſius* thinks there was but one *Aſiarch*; his reaſons are theſe: Though more than one were elected by the Senate of *Aſia*, yet that perhaps was done that out of them the *Roman Proconſul* might chooſe one, as he uſually did in the Election of the *Irenarchs:* Again, the Senate might elect more than one, becauſe if the firſt that was choſen *Aſiarch* ſhould die, before he had ended his year, there might be another to ſupply his place: Laſtly, that there was but one *Aſiarch* every year, is apparent from the Words at the latter end of this Epiſtle (which *Euſebius* leaves out in his quotation, but the Learned Reader may ſee them in Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*'s Edit. of it) where 'tis ſaid, *Polycarp* ſuffer'd under *Philip* the *Aſiarch*, and *Statius Quadratus* Proconſul of *Aſia*. This is the opinion of *Valeſius*, and theſe are his Reaſons for it. On the other ſide, the incomparably learned *Uſher* affirms, that there were more *Aſiarchs* than one at the ſame time; which he collects from *Acts* 19. 31. with whom agrees the learned Dr. *Hammond* in his Paraphraſe and Notes on that Text, and alſo Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, pag. 49. of his Works, Edit. *Lond.* 1665. This Office (ſays *Valeſius*) was very chargeable, therefore the richeſt Perſons were elected to it. Hence 'tis that *Strabo* affirms, that the *Aſiarchs* were commonly choſen out of *Trallis*, the Citizens whereof were the wealthieſt of all *Aſia*.

(*i*) *To wit*, either the Fire, or the wild Beaſts.

For the reading in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. is [φέρε ἃ βέλει] in the plural number; and ſo we tranſlate it. *Valeſ.*

(*l*) That is, the ſtake, (to which ſuch as were to be burnt were bound) the Nails, the Ropes, and the *Tunica moleſta* (mentioned by *Juvenal*) which was *a Coat, daubed all over with Pitch and Brimſtone, and put upon the Perſon who was to be burnt.* Valeſ.

'ments

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'ments prepared for the fiery Pile were applied to, 'and put about him; but when they went about 'to nail him to the Stake, he said, *Let me be as I 'am; for he that gives me strength to endure the Fire, 'will also grant that I shall continue within the Pile 'unmoved and undisturbed by reason of my pain, even 'without your securing me with Nails:* So they did 'not make him fast to the Stake with Nails, but 'only bound him to it. He therefore, having 'put his Hands behind him, and being bound, '(as it were a select Ram, pick'd out of a great 'Flock, to be offer'd as an acceptable *Holocaust* 'to Almighty God) said; *Thou Father of thy well-'beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ; through whom 'we have received the knowledge of thee! Thou God of 'Angels and Powers, and of the whole Creation, and of 'all the Generation of the Just who live in thy pre-'sence! I bless thee because thou hast vouchsafed to bring 'me to this Day and this Hour, wherein I may take 'my portion among the number of the Martyrs, and of 'the Cup of Christ, in order to the Resurrection both 'of Soul and Body to Eternal Life, in the Incorruption 'of the Holy Spirit; among whom let me (I beseech 'thee) be this day accepted in thy sight, as it were a 'Sacrifice fat and well-pleasing to thee, according as 'thou hast prepared, foreshewed, and fulfilled, thou 'God of Truth who canst not Lye: Wherefore also I 'praise thee for all these things; I bless thee, I glorifie 'thee, through the Eternal High-Priest Jesus Christ 'thy Well-beloved Son, through whom to Thee, together 'with him, in the Holy Ghost be glory both now and 'for ever, Amen.* (*m*) When 'with a loud voice he had 'said *Amen*, and made an 'end of praying, the Of-'ficers who had the charge 'about the Fire, kindled it; 'and when there arose a 'great flame, we (who 'were permitted to see it 'and who are hitherto pre-'served alive to relate to 'others what then hapned) saw a wonderful 'sight. For the Fire, composing it self into the 'form of an Arch or Half-circle (like the Sail of 'a Ship swell'd with the Wind) immured within 'a holly space the Body of the Martyr; which, 'being in the middle of it, look'd not like burnt 'Flesh, but like Gold, or Silver refined in a 'Furnace; and forthwith we smelt a most fra-'grant Scent, as if it had been the smell of Fran-'kincense, or of some other of the precious 'sweet-scented Spices. In fine therefore, when 'those impious Wretches saw the Body could 'not be consumed by the Fire, they commanded 'the (*n*) *Confector* to ap-'proach it, and sheath his 'Sword in it; which when 'he had done, there issued 'forth so great a quantity 'of Blood, that it extin-'guish'd the Fire; and the 'whole Multitude admired, 'in that there was so great a difference shew'd 'between the Infidels and the Elect: Of which 'number this most admirable person was one, 'who was the Apostolical and Prophetical Do-'ctor of our Age, and Bishop of the Catholick 'Church at *Smyrna*. For every word which pro-'ceeded out of his mouth, either hath been, or 'shall be fulfilled. But the envious and malevolent 'Devil, that deadly Enemy to the Generation of 'the Just, understanding the couragiousness of his 'Martyrdom, and his unblameable Conversation 'even from his youth, and [perceiving] that he 'was now encircled in a Crown of Immortality, 'and had most undoubtedly obtained the glori-'ous Reward of his Victory; *the Devil, I say,* used 'his utmost diligence that his Body should not be 'born away by us Christians, altho' many of us 'were desirous to do it, and 'to have (*o*) been conversant 'with his sacred dead Body. 'Some therefore suggested 'to *Nicetas* the Father of '*Herod*, but the Brother of '(*p*) *Dalcis*; to address to the 'Governour, that he would 'not give us his Body; lest '(as they said) they leave 'him that was crucified, and 'begin to worship this Per-'son: And this they spoke 'upon account of the Sug-'gestion and Importunity 'of the *Jews*, who very di-'ligently watch'd us when 'we were about to take his 'Body out of the Fire: but 'they were ignorant, that 'we could never at any 'time relinquish Christ '(who suffer'd for the salva-'tion of all those through-'out the World who were 'to be saved) nor yet wor-'ship any other. For we adore him as being the 'Son of God; but we have a worthy affection for 'the Martyrs (as being the Disciples and Fol-'lowers of the Lord) because of their most excee-'ding great love shown to their own King and 'Master; whose (*q*) *Com-'panions* and *Fellow-Disciples* 'we wish our selves to be. 'The *Centurion* therefore 'perceiving the contentious 'obstinacy of the *Jews*, 'caused the Body to be brought forth, and (as 'tis 'customary with them) burnt it; and so we at 'length gather'd up his Bones, more highly to be 'prized than the most precious Gems, and more 'refined than the purest Gold, and deposited them 'in a decent place of burial: whereat being as-'sembled together, the Lord grant we may with 'joy and gladness celebrate 'the (*r*) Birth-day of his 'Martyrdom, both in me-'mory of those who have 'heretofore undergone and 'been victorious in this glo-'rious conflict, and also for 'the instruction and preparation of such as here-'after shall be exercised therein. Thus much con-'cerning the Blessed *Polycarp*, who together with '(*s*) twelve *Philadelphians* was crown'd with Mar-'tyrdom at *Smyrna*: who alone is so eminently 'famous and memorable amongst all Men, that 'even the Heathens every-where do make men-'tion of him. (*t*) Such was the glorious Exit of

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*m*) From this passage I conjecture, that *Polycarp* said this foregoing Prayer of his with a low voice; but pronounced *Amen* aloud. That this of old was the custom of the Christians (that is, loudly to resound the *Amen* at the end of the Prayer) the rite now observed in the Church does demonstrate, *to wit*, that after each Prayer repeated by the Priest, all the People do with a loud voice answer, *Amen*. Vales.

(*n*) This Officer's charge was (not to fight with the wild Beasts, as the *Bestiarii* did, but) to dispatch them, if at any time they were enraged, and like to endanger the Spectators, as sometimes it happened. They were also called *Lancearii*. Vales.

(*o*) The Phrase in the Original is this [χοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ σώματι] χοινωνῦσιν (says *Hesychius*) οἱ μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις, καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀλλήλων φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως, i. e. *They are said to communicate, who distribute to one another, and they that partake and receive from one another, whether friendship, or knowledge.* Whence it appears that the word [χοινωνῆσαι] is applicable to *friendship* or *society*; which the Primitive Christians expres'd to the Martyrs, &c. departed, when, meeting yearly at the place where their Sacred Reliques were interred, they celebrated the Anniversary Day of their Martyrdom: Thus they maintained a friendship or society (as it were) with the departed Martyr. The following Words of this Epistle do declare the resolution of the Church of *Smyrna* about the Celebration of the Day of *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom, after this manner, and also the reason of that their so doing.

(*p*) Or, *Alce*, for so it is in Bishop *Usher*'s Edit. *Vales.*

(*q*) In the learned *Usher*'s Edit. 'tis [χοινωνούς] that is, *Companions*; from the verb [χοινωνέω] us'd here in the same sense, as we said (*note o.*) it is sometimes taken to signifie.

(*r*) Ἡμέραν γενέθλιον is the original phrase: So the primitive Christians called the days whereon the Martyrs suffered, because at their deaths they were born Sons (as it were) and Heirs of the Kingdom of Glory.

(*s*) This passage is otherwise (and truer) in B. *Usher*'s Edit. thus [*who together with those of Philadelphia* was the twelfth that suffered Martyrdom in *Smyrna.*] So that those Martyrs of *Philadelphia* were not twelve in number, but eleven only; and *Polycarp* was the twelfth. *Vales.*

(*t*) *Eusebius* purposely omitted the conclusion of this Letter, as being unserviceable to his present design; and because he had inserted the entire Epistle into another Work of his, *to wit*, into his Book *concerning the Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs:* The Learned Reader may see this whole Letter (as before we intimated) put forth by Arch B. *Usher*, from the conclusion whereof he may observe, (1.) that this Epistle was not written immediately after *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom, but that there was some distance of time between that and the Writing thereof: For the *Philomelians*,

Philomelians, hearing a report of the ſuffering of *Polycarp*, ſent Letters to the Church of *Smyrna*, deſiring an account of all Particulars that happened at the ſuffering of this B. Martyr: Which thoſe of *Smyrna* willingly undertook, and wrote them this Letter, moſt part whereof *Euſebius* quotes in this Chapter. (2.) That *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom is there called Evangelical; and the reaſon is given, *to wit*, becauſe *Polycarp* fled from thoſe who purſued him, (agreeable to the example of our Saviour.) Laſtly, 'tis obſervable therefrom, that *Polycarp* was Martyr'd the ſecond day of the month *Xanthicus*, that is, the 7th of the *Calend.* of *March.* Valeſ. But Arch B. *Uſher* diſſents (in this particular, that is, concerning the day of *Polycarp*'s Martyrdom) from *Valeſius*, as the Learned Reader may ſee in his Notes on that Epiſt. and in his Tract *De Anno Solar. Maced. & Aſian.*

M. Aurelius and *L. Verus.*

the Admirable and Apoſtolick *Polycarp*, whoſe Story the Brethren of the Church in *Smyrna* have in the fore-cited Epiſtle recorded: And to the ſame Writing concerning him are annex'd other Martyrdoms undergone at the ſame City of *Smyrna*, and at the (*u*) ſame Period of Time wherein *Polycarp* ſuffer'd. Amongſt which number *Metrodorus*, ſuppoſed to be a Presbyter of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, was burnt to death. But the moſt famous and eminent Martyr of thoſe Times was one *Pionius*: whoſe particular Profeſſions, boldneſs and freeneſs in ſpeaking, Apologies and moſt learned Orations in defence of the Faith, made both before the People and in the preſence of the Governours; and moreover his affectionate Invitations and Encouragements to thoſe who in time of Perſecution fell into temptation, and the conſolatory Speeches he uſed to ſuch Brethren as made him Viſits during his Impriſonment; and further than all this, the Torments, and beſides them the exquiſite Tortures he endur'd, his being nailed to the Stake, and his Fortitude amidſt the fiery Pile, and laſtly his Death which was ſubſequent to all theſe miraculous Sufferings; whoſoever are deſirous *to know all theſe Particulars*, we remit them to the Epiſtle (which contains a moſt ample account concerning him) which we have inſerted into that Collecton we made of the Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs. Moreover, there are extant the Acts and Monuments of others who ſuffered Martyrdom at *Pergamus*, a City of *Aſia*, *to wit*, of *Carpus* and *Papulus*, and of a Woman named *Agathonica*, who after many and moſt eminent Confeſſions of our Faith, were made perfect by a glorious Death.

(*a*) *Euſebius* is here much miſtaken in that he thought, *Pionius*, *Metrodorus*, *Carpus*, and the reſt ſuffered in the Reign of M. *Antoninus*, at the ſame time when *Polycarp* was Martyr'd; for 'tis manifeſt from the Acts of *Pionius*, *Carpus*, and *Papulus*, that they were Martyr'd in the Reign of *Decius*. Valeſ. See *Uſher*, in his Book *De Anno Solar. Maced. & Aſian.* cap. 3.

CHAP. XVI.

How Juſtin *the Philoſopher, aſſerting the Chriſtian Religion at the City of* Rome, *ſuffered Martyrdom.*

AT the ſame time alſo *Juſtin*, of whom we made mention a little before, having preſented (*a*) a ſecond *Apology* to the aforeſaid Emperors in defence of our Faith, was crowned with Divine Martyrdom. *Creſcens* the Philoſopher (whoſe Life and Manners were anſwerable to the appellation of a *Cynick*; of which Philoſophical Sect he was a Follower) form'd and contriv'd the treacherous Plot againſt him; becauſe *Juſtin* confuted him often in ſeveral Diſputes had in the preſence of many Auditors, at length by his own Martyrdom he obtain'd the reward of that Truth he was an Aſſertor of. Thus much this moſt ſtudious Follower of the Truth (perceiving beforehand what was about to befal him) does, in his *foreſaid Apology*, expreſly predict in theſe ſame words; '(*b*) And I alſo my ſelf do expect to be 'treacherouſly betray'd by ſome one of thoſe cal-

(*a*) *Euſebius* mentions this ſecond Apology of *Juſtin*'s in the following chapter, and ſo does *Jerom* in his Work *De Script. Eccleſiaſt.* But in the vulgar Editions of *Juſtin*'s Works, his Apologies are prepoſterouſly placed: For that which in the Printed Copies is put in the ſecond place, ſhould be placed firſt; and that which in thoſe Editions is ſet firſt, and dedicated to the *Roman Senate*, ſhould be placed laſt; which we ſhall more fully manifeſt hereafter. *Valeſ.* (*b*) This paſſage of *Juſtin*'s is now extant in his firſt Apolog. p. 46. *Edit. Paris. Græco-Latin.* Valeſ.

'led [Philoſophers] and (*c*) put in the Stocks; *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus.*
'and perhaps by *Creſcens* that illiterate *Fellow*, and
'one who is a lover of vain-glorious boaſting:
'For the Man is unworthy the name of a Philoſo-
'pher, becauſe he declares
'in publick ſuch things as
'he is altogether ignorant
'of, and affirms the Chri-
'ſtians to be impious and
'irreligious Perſons, mere-
'ly to pleaſe and delight the
'Multitude; (*d*) commit-
'ting herein a great error:
'For, in that he inveighs a-
'gainſt us, having never
'read the Doctrine of *Chriſt*,
'he is abominably wicked,
'and much worſe than the
'vulgar ſort of Men, who
'moſt frequently are cauti-
'ous in their diſcourſes con-
'cerning thoſe things they
'are ignorant in, and avoid
'ſpeaking falſely thereof.
'But if he has read our Do-
'ctrine, and underſtands not
'the majeſtick Sublimity
'thereof; or if he under-
'ſtands it, and behaves him-
'ſelf thus becauſe he would not be ſuſpected [*to*
be a Chriſtian:] then he is far more baſe and wicked, in that he makes himſelf the Slave of popular Applauſe and irrational Fear: For I would
'have you to know that when I propoſed to, and
'ask'd him ſome ſuch queſtions as theſe, I perceived and was convinced he indeed underſtood
'nothing at all: And that you may know I ſpeak
'what is true, I am ready (if thoſe our Diſputations have not come to your knowledge) to
'propoſe the *Queries* again even in your preſence.
'And this Exerciſe will by no means be misbecoming your Imperial Majeſty. But if both my
'Queſtions, and alſo his Anſwers have been made
'known to you, then it will be apparently manifeſt to you that he is altogether ignorant of our
'Religion: But if he underſtands it, but dares
'not freely declare himſelf becauſe of his Auditors; he is no Philoſopher, (as I ſaid before,)
'but is manifeſtly evidenced to be an affecter of
'popular applauſe, and has no eſteem for that
'moſt excellent (*e*) ſaying
'of *Socrates* [*to wit*, *That no*
man is to be preferred before
the truth."] Thus far therefore *Juſtin*. And, that he was put to death (according to his own Prediction) by a treacherous Plot, of which *Creſcens* was the framer, *Tatianus* (a man who in the former part of his life had been a (*f*) Teacher of *Rhetorick*, was well-read in the *Grecian* Learning, and obtain'd no ſmall repute by his being converſant therein; who alſo has left in his Works many Monuments of his Ingenuity) does relate in the (*g*) Book he wrote

(*c*) The *Maz. Fuk.* and *Med.* MSS. interpoſe here the Prepoſition [ἐν, i. e. *in*] which we have followed in our Tranſlation. The term [ξύλῳ] we have rendred [*ſtocks*;] in which ſenſe this word is frequently uſed in *Euſebius*; for example, in the beginning of his 5 B. The learned *Petavius* (in his Notes on *Themiſtius*, Orat. 9.) remarks that the word [ξύλον] which there occurs, is the ſame in ſignification with [*nervus*, i. e. *a kind of ſtocks.*] For theſe ſort of fetters were made *of wood*. Valeſ. The ſame word is uſed *Acts* 16. 24. where our Tranſlators render it thus [*And made their feet faſt in the Stocks.*]

(*d*) In the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. the reading is [πεπλανημένως τοῦτο ποιεῖτων;] i. e. *Creſcens* did very ill, to defame the Chriſtians, (the points of whoſe Religion he was altogether ignorant of) meerly to win the applauſe of the Multitude. *Valeſ.* In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [ἀπεπλανημένων, &c. i. e.] *Creſcens* did this to pleaſe and delight the *erroneous multitude.*

(*e*) He means that incomparable ſaying of *Socrates*, that is in *Plato*'s Works: Which *Valeſius* thought good to inſert into his Tranſlation; (ſuppoſing it was left out by the negligence of the Tranſcribers of *Euſebius*;) and we alſo have expreſs'd it in our Verſion; but it is not in this original Edit. of *Euſebius*, nor in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. and is therefore Printed in a different Character.

(*f*) Σοφιστεύτης is the term in the original; which tho' it be ſometimes taken in that ſignification *Euſebius* here uſes it in; yet by other Writers (and particularly by *Tatianus* in his Book here quoted by *Euſebius*, about the end of it) it is uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, as to comprehend *all the Learning of the Grecians, and the liberal Sciences.* Valeſ.

(*g*) This Work of *Tatianus*'s is extant at the latter end of *Juſtin Martyr*'s Works, *Edit. Paris.* 1636. It is there call'd *Tatiani Aſſyrii contra Græcos oratio.* This paſſage here quoted by *Euſeb.* occurs p. 157, 158. where the Tranſlator renders theſe words [μεσταλη πόλει] *in Megalopolis*: But we, following *Valeſius*, have tranſlated it thus [*in the great City*, i. e. *Rome.*]

the

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

against the *Grecians* in these words: "And the most admirable *Justin* said truly, that the foresaid Persons were like Thieves." Then, interposing some words concerning these Philosophers, he adjoyns thus much; "Indeed *Crescens*, who had made his Nest in the great City [*Rome*,] was most notorious for the Sin of Buggering Boys, and above all Men most addicted to Covetousness; and he who exhorted all Men to despise Death, did so mightily dread it himself, that he made it his business to procure *Justin* to be put to death, (as judging that to be the worst of Evils) because he preach'd the Truth, and manifestly proved, that the Philosophers were Gluttons and Deceivers. And this indeed was the true cause of *Justin*'s Martyrdom.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning those Martyrs, whom Justin *makes mention of in* his Apology.

THE same *Justin*, before his own Martyrdom does in *his (a) first Apology* make mention of some others who suffer'd as Martyrs before him: Which words of his, because they are accommodate to our Subject, I will here recite: He writes thus; "A certain Woman had a Husband who led a lascivious and libidinous course of life; she herself also had formerly been addicted to lightness and dishoneſt behaviour; but after she had been acquainted with the Doctrine of Christ, she became modest and chaste, and made it her business to perswade her Husband to live in like manner continently and chastly; advertizing him of the Christian Precepts, and declaring to him the future punishment in eternal Flames prepared for such as lead an obscene and disorderly course of life. But he persevering in his wonted Lasciviousness, by such his doings, alienated his Wife's Affection from him. For the Woman at last judg'd it a wicked thing for her to co-habit with a Husband who wholly practised all manner of lustful courses, contrary to the Law of Nature, and disagreeable to Justice and Honesty; and therefore she resolved to be divorced from him. But the Woman was obedient to the Instructions of her Friends, who advised her to continue married a while longer, in expectation that her Husband would in future alter his mind, and ere long lead a more regular course of life; so she constrain'd her self and continued with him. But after this her Husband, having made a journey to *Alexandria*, was discover'd to have committed more notorious acts of lewdness: The Woman therefore (fearing, that by her continuing married to him, and by her being his Consort at bed and board, she should be partaker of his Wickednesses and Impieties) sent him that which we call a *Bill of Divorce*, and departed from him. But this excellent Fellow her Husband (who ought to have rejoyced, because his Wife (who formerly had committed lewdness with Servants and mercenary Fellows, and took delight in Drunkenness and all manner of Vice) did now both desist from those wicked doings, and also desired him to leave them off; which because he would not do she was divorc'd from him) drew up an Accusation against her, and said she was a Christian. And she presented a (*b*) Libel to thee, O Emperor; wherein she requested liberty might be allow'd her first to set in order her Domestick affairs; after which settlement she promised to put in an answer to her accusation. And you granted the Woman's petitions: but her (heretofore) *Husband*, being within that space (*c*) unable to say any thing against her, set upon one *Ptolemæus* (whom (*d*) *Urbicus* put to death) who had been the Woman's Instructor in the Christian Religion, after this manner: He perswaded a Centurion, who was his Friend, to apprehend *Ptolemæus*, and having put him in Bonds, to ask him this one question, Whether he were a Christian? And *Ptolemæus*, (being a lover of *Truth*, and no deceitful Person, nor Falsifier of his own Judgment) confessing that he was a Christian, the Centurion caused him to be bound in Fetters, and afflicted him with a long imprisonment. At length, when the Man was brought before *Urbicius*, he was again ask'd this one question, Whether he were a Christian? And he, assuredly knowing that he should obtain Glory and Happiness by the Doctrine of Christ, again made profession of that Divine and Virtuous Institution. For he that denies himself to be a Christian, declines the Confession of that Religion, either because he is a disallower as a denier of it, or in regard he knows himself to be unworthy of, and estranged from its Rules and Precepts; neither of which can happen to him that is a true Christian. When therefore *Urbicius* had given command that *Ptolemæus* should be led away to be put to death, one *Lucius*, (who also was a Christian,) considering the injustice of the Sen-

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*a*) It should be [*in his second Apology*, &c.] as the learned *Petavius* has conjectured (*in his Notes on Hæres.* 46. *Epiph.*) For *Eusebius* does not recount the Apologies of *Justin* in the same orderwhere-in they are now Printed. For that which in the ordinary Editions is termed the second, and is dedicated to *Antoninus Pius*, *Eusebius* calls the first, as appears from Chap. 12. Book 2. and from Chap. 12, and 18. Book 4. And that, which in the vulgar Editions is said to be his first Apology, and is dedicated to the Senate, *Eusebius* calls the second, (see Chap. 16. of this Book,) and says (Chap. 16 and 18 of this 4 Book,) it was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, after the death of *Pius*. As to the order of *Justin*'s Apologies I agree with *Eusebius*, and do grant that to be the latter which in the vulgar Editions, is inscribed to the Senate. But whereas *Eusebius* says, *Justin*'s former Apology was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; I cannot assent to him. For, in the beginning of that Apology *Justin* says, That the Woman (which was a Christian) being accused by her Husband, presented a Petition to the Emperor [*and she presented a Libel to thee, O Emperor:*] (See these Words in this Chapter.) Now if that Apology had been presented to the Successors of *Antoninus Pius*, as *Eusebius* thinks it was, doubtless *Justin* would have used the plural number, and said [*To you, O Emperors:*] For *Marcus* and *Verus* were both Emperors together. Again, *Justin* says, that one *Lucius*, seeing *Ptolemæus* a Christian led away to be put to death, used these Words to the Judge, [*These judiciary Proceedings are misbecoming both* Pius *the Emperor, and the Son of* Cæsar *the Philosopher*, &c.] (in Chap. 82. of this 4th Book, the reading is better, thus, [*and the Philosopher*] which is confirmed by our MSS.) Who therefore sees not, that *Antoninus Pius* is meant in these Words? For his surname [*Pius*] evidently shews so much; and [*the Philosopher the Son of the Emperor*] manifestly confirms this our Opinion. Lastly, *Urbicus* the Præfect (See Note *d.* in this Chap.) whom *Justin* there mentions, lived in the times of *Antoninus Pius*. For he was that *Lollius Urbicus*, who, being the Emperor's Deputy, appeased the Rebellion of the *Britains*, as *Capitolinus* relates in the Life of *Antoninus*. *Apuleius* (in the beginning of his Apology) affirms that this *Lollius Urbicus* was Præfect of the City in the Reign of *Pius*. These are the reasons by which I am induced to affirm, that the latter Apology of *Justin* was not presented to *M. Aurelius*, but to *Antoninus Pius*: Under which Emperor he suffer'd Martyrdom, and not under *Marcus Aurelius*, as *Eusebius* here places his Martyrdom: But, in his *Chronicon* (whom *Georg. Syncellus* also follows) he seems to place it in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; and so does *Mich. Glycas*, *in Annal.* Vales. Mr. *Tho. Lydiat*, in his *Emend. Temp.* says *Justin* suffered under this Emperor *Antoninus Pius*.

(*b*) That is, *a Petition* wherein the Woman requested of the Emperor, that the proceedings against her might be deferred, which delay was usually granted as well to the accused, as to the Accuser. See *Cod. Theod. Tit.* 36. *ut intra annum*, &c. *Vales.*

(*c*) *To wit*, which was prefix'd by the Emperor; who had granted the Woman's Petition, in regard it was reasonable and just. *Vales.*

(*d*) This *Urbicus* was Præfect of the City; whose sentence, pronounced against the two Christians *Ptolemæus* and *Lucius*, was the occasion of *Justin*'s writing this Apology. He was called Q. *Lollius Urbicus*, as an old Inscription at *Rome* attests. See *Apuleius, in defens. sua*: Yet, 'tis strange that in all our Copies he is written *Urbicius*. In *Justin* he is now and then rightly called *Urbicus, to wit*, in the beginning of his Apology, and a little after that. *Vales.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'tence that was pronounced, ſpake thus to *Urbicius*; what reaſon is there that thou ſhouldſt have condemn'd this Man, who is neither Adulterer, nor Fornicator, nor Murderer, nor Thief, nor Robber, and who is not in any wiſe convicted of any other wicked fact, but only owns and acknowledges the appellation of a Chriſtian? Such Judiciary Proceedings as theſe, O *Urbicius!* are misbecoming both *Pius* the Emperor, and the Son of *Cæſar* the Philoſopher, and alſo the Sacred Senate. But *Urbicius* made *Lucius* no other anſwer, only ſaid thus to him: You alſo ſeem to me to be ſuch an one, and when *Lucius* had ſaid that he was, *Urbicius* again gave command that he alſo ſhould be led away to be put to death. *Lucius* acknowledg'd himſelf much obliged to him; for I ſhall be deliver'd, ſaid he, from ſuch wicked Maſters, and go to a gracious God, who is my Father and King. And a third, ſtepping forth, was alſo condemn'd to undergo the ſame Puniſhment." After this, *Juſtin* does pertinently and agreeably introduce thoſe words (which we quoted before) ſaying, 'And I alſo my ſelf do expect to be treacherouſly betray'd by ſome one of thoſe called [Philoſophers,] and ſo forth.

CHAP. XVIII.

What Books of Juſtin's *are come to our hands.*

THIS perſon has left us many Monuments of his learn'd and moſt accompliſh'd (*a*) underſtanding, and alſo of his ſedulous diligence about Divine matters, full of variety of profit; to which we will remit ſuch as are lovers of learning, after we have uſefully remark'd ſuch of them as are come to our knowledge. The firſt therefore of his Books is his Supplication to *Antoninus* ſirnamed *Pius*, and his Sons, and to the *Roman* Senate, in behalf of our Religion; the ſecond contains another Apology for our Faith, which he preſented to *Verus* (who was Succeſſor to, and bore the ſame name with, the foreſaid Emperor *Antoninus*) whoſe times we are now giving an account of. There is alſo another Book of his *againſt the Gentiles*; wherein he treats at large, both of many Queſtions that are uſually diſputed both amongſt us and the *Gentile-Philoſophers*; and alſo declares his Opinion concerning the Nature of Spirits; which 'tis of no importance for us here to inſert. And further there is another Work of his againſt the *Gentiles* come to our hands, which he entitled, *A Confutation*: and beſides theſe another, *concerning the Monarchy of God*; which he confirms not only by the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, but alſo from the Teſtimonies of the Writers amongſt the *Gentiles*. Moreover, he wrote another Book, the Title whereof is *Pſaltes*: and another, containing (*b*) *ſome ſhort Notes concerning the Soul*; wherein he propoſes divers Queſtions pertinent to the Explication of that Subject, and produces the Opinions of the Philoſophers among the *Gentiles*, which he promiſeth to confute, and to ſet forth his own Opinion thereof in another Work of his. He alſo compoſed *a Dialogue againſt the* Jews, being a Conference which he had at the City of *Epheſus* with one *Trypho* the moſt famous perſon amongſt the *Jews* at that time. In which Book he manifeſts, after what manner Divine Grace incited him to embrace the Doctrine of the true Faith; and with what ſedulous earneſtneſs he before that ſet himſelf about the ſtudy of Philoſophy, alſo with how great an ardency of mind he was laborious in finding out the truth. Moreover, in the ſame Book he relates concerning the *Jews*, how that they formed treacherous Plots and Contrivances againſt the Doctrine of Chriſt; and uſeth theſe expreſs words to *Trypho*: 'So far were you from a Repentance 'of your impious Doings, that you choſe out 'ſome Men fit for ſuch a deſign, and at that time 'ſent them forth from *Jeruſalem* over the whole 'World, to publiſh this, that there was an impi'ous Sect called Chriſtians ſprung up; and to di'vulge the ſame reproaches, which all thoſe that 'are ignorant of our Religion do now faſten up'on us; ſo that, you are not only the Authors of 'your own Wickedneſs and Error, but alſo give 'the ſole occaſion thereof to all other Men." He ſays alſo, *in the ſame Work*, that the Gifts of Prophecy even in his time ſhone forth upon the Church. Moreover he has mentioned the *Revelation* of *John*, and ſays expreſly it was written by that Apoſtle. Alſo he recites ſeveral Teſtimonies of the Prophets, which in his Diſpute with *Trypho* he evinces were cut out of the Bible by the *Jews*. Several other Works alſo of his are extant among many of our Chriſtian Brethren. Further, the Books of this perſon were ſo highly eſteemed by the Ancients, that *Irenæus* quotes ſome Expreſſions of his; partly *in his fourth Book againſt Hereſies*, where he produces theſe words of his: *And* Juſtin *ſays well, in his Book againſt* Marcion, *I would not have credited the Lord himſelf, if he had preached any other God than him, who was the Maker of the World*; and partly, in *his fifth Book of the ſame* Work, where he quotes theſe words of his: *It was well ſpoken of* Juſtin, *to wit*, that *before the coming of our Lord, Satan never durſt blaſpheme God, becauſe till then he did not certainly* (*c*) *know his own Condemnation.* And let thus much be here neceſſarily ſaid by us, to incite ſuch as are lovers of Learning, to have an high eſteem for, and accurately to read over, his Books. Thus far concerning *Juſtin*.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*a*) Or, *mind*; as it is in the King's MS. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* Edit. 'tis [διανοίας, i. e. *underſtanding*.

(*b*) The term in the original is [χολικὸν] in *Nicephorus*, 'tis χόλιον. The ancient *Græcians* called [*Scholia*] *ſome ſhort Notes*; and diſtinguiſh'd them from *Exegeticks*: For *Exegeticks* were long and large Expoſitions, and explained the whole Work of a Writer: But *Scholia* were put to explain particular Words, or to expound one Sentence. Sometimes *Scholia* are called ſhort Expoſitions of more obſcure Words and Sentences. Such were *Cyrill's Scholia concerning the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God*, which are now extant, and are nothing elſe but ſome ſhort Explications of the more obſcure Queſtions concerning the *Incarnation*. And of this ſort was *Juſtin's* Book *of the Soul*; *to wit*, ſome Queſtions and Opinions, concerning the nature and origine of Souls; to which were added *Juſtin's* Expoſition and Demonſtration thereof. *Jerom* calls them *Excerpta*, which *Origen* termed χόλια. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Epiphanius* ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion. In his *Panarium* (lib. 1. Hereſ. 39. pag. 289. *Edit. Petav.*) he propoſeth to us, as a certain Truth, that the Devil, before the coming of Chriſt, ——ἐνόμιζε τετυχέναι τινὸς ἐλέους, *was in hopes of grace and pardon*; and that out of this perſwaſion of his, he never all that while ſhew'd himſelf refractory towards God; but that having underſtood by the manifeſtation of our Saviour, that there was left him no hopes of Salvation, he from thenceforth had grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much miſchief as poſſibly he could againſt Chriſt, and his Church. But this opinion (as the learned *Petavius* has obſerved in his Note on that paſſage) *Vulgò non probatur*, i. e. *is not generally approved of, as true.*

CHAP. XIX.

Who, in the Reign of Verus, *preſided over the Churches of* Rome *and* Alexandria.

NOW the foreſaid Emperor being in the eighth year of his Reign, *Anicetus*, having compleated the eleventh year of his Epiſcopal Dignity over the *Roman Church*, was ſucceeded by *Soter*. And moreover, *Celadion*, having preſided fourteen years over the Church at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* was his Succeſſor in that See.

CHAP.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

CHAP. XX.

Who then govern'd the Church of Antioch.

AT that time also *Theophilus*, the sixth from the Apostles, flourish'd *in his Presidency* over the Church at *Antioch*: For *Cornelius*, Successor to *Heros*, was the fourth that presided there; after whom *Eros*, in the fifth remove *from the Apostles*, succeeded in that Episcopal See.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers who flourish'd in that Age.

IN those times *Hegesippus* flourish'd in the *Church*, of whom we have made frequent mention in the foregoing Book; and *Dionysius* Bishop of the *Corinthians*; also one *Pinytus* Bishop of the *Cretians*. Moreover, *Philippus*, *Apollinaris*, and *Melito*; *Musanus* also, and *Modestus*, and lastly *Irenæus*. All which Persons wrote Books that are come to our hands, containing the sound Doctrine and true Faith, delivered by the Apostles.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Hegesippus, *and those he makes mention of.*

MOreover, *Hegesippus*, in his five Books of Historical Memorials, which are come to our hands, has left a most full and compleat account of his own Faith and Opinion. Wherein he declareth, that travelling as far as *Rome*, he discoursed with many Bishops, and from them all heard one and the same Doctrine. You may please to hear him (*a*) after some words of his concerning the Epistle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*) continuing his discourse thus: 'And the *Corinthian* 'Church continued in the true Faith until *Primus* came to be Bishop there; with whom I 'had some discourse in my Voyage to *Rome*, and 'was conversant with the *Corinthians* a sufficient 'time; wherein we received mutual refreshment 'from the true Faith. But arriving at *Rome*, I '(*b*) stay'd there till *Anicetus*'s time, whose Deacon *Eleutherius* then was: After *Anicetus* succeeded *Soter*, and next to him *Eleutherius*. Now in 'every Succession [of Bishops] and throughout 'each City the Doctrine is conformable to what 'the Law, the Prophets, and our Lord preach'd." And the same Author subjoyns an account of the Heresies which were broach'd in his Age, in these words: 'And after *James* the *Just* had suffer'd 'Martyrdom (as the Lord had also) for the Preaching of his Doctrine, *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas* (which [*Cleophas*] was Uncle by the Mother's side to our Saviour) was constituted Bishop in his room; whom all preferr'd to be 'second Bishop there, because he was the Lord's '(*c*) Cousin-German by the Mother's side. Upon 'which account that Church was stiled a Virgin; for it was not hitherto corrupted with vain Opinions. (*d*) *Thebuthis* (because he was not made a Bishop) was the first that began to vitiate it. This Man was (*e*) one of those that took his Rise from the Seven Sects, which were amongst the [*Jewish*] People: of which *Simon* was another, from whom the *Symonians*; and *Cleobius*, from whom the *Cleobians*; (*f*) and *Dositheus*, from whom the *Dositheans*; and *Gortheus*, from whom the (*g*) *Gortheans*; and *Masbotheus*, from whom the *Masbotheans*, had their Denomination: From these also came the *Menandrians*, and the *Marcionists*, and the *Carpocratians*, and the *Valentinians*, and the *Basilidians*, and the *Saturnilians*; each of which Men in particular was an Introducer of his own Opinion. From these came the False Christs, the False Prophets, and the False Apostles; who rent asunder the Unity of the Church by their corrupt Opinions brought in against God, and his Christ." Moreover, the same Writer gives an account of the Heresies which were heretofore amongst the *Jews*, in these words: 'There 'were divers Sects and Opinions in the Circumcision among the Children of *Israel*, which were 'opposite both to the (*h*) Tribe of *Judah*, and also to Christ; *to wit*, the (*i*) *Essæans*, the (*k*) *Galileans*, the *Hemerobaptists*, the (*l*) *Masbotheans*, 'the *Samarites*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Pharisees*." And he writes many other things, of which we have partly made mention before, and inserted his Relations in their proper and opportune places and times. Also, he produces several Passages out of *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, out of the *Syriac* [Gospel,] and particularly out of the *Hebrew* Tongue; whereby he plainly intimates himself to have been converted from being a *Jew* to the Faith of Christ. He makes mention also of other things as contain'd in the unwritten

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*a*) Instead of [μεγάλα τινά·] as it is in the King's MS. and in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it should be [ὑπ' τινὰ, i. e. *after some words*; as we translate it. *Vales.*

(*b*) Sir *H. Savil*, at the Margin of his MS. made it [διατεῖσην ἐποιπαίμην] that is, *I staied there*. In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. 'tis [διαδεχήν.] Whether *the Learned Knight* corrected this passage from his own conjecture, or by the authority of some MS. Copy, is to me uncertain: However this Emendation is very necessary. Further, *Eusebius* quotes this passage of *Hegesippus*'s in chap. 11. of this Book; between which place and this here there seems to be some disagreement. For *Eusebius* writes there, that *Hegesippus* came to *Rome* in the times of *Anicetus*, and staid there till *Eleutherius* was promoted to that See. But *Hegesippus* himself does not not say so here, only, that he staied at *Rome* until *Anicetus* was Bishop there. Therefore *Hegesippus* came thither about the latter end of *Pius*'s Reign. *Vales.*

(*c*) See Note (*a*) on Chap. 11. Book 3.

(*d*) In the King's, the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. his name is ϑεβουθις, i. e. *Thebuthis*. In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. he is called ϑεβουλις, i. e. *Thebulis*. *Rufinus*, in his Version, calls him *Theobutes*, and *Thobutes*. Vales.

(*e*) That is, he was one that gathered up his Errors from the false Opinions of those seven Sects amongst the *Jews*; as did also *Simon*, *Cleobius*, *Dositheus*, &c. Vales.

(*f*) Some think that this *Dositheus* was much ancienter than these times he is here mentioned to have lived in: *Drusius* (in *Respons. ad Minerval Seraii*, cap. 10.) asserts he lived in the times of *Sennacherib* King of *Assyria*; and *Jerom* is of that opinion, as appears by what he says in *Dialog. Advers. Luciferian.* But *Scaliger*, (*in Elencho trihæres.*) and *Origen* (Book 1. against *Celsus*) affirm he lived since our Saviour's incarnation, and was co-temporary with *Simon Magus*. See *Photii Bibliotheca*, cap. 230. *Vales.*

(*g*) Or, *Goratheans*: For so these Hereticks are named in the King's, *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and Sir *Hen. Savil*'s MSS. *Vales.*

(*h*) By this passage *Hegesippus* seems to have thought the Tribe of *Judah* clear of all Sects and Heresies; so that none of that tribe were followers of the *Essens*, *Sadduces*, and *Pharisees*, &c. But this is very improbable. *Hegesippus* said it only in favour of that Tribe, from whence Christ sprang. *Vales.*

(*i*) These were the seven Sects amongst the *Jews*; of which *Hegesippus* makes frequent mention, as may be seen from some quotations out of him, which occur in the foregoing Books. *Justin* (in *disputat. advers. Triphon.*) mentions them, but calls them by other names, *to wit*, *Sadduces*, *Genists*, *Merists*, *Galilæans*, *Hellenians*, *Pharisees*, and *Baptists*. *Epiphanius* terms them, *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, *Sadduces*, *Essens*, *Nazareans*, *Hemerobaptists*, and *Herodians*. Vales.

(*k*) *Judas Galilæus* was the original Author of this Sect, (says *Josephus*, Antiq. B. 18. chap. 2.) who having joyned *Saddock*, a Pharisee, to him, sollicited the People to defection, telling them, that God was to be their only Prince and Master, and no Mortal to be acknowledged as such; that the requiring a Tax from them, if it were by them paid, was a manifest profession of servitude, and that 'twas their duty to vindicate their Liberty; by which means he raised a great Sedition among the *Jews*, and was the cause (under pretence of defending the publick liberty) of innumerable mischiefs to the Nations. See *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 18. chap. 2.

(*l*) They are called also *Marboneans* and *Morboncans*; they must be distinguished from those whom *Hegesippus* mentions a little before; for these here were one of the seven Sects amongst the *Jews*; but those were propagated from the seven Sects; as were also the *Simonians*, *Dositheans*, &c. *Vales.*

written Traditions of the *Jews*. Now, not only he, but alſo *Irenæus*, and all the Ancients, do call the *Proverbs of* Solomon, *the Book of Wiſdom that (m) contains the Precepts of all Virtue*: and, treating of thoſe Books which are termed *The Apocrypha*, he relates that ſome of them were forg'd by certain Hereticks in his times. But we muſt now proceed to another Writer.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(m) Indeed *Jerom* gives this Epithet to that B. called *The Wiſdom of Jeſus the Son of Sirach*, (in his Preface to the Books of *Solomon*) his Words are theſe: *Fertur & panæretos Jeſu filii Sirach liber, & alius pſeudepigraphus, qui ſapientia Solomonis inſcribitur. Quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi; non Eccleſiaſticum, ut apud Latinos, ſed parabolas prænotatum*, &c.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Dionyſius, *Biſhop of the* Corinthians, *and the Epiſtles he wrote.*

AND firſt we are to ſpeak of *Dionyſius*, who had the Epiſcopal Chair of the *Corinthian* Church; and liberally and copiouſly communicated his Divine Labours, not only to thoſe committed to his charge, but alſo to ſuch as inhabited Countreys remote and at a great diſtance; rendring himſelf moſt ſerviceable and uſeful to all perſons, by thoſe general Epiſtles he wrote to divers Churches. Of which number one is that to the *Lacedæmonians*, containing the firſt Rudiments of, and Inſtitutions in, the true Faith; and moreover an Exhortation to Peace and Unity. Another of them is that to the *Athenians*, which is excitatory to Faith, and to lead a life anſwerable to the Precepts of the Goſpel: In which Point he reproves the negligence of [the *Athenians*] who had in a manner apoſtatized from the Faith, ſince the time that *Publius* their Biſhop ſuffer'd Martyrdom, during the Perſecutions which then hapned: He makes mention alſo of (a) *Quadratus*, who was conſtituted their Biſhop after the Martyrdom of *Publius*; and atteſts, that by his labour and induſtry, the Congregations [of the *Chriſtians*] were re-aſſembled, and the ardour of their *Faith* revived, and re-kindled. He relates moreover, that *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* (who was converted to the Faith by the Apoſtle *Paul*, according to the account given in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*) was made the firſt Biſhop of the *Athenian* Church. There is alſo extant another Epiſtle of his to the *Nicomedians*, wherein he impugneth the Hereſie of *Marcion*, and ſtrenuouſly aſſerts and defends the exact Rule of Truth: He wrote likewiſe to the Church at *Gortyna*, and to the reſt of the Churches in *Creet*; and commends *Philip* their Biſhop, becauſe the Church under his charge was renown'd for many ſignal Acts of Fortitude; and admoniſhes them to uſe caution againſt the Deceit and Perverſeneſs of Hereticks: And in the Epiſtle he wrote to the Church of *Amaſtris*, together with the other Churches throughout *Pontus*, he mentions *Bacchylides* and *Elpiſtus*, as being the Perſons that incited him to write: He annexes likewiſe ſeveral Expoſitions of Holy Scripture, and by name mentions *Palma* their Biſhop. He recommends to them many things concerning Marriage and Chaſtity, and commands thoſe that recover from any Lapſe whatſoever, (whether *Viciouſneſs*, or *Heretical Error*) to be affectionately receiv'd. In the ſame Volume is contain'd another *Epiſtle* to the *Gnoſſians*, wherein he admoniſhes *Pinytus* the Biſhop of that Church, not to impoſe the heavy Yoke of *Continency* upon the Brethren, as if 'twere neceſſary; but to have a regard to the Infirmity of moſt Men. To which *Pinytus* returning an anſwer, does greatly admire and extol *Dionyſius*; but withal exhorts him, that in future he would impart ſtronger Food, and nouriſh up the People under his charge by ſending again to them ſome Letters that contain more perfect and ſolid *Doctrine*; leſt being continually accuſtom'd to ſuch milky expreſſions, they ſhould grow old in a childiſh Diſcipline. In which *Epiſtle*, both the Orthodox Faith of *Pinytus*, and his ſolicitude for the Proficiency of thoſe under his care; his Eloquence alſo, and Underſtanding in Divine matters, is moſt accurately and to the life repreſented. Moreover, there is extant an *Epiſtle* of *Dionyſius*'s to the *Romans*, ſuperſcrib'd to *Soter*, at that time the Biſhop there; out of which 'tis not amiſs here to inſert ſome words, wherein he much commends the uſage and cuſtom of the *Romans*, obſerv'd by them even until the times of the Perſecution rais'd in our own (b) Age. He writes thus; 'For this hath been 'your cuſtom even from the beginning [of your 'Converſion to *Chriſtianity*] to be divers ways be- 'neficial to all the Brethren, and to ſend relief to 'moſt Churches throughout every City; ſome- 'times ſupplying the Wants of ſuch as are in ne- 'ceſſity; at others, furniſhing thoſe Brethren 'with Neceſſaries that are condemn'd to work in 'the Mines. By ſuch charitable Gifts, which from 'the beginning you have been accuſtom'd to tranſ- 'mit to others, being *Romans*, you retain the cu- 'ſtom receiv'd from your *Roman* Fore-fathers. 'Which uſage your bleſſed Biſhop *Soter* has not 'only diligently obſerv'd, but greatly improv'd; 'being both inſtrumental, and ready in the con- 'veyance of your Bounty deſign'd for the Saints; 'and alſo comforting with bleſſed words (as a ten- 'der and affectionate Father does his Children) 'thoſe Brethren that come 'as (c) Strangers to you." In the ſame Epiſtle alſo he makes mention of the Epiſtle of *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*, and manifeſts that 'twas very anciently cuſtomary to recite it publickly in the preſence of the Church: for he ſays, '(d) This day therefore, being the Holy-day of 'the Lord, we have now paſs'd over, wherein we 'read over your Epiſtle; which (as alſo the for- 'mer Epiſtle of *Clemens*'s written to us) we conti- 'nuing to read henceforward, ſhall abound with 'moſt excellent Precepts and Inſtructions." Fur- ther, the ſame Writer ſpeaking of his own Epiſtles which by ſome Forgers were corrupted, ſays thus: 'For I wrote ſome Epiſtles, being thereto 'requeſted by the Brethren; but the Emiſſaries of 'the Devil have fill'd them with Darnel; expun- 'ging ſome Paſſages out of them, and adding o- 'ther ſome; for whom a *Woe* is reſerv'd. 'Tis no 'wonder therefore, that ſome attempt to adulte- 'rate the Holy Writings of the Lord, ſince they 'have baſely falſified ſuch as are of an inferior Au- 'thority." Beſides theſe, there is extant another Epiſtle of *Dionyſius*'s, written to *Chryſophora* a moſt faithful Siſter, to whom he writes what is agreeable, and imparts to her ſuch Spiritual Food as is convenient for her. Thus much concerning the Writings of *Dionyſius*.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(a) This *Quadratus*, I judge, is not the ſame Perſon with that *Quadratus*, the Diſciple of the Apoſtles, mentioned by *Euſebius* (Book 3. chap. 37.) For the *Quadratus* laſt-named was not a Biſhop, as it plainly appears from the foreſaid place of *Euſebius*. But, that *Quadratus* (ſpoken of by our Author at the beginning of this fourth Book) who preſented an Apology to *Adrian* for our Religion, was the Diſciple of the Apoſtles, as *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon* expreſly affirms. Now this *Quadratus* here ſpoken of (who was Biſhop of the *Athenians*) muſt, as I ſaid, be diſtinguiſhed from *Quadratus* the Diſciple of the Apoſtles: For this latter lived not beyond the times of *Adrian*; but he that was Biſhop of the *Athenians*, governed that Church in the times of *M. Antoninus*, as 'tis evident from *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to the *Athenians*; for he ſpeaks of him, as being his co-temporary: Now *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* flouriſh'd in the Reign of *M. Antoninus*. Valeſ.

(b) He means the perſecution in *Diocletian*'s Reign. *Valeſ.*

(c) *Dionyſius* means thoſe Brethren, who uſually came from remote Countrys to *Rome*, to procure ſome relief for ſuch as in their own Country were in diſtreſs, and neceſſity. *Valeſ.*

(d) To this fragment of *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to the *Roman* Clergy, is to be joined that other paſſage of the ſame Epiſt. quoted by our *Euſebius* (chap. 25. B. 2.) *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Theophilus, *Bishop of the* Antiochians.

THere are extant of this *Theophilus*'s (whom we declared to have been Bishop of the *Antiochian* Church) three Books written to *Autolycus*, containing the first Rudiments of the Faith. He has another Tract also extant, entitled, *Against the Heresie of* (a) *Hermogenes*, wherein he quotes Authorities out of the *Revelation of St. John:* There are besides some other Books of his, wherein are deliver'd the first Principles of our Faith. Moreover, whenas in that Age the Hereticks (like Darnel) did nevertheless corrupt the pure Seed of the Apostolick Doctrine, the Pastors of Churches were every-where very earnest and industrious to chase them away (being as it were Savage and Wild Beasts) from the Sheep of *Christ*; partly by admonishing and exhorting the Brethren; and partly by encountring valiantly with the Hereticks themselves; whom they either confuted by dint of Arguments and unwritten Questions propounded face to face, or else disproved their Opinions by written Treatises most accurately compiled. That *Theophilus* therefore did, together with others, engage these Hereticks, 'tis manifestly apparent from that elaborate piece, (not unworthy of himself) which he wrote against *Marcion*; which Book, together with those others we have recounted, is at this present time extant. Further, *Maximinus*, the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded this person in the Bishoprick of the *Antiochian* Church.

(a) Concerning this *Hermogenes*, and his Heresie, see *Baronius, ad annum Christi* 170. But, I cannot give my assent to him, as to what he affirms, *viz.* that *Hermogenes* taught in *Asia*. Vales. The Heresie of this *Hermogenes* is related by *Theodoret.* (Heret. fab. L. 1. cap. 19.)

οὗτος (ὁ Ἑρμογένης) τὸ κυρίου τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐτέθειν ἀποκεῖσθαι, ᾧ ὃ διάβολον καὶ τὰς δαίμονας εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀναχεῖσθαι· i. e. *This Hermogenes asserted, that the Body of the Lord was deposited in the Sun: And that the Devil and the Evil Spirits should be turned into Mater.* The *Seleuciani* and *Hermiani* taught the same; *to wit, That the Body of Christ ascended no farther than the Sun*; the occasion of which assertion they took from those Words of the Psalmist, *Psal.* 19. 5. which in St. *Jerom*'s Translation is thus rendred, *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum:* But in the Psalms used in our Liturgy 'tis thus worded, *In them hath he set a Tabernacle for the Sun.* See Dr. *Hammond* on that Text. The same opinion *Gregory Nazianzen* attributeth to the *Manicheans*, Epist. 1. ad *Cledonium*, and S. *August.* Tract 34. in *Joh.* This opinion is more largely and clearly set down, but without a name, in the *Catena patrum* on Psal. 18. where 'tis said, that *these* [*Hereticks*] *assert, that after his Resurrection, our Saviour deposited his Body in the Sphere of the Sun, to be preserved there till his second coming.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Philippus *and* Modestus.

MOreover, *Philippus* (who, as we are inform'd by the words of *Dionysius* [even now quoted] was Bishop of the Church at *Gortyna*) compiled also a most elaborate piece against *Marcion*: So likewise did *Irenæus*, and *Modestus*. But this person last-named did most excellently (even better than the other Writers) detect the Errors and Frauds of the Man, and exposed them to the view of the World. Several others also wrote, whose Labours are to this day with exquisite care preserv'd by many of the Brethren.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Melito, *and what he has made mention of.*

ALso, at that time *Melito*, Bishop of the Church at *Sardis*, and *Apollinaris* Prelate of the Church at *Hierapolis*, flourish'd and were eminently famous. Each of which Persons did severally dedicate an Apology written in defence of our Faith to the foresaid *Roman* Emperor, who reign'd at that time. The Books of each of them, which are come to our knowledge, are these that follow. Two Books of *Melito*'s *concerning Easter*; one of his, (a) *concerning the true way of Converse, and of the Prophets*: another *concerning the Church*; and a third, *concerning the Lord's-Day:* Moreover, one, *concerning the Nature of Man*, and another, *about the Frame and Composure of Man*; and one, *concerning the* (b) *Obedience of the Senses and their Subjection to Faith*; and moreover, one Book, *concerning the Soul, the Body and the Mind:* a Book, *concerning Baptism*; one, *of Truth*; one, *concerning the* (c) *Origination and Generation of Christ:* his Book *of Prophecy*; another, *concerning Hospitality*; and that entitled, *The Key*: besides one, *concerning the Devil*, and, *of the Revelation of John*; and another, *about the Incarnation of God*; and lastly, *his Apology to Antoninus.* Now, in his Books *concerning Easter, to wit*, in the beginning of that Work, he declares the time when he wrote, in these words, 'Servilius Paulus being Proconsul of *Asia*, at that time 'when *Sagaris* suffer'd Martyrdom, there arose a great 'Controversie at *Laodicea* 'concerning *Easter*, which 'hapned to fall on those 'days in its due season; 'at which time I wrote 'these Books." *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes mention of this Book, in his Piece *concerning Easter*; which Book of *Melito*'s was, as he says, the occasion of his composing that Work. Now, in that Book dedicated to the Emperor, he relates what was acted against us Christians in his Reign. 'For now, *says he*, that sort 'of Men who are pious and 'holy are persecuted, (a 'thing which was never be-'fore done) and molested 'with new *Decrees* through-'out all *Asia*. For most impudent Informers, 'who are desirous to possess themselves of other 'Men's Goods, taking an occasion from the Im-'perial Edicts, do openly commit Robberies, and 'day and night take away the Goods of innocent 'Persons." And, after some words, he continues thus; 'Now, if all this be done by your command, 'let it pass for an orderly and due way of pro-'ceeding. For a just Emperor can never decree 'or authorize any thing that is unjust: and 'we willingly undergo the Reward of such 'a death. This request only we humbly make 'to you, that you yourself would first take 'cognizance

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(a) In all our MSS. Copies this title [*concerning the true way of converse and of the Prophets*] evidently appears to be the title but of one Book. *Jerom* (in his Book *de Eccles. Scriptor.* which is almost wholly taken out of *Eusebius*) entitles this piece of *Melito*'s thus [*De vitâ Prophetarum*, i. e. *concerning the life of the Prophets.* Vales.

(b) *Melito* wrote a Book upon this Subject, because there were some Hereticks who asserted, that such Men as were carnal, believed by the help of their *senses*; but those were spiritual believed by *reason.* So *Heraclio* expounded that Text in St. *John*'s Gospel, (chap. 4. 48.) *Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe.* Which words *Heraclio* said, were properly directed to those, who by works and their senses had the nature *of obeying*, but not *of believing* thro' reason. *Origen* (*Tome* 13. *Enarrat.* on St. *John*'s *Gospel*) mentions, and confutes this Opinion: Where he declares, that neither *spiritual* nor *carnal* Men can believe, unless it be by *sense.* Vales.

(c) In the *Mazar. Med.* and *Fuld.* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, this Book of *Melito*'s is intitled [περὶ κτίσεως, &c.] i. e. *concerning the Origination*, &c. which reading, we doubt not but is true. *Rufinus*, as appears by his Version, and *Robert Stephens*, as may be seen in his *Edit.* read [περὶ πίστεως,] i. e. *concerning Faith*, &c. The ancient Fathers, who lived before the *Nicene Council*, meant (by the word [κτίσεως]) not only such a creation as is made out of nothing, but also all sort of production whatsoever, and therefore the divine Origination of the Word. Those Words of the Apostle (*Colos.* 1. 15.) *The first-born of every Creature*, they asserted, were to be understood of the *eternal Generation of the Son.* Vales. But as Dr. *Hammond* observes in his Notes on that Text; πρωτότοκος, i. e. *first-born*, is used sometimes for *a Lord*, or *Person in power*, who hath the priviledge of the first-born, dominion over all his brethren: And according to this notion (*continues he*) 'tis used commonly in Scripture for *a Prince*, or *principal Person.* See *Psal.* 68. 27. *Job* 18. 13. Or it may peculiarly refer to his Resurrection, in which he was *the first-born from the dead.* See *Hammond* on *Colos.* 1. 15.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'take cognizance of (*d*) them that are Sufferers 'of this vexatious Moleſtation; and then deter- 'mine impartially, whether they are worthy of 'Puniſhment and Death; or deſerve to live in 'peace and quietneſs. But if this Decree, and 'this new Edict (which ought not to have been 'eſtabliſh'd againſt the moſt 'barbarous Enemies) does 'not proceed from you, then 'we more earneſtly beſeech 'you, not to be unmindful 'of us, nor permit us to be 'any longer infeſted with 'theſe publick Rapines." Then, after the interpoſition of ſome words, he adds thus much; 'For this Sect of *Phi-* 'loſophy, which we profeſs, 'at firſt flouriſh'd amongſt 'the (*e*) *Barbarians*. But when, 'in the Reign of the Great '*Auguſtus* Your Progenitor, 'it began to be eminent and conſpicuous in Your 'Provinces; it brought with it moſt fortunate 'and proſperous ſucceſs to Your Empire. For 'from that time the power of the *Roman* Empire 'began to be eminently great, and was much 'augmented. Of which Empire You by ſucceſ- 'ſion are the moſt acceptable Inheritor that 'could be wiſh'd for, and ſhall ſo continue, to- 'gether with your (*f*) Son, 'if you will be the *Defender* 'of that *Religion* which was 'nurs'd up together with 'Your Empire, which took 'its beginning under the 'Reign of the Great *Au- 'guſtus*; and which Your 'Anceſtors did, together 'with other Religions, both 'eſteem and reverence: and 'this is a moſt certain evi- 'dence that our Religion '(which flouriſh'd together 'with Your happily-begun 'Empire) brought with it 'publick ſucceſs and proſpe- 'rity; *to wit*, that from the 'time of *Auguſtus*'s Reign 'no unſucceſsful accident hath intervened; but 'on the contrary ſuch ſplendour and magnifi- 'cence hath always attended Your Empire, as is 'agreeable to the Deſires and Prayers of all men. 'Of all the Emperors, only (*g*) *Nero* and *Domitian* '(induced thereto by the perſwaſion and advice 'of ſome malevolent perſons) endeavour'd to fix 'a calumny and reproach upon our Religion. 'From whom that falſe and malicious detraction 'hapned to be convey'd down to ſucceeding 'times, agreeable to the uſage of the rude Mul- 'titude, which irrationally gives credit to ſuch 'groundleſs rumours. But Your pious Ance- 'ſtors corrected their ignorance; and by fre- 'quent Reſcripts reproved ſuch as audaciouſly 'attempted to be inſolent and vexatious towards 'thoſe of our Religion. Amongſt whom Your 'Grandfather *Adrian* wrote both to *Fundanus Pro- 'conſul* of *Aſia*, and alſo to many other [Gover- 'nours of Provinces;] and (*h*) your Father, even 'at that time when You were his Colleague in 'the Empire, wrote to the Cities that they ſhould 'not raiſe Tumults, nor commit any Inſolencies 'againſt us; namely to the *Lariſſeans*, to the *Theſ- 'ſalonians*, the *Athenians* and to all the *Grecians*. 'But we moſt confidently perſwade our ſelves 'that You (who retain the ſame Opinion con- 'cerning us that your Anceſtors had; yea, who 'are inclined to be much more gracious and mild 'towards us, and to entertain wiſer and diſcree- 'ter thoughts concerning us,) will do whatſo- 'ever we requeſt of you." This Paſſage is ex- tant in the fore-mentioned Apology of *Melito*. The ſame Author (in that Book of *Extracts and Collections* written by him) does, at the beginning of that Work, make a Catalogue of thoſe Books of the *Old Teſtament* that by general conſent are acknowledg'd as Canonical: Which Catalogue I judg'd neceſſary to be here inſerted: It is word for word thus: '*Melito* to *Oneſimus* the *Brother* ſend- 'eth greeting. Whereas, becauſe of your love to, 'and diligence beſtow'd about, the Word of God, 'you have often requeſted me to make you ſome 'ſhort *Collections* and *Excerptions*, both out of the 'Law and the Prophets, about thoſe things that 'belong to our Saviour, and all the Articles of 'our Faith; and moreover, you being very de- 'ſirous to have an accurate account of the Books 'of the *Old Teſtament*, how many they are in 'number, and in what order they were written; 'I have made it my buſineſs to do all this, and to 'ſatisfie your deſire herein. For I well know 'with what an ardour of Faith you are inflamed, 'and how earneſt your deſires are after Know- 'ledge; and that, by reaſon of your love of God, 'you greatly prefer theſe before all other things, 'ſtriving earneſtly to obtain eternal ſalvation. 'When therefore I travelled into the Eaſt, and 'came into that Country where theſe things were 'heretofore *preach'd* and done, I made an accurate 'enquiry about the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, 'a Catalogue whereof I have herewith ſent you. 'Their names are theſe; *The five Books of Moſes, 'to wit, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deu- 'teronomy: Joſhua, Judges, Ruth*: the *four Books 'of the Kings*; the *two Books of the Chronicles*: the '*Pſalms of David*, the *Proverbs of Solomon*, which 'is alſo called *the Book of Wiſdom*; *Eccleſiaſtes, the 'Song of Solomon, Job, the Prophecies of Eſaiah*, and '*Jeremiah*: one Book of the *Twelve* [*minor*] *Pro- 'phets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Eſdras*. Out of theſe I 'have made ſome ſhort *Collections*, which I have 'divided into ſix Books." But thus much con- cerning the Writings of *Melito*.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*d*) Theſe words are to be underſtood of the Chriſtians; which appears from what follows. For *Melito* deſires of the Emperor, that he would firſt look into and examine the cauſe of the Chriſtians; and then determine, whether they deſerved to be puniſhed, or rather preſerved in ſafety. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) So he terms the *Jews*, amongſt whom the Chriſtian Religion firſt ſprang up. Upon this account *Porphyrius* (whoſe Words *Euſebius* quotes Book 6. chap. 19. of this work) termed the Chriſtian Religion [Θάῤῥαλεον τὸ νεωτερισμα] i. e. *an audacious Sect that had its beginning amongſt Barbarians*. Valeſ.

(*f*) From this place it is evident, that *Melito* the Biſhop preſented his Apology to *M. Antoninus* after the death of *Aurelius Verus*. For, if *Verus* had been then living, when *Melito* wrote this Apology, he would doubtleſs have mentioned him here; and in ſtead of theſe words [*together with your Son*] would certainly have ſaid [*together with your brother.*] For *L. Verus* was the adopted Brother of *M. Aurelius*. Seeing therefore, *Melito* does here mention only the Son of *M. Antoninus* (*to wit, Commodus*) 'tis manifeſt, as I ſaid, that this Apology was preſented to *Marcus* after the death of *L. Verus*. And therefore *Euſebius* (in his *Chronicon*) places it on the 10th year of *M. Aurelius*, *to wit*, the year after *Verus*'s death. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) The ſame is aſſerted by *Tertullian* (*Apologet.* cap. 5.) whoſe words our *Euſebius* quotes, partly at chap. 25. B. 2. and partly at chap. 20. B. 3.

(*h*) The Reſcript of *Antoninus Pius* (who is here meant) in favour of the Chriſtians, is not now extant. 'Tis mentioned in the Reſcript of *M. Aurelius Antoninus* to the Cities of *Aſia*, which *Euſebius* has ſet down in chap. 13. of this Book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Apollinaris, *Biſhop of the* Hierapolitan *Church.*

(*a*) ALtho' ſeveral Books written by *Apollinaris* are extant among many Men, yet theſe only of his are come to our knowledge; *to wit, His Apology to the foreſaid Emperor; his five Books againſt the Gentiles; his two Books concerning*

(*a*) In our MSS. *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* there is in this place no beginning of a new chapter, but this 27 chapt. which treats concerning *Apollinaris*, and the following chapt. concerning *Muſanus*, are both annex'd to chap. 26. the title whereof in our ſaid MSS. is this [Concerning *Melito*, and what he has made mention of, *Apollinaris*, and *Muſanus*;] which diviſion *Robert Stephens* followed in the body of this fourth Book. For in the Contents prefix'd before this 4th Book, he follows the King's MS. and makes three chap. here, *to wit*, one of *Melito*, another concerning *Apollinaris*, and a third concerning *Muſanus*: But in the body of that Book he follows the *Med.* MS. (as he always does in this particular) and has put no diſtinction of a new chap. here; but hath made all the three chapters into one. We following the authority of the King's MS. have divided them into three chap. and the ſame was done before, in the *Geneva-Impreſſion* of *Euſebius*'s Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

Truth

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

Truth; and *his* (*b*) *two Books against the Jews.* Also, those Books he wrote afterwards *against the Heresie of the* (*c*) *Cataphrygians*, which not long after occasion'd great Disturbances; but at that time it began to make its first appearance, *Montanus* with his False Prophets then laying the foundation of his Error. And this is what he had to say concerning *Appollinaris.*

(*b*) These Words [*His two Books against the Jews*] are not in the *Maz. Med.* nor *Fuk.* MSS. nor in that Copy *Rufinus* made use of, as appears from his Version; nor yet in *Jerom*'s B. *de Eccles. Scriptor.* where he reckons up all *Apollinaris*'s Books. But *Nicephorus* mentions them in his History. *Vales.* (*c*) Mr. *Tho. Lydiat* (in his *Emend. Tempor.*) says, this Heresie began in the times of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*; the Author whereof was *Montanus.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Musanus, *and his Writings.*

THere is extant of *Musanus*'s (whom we mention'd a little before) a most sharp piece written by him to some Brethren, who turn'd to the Heresie of the *Encratitæ*; which then first sprang up, and introduced a new and most pernicious false Opinion into the World. *Tatianus*, as report says, was the Author of this Heresie.

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Tatianus *and his Heresie.*

(*a*) The *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. and also *Nicephorus*, call him *Saturninus.* *Epiphanius* and *Theodoret* name him *Saturnilus*; and *Hegesippus* terms those Hereticks, which had their name from him, *Saturnilians.* See chap. 22. of this B. 4. *Vales.*

WE *mean that* Tatianus, whose words we quoted a little before, *treating* concerning the admirable *Justin*; who, we told you, was a Disciple of that Martyr's. *Irenæus* evidences this in his *first Book against Heresies*, where he writes thus concerning this *Tatianus* and his Heresie. 'From (*a*) *Saturninus* and *Marcion* sprang those Hereticks called *Encratitæ*, who taught that Marriage was unlawful; rejecting that primitive Institution of God, and tacitly accused him, because he created Male and Female for the Propagation of Mankind. They were assertors also of an Abstinence from the eating those things, that (as they termed them) had life; shewing hereby their Ingratitude towards God who created all things. They deny likewise that the first Man was saved. And this is a Tenet lately invented amongst them, of which impious assertion one *Tatianus* was the first broacher. Who having been an Auditor of *Justin*, as long as he convers'd with him, discloses no such false Opinions: But after his Martyrdom, he revolted from the Church, and being arrogant and puft up with the conceit of his being an (*b*) *Ecclesiastical Doctor* (as if he were better than any body else) he was the Composer of a new Form of Doctrine of his own making, inventing Stories about invisible Ages, in the same manner as *Valentinus* did; and asserting with *Marcion* and *Saturninus*, that Matrimony was nothing less than *Corruption* and *Whoredom*; and framing some new Arguments to disprove the Salvation of *Adam.* Thus far *Irenæus* [*concerning the Heresie of the Encratitæ which* then *was broacht.*] But not long after, one whose name was (*c*) *Severus* did consolidate and

(*b*) *Jerom* (in his Book *de Script. Eccles.*) takes the word [διδάσκαλον] in such a sense as to signifie *a master of Eloquence.* Such an one *Tatianus* was before his conversion to the Christian Religion, as may be seen from chap. 16. of this 4th Book. But I rather think, that by [διδάσκαλον] (which is the term in the original) should be meant [*an Ecclesiastical Doctor*] which sense of that term the following Words of *Irenæus* do confirm; for he says, *He was the composer of a new form of Doctrine of his own making.* Vales.

(*c*) *Epiphanius* makes this *Severus* to be ancienter than *Tatianus*; which is a mistake, as 'tis evident from these Words of *Eusebius.* *Irenæus* makes no mention of this *Severus.* *Theodoret* (in his first Book *Hæret. fabul.*) has rightly placed *Severus* after *Tatianus.* Vales.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

strengthen the foresaid Heresie, and so was the occasion that the Followers of that Sect were called, by reason of his name, *Severiani.* They approve indeed of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospels, expounding the sentences of Holy Scripture according to a peculiar sense and meaning of their own; but they speak reproachfully of the Apostle *Paul*, and reject his Epistles; neither do they admit of the *Acts of the Apostles.* But *Tatianus*, their first Founder, put together a confused heap of Collections extracted out of the four Gospels, which he entitled a (*d*) *Diatessaron, i. e. a Gospel made up of the four Gospels*: Which Book is at this time extant in the hands of some Men. They say also, that he was so audacious as to alter some sayings of the Apostle *Paul*'s, and to express them in more elegant terms, undertaking to correct the Composition and Order of his *Phrase.* He left a very great number of Books, among which, his (*e*) Book *against the Grecians* is look'd upon to be an excellent piece, and is commended by most Men: In which Work, giving an account of the Series of Times in the former Ages of the World, he has made it evident that *Moses* and the Prophets amongst the *Hebrews*, were much more ancient, than all the famous Men amongst the *Grecians.* Indeed that Book of his seems to be the best and most useful piece of all his Writings. But thus far concerning these things.

(*d*) *Epiphanius* (in Hæres. 46.) says, this work of *Tatianus*'s is by some called, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews.* But that Gospel is more ancient than *Tatianus.* For *Hegesippus*, who flourish'd some years before *Tatianus*, makes mention of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as *Eusebius* tells us, chap. 12. of this Book: *Papias* also quotes a passage out of that Gospel, as *our Author* asserts about the close of the 3d Book. *Vales.*

(*e*) That is, his Oration against the *Grecians*, which is extant at the latter end of *Justin Martyr*'s Works, *Edit.* Par. 1636. At pag. 171. he begins the proof of this point, *viz. the Antiquity of Moses and the Prophets.*

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning Bardesanes *the* Syrian, *and those Books of his that are extant.*

FUrther, in the Reign of the same Emperor, when Heresies were numerous in (*a*) *Mesopotamia*, one *Bardasanes* a most eloquent Man in the *Syrian* tongue, and an excellent Disputant, wrote some Dialogues against *Marcion* and several others, who were Authors and Assertors of different Opinions, which he publish'd in his own Country-language; as also many other Works which his Scholars (for he had very many Auditors, and was a powerful Maintainer of our Faith) translated out of the *Syriack* into the *Grecian* language. Amongst which is *his Dialogue concerning Fate*, written to (*b*) *Antoninus*, an incomparable piece. 'Tis said he wrote several other Tracts, upon occasion of the Persecution at that time raised against us. This Man was at first a Follower of *Valentinus*'s; but having mislik'd that Heresie, and confuted many of the fabulous Tenets of the Founder thereof, he was satisfied in himself that he had turn'd to a truer Opinion; but notwithstanding he did not wholly clear himself of the filth of his ancient Heresie. Moreover, at the same time *Soter* Bishop of the *Roman* Church departed this Life.

(*a*) *Tatianus*, who was the Founder of the Heresie of the *Encratitæ*, lived in *Mesopotamia*, and there publish'd his Heresie, as *Epiphanius* attests. And the same may be concluded from what *Theodoret* writes, *to wit*, that he found above 200 Copies of the Gospel made by *Tatianus* in the Churches of *Osdroëno.* Vales.

(*b*) It's doubtful whether *Antoninus* the Emperor, or one of that name, who was a follower of *Tatianus*'s, be here meant. It is not likely that *Bardesanes* should dedicate his Books to the *Roman* Emperor, which he wrote in the *Syriack* language. Besides, *Eusebius* (in his 6 B. *de præparat.*) does declare that *Bardesanes* dedicated *his Dialogues* to his Followers and Friends. *Vales.*

THE

FIFTH BOOK
Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

The PREFACE.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. MOreover, Soter *Biſhop of the* Roman *Church having preſided there eight years, ended his Life. In whoſe place ſucceeded* Eleutherus, *the twelfth from the Apoſtles. It was then the* (a) *ſeventeenth year of the Emperor* Antoninus Verus; *at which time a more ſharp Perſecution being in ſome Parts of the World raiſed againſt us by a Popular Incurſion throughout every City; how vaſt the Number was of ſuch Perſons as were dignified with Martyrdom over the whole World, may be conjectured from what happen'd in one Province. Which things were by accident put in writing and tranſmitted to Poſterity, as being truly worthy of an indelible remembrance. Now the* Acts, *which contain a moſt perfect and compleat Account of theſe things, are ſet down entire in* that Collection we made of the Martyrs; *which comprehends not only an Hiſtorical Relation of what was done, but alſo Rules and Precepts of Piety and Holineſs: But notwithſtanding, we will from thence at preſent make a Selection of ſuch Paſſages as are agreeable to the Subject we now have in hand, and here inſert them. Other Hiſtorians indeed have wholly made it their buſineſs to record in their Works warlike Victories, and Trophies erected againſt their conquer'd Enemies; the Valour of Generals, and brave Exploits of Souldiers, beſmear'd with Blood, and polluted with innumerable Slaughters, in defence of their Children, Country, and Eſtates: But we, who ſet forth the Hiſtory of a Divine Society of Men, will record upon immortal Monuments, inſcribed with indelible Characters, the moſt pacate Wars, waged for the obtaining of Spiritual Peace; and the valiant Acts of thoſe Perſons who in ſuch Encounters contended more for the Truth than their Country, and for Religion rather than their deareſt Relations: publiſhing for the perpetual remembrance of Poſterity, the continued earneſtneſs of thoſe Champions who fought for Piety, their Fortitude in undergoing manifold Torments, the Trophies erected againſt the Devils, the victorious Conqueſts obtain'd over inviſible Adverſaries, and laſt of all, their Crowns.* *M. Aurelius and L. Verus.*

(a) The Perſecution of the Chriſtians in the Reign of *Marcus* raged not everywhere at the ſame time; nor was it ended in one years ſpace. In *Aſia* it began firſt in the ſeventh year of *M. Antoninus*; and that not by the Edict of the Emperor, but by a tumultuous Inſurrection of the Populace againſt them: Where it laſted to the end of that Emperor's Reign, as 'tis evident from theſe Words in *Melito*'s Apology [*For from that time the power of the Roman Empire began to be eminently great, and was much augmented: Of which Empire you by ſucceſſion are the moſt acceptable Inheritor that could be wiſh'd for, and ſhall ſo continue together with your Son*, &c. See chap. 26. B. 4. note (*f*).] Now, *Commodus* was by his Father received as his Partner in the Empire, when *Melito* preſented this Apology to the Emperor. His being made Colleague in the Empire, 'tis evident, happened about the latter end of *M. Antoninus*'s Reign: Wherefore the Perſecution of the Chriſtians in *Aſia* muſt neceſſarily have laſted till that time. But this Perſecution was more ſharp and violent in *Aſia*, in the *Gallias*, and in other Provinces, in the ſeventeenth year of the ſaid *Antoninus*, as *Euſebius* does here ſay expreſly. See *Baronius, ad annum Chriſti* 179. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. I.

How many, in the Reign of Verus, *underwent moſt ſore Perſecutions in* France *for Religion; and after what manner they ſuffered.*

NOW *France* was the Country, wherein the place for performance of the foremention'd Combats was appointed. The chief Mother-Cities whereof, (and which be more eminently famous than the other Cities there) are *Lyons* and *Vienna*; through both which the River *Rhone* paſſes, encompaſſing with a great and rapid Stream that whole Region. The Churches therefore that were moſt eminent in thoſe Parts ſent an account in writing concerning their Martyrs to the Churches throughout *Aſia* and *Phrygia*; relating, after this manner, what was done amongſt them: for I will inſert their very words: (a) The

(a) There ariſes here a double queſtion; (1.) Why this Epiſtle was written jointly by the two Churches, that of *Vienna*, and that of *Lyons*? (2.) Why the *French* wrote in Greek to the Churches of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*? As to the firſt, I ſuppoſe it was for this reaſon done, becauſe the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lyons* were joyned together, not only by vicinity of place, but alſo by the bonds of mutual Love. And ſeeing they had together been engaged in the ſame Perſecution, they jointly wrote an Epiſtle concerning their own Martyrs. Beſides, both Provinces ſeem at that time to have been under the juriſdiction of one Preſident; which may be conjectured from hence, becauſe as well they of *Vienna*, as thoſe of *Lyons*, are in this Epiſtle ſaid to have been by the Preſident apprehended, and condemned for the Faith of Chriſt. Theſe therefore are the reaſons why they wrote jointly. For that which ſome have ſuppoſed, (*to wit*, that then there was but one Biſhop of *Vienna* and *Lyons*) is eaſily confuted out of this Epiſtle, which ſays that *Pothinus* was Biſhop of *Lyons*, but not of *Vienna*. Moreover, thoſe of *Lyons* do, out of reſpect, ſet the name of thoſe of *Vienna* firſt, whenas notwithſtanding they of *Lyons* wrote the Epiſtle concerning the things which were done at their own City. Which reſpect alſo may ſeem to be attributed to the antiquity, and nobility, of the Colony at *Vienna*. As to the ſecond query, we may underſtand from this Epiſtle, that there were many *Grecians* in the Church of *Lyons*, as was *Attalus*, and *Alexander* the *Phrygian*, and *Alcibiades*, who was by original extract a *Phrygian* alſo, as I think: Alſo *Irenæus* was born in *Aſia*, and, when he was very young, had, together with *Florinus*, been an Auditor of *Polycarp*'s at *Smyrna*; as he himſelf evidences. The very name alſo of *Pothinus* the Biſhop ſhews him to be originally a *Grecian*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that thoſe who came out of *Aſia* into the *Gallia*'s, ſhould write to their Brethren that were in *Aſia* concerning their Affairs; from whom, as 'tis probable, they had before received that Epiſtle concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, and others. I ſuppoſe *Irenæus* to have been the Author of this Epiſtle, who at that time was a Presbyter of the Church at *Lyons*. Valeſ.

‘ Servants

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'Servants of Chriſt which inhabit *Vienna* and 'Lyons in *France*, to the Brethren throughout *Aſia* and *Phrygia*, which have the ſame Faith and 'Hope of Redemption with us; Peace, Grace, 'and Glory from God the Father, and from *Chriſt* 'Jeſus our Lord." Then, having after this by 'way of Preface premiſed ſome words, they begin their Relation with theſe: 'Now the ſore 'Affliction amongſt us, the great Rage of the 'Heathens againſt the Saints, and what the Bleſſed Martyrs endured, we are neither able accurately to expreſs, nor indeed can it be compriz'd in writing: For the Adverſary invaded 'us with his utmoſt vigour, ſhewing forth even 'then his arrival amongſt us, and ſome beginnings of his future cruelty. For he left nothing 'unattempted, whilſt by way of practice he prepared, and before-hand exerciſed his Miniſters 'againſt the Servants of God. So that we are 'not only prohibited to 'come into (*b*) Private 'Houſes, the Baths, and the '(*c*) *Forum*, but it was alſo 'by them interdicted that 'no one of us ſhould at all 'appear in any place whatſoever: But the Grace of 'God fought for us againſt 'the Devil; which both defended ſuch as were weak, 'and alſo ſet in array againſt 'him ſuch Men as, like Pillars, were firm and immovable, who by reaſon of 'their patience in enduring 'Sufferings, might have 'been able to have pull'd on 'themſelves the whole force 'of the Devil. Theſe Perſons engag'd him hand to 'hand, undergoing all manner of reproach and puniſhment; and accounting 'the greateſt Sufferings to 'be ſmall and trivial, they haſtned unto Chriſt; truly demonſtrating, **that the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which ſhall be reveal'd in us.* 'Firſt therefore, they couragiouſly underwent 'whatſoever [abuſes] were cumulated on them 'by the whole Multitude, *to wit*, the Shouts a'gainſt them, the Stripes, the Draggings up and 'down, the taking away of their Goods, the ca'ſting of Stones at them, their being (*d*) ſhut up 'within their own Houſes; and all things which 'an exaſperated Multitude do uſually undertake 'againſt their Enemies and Adverſaries: Then, 'being brought into the *Forum* by the Tribune of 'the Soldiers, and the (*e*) Magiſtrates of the City, they were examin'd in the preſence of the 'whole Multitude; and, having made their Con'feſſion were ſhut up in priſon until the arrival 'of the (*f*) Preſident. Afterwards, when they 'were brought before the Governour, (who ex- *M. Aurelius and L. Verus.*
'erciſed all manner of cruelty againſt us) (*g*) *Vet'tius Epagathus*, one of the Brethren, who had 'arriv'd to an immenſe degree of love to God and 'his Neighbour; whoſe courſe of life had been ſo 'exact and accurate, that although he was a 'young Man, yet he deſerved the Elogy of *Za'chariah Seniour*; for he had *walked in all the Com'mandments and Ordinances of the Lord, blameleſs*; 'and was moſt ready to perform all good Offices towards his Neighbour, being full of the 'Zeal of God, and fervent in Spirit: This Perſon, '*I ſay*, being ſuch an one, was not able to bear 'thoſe ſo unjuſt proceedings againſt us, but was 'greatly mov'd with indignation, and requeſted 'that he alſo might be heard to make a Defence 'in behalf of the Brethren, [and to manifeſt] that 'there was nothing of Impiety or Irreligion a'mongſt us. But when thoſe about the Tribu'nal cried out againſt him, (for he was an emi'nent Perſonage,) and when the Governour re'fuſed the requeſt ſo juſtly propoſed by him, and 'only ask'd him whether he alſo were a Chriſti'an; he confeſs'd it with a moſt loud voice, and 'was receiv'd into the number of the Martyrs, 'being term'd *by the Governour* the Advocate of 'the Chriſtians: But he had within himſelf an 'Advocate, *to wit*, the Holy Spirit, in a greater 'degree than (*h*) *Zacharias* had; which he evi'dently manifeſted by his abundant love, in that 'he was well-contented to depoſite his own Life 'for the defence of the Brethren. For he was, and 'is, a genuine Diſciple of 'Chriſt, *following the Lamb 'whitherſoever he goeth*. Then 'others (*i*) were diligently 'prov'd and examin'd; and 'they were illuſtrious and 'ready Proto-Martyrs, who 'with all alacrity of mind 'accompliſh'd the ſolemn 'Confeſſion of Martyrdom. 'Moreover, thoſe who were 'unprepared, unexerciſed, 'as yet weak, and unable 'to undergo the ſeverity of 'ſo great a Combat, were 'then apparent; of whom 'about ten in number fell 'away, which was the occaſion of great Grief and immeaſurable Sorrow 'to us, and diſturb'd that alacrity of Mind in o'thers who were not yet apprehended; who although they ſuffer'd all ſorts of miſery, yet were 'preſent with the Martyrs, and departed not from 'them. At that time we were all in a great Conſternation of Mind, becauſe we were dubious 'about the [perſeverance of ſuch as were to] 'confeſs [themſelves to be Chriſtians;] not that 'we fear'd the Torments that were to be inflicted; 'but, revolving in our Minds the iſſue of Affairs, 'we were fearful leſt any one ſhould fall off from

(*b*) The term in the original is [ὀικιῶν] which ſignifies only *private Houſes*, from which the Chriſtians were then driven, that is, from the Houſes of their Friends, Relations, &c. For I agree not with *Ruſinus*, who thought that the Chriſtians were prohibited to inhabit their own Houſes. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Ἀγορὰς is the term in the original; which ſignifies any *promiſcuous* or *popular aſſembly*; theſe (ſetting aſide the ſacred aſſemblies, which are otherwiſe expreſſed) are principally of two ſorts, either (1.) to *buy* and *ſell*, or (2.) *to reſort for juſtice*; and the word here us'd commonly ſignifies both, or either of theſe, (1.) a *fair* or *market*, (2.) *a place of judicature, an hall*, or *court of judgment*. The *Romans* termed this place *Forum*; which word they uſed in the ſame Latitude that the *Grecians* did Ἀγορά. At this place, and hereafter, we have made uſe of the Latin term in our Tranſlation; and we therefore put this Note in here, that the *Engliſh* Reader might underſtand the meaning of it.

* Rom. 8. 18.

(*d*) Here in the firſt place is recounted the injurious uſage, which the Chriſtians ſuffered from the whole multitude; wherein Impriſonment can have no place. For the Judges, and not the People, had power to impriſon thoſe that were guilty. *Ruſinus* therefore tranſlates [συγκλείσεις] *concludi*, i. e. *to be ſhut up*. For the Heathens ſhut up the Chriſtians within their own Houſes, and would not ſuffer them to come abroad. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) He means the municipal Magiſtrates, who were alſo called the *duumviri*. Although the term ἐξουσιῶν (here uſed) is uſually meant of thoſe Judges which have the power of the Sword; (See *Ulpian.* in *tit. de Juriſdict.*) yet it denotes the municipal Magiſtrates alſo, who, as the *Civilians* phraſe it, have *modicam coercitionem*. Valeſ.

(*f*) Ἡγεμὼν (the term that occurs here) has a general ſignification. For all Governors of Provinces are ſo called, be they *Procurators*, *Proconſuls*, or *Deputies of Cæſar*. It may therefore be deſervedly queſtioned of which of theſe three ſorts the Governour of the Province of *Lyons* was. Indeed, I think he was the Deputy of *Cæſar*. Which I am induced to ſuppoſe, (1.) becauſe there is mention here made of the *Tribune* of the Soldiers. For that agrees very well with the *Deputy of Cæſar*, who look'd after the Military Affairs. (2.) In the old Inſcription, which *Gruter* ſpeaks of, pag. 427. he is termed *Deputy* of the *Lugdunenſian* Province. See *Gruter*, *Inſcript.* pag. 427. Laſtly, *Spartianus* (in *Severo*) atteſts, that the Province of *Lyons* was in the Reign of *M. Antoninus* governed by *Deputies of Cæſar*. And perhaps in this Epiſtle of thoſe of *Lyons*, *Severus* is meant: For he was *Deputy* of the *Lugdunenſian* Province under *Marcus*. *Junius Bleſus* alſo (whom *Tacitus* in the B. 1. of his Hiſtory calls Governour of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*) *was Deputy* of this Province; and ſo was *Vitraſius Pollio* in the times of *Adrian*. Valeſ.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*g*) This Martyrs name ſhould be written with a double *t*, as it is in the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. For *Vettius* is a *Roman* name, and occurs in *Cicero*, and *Juvenal*. Valeſ.

(*h*) They mean *Zachariah* the Prieſt, the father of *John* the *Baptiſt*, whom they call *Senior*, comparing *Epagathus*, a young Man, with him. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) Διεκείνετο is the term here uſed. It ſeems to be a Metaphor taken from Champions, who before they engaged in the Combat, were wont to be examined and proved, whether they were Free-Men, and of the age that Champions ſhould be. And thoſe that were admitted to the Combat, were ſaid εἰσκείνεσθαι, ſuch as were repudiated ἐκκείνεσθαι: the examination itſelf was call'd Διάκρισις, as I collect from this place. Indeed this Epiſtle is very full of Athletical terms, as 'tis manifeſt from this place, and as we will ſhew more plainly hereafter. *Valeſ.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

from the Faith. Now there were daily taken ſuch as were worthy to fill up their number; ſo that thoſe who were moſt eminent in (*k*) both the Churches, and by whom eſpecially Matters here had been ſettled, were all pick'd out and apprehended. Some Heathens alſo, our Servants, were ſeiz'd upon; (for the Preſident did in publick give command that we ſhould all be diligently ſearch'd out;) which Perſons, by reaſon of the treachery of Satan, being afraid of the Torments which they ſaw the Saints undergo, the Soldiers inciting them thereto, raiſed lyes againſt us, *and reported that we uſed* the Suppers of (*l*) *Thyeſtes*, and the inceſtuous carnal Colation of (*m*) *Oedipus*, and ſuch other things as 'tis neither lawful for us to utter, nor to think of, nor to believe, that any ſuch fact was ever committed among men. Theſe Stories being ſpread abroad, all perſons were enrag'd againſt us; inſomuch, that if there were any who before had been moderate towards us by reaſon of Affinity or Friendſhip; even theſe were then greatly diſpleaſed with, and mightily incenſed againſt us. Thus was fulfilled that which our Lord had ſaid, that the time ſhould come wherein * *whoſoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God good ſervice.* From thenceforth therefore the Holy Martyrs underwent ſuch Torments as are inexpreſſible and above all declaration: Satan endeavouring with much earneſtneſs that ſome ſlanderous and reproachful words might be utter'd by (*n*) them alſo. But the whole rage both of the Multitude, of the Preſident, and of the Soldiers did in a more violent manner fall upon (*o*) *Sanctus* of *Vienna*, a Deacon, and upon *Maturus*, a perſon indeed who had been lately baptiz'd, but yet prov'd a couragious Champion *of Chriſt*; upon *Attalus* alſo, by Country a *Pergamenian*, who always was a Pillar and Prop of the Churches here, and *laſtly* upon *Blandina*; by whom Chriſt demonſtrated, that thoſe things which among Men ſeem vile, obſcure, and deſpicable, are by God accounted worthy of great honour, by reaſon of the love ſhown to him, which is actually and powerfully manifeſted, and not in pretence and ſhew boaſted of. For when we were all afraid, and ſhe that was her Miſtreſs after the Fleſh (who alſo was one of the Champions of the Martyrs) fear'd, leſt, by reaſon of the Imbecillity of her Body, ſhe ſhould not be able with boldneſs and freeneſs to make her Confeſſion: *Blandina* was ſupplied with ſo great ſtrength, that thoſe who by turns tortured her all the time from Morning till Evening, became feeble and weak; and confeſs'd themſelves overcome, having nothing further to do to her: They admired alſo that ſhe yet continued to breath, her whole Body having been mangled and pierced through; and they atteſted, that one ſort of torture was ſufficient to have bereaved her of life, much more ſo many and ſo great torments. But this bleſſed Woman, like a couragious Champion, recover'd freſh ſupplies of ſtrength during her Confeſſion: And it was a refreſhment, and an eaſe to her, and abated the pain of thoſe Torments that were inflicted on her, to pronounce *theſe words*, to wit, *I am a Chriſtian, and there is nothing of wickedneſs acted amongſt us.* But *Sanctus*, having in an extraordinary, and more than humane, manner, couragiouſly endured all the torments Men could invent, (the impious Wretches hoping by reaſon of the continuedneſs and exquiſiteneſs of his torments to have heard ſome undecent expreſſions from him,) withſtood them with ſo great a degree of courage, that he declared neither his own name, nor that of his own Country, nor of the City where he was born, nor yet whether he were a Servant or a Freeman; but to all the Interrogatories, he made anſwer in the *Roman* tongue, *I am a Chriſtian:* This he declared time after time ſucceſſively, inſtead of [acknowledging] his Name, his City, his Kindred, or any thing elſe: neither could the Heathens get any other words out of him. Upon which account the rage both of the Preſident and of the Tormentors againſt him was exceeding great, and their endeavours to maſter him were obſtinate and earneſt. Inſomuch that when they had nothing further to torture him with, at laſt they clapt plates of Braſs that were red hot upon the moſt tender Members of his Body; which Parts of his Body were burnt indeed; but he ſtood upright without bending of himſelf at all, was invincible, and continued ſtedfaſt and conſtant in his Confeſſions; being bedew'd and ſtrengthen'd with that Celeſtial Fountain of living Water which flow'd out of the * Belly of *Chriſt*. His Body was a ſufficient evidence of what had hapned, being all over full of Wounds, and Prints of Stripes, (*p*) bowed and drawn together, and having loſt the external form and ſhape of a Man; in which *Chriſt* ſuffering accompliſh'd therein great glory, vanquiſhing the Adverſary, and demonſtrating for the information of others, that there is nothing formidable where the Love of the Father is, nor any pain where the Glory of Chriſt *is preſent*. For when thoſe impious Wretches ſome few days after began again to torture the Martyr, and ſuppos'd that if they ſhould make uſe of the ſame torments whilſt his Body was ſwell'd, and the (*q*) Wounds thereof inflamed, either they might maſter him, when he could not endure to be touch'd by hands, or that he would die under his torments, and ſo ſtrike a terror into others; not only no ſuch thing hapned concerning him, but alſo, contrary to the opinion of all Men, his Body became erect and was repair'd in theſe latter tortures; and he recover'd his former ſhape, and the uſe of his limbs. So that his being tormented the ſecond time was not a puniſhment to him, but by the *Grace* of *Chriſt* prov'd to be his remedy. Moreover, the Devil caus'd one *Biblias* to be brought forth to puniſhment, (being one of thoſe who had renounced Chriſt) whom he ſuppoſed to be by him already devoured, but was further deſirous

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*k*) *To wit,* in the Church of *Vienna* and in that of *Lyons*. But theſe Words are in an eſpecial manner to be taken notice of, becauſe from them it appears manifeſtly, that the Church of *Vienna*, as well as that of *Lyons*, had at that time its Biſhop. For by ancient Writers it is not called a Church unleſs it be a Mother-Church, which we call a *Cathedral*. *Ado Viennenſis* (in his *Chronicon*) ſays *Juſtus* was Biſhop of *Vienna* at that time; who having been macerated with a long Exile, was at laſt Crowned with Martyrdom. *Valeſ.*

(*l*) The Story goes, That this *Thyeſtes* eat part of his own Son; whom *Atreus* his Brother (to be revenged of him for committing Adultery with his Wife) made ready and ſet before him.

(*m*) He (not knowing her to be ſo) married his own Mother *Jocaſta*, (having before out of ignorance ſlain his own Father *Laius*,) of whom he begat four Sons.

(*n*) The Servants of the Chriſtians (before-mentioned) being afraid of the Tortures they were threatned with, had confeſs'd that the Chriſtians killed Infants, and committed Inceſt: And here the Devil endeavoured, that the Chriſtians themſelves, which were apprehended, ſhould after the ſame manner calumniate the Chriſtian Religion. Therefore the Judges tortured them all manner of ways, that they ſhould confeſs, that they eat Children, and committed Inceſt. Upon this account *Blandina* (as hereafter it follows) cried out amidſt her Tortures — *I am a Chriſtian, and there is nothing of wickedneſs acted amongſt us.* Valeſ.

(*o*) This *Sanctus* was born at *Vienna*, but was a Deacon of the Church at *Lyons*. Valeſ.

* See Joh. 7. 38.

(*p*) That is, by reaſon of the greatneſs of his Tortures. For they who were tortured in the *Eculeus* (the deſcription of which Engine ſee in *Turnebus* his *Adverſ.* L. 4. c. 39.) were forced to bow their Heads very much. *Valeſ.*

(*q*) Σωμάτων is the term in the original. *Ruſinus* (as by his Verſion appears) read τραυμάτων, i.e. *Wounds*; which reading ſeems to be right. *Valeſ.*

* Joh. 16. 2.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'be by him already devour'd, but was further 'desirous to have her condemn'd of Blasphemy, 'constraining her, being now weak and not couragious, to utter some impious expressions concerning us. But she came to herself again at 'the time of her being tortured, and (as we may 'so speak,) was awaked out of her profound 'sleep, being by the present punishment reminded 'of the eternal torments in Hell; and she return'd a contradictory answer to (r) those that slander'd us, saying, how shou'd such persons eat little children, for whom 'tis unlawful to eat the blood even of irrational creatures. From that instant she confess'd herself to be a Christian, and was added to the number of the Martyrs.

(r) Τοῖς βλασφήμοις: that's the reading of the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. And 'tis better than τοῖς βασανισταῖς, i.e. *the Tormentors*, as 'tis in *Robert Stephens Edit.* They are meant here, who calumniated the Christian Religion; or at least those, who by reason of the sharpness of the tortures, renounced it, and confess'd that the Christians kill'd Infants, and committed Incest. *Vales.*

'But when the punishment of those tyrannous 'persons were render'd ineffectual by Christ, 'through the patient sufferance of the Blessed 'Martyrs, the Devil invented other subtil devices, 'to wit, the Imprisonments of them in darkness, 'and in the most noisome parts of the Prison, the 'stretching of their feet in the (s) Stocks, which 'were strain'd to the fifth hole, and such other sorts 'of punishment as enraged Ministers, (and therefore full of the Devil) do usually provide for 'those that are shut up in prison. So that many 'were suffocated in prison, whom the Lord, manifesting his own Glory, 'was pleased should after 'that manner depart out of 'this life. For some who had 'been so cruelly tortured, 'that in all likelihood they 'they could not possibly live 'any longer, (altho' they 'should have had all methods of cure administred 'to them) continued in prison; destitute indeed of 'human assistance, but corroborated by the *Lord*, and 'strengthned in body and 'mind, who also encourag'd 'and comforted the rest:

(s) Ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ; i. e. *in the stocks.* See chap. 16. B. 4. and the note there, concerning this term. The fashion of this Engine for punishment, and the manner how Persons were punished in it, seems to have been this. It was a piece of Timber, wherein five pair of holes were made at a certain distance one from the other: Into these holes (as it were into boots) they put the Feet of Offenders, and fastned them therein with Cords and Fetters. The meaning of [*their Feet being strained to the fifth hole*] is, they forced them to straddle so wide, as to put their Feet into the last pair of holes; which posture, (those holes being at the greatest distance one from the other) was the sharpest degree of torture in this Engine. *Vales.*

'But others who were young, and newly appre'hended, whose Bodies had not before been ac'custom'd to endure tortures, were not able to 'bear the burthen of confinement, but died in pri'son. Now the blessed *Pothinus*, who was entrust'ed with the administration of the Episcopal Of'fice in *Lyons*, being above the age of ninety years, 'and very infirm of body, scarce able indeed to 'draw his breath by reason of his present bodily 'imbecillity, but corroborated with alacrity of 'mind through an earnest desire of an approach'ing Martyrdom; He, *I say*, was also haled to 'the Tribunal: His body indeed was both by age 'and also by his distemper decay'd and spent, 'but his life was preserv'd in him, that Christ 'might triumph thereby. He, being carried to the 'Tribunal by the Soldiers, the Magistrates of the 'City accompanying him, and the whole mul'titude raising shouts of all sorts against him, (as 'if he had been Christ,) exhibited a good testi'mony; but being ask'd by the President who 'was the God of the Christians, he replied, if 'you be worthy, you shall know. After this 'answer, he was dragg'd up and down after a 'most inhuman manner, and suffered various 'sorts of blows and stripes: Both those who 'were near, exercised all manner of injurious 'usage towards him with Hands and Feet, shew'ing no reverential respect to his age; and such 'as were at a distance cast at him whatever each 'person had ready at hand; yea, they all ac'counted it to be a great Offence and an Impie'ty, should any one have been deficient in his 'insolent usage of him: For by this means they 'thought they should revenge their Gods. And 'when there was scarce any breath left in him, 'he was cast into Prison, where after two days 'he expired. But here there came to pass a sin'gular Dispensation of God's Providence, and 'the immense Mercy of Jesus was demonstrated; '[an instance whereof] has indeed rarely hap'pened among the Brotherhood, but which was 'not at all disagreeable to the Skill and Dexte'rity of Christ. For those who, upon their 'being first apprehended, renounced the Faith, 'were themselves also confined to prison, and 'partook of the same Miseries which the Mar'tyrs underwent: For their denial of the Faith 'was not in any wise beneficial to them at that 'juncture of time. But those who confess'd them'selves to be what they really were, were impri'son'd as Christians, no other Crimination be'ing laid to their charge; but these were kept in 'custody, as being, besides that, Murderers 'and wicked Persons, and underwent double the 'punishment that others did. For the joy of 'Martyrdom, the hope of the Promises, the love 'to Christ, and the Spirit of the Father com'forted those: But their Conscience did heavily 'torture these; in so much that * in their passage 'from the Prison to the Tribunal, their Counte'nances might be manifestly known and distin'guish'd from all the rest. For those came forth 'chearfully, their Countenances being inter'mix'd with very much of Majesty and Pleasant'ness; insomuch that their Fetters encompass'd 'them with a beautiful comeliness, like a Bridle 'bedeck'd with Fringes of God †, wrought about 'with divers colours: And moreover they yielded 'a scent of the sweet savour of Christ; so that 'some thought they were anointed with ter'restrial Oyntment. But these had a dejected 'Countenance, look'd unpleasantly and ill-fa'vour'd, and were fill'd with all manner of de'formity: Moreover they were reviled by the 'very Heathens, as being cowardous and un'manly; having indeed procured themselves the 'Crimination of Murderers, but lost that most 'honourable, glorious and vivifick appellation [of 'Christians.] Which things when the rest beheld, 'they were made stedfast; and such as were ap'prehended did without any thing of dubiousness 'confess themselves to be Christians, entertaining 'not the least thought of diabolical consideration." To these having interposed some words, they again add, saying,— 'Afterwards there'fore their Martyrdoms were divided into all 'sorts of death: for, having platted one Crown 'of different colours, and of all sorts of Flowers, 'they offer'd it to the Father. It was indeed fit that 'those couragious Champions, who had under'gone a various combat, and been egregious Con'querors, should receive the invaluable Crown of 'Incorruption. *Maturus* therefore, and *Sanctus*, 'and *Blandina*, and *Attalus* were brought before 'the Wild Beasts into the (t) *Amphitheatre*, and into

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

* Κατὰ τὴν παρόδους is the phrase, i.e. *in their passage from their confinement to the place of Judicature.* Vales.

† Psal. 45. 10.

(t) Εἰς τὸ δημόσιον. By this term the *Amphitheatre* seems to be understood. For it can't be referr'd to [στάμα] because the prepositions is repeated, thus, εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν; &c. This is the reading of the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. *Vales.*

'the

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'the publick place, where the inhumanity of the 'Heathens was exhibited; (*u*) a day for fighting 'with the Wild Beaſts being granted purpoſely 'upon the account of thoſe of our Religion. And 'Maturus, and *Sanctus*, did 'again undergo all ſorts of 'torments in the *Amphitheatre*, as if they had before 'ſuffer'd nothing at all: But 'the rather, becauſe having 'already ſubdued the Adverſary in many * *Encounters*, 'and being now to engage 'in a Combat for the Crown 'itſelf, they again under-went ſuch Stripes in their 'Paſſage thither as are cuſtomarily inflicted; the 'being torn and drag'd up 'and down by the Wild 'Beaſts; and whatever elſe 'the enraged People, ſome 'from one place, ſome from 'another, called aloud for, 'and commanded; and in 'fine, the Iron-Chair, upon 'which their Bodies being 'broiled, fill'd their Noſes 'with the offenſive ſmell of 'burnt fleſh. Neither did 'they make an end of their 'Cruelty thus, but were yet 'more fiercely enraged, being deſirous to overcome 'the patient Sufferance of 'the Martyrs: But they 'heard no other expreſſion 'from *Sanctus*, ſave that 'which he had uſually utter'd all along from the 'beginning of his Confeſſion. Theſe two Perſons 'therefore, after they had 'continued alive a long 'while under the Sufferings 'of a mighty Combat, at 'laſt were ſlain; having 'been made a Spectacle to 'the World throughout that 'day, in ſtead of all that variety which is exhibited in 'the Combats of the Gladiators. But *Blandina*, being hung upon a piece of 'Wood fix'd in the Ground, 'was propoſed as Food for 'the Wild Beaſts to prey 'upon; who alſo, (in that 'ſhe ſeemed to hang in the 'form of a Croſs,) by her 'ſtrong and earneſt Prayer 'implanted much alacrity 'upon the minds of thoſe 'that were Combatants; 'when they ſaw (whilſt they 'were undergoing their *Sufferings*) even with their outward eyes, under the perſon of their Siſter, Him who 'was therefore crucified for 'them, that he might perſwade thoſe which believe in him, that whoſoever ſuffers for the 'Glory of Chriſt hath eternal Communion with 'the living God. Now when none of the Wild 'Beaſts would then touch her, ſhe was taken 'from the Stake, and caſt again into priſon, being reſerv'd for another Combat; that ſo, having been (*y*) Conqueror in many Encounters, 'ſhe might render the Condemnation of the 'crooked Serpent inexcuſable; alſo ſhe encou-'raged the Brethren: And 'tho' ſhe was a perſon of 'ſmall eſtimation, infirm, 'and deſpicable, yet having cloath'd herſelf with 'the ſtrength of Chriſt that 'great and invincible Champion, ſhe vanquiſh'd the Adverſary in many 'Encounters; and after a glorious Combat, was 'encircled with a Crown of Incorruption. *Attalus* alſo was by the Multitude moſt earneſtly required to be deliver'd up to Puniſhment, for he 'was an eminent Perſon, and by reaſon of the 'clearneſs of his Conſcience proceeded forth like 'a Champion prepared for the Combat, in that 'he had been perfectly and throughly exerciſed 'in the Chriſtian Diſcipline, and always a Witneſs of the Truth amongſt us: And after he had 'been (*a*) led round the *Amphitheatre*, (Tables being 'carried before him, whereon was written in the *Roman* Tongue, *This is Attalus the Chriſtian*,) and the 'People had vehemently 'ſwell'd with rage and anger againſt him; the Preſident having underſtood 'that he was a *Roman*, commanded he ſhould again 'be committed to cuſtody amongſt the reſt that 'were in priſon. Concerning whom he wrote 'to *Cæſar*, and expected an Edict from him. Now 'this interval of time was ſpent neither idly nor 'unfruitfully by them, but by their patient Sufferance, the immeaſurable Mercy of Chriſt was 'made apparent: for thoſe Members of the *Church* 'that were dead, were by the Living revived; 'and the Martyrs conferr'd * Kindneſſes upon 'thoſe who were no Martyrs; and there was a 'great Joy begotten in the Virgin Mother [*the Church*;] ſhe having again received thoſe alive 'whom by Abortion ſhe had caſt forth as dead. 'For through the means *of the Holy Martyrs* many 'of thoſe who had renounc'd the Faith, were 'newly formed in the Womb, born again, had 'their vital Heat rekindled in them, and learn'd 'to confeſs themſelves to be Chriſtians. And having now recover'd life and ſtrength, they came 'before the Tribunal, (God, who deſireth not 'the death of a Sinner, but is indulgent and kindly invites him to repentance, (*a*) infuſing a 'ſweetneſs into them) that they might again be 'interrogated by the Preſident. For *Cæſar* had 'ſignified by his Reſcript, that thoſe [*who confeſs'd themſelves to be Chriſtians*,] ſhould be (*b*) tortured; 'but if any renounced the Faith, they ſhould

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*y*) It ſhould be [ἐκβιάσασθαι.] So 'tis in the *Med.* MS. and in *Nicephorus*. See *Peter Faber*, in his *firſt Book Agoniſtici*, chap. 24. Note alſo, that *Blandina*, being a Servant, was crucified; for that was the puniſhment of Servants. *Valeſ.* *Robert Stephens* reads [νικήσασα.]

(*u*) The meaning of this place is, that the *Preſidents*, or *Deputy*, of the Province of *Lyons*, granted the People an extraordinary ſhew of fighting with the wild Beaſts; a Day being appointed for that purpoſe, becauſe of the Chriſtians, who were condemned to the Beaſts. For the *Romans* had ſet days for theſe Spectacles, which fell on the month of *December*, as may be ſeen in the *Calendar* of *Heruvartius*. Except on theſe Days, it was unlawful for the *Duumviri* (on whom the charge of theſe *Shews* was impoſed) to exhibit theſe Spectacles of fighting with Wild-Beaſts to the People. But thoſe Judges, who had the power of the Sword, and of condemning Perſons to the Beaſts, exhibited theſe Shews as often as they pleaſed, that they might delight the People by deſtroying of Offenders. *Valeſ.*

(*x*) We noted before, that many Athletical terms were made uſe of in this Epiſtle. Amongſt which is to be accounted the term [κλῆροι,] which occurs here. For the Champions, who were to contend in the Games, were wont to be drawn forth by lot, which, after what manner it was done, *Lucian* (in *Hermotimo*) tells us. There was a little Silver Box, dedicated to the God that preſided over the Games, into which the Lots were caſt. Upon two the Letter *A* was written; upon other two the Letter *B*. and ſo on. Then the Champions drew theſe Lots out of the Box. Thoſe two, who drew forth the Letter *A*, engaged one with the other, and fought in the firſt place: And this was the [πρῶτος κλῆρος.] In like manner, they that drew the Letter *B*, engaged one another in the ſecond place. So the Lot and the Urn aſſigned every one his Antagoniſt. He that vanquiſhed his Adverſary, was not immediately Crowned, but engaged in another encounter with thoſe others who had conquered their Adverſaries, until there remained only one Victor over all. Upon which account they drew Lots ſeveral times. Hence 'tis, that in the *Farneſian* Inſcription (which *Gruter* ſpeaks of, pag. 314.) one *Aſclepiades* is ſaid to have gotten the victory in many Encounters, τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον μὴ πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον κλῆρον σῶσας τὰς ἀνταγωνίσας· i. e. *after the firſt or ſecond caſting of Lots, having vanquiſhed the Antagoniſts the ſecond, or third time.* For this was uſual for that reaſon I mentioned, as often as there were many couples of Champions. For the Conquerors engaged one another, and there was a ſecond and third drawing of Lots amongſt them, until the Victory remained to one. And this is that which, in this Epiſtle, is called διὰ πλειόνων κλήρων. *Valeſ.*

(*a*) The term in the original is [ἐγκαινοῦσθαι,] which is uſed as well in an active as paſſive ſenſe. 'Tis a *Metaphor* taken from the wild Olive-tree, which being grafted, grows ſweet; of which St. *Paul* ſpeaks. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι. *Lexicographers* differ very much in their giving the ſignification of this term (which here occurs.) *Stephens* (in his *Theſaurus*,) renders it, *fuſtibus concidi*, i. e. *to be beaten with Clubs*: *Varinus*, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκοπῆναι, i. e. *to be beheaded*: The *Etymologicon* (publiſh'd by *Sylbergius*) ſays it ſignifies, οὐκ ἁπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ὁ ὅτι ξύλον ὅπερ σκυτάλην καλοῦσι, *not barely to be put to death, but to be kill'd with the* Tympanum, *which is a piece of Wood call'd a Cudgel*: The Reader will find a large and learned account of this term, and of this Engine of Torture, in Dr. *Hammond*'s Note on *Hebr.* 11. 35. Where he makes it appear, that this ſort of puniſhment was very painful, contumelious, and capital.

(*z*) The *Gladiators* and the *Beſtiarii*, before they began the Encounter, were wont to be led about in the preſence of the Spectators. See *Lucian*, in *Toxari*. This was uſually done, not only with thoſe who let themſelves out to play Prizes, but alſo with thoſe Offenders, which were condemned to the Sword, and to the Wild Beaſts. So *Martial*, *Traducta eſt gyris, nec cepit arena nocentes.* Valeſ.

* That is, by making interceſſion for them, &c. *Valeſ.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'be dismiss'd from their Imprisonment. Now, 'the Publick (c) Assembly here (which is frequented by a numerous concourse of People of 'all Nations that meet together at it) being newly begun, [the President] order'd the blessed 'Martyrs to be brought before the Tribunal, making them a Gazing-stock, 'and by way of Ostentation, producing them as a 'pompous Shew to the Multitude. When therefore 'he had again interrogated 'them, as many as were 'found to have the Privi'ledge of being Free of the 'City of *Rome*, he order'd 'should be Beheaded; the 'rest were cast to the Wild-Beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified thro' 'those who formerly had renounced the Faith, 'but then (contrary to the expectation of the 'Heathens) became to be Confessors: For these 'Persons were interrogated apart, as being, in 'all probability, forthwith to be set at liberty; 'but, having confess'd themselves to be Christi'ans, they were added to the (d) number of the 'Martyrs. Now, they continued without, who 'never had the least impression of Faith, nor a 'sense of the Wedding-garment, nor a thought 'about the fear of God; but by their Conversation defam'd the way *of Truth*, that is, were the Sons of Perdition: But all the rest were added to the Church; during whose Examination, one *Alexander*, by Country a *Phrygian*, by Profession a Physician, a person who had dwelt many years in the *Gallia*'s, and was known almost to all Men by reason of his love to God, and his boldness and fearlessness in preaching his Word, (for he wanted not Apostolick Grace*;) standing near to the Tribunal, and *by Nods* encouraging them to a Confession of the Faith, appear'd to those who stood round the Tribunal, as if he endur'd the * pangs of Child-birth: Now the Multitude being in a great fume, because those, who had before renounc'd the Faith, did now again make Confession of it, cry'd out against *Alexander*, as if he were the occasion thereof: And the President (having commanded him 'to be (e) set before him, 'and ask'd him who he was, 'and he having said that he 'was a Christian) being in 'a rage, condemn'd him to 'be cast to the Wild-Beasts. 'And the day following he 'entred *the Amphitheatre* together with *Attalus*; (for 'the President, to gratify the Multitude, did again 'deliver *Attalus* to the Wild-Beasts:) which two 'persons, having undergone all the Instruments of 'torment in the *Amphitheatre* that were invented 'to torture them with, and endured a great 'combat, were at last (f) run through with a 'Sword. *Alexander* indeed did neither sigh, nor utter any expression at all; but in his heart spoke to God, and continued praising of, and praying to him: But *Attalus*, when he was set in the Iron-Chair, and scorch'd all over, (when the savour of his burnt flesh ascended from his Body) said to the Multitude in the *Roman* tongue, *behold, this 'that you do, is to devour Men; but we neither devour 'men, nor practise any other thing that is evil.* Being ask'd also what name God had, he answer'd, *God has not a name, as Man has.* In fine, after all 'these persons, on the (g) last day of the Gladia'tors Combats, *Blandina* was again brought forth, 'together with *Ponticus*, a Youth about fifteen 'years old; (who also were 'every day led in, to see 'the Tortures of the rest) 'and they constrain'd them 'to swear by their Idols: 'But because they continu'ed firm and constant, and 'contemned their Gods, the 'Multitude was so enrag'd 'against them, that they 'neither had compassion on 'the age of the young Man, 'nor shew'd any reverential 'respect towards the Sex of the Woman, but exposed them to all manner of cruel Tortures, and 'made them pass thro' the whole Circuit of *Torments*, now and then compelling them to swear, 'but were unable to effect that. For *Ponticus*, being encouraged by his Sister, (insomuch that the 'Heathens perceived it was she that encouraged 'and strengthned him) having couragiously undergone all sorts of tortures, gave up the ghost. 'But the blessed *Blandina*, the last of all, having 'like a noble and valiant Mother encouraged her 'Children, and sent them before as *Conquerors* to 'the King; after she had measured over the same 'course of Combats that her Sons had passed 'through, hastned to them, being glad, and 'rejoycing at her Exit, as if she had been in'vited to a Nuptial Supper, and were not to be 'cast to the Wild-Beasts. And after she had 'been scourged, exposed to the Fury of the Wild-Beasts, and set in the '(h) Iron-Chair, at last she 'was inclosed in a Net, and 'thrown before a (i) Bull: 'By which Beast, after she 'had been very much toss'd '(having been all along 'wholly insensible of the 'Tortures she underwent, 'because of her hope and 'her retaining a firm assent 'to those things she believed, and also by reason 'of her familiar converse 'in prayer with Christ,) 'she also was run through 'with a sword; and the very Heathens themselves 'confessed, that there never was any Woman a'mong 'em, which suffer'd so many and so great 'tortures. But their rage and cruelty towards the 'Saints was not thus satiated: For the savage and 'barbarous Nations, having been stir'd up by that '(k) fierce Wild-Beast, could not without great 'difficulty be appeased; but their cruelty was 'begun afresh, in a new and peculiar manner, a'gainst the Bodies *of the Saints*. For they were so 'far from being ashamed that they had been van'quish'd *by the Martyrs* (because they were destitute of human reason and consideration,) that 'their rage was more enkindled; both the Pre'sident and also the People (like a fierce Beast) 'most unjustly demonstrating the same degree of 'hatred against us: That the Scripture might be 'fulfilled, (l) *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still,* 'and

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(c) The publick meeting, from all parts of *Gallia*, upon account of the Sports and Games, was at *Lyons*, at the Altar consecrated to *Augustus*. This Altar was consecrated when *Julius Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus* were Consuls, on the *Calends* of *August*, as *Suetonius* says, in the Life of *Claudius*. *Dio* writes, that these Games were continued in his time. Hence 'tis collected, that the Martyrs of *Lyons* suffered in the Month of *August*; but not all in one day, as 'tis evident from this Epistle. *Vales.*

(d) In the King's MS. and in *Robert Stephens* Edit. the reading here is [τῶν μαρτύρων χορῶ.] But in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* it is [κλήρω] i. e. *number*. See note (x) in this chap. *Vales.*

*Ὡς περ ὠδίνων is the phrase in the original; 'tis St. *Paul*'s expression *Gal.* 4. 19.

(e) *Rufinus* translates this passage thus, *Qui à Præside in medium statui Jussus*, i. e. *who being commanded by the Presidents to be set before him.* Which Translation pleases me best. For [ἐπιστῆσαι,] which is the word here used, does properly signifie, *to set before the Judge*; in which sense also παραστῆσαι is used. *Vales.*

(f) Ἐπέσησαν; *Rufinus* translates it, *Jugulati sunt*, that is, *their throats were cut*; I would rather have it thus rendred, *they were run through with a Sword.* For it was the custom that the *Confector* should slay the *bestiarii*; as we noted before, in the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, B. 4. Chap. 15. *Vales.*

(g) Hence it's manifest that the Sports of the Gladiators were wont to be exhibited for the space of some days, at *Lyons*, at that famous Assembly of all *Gallia*, before the Altar of *Augustus*. Besides these Sports of the Gladiators, there was a day granted by the President for fighting with Wild-beasts, on account of the Christians, as 'tis expresly said in this Epistle. For I suppose, that these two Terms, μονομαχία, and θηριομαχία, are not to be confounded, tho' the *Latines* comprehend them both in one Word, *to wit*, *Munus*. Vales.

(h) Τήγανον is the Greek term; which *Rufinus* translates *craticulam*, i. e. a *Grid-iron*: It is the same, which before is called *the Iron-Chair*, on which the Martyrs being set, were broyled, as it were on a Gridiron. Thus the Christians were used before they were cast to the Wild-beasts. *Vales.*

(i) Amongst the Sports of an *Amphitheatrical shew* this was one; a Bull was brought in, to whom (being first enraged) they cast Offenders inclosed in a Net; whom, like Balls, he tossed on high. *Martial*'s Verse on this Subject is well known, *Taurus ut impositas jactat ad astra pilas.* Vales.

(k) That is the Devil; the Greek Word [θηρ] signifies, a *wild-beast*; but [ὁ θηρ] is often taken for the Devil. *Vales.*

(l) Rev. 22. 11. where instead of [ὁ ἀνομησάτω, ἀνομησάτω,] as the reading in the original is here; we now read [ὁ ἀδικῶν, ἀδικησάτω ἔτι], i. e. *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still*; See the original of the Text.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'and he that is righteous let him be righteous ſtill. For thoſe who had been ſuffocated in Priſon, they caſt to the Dogs; watching continually night and day, leſt any of us ſhould interr them; then having expoſed the pieces of the Bodies, as well what were left undevour'd by the Wild Beaſts, as what remain'd unconſumed by the Fire, partly torn, and partly burnt, alſo the Heads of the reſt together with their Trunks, they kept 'em likewiſe unburied with a guard of Soldiers for the ſpace of many days. And ſome were full of Indignation, and gnaſh'd their Teeth at the Dead, being deſirous to take ſome further revenge of them. Others inſulted over and derided them, extolling their Idols, and attributing the Puniſhment of the Martyrs to them. But thoſe that were more mild, and who ſeem'd in ſome meaſure to ſympathize with us, upbraided us very much, ſaying, Where is their God? and what Emolument hath this Religion brought them, which they preferr'd before their own Lives? And ſuch variety was there in the Heathen's behaviour towards us: But we were affected with a great Grief, becauſe we could not hide the Bodies in the earth; for neither was the night aſſiſtant to us therein, (*m*) neither would Money perſwade them, nor could our Prayers induce them to grant our requeſt; but they watch'd the Bodies with all imaginable care and diligence, as if they were to gain ſome great matter, if they ſhould not be buried." After theſe words, having interpoſed ſome other expreſſions, they proceed, ſaying; 'The Bodies therefore of Martyrs, having undergone all manner of ignominious uſage, and being expoſed in the open air for ſix days ſpace, were afterwards burnt; and being reduced to Aſhes, were by thoſe *impious Wretches* (*n*) ſwept into the River *Rhone*, which runs hard by; that ſo no Remains of them might be any longer viſible upon earth. And this they did, as if they were able to have vanquiſh'd God, and deprive them of a Reſurrection; that ſo (as they ſaid) they might have no hope of riſing again; of which being fully perſwaded, they introduce a ſtrange and new Religion amongſt us, and, contemning the moſt exquiſite Torments, do readily, and with alacrity of mind, willingly undergo *death*. Let us now ſee whether they ſhall riſe again, and whether their *God* is able to aſſiſt them, and deliver them out of our hands.

(*m*) Theſe Words [εἰς ἀργύρια ἔπεισεν, i.e. *neither would money perſwade them*] are not in our three MSS. *Maz.Med.* and *Fuk.* the King's MS. and *Rob. Stephens Edit.* do retain them. *Valeſ.*

(*n*) The *Maz.Med.* *Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. read it thus, [κατεραφώθη εἰς τὸν ῥοδανόν, i.e. *were ſwept into the River Rhone*:] But the Reading of the King's MS. of *Stephens's Edit.* is [κατερράνθη, &c. i.e. *were ſtrewed*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

How the Martyrs beloved of God, kindly receiving ſuch as fell away in the Perſecution, wrought a Cure upon them.

SUch were the Calamities which befel the Churches of *Chriſt*, in the times of the foreſaid Emperor; from which may be conjectured what alſo was done in the other Provinces. It is worth our adjoyning hereto ſome other words out of the ſame Epiſtle, whereby the Meekneſs and Humanity of the forementioned Martyrs is deſcrib'd in theſe very words; 'Who alſo were ſo far fol- * Phil. 2. 6. 'lowers and imitators of Chriſt, (* *Who being in the 'form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with 'God,*) that altho' they were in ſuch an height of 'Glory, and had ſuffer'd as Martyrs not once, 'nor twice, but often, and had been taken from (*a*) Sir *H. Savil*, at the Margin of his MS. Copy, has mended this place thus, καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις παραβληθέντες, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὖθις ἀναληφθέντες, i.e. *and had 'the Wild Beaſts and (*a*) committed again to been caſt to the Wild-Beaſts, and taken from them again*: Which Emendation is put in the Margin of the *Geneva-Edit.* Indeed *Chriſtophorſon* read this place thus, as appears from his Tranſlation; but 'tis uncertain whether he did it by conjecture, or from the authority of ſome old Copies. Our MSS. alter not the reading here. Moreover, ἀναλαμβάνειν (which is the term in the Original) ſignifies in this place, *to be caſt into Priſon*; in which ſenſe 'tis twice uſed in the foregoing Chapter. *Valeſ.*

'Priſon'; altho' they had the Marks of Fire, the 'Scars of Stripes, and Wounds all over their Bodies; yet they neither declared themſelves to be 'Martyrs, nor would they ſuffer us to call them 'by that name: But if at any time any one of us, 'either by Letter or in Diſcourſe, term'd them 'Martyrs, they reprov'd us ſharply: For they 'readily allow'd the appellation of Martyr to 'Chriſt, (who is the faithful and true Witneſs, 'and the Firſt-begotten of the Dead, and the 'Prince of the Life of God;) they commemorated alſo thoſe Martyrs who were already departed this life, and ſaid, thoſe are now Martyrs, whom Chriſt vouchſafed to aſſume whilſt they 'were making their Confeſſion, he having ſeal'd 'their Martyrdom by their Death: But we are 'mean and humble Confeſſors: And with Tears 'they beſeeched the Brethren, entreating them, 'that earneſt Prayers might be made that they 'might be perfected: They alſo in reality demonſtrated the Power and Efficacy of Martyrdom, uſing much freedom of ſpeech in their Anſwers before all the Heathens, and manifeſted their excellency by their patient Sufferance, Fearleſsneſs, and undaunted Courage: But they refuſed the appellation of Martyrs given them by the Brethren, having been filled with the Fear of God." Again, after ſome few words they ſay; 'They humbled themſelves under the mighty 'Hand, by which they are now highly exalted: 'Then alſo (*b*) they excuſed themſelves to all Men, but accuſed none; they looſed all Men, and bound none; yea they pray'd for thoſe who tortured them, as did *Stephen* that perfect Martyr, [ſaying, * [*Lord, lay not 'this ſin to their charge*. Now if he pray'd for thoſe who ſtoned him, how much more [is it credible that he pray'd] for the Brethren?" Again alſo, after ſome other worsd, they ſay; 'For this 'was the greateſt encounter they had with the 'Devil, *to wit*, upon account of their genuine and 'ſincere Charity; becauſe the Serpent, being 'ſtrangled, vomited up thoſe alive, whom he ſuppoſed he had digeſted. They did not proudly 'triumph over thoſe that fell; but beſtow'd, on 'ſuch as were indigent, thoſe good things with 'which they abounded, having Motherly Bowels 'of Compaſſion, pouring forth many Tears for 'them before [God] the Father. They asked life, 'and he gave it them; which alſo they imparted 'to their Friends; being Victors (*c*) over all, they 'went to God: Having always loved Peace, and 'continually exhorted [us] to it, they departed 'in peace to God; leaving no Grief to their Mother, no Faction nor Diſſention amongſt the 'Brethren, but Joy, Peace, Concord, and Love." Let thus much be here profitably placed, concerning the Brethren that fell; upon account of the inhuman and mercileſs Diſpoſition of (*d*) thoſe, who afterwards behaved themſelves moſt cruelly towards the Members of Chriſt.

(*b*) Πᾶσι μὲν ἀπελογήσατο. *Muſculus* tranſlates it trueſt, thus, *Omnibus rationem fidei ſuæ reddebant*, i.e. *they gave all Men an account of their Faith*: It may be rendred thus, *They excuſed themſelves to all*: For that's the proper ſignification of Ἀπολογεῖσθαι. *Valeſ.*

* Acts 7. 60.

(*c*) The *Maz.Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read [πάντων,] i.e. *over all*. Valeſ.

(*d*) He means the *Novatians*, who afterwards excluded ſuch as fell in time of Perſecution from all hope of Abſolution. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

CHAP. III.

What a Vision appear'd to the Martyr Attalus *in his sleep.*

MOreover, the same Epistle of the forementionʼd Martyrs, contains also another relation worthy to be remembred; which, for the information of the Readers, we will very willingly insert: Thus it is: ‘For when *Alcibiades*, one ‘of *the Martyrs*, (who led an austere course of life, ‘and in the foregoing part of his life hitherto had ‘fed on nothing at all, but only made use of Bread ‘and Water) attempted to lead the same course ‘of life during his Imprisonment; it was reveaㄹled to *Attalus* (after the first Combat which he ‘finishʼd in the Amphitheatre) that *Alcibiades* did ‘not well, in his not making use of God's Creatures, and leaving an Example of Scandal to o‘thers. But *Alcibiades* submitted, fed on all Meats ‘afterwards promiscuously, and gave God thanks: ‘For they were not destitute of the Grace of ‘God, but the Holy Spirit was their Director.” These things were after this manner. Now, when *Montanus*, (a) *Alcibiades*, and *Theodotus* began, then first of all, to be lookʼd upon in the opinion of most Men as Prophets; (for very many Miracles of Divine Grace, at that time wrought in many Churches, made most Men believe that they also were Prophets;) and when there arose a Dissention concerning these foresaid persons, the Brethren that were in *Gallia* did again subjoyn their private Opinion also concerning these Men, (which was Religious and most Orthodox,) and annexʼd several Epistles of those Martyrs that had ended their lives amongst them; which, being yet in Bonds, they wrote to the Brethren in *Asia and Phrygia*, and also to (b) *Eleutherus* then the Bishop of *Rome*, being (c) Embassadors for the Peace of the Church.

(a) This *Alcibiades* must be distinguished from *Alcibiades* mentioned a little before in this Chapter. He, that is first named in this place, was a Companion of the B. Martyrs of *Lyons*. This Person here was (together with *Montanus* and *Theodotus*,) a ringleader of the Sect of the *Cataphrygians*. Concerning whom see Chap. 16, and 17 of this Book. *Vales.*

(b) *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Rome*, was first deceived by the *Montanists*, who craftily hid their Error under the pretence of a feigned Piety. Moreover, being moved thereto by the Letters and Exhortations of the Martyrs of *Lyons*, he wrote an Epistle to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, concerning the receiving of the *Montanists* into the Church. But being soon after admonished by one *Praxeas* of *Asia*, he revoked his pacifick Letters which he had sent; and following the authority of his Predecessor *Anicetus*, refused to admit of a new Prophecy. So *Tertullian*, in his Book, against *Praxeas*. Vales.

(c) That is, the Brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, as well as *Eleutherus*, were Embassadors for the Peace of the Church. See Book 3. Chap. 24. Note (a.)

CHAP. IV.

How the Martyrs, by their Epistle, recommended Irenæus.

(a) *Blondell* (in his *Apology*, Chap. 8. p. 26.) denies that the Martyrs of *Lyons* wrote to *Eleutherus*. For he affirms, that the Martyrdom of *Pothinus*, and the *Lugdunensians*, happened on the seventh year of *Marcus* the Emperor, on the year of Christ 167; at which time *Soter* was Bishop of *Rome*. The Martyrs of *Lyons* therefore could not write to *Eleutherus* who then had not succeeded *Soter*. But our *Eusebius* does refute *Blondell*, saying plainly, That *the same Martyrs recommended*, &c. *Vales.*

(b) *Valesius*, in his Note here, will not allow that *Irenæus* did actually go this journey to *Rome*; the Martyrs indeed, says he, had desired him, and he had promised to undertake it; but the heat of the Persecution coming on, and he being fixʼd in the Presidency over the Church, could not be spared personally to undergo it. But since *Eusebius* clearly intimates, and St. *Jerom (in Catalogo)* and *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 179) do expressly affirm, that the Martyrs sent him upon this Errand, ’tis safest to grant his journey thither, tho’ it must be while he was yet *Presbyter*, for so they particularly say he was in their Epistle to the Bishop of *Rome*, part of which our *Eusebius* has here inserted. See the Learned Dr. *Cave*'s *Apostolici*; in the Life of St. *Irenæus*; p. 165. *Edit. Lond.* 1677.

BUT the same (a) Martyrs recommended (b) *Irenæus* (who at that time was a Presbyter of

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(c) The King's, *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read *Eleutherus*; as do also *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus*. But there are some who call him *Eleutherius*. Vales.

of the Church at *Lyons*) to the forementionʼd Bishop of *Rome*, giving the Man a very good Testimony, as their own words do manifest, which are these: ‘We pray that you may in all things ‘and always rejoyce in God, Father (c) *Eleutherus*; ‘we have entreated *Irenæus* our Brother and Com‘panion to bring you these Letters, and we be‘seech you that you would have him recommen‘ded, being a Follower of the Testament or Co‘venant of *Christ*. For if we knew that place ‘would procure any Man righteousness, we wouʼd ‘chiefly have recommended him as being Presby‘ter of the Church, which *degree* he is of.” What need we recount the Catalogue of the Martyrs in the foresaid Epistle; some whereof were perfected by being beheaded, others were cast for food to the Wild Beasts, and others again died in Prison? *Or what need we reckon up* the number of the Confessors which till that time survived? For he that is desirous, may easily and fully know all these things, by taking into his hands that Epistle, which, as I said, is inserted entire into our Collection of the Martyrs. And such were the things that happenʼd in *Antoninus*'s Time.

CHAP. V.

How God, having from Heaven heard the Prayers of some of our Religion, sent Rain to Marcus Aurelius Cæsar.

REport says, that when (a) *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, Brother to this *Emperor*, had drawn up his Men in Battalia, in order to a Fight against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, his Army was brought into so great a strait by reason of Thirst, that he knew not what course to take; and that the Soldiers of the Legion of (b) *Melitina* (so it was callʼd, which Legion upon account of their Faith, has continuʼd from that time hitherto,) kneeling down upon the Ground, (whilst the Army was setting in array against the Enemy) according to our usual custom in Prayer, betook themselves to the making Supplications to God. Which sight seeming very strange to their *Adversaries*, report says, that there soon after follow'd another thing much more wonderful; *to wit*, both a terrible Lightning, which put the Enemy to flight and destroy'd them; and also a great Shower of Rain, which fell upon that Army who had pray'd to God, and refresh'd it, when all the Men in it were just ready to perish with thirst. Which Story is related both by those Writers, (who are wholly estranged from our Religion,) whose care it was to commit to writing matters done in those times; and 'tis also set forth by our own Writers. But the (c) *Heathen Historians*, because they are

(a) *Eusebius* is here much mistaken, who says, that *M. Aurelius* was Brother to *Antoninus* the Emperor, whenas *M. Aurelius Antoninus* was one and the same Person. His Adoptive Brother was not named *Marcus*, but *Lucius Ælius Verus*, as all Men know. But he, who fought against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians* (to whom God granted a sudden shower to allay his Soldiers thirst,) was not *L. Ælius Verus*, but *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, as all Historians do attest; which our *Eusebius* does confirm also in his *Chronicon*, where he says this was done in the 14th year of *Antoninus*, that is, four or five years after the death of *L. Ælius Verus*. Vales.

(b) *Melitina* is a Country of *Cappadocia*, situate between *Commagenes* and *Catalonia*, says *Strabo* in his 12 Book; who also relates, that that Country had no Cities. But afterwards *Melitina* became a famous City, which, upon a new division made of the Provinces, was attributed to *Armenia the less*; so says *Amm. Marcellinus*, who always calls it *Melitina*. Vales.

* That is, the name of that *Legion*; he means not the very Persons, which then were in it.

(c) Some of the Heathen Writers, who have mentioned this thing, say the Rain was procured by the Inchantments of Magicians: Others assert it to have been done by the Prayers of *Marcus* the Emperor. So *Capitolinus* in the Life of *Marcus*, and *Claudian* in the sixth Consulate of *Honorius*. Moreover, they have set down the very Words of the Prayer, that *Marcus* used; which are these, *Hanc dextram ad te, Jupiter, tendo, quæ nullius unquam sanguinem fudit*; i.e. *I stretch forth this right hand to thee, O* Jupiter, *which never shed the Blood of any Man.* Vales.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

alienated from the Faith, have mention'd the wonder indeed, but confeſs not that it was done by the Prayers of thoſe of our Religion. But our Men, in that they are lovers of truth, have delivered what was done in a plain and ingenuous manner. Amongſt which number is *Apollinaris*; who ſays, from that time that Legion, which by prayer had wrought that Miracle, had a name given it by the Emperor, accommodate to what was done, being call'd in the *Roman* tongue (*d*) *Fulminea*. *Tertullian* alſo is a Witneſs of this matter worthy to be credited, who dedicated to the *Roman* Senate an Apology for our Faith (which we have before made mention of;) wherein he confirms this Story by a greater and more manifeſt Demonſtration. Thus therefore he writes, ſaying, (*e*) that the Letters of the moſt Intelligent Emperor *Marcus* were extant in his time; wherein he atteſts, that his Army in *Germany*, being ready to periſh for want of Water, was preſerv'd by the Chriſtians Prayers. He ſays moreover, that this Emperor threatned thoſe with death, who attempted to accuſe them of our Religion. To which the forementioned Writer adds theſe words alſo: '(*f*) What manner 'of Laws therefore are theſe, which the impious, 'unjuſt, and cruel perſons bring againſt us? Such 'Laws as *Veſpaſian* did not obſerve, altho' he had 'conquer'd the *Jews*; which *Trajan* in part diſ-'annull'd, forbidding that the Chriſtians ſhould 'be ſought for; which neither *Adrian*, (altho' 'an inquiſitive ſearcher into all things that were 'curious,) nor he who was ſirnamed *Pius*, did 'make authentick." But let every one determine 'concerning theſe things according to his own pleaſure; we will proceed upon the Series of the ſubſequent Parts of our Hiſtory. *Pothinus* therefore having finiſh'd his life, (together with thoſe that ſuffer'd Martyrdom in *Gallia*,) when he was ninety years old compleat, (*g*) *Irenæus* ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of *Lyons*, which See *Pothinus* preſided over. This *Irenæus* was, we underſtand, an Auditor of *Polycarp*'s in his younger years. This perſon ſetting down (*in his third Book againſt Hereſies*) the Succeſſion of the Biſhops of *Rome*, cloſes his Catalogue with *Eleutherus*, (whoſe Times and Actions we now make our Reſearches into) becauſe in his time he compiled that elaborate Work: He writes thus.

(*d*) That is, the *Lightning Legion*. *Scaliger* has long ſince remark'd (in his *Animad. Euſeb.*) that the Legion was not named *Fulminea* upon account of this Miracle, for it was ſo call'd long before *Antoninus*'s time. *Dio Caſſius* makes this evident, in his 55 B. where he reckons up all the Legions. Alſo the old Inſcription, produced by *Scaliger*, confirms this. Wherefore, as to the Miracle of the Rain, obtained by the Prayers of the Chriſtian Soldiers, we do readily give credit to the atteſtation of *Apollinaris* and *Tertullian*; but *Apollinaris* has not yet perſwaded me to believe, that the Legion *Melitina* was named the *Lightning-Legion* upon that account. Some may object, that there was indeed a Legion called the *Lightning-Legion*, before *Antoninus*'s time, but that he gave the Legion *Melitina* that name alſo, becauſe of the benefit he received by their means. But, if it were ſo, it ought to be called *the ſecond Lightning-Legion*: And yet *Dio* makes no mention of any ſuch Legion, altho' he reckons up exactly all the Legions enrolled by the former Emperors. Moreover, *Dio* ſays, that the *Lightning-Legion* had its ſtation in *Cappadocia*, which agrees very well with the Legion *Melitina*. In the Book called *Notitia Imperii Romani*, the prefecture of the 12 Legion, termed *Fulminea*, at *Melitina*, is reckoned under the diſpoſition of the Duke of *Armenia*. Whence 'tis collected that *Melitina* was not the name of the Legion, but of the Town, wherein the 12 Legion, called *Fulminea*, abode. But 'twas not uſual to give the Legions their denomination from the places where they were in Garriſon, but from the Countreys wherein they were inrolled. Therefore, what *Euſebius* ſays concerning the Legion *Melitina*, ſeems to me ſcarce probable. Beſides, *Rufinus* purpoſely omitted this name of the Legion, as I ſuppoſe, becauſe he knew that *Melitina* was the name of a Town in *Armenia the Leſs*, wherein the 12 Legion, called *Fulminea*, kept guard in his time. But (that I may freely ſay what I think) it ſeems not very probable to me, that a whole Legion of *Roman* Soldiers ſhould at that time be Chriſtians; which yet *Euſebius* ſeems to affirm: Who errs in this alſo, becauſe he has not produced the place of *Apollinaris*, nor ſhown the Book wherein he wrote theſe things. But the Words, with which *Euſebius* cloſes this whole Story, do ſufficiently ſhew, that he himſelf doubted of the truth of this matter: For thus he ſays, in this Chap. *Let every one determine concerning theſe things according to his own pleaſure.* Valeſ.

(*e*) *Tertullian*'s Words are theſe: *At nos è contrario edimus protectorem; ſi literæ Marci Aurelii graviſſimi Imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam ſitim, Chriſtianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbridiſcuſſam conteſtatur. Tertul. Apol. pag. 6. Edit. Regal. Paris* 1634.

(*f*) *Quales ergo leges iſtæ, quas adverſus nos ſoli exequuntur impii, injuſti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas* Trajanus *ex parte fruſtratus eſt, vetando inquiri Chriſtianos: Quas nullus* Hadrianus, *quanquam curioſitatum omnium explorator; nullus* Veſpaſianus, *quanquam Judæorum debellator; nullus* Pius; *nullus* Verus *impreſſit. Tertul. Apol.* pag. 6 and 7. Edit. as before. We have added theſe Words of *Tertullian* here, that the learned Reader may ſee how different the Tranſlation, *Euſebius* here quotes, is from the original Copies of *Tertullian*, which we now have.

(*g*) *Baronius* has placed the Election of *Irenæus* to the See of *Lyons* on the year of Chriſt 180. For after the death of *Pothinus*, which happened in the year 179, he ſays that See was vacant till the heat of the Perſecution was over. *Valeſ.* Dr. *Cave*, *in his Chronological Table*, ſays, *Pothinus* died in the year of Chriſt 177. to whom ſucceeded *Irenæus* the Year following.

CHAP. VI.

A Catalogue of thoſe who were Biſhops of Rome.

'THE bleſſed Apoſtles therefore, having found-
'ded and built the Church, delivered the
'Epiſcopal Office to *Linus*; of whom *Paul* has
'made mention in his Epiſtles to *Timotheus. A-
'nencletus* ſucceeded him; after whom, in the third
'place from the Apoſtles, *Clemens* had the Biſhop-
'rick allotted to him; who had ſeen the bleſſed
'Apoſtles, and was converſant with them; and
'as yet he had the Preaching of the Apoſtles
'ſounding in his ears, and their Tradition before
'his eyes: And not he alone; for at that time there
'were many yet remaining alive, who had been
'taught by the Apoſtles." In the times of this *Clemens*, when no ſmall Diſſention roſe among the Brethren at *Corinth*, the Church of *Rome* ſent a moſt compleat and agreeable Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, joyning them together in peace, and renewing their Faith, and the Tradition they had lately received from the Apoſtles. And after ſome few words he ſays, '*Evareſtus* ſucceeded
'this *Clemens*, and *Alexander Evareſtus*; then *Xyſtus*
'was conſtituted the ſixth from the Apoſtles: Af-
'ter him *Teleſphorus*, who ſuffer'd a glorious Mar-
'tyrdom, after him *Hyginus*; then *Pius*; after
'*Pius Anicetus*: *Soter* having ſucceeded *Anicetus*,
'*Eleutherus* is now in poſſeſſion of the Epiſcopal
'Office, in the twelfth place from the Apoſtles.
'In this ſame Order and (*a*) Succeſſion, both the
'the Tradition of the Apoſtles in the Church,
'and alſo the Promulgation of the Truth, is de-
'ſcended unto us.

* 2 Tim. 4. 21.

(*a*) Our MSS. Copies read [παράδοχή] *Doctrine*; I would rather read [διαδοχή] *Succeſſion*; as *Chriſtophorſon*, Sir *Henry Savil*, and the old Tranſlator of *Irenæus* read it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

That, even to thoſe Times, Miracles were wrought by the Faithful.

ALL this, being agreeable to what we have deliver'd in the foregoing Books of our Hiſtory, *Irenæus* has given his aſſent to, in thoſe five Books of his, which he entitled, *The Confutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falſly ſo called*; in the ſecond Book of which Subject he does in theſe words manifeſt, that even in his days there remain'd in ſome Churches examples of the Divine and Wonderful Power of God in working Miracles, ſaying; 'So far are they from raiſing the
'Dead, as the Lord and the Apoſtles did by
'Prayer. And frequently amongſt the Brother-
'hood, (the whole Church of one place having
'with much faſting and (*a*) prayer requeſted) the

(*a*) The *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. read λιτανείας, *Prayer*; the King's MS. and *Robert Stephens*, ἁγνείας, *Purity*. Valeſ.

'Soul

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

'Soul of the Defunct has return'd into his Body, 'and the Man has had the benefit of life confer'd 'upon him by the Prayers of the Saints." And again, after the interposition of some words, he says; 'But if they say, that the Lord wrought 'such Miracles as these in appearance only, not 'really, we will bring them to the Oracles of the 'Prophets, and from thence demonstrate that all 'things were thus predicted concerning him, and 'most undoubtedly done *by him*, and that he only 'is the Son of God. Therefore they which are 'his true Disciples, receiving grace from him, do 'in his name perform *all things* for the benefit of 'the rest of Mankind, according as every one of 'em hath receiv'd the Gift from him. For some of 'them do certainly and truly cast out Devils; in 'so much that those very persons, who were cleansed from Evil Spirits, frequently become Believers, and continue in the Church. Others have 'the fore-knowledge of things future, and Visions, and *utter* prophetick Predictions. Others by 'by the imposition of their Hands heal the Sick, 'and restore them to their former soundness: and 'moreover, as we said, the Dead also have been 'rais'd, who continued with us many years after. 'What shall we say more? We cannot declare the 'number of the Gifts, which the Church throughout the whole world having receiv'd from God, 'in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified 'under *Pontius Pilate*, does daily perform for the 'benefit of the Nations: She uses no deceit towards any person, neither does she sell *her Gifts*; 'for as she has freely receiv'd them from God, so 'she freely ministers them *to others*." And in another place the same Author writes thus: 'In like 'manner as we have heard many Brethren in the 'Church who had Prophetick Gifts, and by the 'Spirit spoke all sorts of languages; who also revealed the Secrets of Men, in such cases as 'twas 'profitable and necessary, and explain'd the Mysteries of God. And thus much [concerning 'this matter, *to wit*] that Diversities of Gifts continued with such as were worthy, until those 'times before-manifested.

CHAP. VIII.

After what manner Irenæus *makes mention of the Divine Scriptures.*

BUT because in the beginning of this Work of ours, we promised, that we would produce in due place the words of the ancient Ecclesiastick Presbyters and Writers, wherein they have deliver'd in writing the Traditions concerning the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament* which came to their hands, ((*a*) of which number *Irenæus* was one;) Come on, we will here adjoyn his words; and first what he has said of the Sacred Gospels, after this manner: 'Matthew published 'his Gospel among the *Hebrews*, written in their 'own Language, whilst *Peter* and *Paul* were 'preaching the Gospel at *Rome*, and founding the 'Church. (*b*) After their death, *Mark* the Disciple 'and Interpreter of *Peter*, deliver'd to us in writing what *Peter* had preach'd. *Luke* also, the 'Follower of *Paul*, compiled in a Book the Gospel preach'd by him. Afterwards *John* the 'Disciple of the Lord, he that lean'd on his Breast, 'publish'd a Gospel, when he lived at *Ephesus* '[a City] of *Asia*." Thus much the forementioned Author has said in the third Book of the foresaid Work: And in his fifth Book he discourses thus concerning the *Revelation of John*, and the number of Antichrist's name: 'These things be'ing thus, and this number being extant in all 'accurate and ancient Copies; and those very 'persons who saw *John* face to face, attesting 'the truth of these things, even reason doth teach 'us, that the number of the Beast's name, accor'ding to the computation of the *Grecians*, is made 'apparent by the Letters contain'd in it." And after some other Passages, he speaks thus concerning the same *John*; 'We therefore will not run 'the hazard of affirming any thing too positively 'concerning the name of Antichrist: For if his 'name were to have been openly declared in this 'Age, it would have been express'd by him who 'saw the Revelation. For it was not seen long 'since, but almost in our Age, about the end of '*Domitian*'s Reign." Thus much is related by the foresaid Author concerning the *Revelation*. He mentions also the *first Epistle of John*, and produces many Authorities out of it; as also out of *the second Epistle of Peter*. He not only knew, but also approved of the Book call'd *Pastor*, saying, 'Truly therefore hath that Book said which con'tains this, Before all things believe that there is 'one God, who created and set in order all things, 'and so forth." He quotes some words out of the (*c*) *Wisdom of Solomon*, saying in a manner thus; 'The 'Vision of God procures 'Incorruption, and *Incorru'ption makes us near unto God.*" He makes mention also of the (*d*) sayings of an Apostolick Presbyter (whose name he has concealed) and annexes his *Expositions* of the Divine Scriptures. Moreover, he makes mention of *Justin Martyr* and *Ignatius*, quoting also Authorities out of their Writings. The same person has promised to confute *Marcion*, in a separate Volume, by Arguments pick'd out of his own Writings. And concerning the Translation of the divinely-inspired Scriptures, hear what he writes word for word: 'God therefore was made Man, and the 'Lord himself saved us, having given the Sign of 'the Virgin: But not, as some say, who are so audacious as to traduce the Scripture *thus*; Behold, 'a young Woman shall conceive, and bring forth 'a Son; as (*e*) *Theodotion* the *Ephesian* has translated 'it, and *Aquila* of *Pontus*, both *Jewish* Proselytes: 'Whom the *Ebionites* having follow'd, say, that 'Christ was begotten by *Joseph*." Hereunto, after a few words, he adds, saying; 'For before the *Ro'mans* had firmly compleated their Empire, (the

(*a*) These words [τούτων δὲ ἑνὶ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ εἰρηναίου] i. e. *of which number* Irenæus *was one*] seem to be superfluous, and written in the Margin only, by some Scholiast. But they are in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. *Vales.*

(*b*) *Irenæus*, in that he affirms here, that *The Gospel according to Mark* was written after the death of *Paul* and *Peter*, does contradict what *Eusebius* related before at the 15th Chap. of the second Book: Where he says *Mark*'s Gospel was publish'd at *Rome*, whilest *Peter* was alive, and approved of by that Apostle. But 'tis no wonder that the ancient Fathers disagree amongst themselves in this matter; seeing we have almost nothing of certainty about the writing of the Sacred Gospels, save that they are four, and written by four several Authors. But when, or for what reason they were written, and whether the Gospel of St. *Matthew* were first penned in Hebrew, 'tis not very evident. *Vales.*

(*c*) All the Ancient Ecclesiastick Writers (as before was noted) call that Book *the Wisdom of Solomon*, which we now call *the Proverbs*. But that Book entitled now *the Wisdom of Solomon*, is Apocryphal. *Vales.*

(*d*) Ἀπομνημονεύματα (the term here in the original) does properly signifie, *the sayings of Wise Men, which are repeated by heart.* Vales.

(*d*) *Irenæus* is the ancientest Writer that makes mention of *Theodotion.* Wherefore we will see, if from hence we can make out the time when *Theodotion* lived. *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De ponderib.*) says, *Theodotion* flourish'd under *Commodus*, and then put forth his Translation. The *Chronicon* of *Alexandria* follows *Epiphanius*'s Opinion, and says he publish'd that Work in the sixth year of the Emperor *Commodus*. I judge *Theodotion* to be somewhat ancienter. For, seeing *Irenæus* has mention'd him in his Books against Heresies, (which Books, 'tis manifest, he wrote when *Eleutherius* was Bishop of *Rome*; for he says so in the third Book of that Work,) we must necessarily grant that *Theodotion* flourish'd before *Eleutherius* was made Bishop of *Rome*. Vales.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

(*f*) Some of the Ancients do declare that the Greek tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures was performed under *Ptolomæus* the Son of *Lagus*; others mention it to have been done under *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. Which latter opinion in that 'tis confirm'd by the authority of the greater number of Writers, has at laſt prevailed. *Anatolius* ſays, the Tranſlation of the 72 was made both in the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and alſo in that of his Succeſſor *Philadelphus*: Which to me ſeems very probable. For, ſeeing *Ariſtobulus*, *Joſephus*, and *Tertullian* do ſay in expreſs Words, that *Demetrius Phalereus* put *Ptolomy* upon this buſineſs; and it being manifeſt that the ſaid *Demetrius* was in great favour with, and authority under, *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and died ſoon after him, we muſt neceſſarily ſay that this Tranſlation (if it were done by the procurement of *Demetrius*) was begun in the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*. And, ſeeing that *Philadelphus* reigned about two Years together with his Father, being made his Colleague in the Kingdom, therefore perhaps 'tis related that this Tranſlation was made under both the Princes. *Valeſ.* The Learned *Petavius* is of the ſame opinion with *Valeſius*, in this matter; as may be ſeen from his Annotations on *Epiphanius's* Book *De ponderib.* pag. 379. *Edit. Paris.* 1622.

Macedonians as yet poſſeſſing the Government of *Aſia*,) (*f*) *Ptolomæus* the Son of *Lagus*, endeavouring with much care and induſtry to adorn the Library he had prepared at *Alexandria*, with the Writings of all Men, which were accurately compiled, requeſted thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, that he might have (*g*) their Scriptures tranſlated into the *Greek* Language. They (for till that time they were ſubject to the *Macedonians*) ſent to *Ptolomæus* the Seventy Seniours, which were the moſt skilful perſons among them in the Scriptures, and moſt expert in both the Languages; (*h*) ſatisfying the King's deſire herein. [*Ptolomy*] deſirous to make trial of every one of them, and being fearful leſt by compact they ſhould agree to conceal the Truth of the Scriptures by their Tranſlation, (*i*) ſeparated them one from another, and commanded every one of them to write a Tranſlation: And this he did throughout all the Books. When they were come all together into the ſame place in the preſence of *Ptolemy*, and had compared together the Verſion of every particular perſon amongſt them, God was both glorified, and the Scriptures acknowledg'd to be truly Divine: For they all from the beginning to the end, ſet down the ſame things in the ſame words, and in the ſame expreſſions; inſomuch, that the *Gentiles* who were preſent, acknowledg'd (the Scriptures were tranſlated by the Inſpiration of God. Neither need it ſeem marvellous that God ſhould do this, ſeeing that in the Captivity of the People under *Nebuchadonoſor*, the Scriptures being then corrupted,) when after ſeventy years the *Jews* return'd to their own Country; afterwards, in the times of *Artaxerxes* King of the *Perſians*, he inſpir'd *Eſdras* the Prieſt of the Tribe of *Levi* to recompoſe all the Books of the former Prophets, and reſtore to the People the Law deliver'd by *Moſes*. Thus far *Irenæus*.

(*g*) *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays, the 72 Seniours tranſlated all the Books (as well thoſe of the Law, as thoſe of the Prophets) of the Scripture into Greek. To whom agrees *Theodoret, in his Preface to his Comment on the Pſalms*, *Olympiodorus*, and almoſt all other Writers. But *Ariſtobulus* and *Joſephus*, both *Jewiſh* Writers, do intimate that the Law only was by them turned into Greek. *Ariſtobulus*'s Words may be ſeen B. 13. of *Euſebius de præparat.* and *Joſephus's in his Preface to his Antiquities*. But to this it may be anſwered, That the *Jews*, under the name of the Law, do ſometimes comprehend the *Prophets* alſo. See *Maſius*'s Preface to the Greek Edition of *Joſhua*. Valeſ.

(*h*) *Valeſius* reads this paſſage thus [ποιήσαντας τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐβούλετο, i. e. *ſatisfying the King's deſire herein.*] He ſays *Chriſtophorſon* read this place ſo, and Sir *Henry Savil* in his MS. But the King's, the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. (as he ſays) and *Robert Stephens*, in his Edit. read it thus [ποιήσαντ]Θ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπερ ἐβούλετο, i. e. *God having done according to his own Will.* We follow *Valeſius*; but leave the Reader to his liberty.

(*i*) *Juſtin* the *Martyr* (*in his παραίνεσις to the Gentiles*) ſays the 72 Seniours were by *Ptolomy* put into ſo many Cells; the ruins of which he ſaw at *Alexandria*: *Epiphanius* (in his Book *de ponderib.*) ſays the King placed them two and two in a Cell. Theſe Words of *Irenæus* agree beſt with *Juſtin*'s account of this matter. Others there are, who deride this whole Story about the Cells; becauſe neither *Joſephus*, nor *Ariſteas*, nor *Philo* make any mention of them. See *Petavius*'s *Annotat.* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 378. *Edit. Paris*; and Mr. *Gregory*'s Diſcourſe (of *Oxford*) concerning the 70 Interpreters.

CHAP. IX.

Who were Biſhops in the Reign of Commodus.

Commodus.

MOreover, *Antoninus* having held the Empire nineteen years, *Commodus* aſſumed the Government: In whoſe firſt year *Julianus* undertook the Prefecture of the Churches at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* having compleated the twelfth year of his Preſidency.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Pantænus *the Philoſopher.*

AT that time there was a Man, Governour of the School of the Faithful * there, who upon account of his Learning was moſt eminent; his name was *Pantænus*: For from a very ancient cuſtom there had been an Eccleſiaſtical School among them, which alſo continued to our days; and we have been informed that 'tis furniſh'd with Men who are very able Scholars, and induſtrious about Divine Matters. But *Fame* ſays, that the foremention'd *Pantænus* was at that time the moſt eminent perſon among them, becauſe he was bred up in the Precepts and Inſtitutions of that Philoſophical Sect call'd Stoicks. Moreover, 'tis ſaid, he ſhew'd ſo great a willingneſs of mind and ardency of affection towards the [Publication of the] Divine Word, that he was declared the Preacher of Chriſt's Goſpel to the Nations of the Eaſt, and journeyed as far as *India*. For there were many Evangelical Preachers of the Word even at that time, who inflamed with a Divine Zeal, in imitation of the Apoſtles, contributed their aſſiſtance to the enlargement of the Divine Word, and the building Men up in the Faith. Of which number *Pantænus* was one, and is reported to have gone to the *Indians*. Where, as 'tis famed, he found the Goſpel according to *Matthew*, amongſt ſome that had the knowledge of Chriſt there, before his arrival. To whom *Bartholomew* one of the *Apoſtles* had preach'd, and (*a*) left them the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* written in *Hebrew*; which was preſerved to the foreſaid times. Moreover, this *Pantænus*, after many excellent Performances, was at laſt made Governour of the School at *Alexandria*; where by his Diſcourſes and Writings he ſet forth to publick view the Treaſures of the Divine Points.

* At *Alexandria.*

(*a*) *Rufinus* and *Jerome* (*in Catalogo*) do ſay, that *Pantænus*, returning from *India* to *Alexandria*, brought with him that Goſpel of St. *Matthew* in Hebrew. But *Euſebius* does not ſay ſo. For by that which he adds, [ἦν γὰρ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν ἀναλήμψιον χρόνον] he means only thus much, *viz.* That *that Copy of* Bartholomew's *was preſerved until* Pantænus *came into India*. So *Nicephorus* expounds *Euſebius*'s Words, B. 4. Chap. 32. but I aſſent not to *Nicephorus*, in that which he ſays further, *to wit*, That that Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, which *Pantænus* found in *India*, was dictated there by *Bartholomew*. I rather believe that Copy was brought thither by *Bartholomew* out of *Judea*. Further, *Jerom* (*in Catalog.*) ſays, the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, written in Hebrew, was preſerved in the Library of *Cæſaria* (collected by *Pamphilus* the *Martyr*) even in his time. But I doubt 'twas *the Goſpel according to the Hebrews*, which the *Nazareans* uſed. For ſome thought, that this Goſpel of the Hebrews was the original Copy of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel; but that's a miſtake. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

AT the ſame time flouriſh'd *Clemens* at *Alexandria*, (being laborious together with *Pantænus* in the Studies of the Divine Scriptures,) who had the ſame name with that ancient Prelate of the *Roman* Church, that was a Diſciple of the Apoſtles

Commodus. Apostles. He (in his Book (a) *of Institutions*) makes express mention of *Pantænus*, as having been his Master. To me he seems to mean the same person also, in the first Book of his *Stromaton*, where recording, * the most eminent Successors of the Apostolick Doctrine by whom he had been instructed, he says thus: 'Now this Work 'of mine I have not composed for Ostentation, 'but these *Memoirs* I have treasur'd up, as a Remedy against the Forgetfulness of mine old age, 'that they may be a true representation and adumbration of those lively and powerful Discourses, 'which I have had the happiness to hear from blessed and truly worthy and memorable persons. Of which one was *Ionicus*, [whom I heard] in *Greece*; another in † *Magna Græcia*; the first of them was a *Cælo-Syrian*, the other an *Egyptian*. Others of them lived in the East: of which one was an (b) *Assyrian*, the other in *Palestine*, by original extract an (c) *Hebrew*." The last [Master] I met with, (who yet was the first and chiefest in power and virtue, whom I inquisitively sought out and found lying hid in *Egypt*) I did fully acquiesce in, and searched no further. These therefore preserving the sincere Tradition of the Blessed Doctrine, which they had immediately received from the Holy Apostles *Peter*, *James*, *John*, and *Paul*, (like Children from the hands of their Parents, although few Children be like their Parents) are by God's Blessing come down to our time, sowing those Primitive and Apostolick Seeds [of Truth.]

(a) These Books of *Clemens*'s contain'd a short and compendious exposition of both Testaments, says *Photius*, in his *Bibliotheca*. But, because of the Errors with *which* they abounded, they were disregarded, and at length lost. Neither is there any other reason, in my opinion, why the Books of *Papias*, *Hegesippus*, and others of the Ancients, are lost. Yet the *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus*, which are extant after his *Stromateon*, seem to be taken out of *his Institutions*; which I wonder no Body has taken notice of before. This I conclude to be true, both because in those *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus* there are the same things said of Christ, which *Photius* attests he read in *Clemens*'s Books of *Institutions*; and also because the Author of those *Excerpta* does, about the end of them, call *Pantænus* Master. Now *Pantænus* was *Clemens*'s Master, as *Eusebius* says in this Chapter; whom *Clemens* in *his Institutions*, does often quote, as *Photius* relates. *Vales.*

* Or, *the most eminent Persons of the Apostolick Succession.*

† It was that part of *Italy*, which since is called *Calabria.*

(b) *Valesius* thinks this Person was *Tatianus*, *Justin* the Martyr's Scholar; *Baronius* says 'twas *Bardesanes*, of whom see B. 4. chap. the last; but he was no *Assyrian*; for he was of *Edessa*, the chief City of *Osdroëna.*

(c) *Baronius* says, this was *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*; but I rather think him to have been *Theodotus*; which I conjecture from hence, because the Epitome of *Clemens*'s *Institutions* is entitled, [ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας, i. e. *the Epitome of Theodotus his Oriental Doctrine.*] For *Clemens* calls that the *Oriental Doctrine*, which he learned from his Masters in the East. I have two Arguments to perswade me, that *Clemens* does not here mean *Theophilus* of *Cæsarea*; (1) *Theophilus* was contemporary with *Clemens*, for he flourish'd in the times of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, as we are inform'd by our *Eusebius.* (2.) None of the Ancients ever said that *Theophilus* was a *Hebrew*, or, which is all one, a *Jew.* Vales.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Bishops of Jerusalem.

AT that time *Narcissus*, Bishop of the Church at *Jerusalem*, flourish'd, a Man very famous amongst many even at this time: He was the fifteenth in succession from the Siege of the *Jews* under *Adrian.* From which time we have before manifested, that the Church of the *Gentiles* was first constituted there, after those of the Circumcision; and also that *Mark* was the first Bishop of the *Gentiles* that presided over them. After whom the (a) Successions of the [Bishops] there do shew that *Cassianus* had the Episcopal Chair; after him *Publius*; then *Maximus*; and after these *Julianus*; then *Caius*; to whom succeeded *Symmachus*; then another *Caius*, and again *Julianus* the Second: Moreover *Capito*, (b) *Valens*, and *Dolichianus*; last of all this *Narcissus*, who in a continued Series of Succession was the thirtieth from the Apostles.

(a) The most famous Churches, especially those which were founded by the Apostles, did with great care keep the Successions of their Bishops laid up amongst their *Archives*, recording their names, and the day of their deaths, in a pair of Writing-tables. These our *Eusebius* had diligently examin'd, as appears from this place; and he has digested the Bishops of the principal Sees from the authority of these Tables only. Wherefore, the Successions of Bishops, which are recounted in the *History* and *Chronicles* of *Eusebius*, are highly to be prized, as being the ancientest and most certain. *Vales.*

Commodus. (b) Before this *Valens*, the names of two Bishops are wanting, *to wit*, *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*, which were omitted by the negligence of the Transcribers. For, seeing *Eusebius* affirm'd *Narcissus* to have been the fifteenth Bishop of *Jerusalem* from *Mark*, and the thirtieth from the Apostles; that can't be unless you add two Bishops here. *Eusebius* indeed, in his *Chronicon*, after *Capito* the twenty-sixth from the Apostles, reckons *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*; after these *Valens*, and *Dolichianus*; and then *Narcissus*. *Georg. Syncellus* and *Nicephorus* do agree with *Eusebius*; only between *Julianus* and *Capito* they insert one *Helias*, whom *Eusebius* does not admit of. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Rhodon, *and the Dissension of the* Marcionites, *which he has made mention of.*

ABout the same time also *Rhodon*, born in *Asia*, (who, as himself relates, had been instructed at *Rome* by *Tatianus*, whom we mention'd before,) wrote many Books, and together with others engaged against the Heresie of *Marcion.* Which, he relates, was in his time divided into several Opinions. He has recorded the Authors of this Dissension, and with exquisite diligence confuted the Lyes invented by every one of 'em. Hear therefore what he has written in these words. 'Wherefore also they disagree amongst themselves, because they are assertors of an Opinion 'which is ill put together. For *Apelles*, one of 'their Gang, ((a) who boasts of his age, and 'pretends to lead a more abstemious and strict 'course of life,) confesses there is but one Principle; but says, the Oracles of the Prophets proceed from an opposite Spirit, being induced to 'believe this by the responses of a Virgin, possessed with a Devil, by name *Philumena.* But others of them, (in like manner as does *Marcion* 'himself, the (b) Mariner) assert, there are two 'Principles; of which number are (c) *Potitus*, and '*Basilicus*; and these Followers of that * Wolf of 'Pontus, being unable to find out the distinction 'of things, (which neither could he do,) have given themselves over to rashness, and have simply and without any thing of demonstration affirm'd there are two Principles. Others again '[differing] from these, and running themselves into worse [Assertions,] suppose there are not 'only two, but also three Natures. Of which 'sort *Syneros* was the Ringleader and first Founder, as the Defenders of his Doctrine do say." The same *Author* writes that he discours'd with *Apelles*; he says thus; 'For the old Man *Apelles*, having had a conference with us, was convinc'd that boast of his Continency; who was rejected by *Marcion*, because he was a Fornicator, and afterwards retreated to *Alexandria*, as *Tertullian* affirms in his Book *de præscription.* Wherefore let us see whether the word [πολιτεία] does not signifie something else here; it sometimes denotes the Office of a *Decurio*, or *Captain over ten horsemen*; for these Commanders are by the *Græcians* called πολίδλαι, or πολίδόμωοι, as I have observed in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus.* Also, a Man may conjecture, that this place should be written thus, τῇ πολιᾷ σεμνῇ καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ, i. e. *his venerable hoary hairs and old age.* For *Apelles* was commonly called *old Man*; and so *Rhodon* terms him in this Chapter. *Eusebius* favours our conjecture, B. 6. Chap. 39. where speaking of *Alexander* the Bishop, he uses this very phrase. *Vales.*

(a) *Rufinus* does well translate this passage thus, *Qui abstinentiæ & senectutis prærogativâ usus*, &c. *who making an advantage of his abstinence and old age*, &c. For [πολιτεία] does usually signifie *abstinence* and *a more strict course of Life.* But I understand not how *Apelles* could

(b) The King's MS. and *Stephens* Edition do here insert these two Words [ὁ ναύτης, *the Mariner*] but they are wanting in the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. Indeed *Tertullian*, in his Book *de præscription* does testifie that *Marcion* was at first a Mariner. *Ubi tunc*, says he, *Marcion Ponticus nauclerus, Stoicæ studiosus?* Vales.

(c) The King's MS. and *Robert Stephens*'s Edition call this Man's name *Potimus*; the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. term him *Potitus*; so does *Rufinus*, in his Version; and *Theodoret* B. 1. *Hæret. Fab.* Vales.

* He means *Marcion*; see B. 4. Chap. 11.

Commodus. ‘he maintain'd many things that were falſe; upon ‘which account he ſaid Faith ſhould in no wiſe ‘be too ſeverely inquired into, but, that every ‘one ſhould perſiſt in what he had believ'd. For ‘he aſſerted, that thoſe who hoped in [Chriſt] cru‘cified ſhould be ſaved, provided they be found ‘doing of good works. He concluded the [Que‘ſtion] concerning God, to be to him (as we ‘ſaid before) the moſt obſcure thing of all. For ‘he affirm'd there was but one Principle, as our ‘Religion [aſſerts."] Then, having ſet forth his whole Opinion, he ſubjoyns theſe words; ‘But ‘when I ſaid to him, whence have you this De‘monſtration, or for what Reaſon can you af‘firm there is but one Principle, tell us? He an‘ſwer'd, That the Propheſies confuted themſelves, ‘becauſe they utter'd nothing that was true: for ‘they diſagree, and are falſe, and oppoſite to ‘themſelves; but, how there was but one Prin‘ciple, he profeſs'd he knew not, but was induc'd ‘only to think ſo. After this, when I conjured ‘him to ſpeak the truth, he ſwore he ſpoke what ‘was true, *to wit*, that he knew not how there ‘could be one unbegotten God, but he believed ‘it. I laugh'd, and reprehended him, becauſe he ‘ſtiled himſelf a Doctor, and knew not how to ‘make good what he taught." But, in the ſame Book which he dedicated to *Calliſtion*, the ſaid *Rhodon* doth confeſs that he himſelf was inſtructed at *Rome* by *Tatianus*. Moreover he ſays, *Tatianus* compiled a Book of *Queſtions*; wherein *Tatianus* having promiſed to explain the dark and obſcure Paſſages of the Sacred Scriptures, this *Rhodon* profeſſes he would ſet forth the Solutions to his Queſtions. There is alſo extant of this Perſon's a Comment upon *the ſix Days Work of the Creation*. Indeed, this *Apelles* utter'd many impious expreſſions againſt the Law of *Moſes*, in many Books ſpeaking irreligiouſly of the Divine Scriptures, and uſing his utmoſt diligence to confute, and (as he thought) to overthrow them. But thus much concerning theſe things.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Falſe Prophets of the Cataphrygians.

MOreover, that Adverſary of God's Church, (who hates Goodneſs, and makes Miſchief his chiefeſt delight,) omitting in no wiſe any ways or methods of Treachery towards Men, cauſed new Hereſies to grow up againſt the Church: The Followers whereof crawled, like venemous Serpents, all over *Aſia* and *Phrygia*; and boaſted that *Montanus* was the * *Paraclete*, and that the two Women, *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, his Companions, were his Propheteſſes.

* That is, *the Holy Ghoſt*; whom St. *John*, in his Goſpel, does ſeveral times call παράκλητον, *Comforter*. See *Jo.* 14. 6.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Schiſm of Blaſtus *raiſed at* Rome.

OThers alſo ſprang up at *Rome*, whom *Florinus*, degraded from being a Presbyter of the Church, headed. *Blaſtus* was in like manner intangled in the ſame (*a*) Error. Which two Perſons drew away many from the Church, and inticed them to embrace their Opinion; each of them ſeverally endeavouring to introduce Innovations againſt the Truth.

(*a*) *Ruſinus* and *Chriſtophorſon* ſuppoſed the term [πάθημα] to ſignifie *Error*: *Nicephorus* takes it in ſuch a ſenſe as to ſignifie, *a diſcharging*; and thought that *Blaſtus*, as well as *Florinus*, was degraded from being a Presbyter. *Valeſ.*

Commodus.

CHAP. XVI.

What has been committed to memory concerning Montanus, *and his Falſe Prophets.*

MOreover, that Power, which is the Defender of the Truth, raiſed up *Apollinaris* (Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, whom we made mention of before,) and together with him many others, who at that time were eloquent and learned Men, as it were a ſtrong and inexpugnable Defence againſt the ſaid Hereſie of the *Cataphrygians*. By which perſons we have a copious Subject left us for this our Hiſtory. (*a*) One of the ſaid perſons therefore, in the Preface to his Work againſt the *Cataphrygians*, does in the firſt place ſhew that he aſſaulted them with unwritten Arguments: For he begins after this manner; ‘Having a ſufficient while ſince been enjoyn'd by *thee*, ‘beloved (*b*) *Aviricius Marcellus*, to write a Book ‘againſt the Hereſie (*c*) of *Miltiades*, till now I ‘have in a manner continued doubtful and unreſolv'd; not that I wanted ability both to confute Falſhood, and alſo to give evidence to the ‘Truth; but I was fearful and cautious, leſt to ſome I ſhould ſeem by writing to add to, or make a further determination about the Doctrine of the New Covenant of the Goſpel: To which nothing muſt be added, nor any thing taken away from it, by him that reſolves to lead a life agreeable to the Goſpel itſelf. But, being lately at *Ancyra* [a City] of *Galatia*, and finding the Church (*d*) then (*e*) filled with the noiſe of this New (not, as they call it, Prophecy, but as it ſhall be demonſtrated,) Falſe Prophecy; as well as I was able, (God aſſiſting me,) I diſcourſed (*f*) frequently in the Church many days, both concerning theſe very things, and alſo about other [Points] propoſed by them: inſomuch that the Church did greatly rejoyce, and was confirm'd in the Truth; but the Adverſaries were at that time confuted, and (*g*) the Enemies of God made ſorrowful. When

(*a*) The opinions of Writers are various and different, concerning this Perſon, whoſe authority *Euſebius* quotes in this chapter. *Ruffinus*, *Nicephorus* B. 4. chap. 23. and *Baronius* thought it was *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, whom *Euſebius* mention'd a little before. *Jerom* (in his Book *de Script. Eccleſ.*) ſuppoſed him to be *Apollonius*, and afterwards thinks 'twas *Rhodon*. *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis* was not the Author of this Book, 'tis from hence manifeſt, becauſe he wrote againſt the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie when it newly aroſe, as *Euſebius* atteſts at the end of Book 4. But this unknown Author compiled his Books after the death of *Montanus*, *Maximilla*, and *Theodotus*, as appears by the fragments of them quoted in this Chapter. See *Halloixius* in his Notes on the Life of *Apollinaris*, chap. 3. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) In the *Greek Menology* at the 22d of *October*, mention is made *of of the Holy Avercius*, (ſo *Nicephorus* calls him Book 4.) *Biſhop of Hierapolis, a worker of Miracles*. *Halloixius* put forth this Perſon's Life in Greek, Tome 2. *concerning the famous Writers of the Eaſtern Church*. Valeſ.

(*c*) Why this Author without a name, calls the Hereſie of the *Cataphrygians*, the Sect of *Miltiades*, rather than of *Montanus*, 'tis hard to be determined. For he means not here that *Miltiades*, of whom *Euſebius* ſpeaks in the following Chapter. For he wrote for the Catholick Truth againſt the *Cataphrygians*. The Learned *Langus*, who tranſlated *Nicephorus*, at this place put in *Alcibiades* in ſtead of *Miltiades*. Indeed *Alcibiades* is by *Euſebius* (B. 5. Chap. 3.) named amongſt the principal Abettors of the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie. Therefore we muſt either read *Alcibiades* here, or *Miltiades* there. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) The King's MS. and *Nicephorus* (Book 4. Chap. 23.) in ſtead of [κατὰ πόντον, i. e. *throughout Pontus*] reads it [τὴν κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαν, i. e. *the Church of the place*,] to wit, *Ancyra*. Valeſ.

(*e*) Διατεθρηλημένην· That is, *filled with the noiſe of*, &c. For the whole Church of that place ſounded with the rumour of this New Prophecy, inaſmuch as, by reaſon of the ſtrangeneſs of this great matter, all Men talk'd of it. Hence it appears, that the gift of Prophecy was in thoſe times rare and unuſual in the Church; ſeeing that the Prophecy of *Montanus* which then aroſe, ſtirr'd up at that time ſuch Commotions in the Church. Which certainly had not happened, had the gift of Prophecy been then common in the Church. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) Sir *Hen. Savil* (in the Margin of his Copy) made it ἐκάστοτε, i. e. *continually, daily*: So *Chriſtophorſon* read it. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) The reading of the *Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. is [ἀντιθέους, i. e. *the Enemies of God.*] So he calls the *Montaniſts*, becauſe they were the introducers of a new *Paraclete*, or *Holy Ghoſt*. Valeſ.

therefore

Commodus. ‘ sorrowful. When therefore the Presbyters of ‘ that place requested me to leave some written ‘ Record of what had been spoken against those ‘ Adversaries to the Word of Truth; (*b*) (*Zoticus Otrenus* our Fellow-Presbyter, being then present ‘ also;) I did not indeed do that; but promised, ‘ that (by the assistance of ‘ the Lord,) I would write ‘ here, and send it quickly ‘ and carefully unto them.” Having said these words and some others after these in the Preface of his Book, he proceeds, and sets forth the Author of the foresaid Heresie after this manner. ‘ This their stubborn Contention therefore against the Church, ‘ and this new Heretical Separation [from it] ‘ had this original. There is said to be a certain ‘ Village in that (*i*) *Mysia* [which borders upon] ‘ *Phrygia*, called by the name of *Ardaba*. There, ‘ they say, one of those who had newly embrac'd ‘ the Faith, by name *Montanus*, (when *Gratus* was ‘ *Proconsul* of *Asia*,) by reason of his immoderate desire after, and love for, the ‘ chief place, gave the Adversary an entrance into ‘ himself, and was fill'd with ‘ the Devil; and being on a ‘ sudden possess'd with a furious and frantick temper ‘ of Mind, became perfectly mad, and began to utter strange and barbarous ‘ expressions, foretelling ‘ what was to come; [a ‘ thing which is] contrary ‘ to the Order and Institution of the Church received from ancient Tradition, and [propagated] by a continued Succession. Now, of those who at that time were ‘ at the hearing of his counterfeited Expressions, ‘ some with indignation rebuked him, as being ‘ moved by, and possess'd with, a Devil and a Spirit of Error, and as being a disturber of the Multitude: They prohibited him also to speak; [for] ‘ they were mindful of the Lord's * Premonition and his Menaces, [whereby we are commanded] ‘ with vigilancy to beware of the coming of false ‘ Prophets. But others, as if they had been inspir'd by the Holy Ghost and with the gift of ‘ Prophecy, conceiv'd also very high thoughts of ‘ themselves, and being unmindful of the † Lord's ‘ Premonition, provok'd that infatuating, flattering ‘ and seducing Spirit [to speak;] and being enticed and deceived by it, forbad it should any ‘ more be silenc'd. By this Art, or rather by this ‘ Method of Subtilty and Mischief, the Devil plotted Destruction against those that were disobedient to [the Lord's Premonition;] and, being ‘ undeservedly honour'd by them, he excited and ‘ enkindled their Minds, ‘ which had (*k*) forsaken the ‘ true Faith: For he stirr'd ‘ up two other Women, and ‘ fill'd them with a counterfeit Spirit: So that they ‘ (like the fore-mention'd ‘ *Person*) utter'd extravagant, ‘ foolish and strange expressions; and those who ‘ delighted in and boasted of that Matter, that ‘ Spirit pronounced blessed, and puft them up ‘ with the greatness of the Promises. Sometimes ‘ also, making use of conjectural and credible Arguments, he condemn'd them publickly, that so ‘ he might also seem a (*l*) reproving [Spirit.] Those ‘ few, who were deceiv'd, were *Phrygians*. But ‘ this insolent Spirit taught them to revile the ‘ whole Church under Heaven, because this Spirit ‘ of false Prophecy receiv'd neither honour from, ‘ nor found any way of entrance into it. For when ‘ the Faithful throughout *Asia* had met often and ‘ in many places of *Asia* upon this account, and ‘ had enquired into this new Doctrine, and determined it to be prophane, and rejected this Heresie, they were expell'd out of the Church, and ‘ interdicted Communion [with the Faithful.”] Having related thus much in the beginning [of his Work] and subjoyn'd, throughout that whole Book, a confutation of their Error: In his second Book he says these words, concerning the Death of the forementioned Persons: ‘ Whereas therefore they have termed us the Murderers of the ‘ Prophets, because we have not admitted of their ‘ prattling and lying Prophets, (for these, they ‘ say, are those whom the Lord promised to send ‘ his People,) let them answer us for God's sake, ‘ Is there any one of those, (most excellent!) who ‘ even from *Montanus* and his Women began to ‘ speak, that hath been persecuted by the *Jews*, ‘ or slain by the Impious? not one: Is there any ‘ one of them who has been apprehended and ‘ crucified for the Name [of Christ?] None at all. ‘ Neither hath any of their Women been scourg'd ‘ in the Synagogues of the *Jews*, or stoned: ‘ [Not one of them] any-where or in any wise: ‘ yea, *Montanus* and *Maximilla* are said to have ‘ died another manner of death. For, 'tis famed, ‘ both these Persons, incited thereto by that furious Spirit, hang'd themselves; not together, ‘ but each of them at the time of their death, as ‘ 'tis strongly reported. And so they died and ‘ put an end to their Lives after the same manner ‘ that the Traytor *Judas* did. In like manner, ‘ also common Fame says, that that admirable ‘ [Fellow] *Theodotus*, who was, as it were, the ‘ first (*m*) Procurator of ‘ that they stiled their Prophecy, was possess'd with ‘ a (*n*) false Ecstasie of ‘ Mind, as if at some time ‘ or other he should be lifted ‘ up, and assumed into Heaven; and that having given himself wholly up into [the power of] that ‘ Spirit of Error, he was ‘ thrown into the Air [by ‘ him,] and died miserably. 'Tis said indeed, that ‘ this thing was thus done; ‘ but in as much as we saw ‘ it not, we do not suppose ‘ (O *Macarius!*) that we ‘ certainly know any thing ‘ hereof. For peradventure ‘ *Montanus*, *Theodotus*, and ‘ the foresaid Woman died ‘ after this manner, perhaps ‘ they did not so die.” Again, in the same Book he says, the Holy Bishops of that time did attempt to confute the Spirit which was in *Maximilla*; but were prohibited by others, *to wit*, those that were favourers of that Spirit: He writes thus; ‘ And let not the Spirit in *Maximilla* say ‘ to]

(*b*) This *Zoticus Otrenus* must be distinguished from *Zoticus* of *Comanes* the Bishop, whom this Author mentions hereafter in this Chapter. For he of *Comanes* was the ancienter of the two. *Vales.*

(*l*) There were heretofore two *Mysia's*, (as also two *Phrygia's*,) says *Strabo*, B. 22. The one called *the Greater*, which *Strabo* calls *Olympene*; the other *the Less*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Hellespontia*. Both of them bordered on *Phrygia*. Whence arose the Greek Proverb [χωεὶς τὸ μυσῶν] concerning which see *Erasm. Adag.* p. 171. *Edit. Weckelian.* There was also another *Mysia* in *Europe*, which the *Latines* call *Masia*, but the *Greeks* always *Mysia*. To difference this *Mysia* therefore from the other, 'tis stiled here [ἡ πρὸς φρυγίαν μυσία i.e. *That* Mysia *which borders on* Phrygia; or Mysia *in* Asia. In the *Maz.* MS. this Town is called *Ardabab*. Vales.

* Or, *distinction*, for the term in the original is διαστολὴ.

† See Matt. 24. 11.

(*k*) Ἀποχοιμηθήν. 'Tis a *Metaphor* taken from Women, who leaving their Husbands Bed, go by stealth to that of the Adulterer. For [κοιμᾶσθαι] *to sleep*, is often used for these adulteries, as it occurs frequently in Sacred Writ. *Vales.*

Commodus. (*l*) *Montanus*, or rather the devil who spoke thro' the Mouth of *Montanus*, knew, that 'twas predicted, by the Lord, that the Spirit of God, at his coming should reprove the world of Sin. Therefore, the Devil, that he might make his Auditors believe he was the true Spirit of God, did sometimes reprove, and rebuke them. *Vales.*

(*m*) Amongst the *Montanists* there was a certain Chest, into which those of their Party put Money, which was for the maintenance of the Prophets. *Theodotus* was the first that look'd after the Chest; whom this Author does therefore call *the Procurator of their Prophecy*. *Montanus* with his Propheteses was otherways a great Cozener, who under a pretence of Offerings, scraped much Money together. He usually gave Salaries to the Preachers of his Doctrine. 'Twas necessary therefore he should have his Treasury, and one to oversee and look after it, who also might deliver out the stipends to such as *Montanus* ordered should be paid. *Vales.*

(*n*) Παρεκστῆναι, signifies, *to be seized with a false extasie or trance*. For there are true extasies; such was *Peter's*, *Act.* 10; and *Paul's*, when he was caught up to the third Heaven. There are also false extasies amongst Hereticks, which this Author does elegantly call παρεκστάσεις. These false extasies differ little from madness, because the Devil is the procurer of them: But those which proceed from the Divine Spirit do not at all disturb the state of the Mind, but are calm and pleasant, as *Epiphanius* says (*in Hæres. Cataphryg.*) Vales.

Commodus.

(o) These Words within this Parentheſis ſeem to me to be a *Scholion*, which ſome old *Scholiaſt*, or *Euſebius* himſelf put in the margin of this Book at this place. Beſides, from hence it may be collected, that *Aſterius Urbanus* was the Author of theſe 3 Books againſt the *Cataphrygians*, and not *Apollinaris*, as *Ruſinus* and *Chriſtophorſon* ſuppoſed. *Valeſ.*

(p) This was a great Man amongſt the *Montaniſts*, who boaſted himſelf to be a *Confeſſor*, and a Martyr; and was ſo audacious, as, like an Apoſtle, to write a general Epiſtle to the Churches, in recommendation of this new Prophecy. *Apollonius* ſpeaks much concerning this Man in the following Chapter. *Valeſ.*

'[to me,] ((o) as 'tis related in the ſame Book of *Aſterius Urbanus*,) I am driven as a Wolf from the Sheep. I am not a Wolf. I am the Word, the Spirit and the Power: But let him evidently manifeſt and prove that Power in the Spirit; and let him by that Spirit compel thoſe that were then preſent, to confeſs that they try'd and conferr'd with that babling Spirit; [I mean] thoſe approved Men and Biſhops, *Zoticus* of the Town *Comanes*, and *Julianus* of *Apamea*: Whoſe Mouths (p) *Themiſon* and thoſe of his Party having ſtopt, wou'd not ſuffer that lying Spirit to be reprov'd by 'em." Again, in the ſame Book, (having interpoſed ſome words to confute the falſe Prophecies of *Maximilla*) he evidences both the Time when he wrote theſe things, and alſo mentions her Predictions, wherein ſhe had foretold there would be Wars and Commotions; the falſhood of which [Predictions] he reprehends in theſe words: 'And has not this Lye been already made apparently manifeſt? For to this day 'tis more than thirteen years ſince this Woman died; and and yet there has not been either a particular, or an univerſal War in the World. Yea rather, by the Mercy of God, the *Chriſtians* have had a firm and laſting Peace." And thus much out of his ſecond Book. Out of the Third I will alſo add ſome few words, where he ſays thus to thoſe who boaſted, that many, even of their [Party] had ſuffer'd as Martyrs. 'When therefore they can return no anſwer, having been confuted in all Paſſages we have mention'd, they endeavour to flee to the Martyrs; ſaying they have many Martyrs, and that is a certain and undoubted evidence of that Power, by them called the Prophetick Spirit. But this, in my judgment, is much more untrue. For ſome Followers of other Hereſies [do boaſt] they have many Martyrs, and yet we ſhall not, I think, upon this account embrace their *Opinion*, nor confeſs they have the Truth amongſt them. Thoſe alſo who firſt follow'd the Hereſie of *Marcion*, called *Marcioniſts*, ſay, they have very many Martyrs of Chriſt, and yet they do not in truth acknowledge Chriſt himſelf." And after ſome few words, he ſubjoyns hereunto, ſaying, 'Wherefore alſo, as often as thoſe of the Church, being called to [undergo] Martyrdom for the true Faith, have by accident hapned into company with ſome of thoſe of the *Phrygian* Hereſie, who are call'd Martyrs, they diſſent from them, and, having avoided all Communion with them, are perfected by a glorious Martyrdom; for they are unwilling to give their aſſent to the Spirit of *Montanus* and his Women: And that this is true, 'tis manifeſt from what has been done in our Times in [the City] of *Apamea*, ſituate on [the River] *Meander*, by *Caius* and *Alexander* of *Eumenia*, who ſuffer'd Martyrdom.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Miltiades, *and the Books he compiled.*

IN the ſame Book he makes mention of one *Miltiades*, a Writer, who alſo wrote a Book againſt the foreſaid Hereſie: Having therefore cited ſome words of thoſe [Hereticks,] he proceeds, ſaying; 'Having found all this in a certain Book which they wrote in anſwer to a Book of our Brother (a) *Alcibiades*'s, wherein he proves 'that a Prophet ought not to ſpeak in an ecſtaſie of mind, 'I epitomiz'd them." A little after this, in the ſame Book, he enumerates the Prophets of the *New Teſtament*; amongſt whom he recounts one *Ammias*, and *Quadratus*, and he ſays thus; '(b) But a falſe Prophet in falſe Ecſtaſie, (whoſe Concomitants are Licentiouſneſs and Audaciouſneſs,) takes his beginning indeed from a voluntary Ignorance, but ends, as I have ſaid, in an involuntary Madneſs of Mind: They ſhall not be able to ſhow any of the Prophets, either under the *Old*, or *New Teſtament*, who was inſpir'd after this manner [by ſuch a Spirit.] They ſhall not boaſt of *Agabus*, nor of *Judas*, nor of *Silas*, nor of the Daughters of *Philip*, nor of *Ammias* in *Philadelphia*, nor of *Quadratus*, nor of many others which do not at all belong to them." Again, after ſome few words, he ſays thus; 'For if, as they ſay, *Montanus*'s Women ſucceeded in the gift of Prophecy after *Quadratus* and *Ammias* in *Philadelphia*, let them ſhow us, who among them have been the Succeſſors of *Montanus* and his Women. For the Apoſtle is of opinion that the gift of Prophecy ought to continue in every Church until the laſt Advent [of our Lord.] But they are unable to ſhew [any Prophet,] although this is now the fourteenth year ſince the death of *Maximilla*." Thus far he. Now that *Miltiades*, whom he mentions, has left us other Monuments of his Diligence about the Divine Scriptures, both in the Books he compoſed againſt the *Gentiles*, and alſo in thoſe againſt the *Jews*; having proſecuted each Subject particularly in two Volumes. Moreover alſo, he made an Apology for the [*Chriſtian*] Philoſophy, which he profeſs'd, [and dedicated it] to the (c) Preſidents of the Provinces in that Age.

Commodus.

(a) In the foregoing Chapter we obſerved that the name [*Miltiades*] was put for [*Alcibiades.*] On the contrary, here [*Alcibiades*] is crept into the Text of *Euſebius*, in ſtead of [*Miltiades.*] In *Nicephorus* 'tis [*Miltiades*;] but neither he, nor *Chriſtophorſon*, underſtood this place. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Ruſinus*, and *Baronius*, were miſtaken, in that they ſuppoſed theſe following Words were taken out of *Miltiades*'s Book. For this nameleſs Author quotes nothing out of *Miltiades*'s Book, but only out of the *Cataphrygian*'s anſwer to *Miltiades*'s Book: Which thing Tranſlators underſtood not. Now the meaning of this place is this; There is a great difference between the true Prophets, and the falſe. For the true Prophets, who were filled with the Spirit of God, did foretel things future in a quiet and ſerene temper of Mind. But the falſe Prophets, as was *Montanus*, uttered what they ſaid in a raging and mad temper of mind. Indeed this was the chief objection of the *Eccleſiaſticks* againſt the *Montaniſts*, who boaſted they were inſpired with a Prophetick Spirit, becauſe they Prophecied in an extaſie. But we read that no Prophet, either under the *Old* or *New Teſtament*, did ever Prophecy in an extaſie. Therefore *Miltiades* wrote a Book againſt them, which was thus entitled [περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν, i. e. *a Prophet ought not to ſpeak in an extaſie of mind.* See *Epiphanius, adverſ. Hæreſ. Montaniſt.* Chap. 2, & 4; and *Chryſoſtom. Homil.* 29. on the 1 *Epiſt. Corinth.* Valeſ.

(c) *Jerom*, *Ruſinus*, and other Tranſlators thought *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology to the *Roman* Emperors, called here [κοσμικὰς ἀρχοντας.] But becauſe at that time there was only one *Roman* Emperor, (to wit, *Commodus*,) I judge *the Governours of Provinces* are here rather meant. For the term [ἄρχοντες] does commonly ſignifie *the Preſidents of Provinces.* To theſe therefore *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology, as did *Tertullian* afterwards; who calls this *Miltiades*, *the Rhetorician of the Churches.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Apollonius *alſo confuted the* Cataphrygians, *and whom he has made mention of.*

APollonius alſo, an Eccleſiaſtick Writer, employing himſelf about a Confutation of that called the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie, which in his time was

Commodus. was prevalent in *Phrygia*, composed a peculiar Volume against them, *wherein* he does both word by word disprove the false Prophecies vented by them, and also lays open the Life and Manners of the Founders of that Heresie; [shewing] how they behaved themselves. Hear what he says, in these very words, concerning *Montanus*: 'But 'who is this new Doctor? His Works and Do-'ctrine do demonstrate: This is he who has taught 'a Dissolution of Marriages: Who has imposed '(a) Laws of Fasting; who 'has named *Pepuza* and *Ty-*'*mium* (little Cities of *Phry-*'*gia*) *Jerusalem*; being de-'sirous to gather together 'their Men from all Parts; 'who has constituted Ex-'actors of Money; who, 'under the name of Obla-'tions, has subtilly mask'd 'his taking of Gifts; who 'gives Stipends to those 'that preach up his Do-'ctrine, that so by stuffing 'of the Paunch the Doctrine 'he professes may thrive and 'prevail." Thus much [he says] concerning *Montanus*. Concerning his *Propheteſſes*, a little after these words he writes thus; 'We have de-'monstrated therefore, that these principal *Pro-*'*pheteſſes*, for the time they were filled with the Spi-'rit, forsook their Husbands: How falsly then do 'they speak, who term (b) *Prisca* a *Virgin*? Then he goes on, saying; 'Does not the whole Scripture 'seem to you to prohibit a Prophet to receive Gifts 'and Money? When there-'fore I see a *Propheteſs* receive 'Gold and Silver, and rich 'garments, how can I choose 'but abhor her?" Again, af-ter some words, he says this concerning one of those whom they call Confessors: 'Moreover, '*Themison*, who has cover'd 'himself with a (c) specious 'pretext of avarice, (he who 'would not bear the (d) sign 'of confession, but rid him-'self of his Bonds by a great 'sum of money, whenas up-'on that account he should 'in future have behav'd him-'self submissively,) does '[notwithstanding] boast 'himself to be a Martyr, 'and has been so audacious, as, in imitation of 'the Apostle, to write a General Epistle, for the 'instruction of those who have behaved themselves 'more like true Believers than he, but does '[therein] defend the Tenets of his own vain Do-'ctrine, and speaks impiously of the Lord, his 'Apostles, and holy Church." Again, he writes thus concerning others, who amongst 'em have been honour'd as Martyrs: 'But that we may 'speak of no more, let the Propheteſs answer us 'concerning *Alexander*, who terms himself a Mar-'tyr, with whom she feasts, whom many of them 'pay a reverence to: Whose Robberiess and his 'other audacious Facts (for which he has been 'punish'd) we need not speak of, since they may 'be seen in that place where the Publick (e) Re-'gisters are kept. Which therefore of these two *Commodus.* 'forgives the other's *Sins*? Does the Prophet [par-'don] the Martyr's Robberies, or does the Mar-'tyr [forgive] the Prophet's Avarice? For when-'as the Lord has said, * *Provide neither gold, nor* * Matt. '*silver, neither two coats*, these persons, wholly on 10. 9, 10. 'the contrary, have committed heinous Sins, in 'possessing themselves of things that are forbid-'den: For we will evidence, that those which 'they call Prophets, and Martyrs, have extorted 'Money not only from the Rich, but also from 'the Indigent, from Orphans and Widows: And 'if they are confident [of their Innocency] here-'in, let them stay, and decide the matter with 'us concerning these things; that so, if they shall 'be convinced, for the future they may leave their 'Viciousness: For the Fruits [that is, the Deeds] 'of a Prophet, must be approved: For a Tree 'is known by its Fruits. That therefore those who 'are desirous may know the truth concerning '*Alexander*, Judgment was pass'd upon him at *E-*'*phesus* by *Æmilius Frontinus* the Proconsul [of '*Asia*] not for the name [of Christ,] but the Rob-'beries he had audaciously committed, being at 'that time an (f) Apostate from Christ. Then, 'after he had counterfeited [a Profession of] the 'Name of the Lord, and deceived the faithful '[Brethren] there, he was dismiss'd; but his own 'Church, where he was born, admitted him not, 'because he was a Thief. Those who are desi-'rous to know all matters concerning him, may 'have recourse to the Publick Register of *Asia*, '[where they will find them.] And yet the * Pro-'phet does pretend himself ignorant of this Man, 'whom he has convers'd with for many years 'Having evidently shown what this Man is, we 'have also by him declared the Imposture of the 'Prophet. We are able to demonstrate the like 'in many other things. But if they have any 'confidence in themselves, let them undergo the 'Test." Again, in another place of the same Work, he adds these words concerning those Prophets they boast of: 'If they deny that their 'Prophets have received Gifts, let them confess 'this, [*to wit*,] if they be convinced that they 'have taken Gifts, they are not Prophets: And 'then we will produce infinite Demonstrations 'hereof. 'Tis necessary that all the Fruits of a 'Prophet should be approved of: Tell me, 'does a Prophet (g) colour '[his Hair?] Does a Pro-'phet paint his Eye-brows 'with * *Stybium*? Does a 'Prophet make it his busi-'ness to deck and adorn him-'self? Does a Prophet play 'at Tables, and at Dice? 'Does a Prophet put money 'to usury? Let them confess 'ingenuously whether these things are lawful or 'no? But I will demonstrate they are done a-'mongst them." The same *Apollonius* does relate in the same Work, that at the time of his writing that Book, it was (h) forty years since *Montanus* undertook [to vent] his forg'd Prophecy. And

(a) *Montanus* instituted three Lents every Year, and besides them, two Weeks of Abstinence, wherein nothing but dry Meats were to be eaten. So *Tertullian* in his Book, *De jejuniis*, and *Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Marcella*. *Apollonius* objects here against *Montanus*, his instituting Fasts by a Law; not that 'tis a fault to observe Fasts; or as if 'twere not lawful for some in the Church to proclaim Fasts: For the Apostle St. *John* appointed a three days Fast at *Ephesus*, before he betook himself to the writing his Gospel. But *Montanus* had no power to proclaim a Fast, being an Heretick, an excommunicated Person, and no Presbyter. *Apollonius* therefore does deservedly blame him, because of his own Head, not by Apostolick Tradition, he instituted Fasts. *Vales.*

(b) In the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, this Woman is call'd *Prisca*: Which is confirm'd by *Rufinus*, *Tertullian*, and *Firmilianus*. R. *Stephens* calls her *Priscilla*. Vales.

(c) The *Montanists* covered their Avarice under the pretext of Religion, and specious term of *Oblations*, as *Apollonius* says a little before in this Chapter. *Vales.*

(d) *Christophorson* thought the *Cross* was meant here: But doubtless *Apollonius* means *bonds*, which *Themison* could not endure for Christ's sake. For that which he calls [*the sign of Confession*] here, in the next Words he terms [τὰ δεσμά] *Bonds*. Vales.

(e) Ὁπισθόδομος is the term in the original. At *Athens* there was an House so called, behind the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, wherein the publick Treasury was laid. So says *Harpocration*, on that Word. In all the Temples there was such a place, as *Varo* asserts, B. 4. But here this term must mean *the publick Registry*, where the publick Records are kept. *Vales.*

(f) Ἀποστάτης is the term, which *Rufinus* translates [*an Apostate.*] Vales.

* He means *Montanus.*

(g) The *Greeks* call that Βάπτειν τὴν ὀφρύα, which the *Latines* term, *Crines tingere seu rutilare, to die, or make the hair red.* To do which they made use of Ashes which had been put into Lye, as *Varro* says. See *Hesychius* in the word ξανθίζειν. *Vales.*

* That is, a kind of colouring stuff, which is used to make the Eye-brows black.

(h) I perceive now why *Eusebius* places *Apollonius* after the Author without a name, of whom he spake in the foregoing Chapter: For because that anonymous Author says he wrote his Books fourteen Years after the death of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*; and in regard *Apollonius* does here say *Montanus* broach'd his new Prophecy forty Years before he wrote; therefore *Eusebius* supposed *Apollonius* to be a later Writer than that anonymous Author: In which, as I judge, he is much out. For *Apollonius* wrote his Book whilest

whileſt *Montanus*, and his mad Propheteſſes *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, were yet alive, which appears from theſe paſſages [*Let the Propheteſs anſwer us concerning* Alexander, *who terms himſelf a Martyr, with whom ſhe feaſts*, &c.] And again, [*And yet the Prophet does pretend himſelf ignorant of this Man whom he has converſt with for many Years*;] *Euſebius* quotes in this Chapter. *Apollonius* therefore does not ſay, forty Years were paſt from the death of *Montanus*, when he wrote this Book; but only, that *Montanus* had ſet a-broach his falſe Prophecy forty years before he went about to write this Book againſt him. Let us ſuppoſe therefore *Montanus* to be thirty years old when he ſet up to be a Prophet; he could not be above 70 Years old when *Apollonius* wrote his Book againſt him. Neither had he *Maximilla* and *Priſcilla* for his Companions, as ſoon as ever he began his Hereſie; but, as I judge, they were enſnared by him a long while after. *Valeſ.*

Commodus. again, he ſays, that *Zoticus* (whom the former Writer made mention of) reſolv'd to oppoſe *Maximilla*, who then feign'd herſelf to Propheſie at *Pepuza*, and attempted to reprove the Spirit ſhe was moved by; but that he was forbidden by thoſe that were her Favourers. He makes mention alſo of one *Thraſeas*, who at that time was a Martyr. Moreover he ſays, as from Tradition, that our Saviour commanded his Apoſtles, they ſhould not for the ſpace of twelve years depart from *Jeruſalem*: He quotes Authorities alſo out of *the Revelation of John*; and relates that *John*, by the Divine Power raiſed a Dead Man to Life at *Epheſus*. And he ſays many other things, whereby he ſufficiently and fully ſets forth the Deceit of the foreſaid pernicious Hereſie. Thus much *Apollonius*.

CHAP. XIX.

Serapion's [*Opinion*] *concerning the Hereſie of the* Cataphrygians.

BUT *Serapion*, (who, as report ſays, was about this time Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch* after *Maximinus*,) makes mention of the Writings of *Apollinaris* againſt the foreſaid Hereſie. He mentions him in that Epiſtle he wrote to (*a*) *Caricus* and *Ponticus*; wherein, refuting the ſame Hereſie, he ſubjoyns theſe words: 'And 'that you may ſee, that the Operation of that 'diſſembling Party call'd the (*b*) *New-prophecy* is 'abominated (*c*) by all the Brotherhood in the 'World, I have ſent you alſo the Letters of *Clau*'dius Apollinaris* of moſt bleſſed memory, who was 'Biſhop of *Hierapolis* in *Aſia*." In that ſame Epiſtle of *Serapion*'s, are contained the Subſcriptions of ſeveral Biſhops: One of whom has ſubſcribed thus; *I Aurelius Cyrenius Martyr wiſh You health*: Another, after this manner, *Ælius Publius Julius Biſhop of* (*d*) *Develtum, a Colony of Thracia: As God liveth who is in Heaven*, Sotas *of bleſſed memory, who* (*e*) *was at* Anchialus, *would have caſt out* Priſcilla's *Devil, but the Hypocrites would not ſuffer him.* In the ſaid Letters are extant the Subſcriptions of many other Biſhops, written with their own Hands, who were of the ſame Opinion with theſe. And of this ſort were the Matters appertaining to the ſaid [Hereticks.]

(*a*) *Euſebius* (in his 6th Book, Cha. 12.) calls theſe Men [*Pontius* and *Caricus*.] *Jerom* (in *Catalogo*) calls them *Carinus*, and *Pontius*. Valeſ.

(*b*) So the Ancients termed the Prophecy of *Montanus* and his Aſſociates; as may be ſeen from *Tertullian, de Jejuniis*; *Jerom, in Catalogo*; *Firmilian, in his Epiſtle to Cyprian*; and the *old Author* quoted by our *Euſebius*, Chap. 16. of this Book. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) The reading of the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. agrees with our Tranſlation, *to wit*, [*by all the Brotherhood in the World.*] The King's MS. and *Robert Stephens* read it thus [*by all the Brotherhood in Chriſt, over the whole World.*] Valeſ.

(*d*) *Debeltum*, or *Develtum*, a Colony in *Thracia*, is mentioned by Geographers, and in the old Coins, which *John Triſtan* put forth. *Anchialus* alſo, hereafter named, is a City of *Thracia*, ſufficiently known. But why ſhould the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops of *Thracia* be put to the Epiſtle of *Serapion* Biſhop of *Antioch*? If I may make a conjecture, I ſuppoſe the Biſhops of *Thracia* had written an Epiſtle to the Churches of *Aſia* and *Phrygia* againſt *Montanus*'s Prophecy; wherein they gave their Opinion thereof, after the ſame manner that thoſe of *Vienna* and *Lyons* did, as our *Euſebius* related before. That theſe ſubſcriptions were put to the bottom of ſome Epiſtle, 'tis apparent from *Cyrenus*'s Subſcription here mentioned. But 'tis no way likely that thoſe Biſhops did ſubſcribe *Serapion*'s Epiſtle; (1) Becauſe *Euſebius* does not ſay ſo, but only that the Subſcriptions of many Biſhops were contained in *Serapion*'s Letter, as was alſo *Apollinaris*'s Epiſtle to the ſaid *Serapion*. For *Serapion* did this with good adviſement, that he might confute the Hereſie of *Montanus* by the authority of many Biſhops. (2) How could the Biſhops of *Thracia* ſubſcribe the Letter of a Biſhop of *Antioch*? 'Tis moſt probable therefore, as I ſaid, that the Biſhops of *Thracia* had with a joint conſent written to the Churches of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*. Valeſ.

Commodus.

(*e*) That is, Biſhop of *Anchialus*, a City of *Thracia*, as we ſaid before. This *Sotas* the Biſhop, hearing of this new Prophecy, ſailed out of *Thracia* into *Phrygia*, where having ſeen *Priſcilla*, not filled with the Holy Spirit, but actuated by the Devil, he undertook to caſt him out of her by Exorciſm. Not only *Sotas*, but alſo many other Biſhops went at that time into *Phrygia*, to examine that new Prophecy, ſays the anonymous Author, chap. 16. of this Book. Moreover, we may obſerve, that *Sotas* was dead, when *Ælius Julius* wrote this; which is ſhown by the word [μακάριος] a term which the Greeks uſe when they ſpeak of a dead Perſon: Had *Sotas* been alive, he would doubtleſs have confirmed this thing by his Subſcription. The ſame term *Serapion* uſes, when he ſpeaks of *Apollinaris*, who alſo was then dead. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

What Irenæus *wrote againſt the Schiſmaticks at* Rome.

(*a*) IRenæus compoſed ſeveral Epiſtles againſt thoſe at *Rome* who adulterated the ſound Law of the Church. He wrote one to *Blaſtus concerning Schiſm*; another to *Florinus concerning* (*b*) *Monarchy*, or, *that God is not the maker of Evil.* For *Florinus* ſeem'd to be a maintainer of that Opinion: Upon whoſe account, (being afterwards led into the Error of *Valentinus*,) *Irenæus* compiled that Work of his, [entitled,] (*c*) *Concerning the Number Eight.* In which Piece he intimates himſelf to have liv'd in the firſt Succeſſion after the Apoſtles. There alſo at the cloſe of that Work, we found a moſt profitable (*d*) Note of his, which we judged uſeful to be inſerted into this our Hiſtory: It is thus; 'I adjure thee (who 'ſhall tranſcribe this Book) 'by our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and 'by his glorious coming to 'judge the Quick and 'Dead, that you compare 'what you ſhall tranſcribe 'and correct it diligently 'according to that Copy 'whence you ſhall tran'ſcribe it; and that in like 'manner you tranſcribe this '*Adjuration*, and annex it to '[thy] Copy." And let thus much have been profitably ſaid by him, and related by us, that we may always have [before our eyes] thoſe ancient and truly holy Men, as the beſt pattern of a moſt accurate Care and Diligence. Moreover, in that Epiſtle (we ſpake of) which *Irenæus* wrote to *Florinus*, he makes mention of his being converſant with *Polycarp*, ſaying, 'Theſe Opinions, (O '*Florinus!*) that I may ſpeak ſparingly, do not 'appertain to ſound Doctrine:" Theſe Opinions are diſſonant from the Church, and drive thoſe who

(*a*) Here we begin the 20 Chapter, following therein *Ruffinus*, *Muſculus*, and *Chriſtophorſon*. The King's, the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. begin the Chapter from theſe words [*And of this ſort were the Matters*, &c.] which are the cloſe of the foregoing Chapter. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) The ancient Chriſtians did frequently uſe this term; as often, as they diſputed againſt the Gentiles, under which title they put forth many Books, to ſhew that there was one God, the Maker and King of all things, which term [to wit, *Monarchy*] they aſcribed to God the Father; but [οἰκονομία, i. e. *the Diſpenſation, and Adminiſtration*] they aſſigned to the Son and Holy Ghoſt; ſo *Tertullian*, (in his Book againſt *Praxeas*,) and *Tatianus*, (*adverſus Græcos.*) There is a Book of *Juſtin* the *Martyr's*, now extant, which has this title. Moreover, from this title of *Irenæus*'s Book we may conclude, that *Florinus* aſſerted two Principles, and embraced the Opinions of *Cerdo* and *Marcion*, affirming one to be the Author of Good, the other of Evil. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) See *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius*, concerning a work of *Valentinus*'s, which bears this title. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) Σημείωσιν is the term in the original. Thoſe Notes which were ſet at the Margin of MSS. that the Reader might underſtand ſomething remarkable occured there, were properly ſo called. Therefore we tranſlate it [*adnotationem*, i. e. *a note.*] This note is now to be found in many Greek MSS. expreſs'd only by the two firſt Letters, thus [ση] which do ſignifie [σημείωσα, i. e. *note*] This Adjuration of *Irenæus*'s did ſo well pleaſe *Euſebius*, that he put it at the beginning of his *Chronicon*. Valeſ.

Commodus.

'who give their assent to them into the greatest 'Impiety; these Sentiments even the Hereticks, 'who are without the Church, have not dared to 'publish at any time; these Opinions the Presby-'ters, who liv'd before our Times, who also were 'the Disciples of the Apostles, did in no wise de-'liver unto thee. For I saw thee (when being 'yet a Child I was in the *Lower Asia* with *Poly-'carp*, behaving thy self very well in the Palace, 'and endeavouring to get thy self well-esteem'd 'of by him. For I remember the things then 'done, better than what has happen'd of late. 'For what we learn'd being Children, increases 'together with the Mind itself, and is closely 'united to it. Insomuch, that I am able to tell 'even the place where the Blessed *Polycarp* sat 'and discours'd; also his (*e*) Goings-out and 'Comings-in; his Manner of Life; the Shape of 'his Body; the *Discourses* he made to the Populace; 'the familiar Converse which, he said, he had 'with *John*, and with the rest who had seen the 'Lord, and how he rehearsed their Sayings, and 'what they were which he had heard from them 'concerning the Lord; concerning his Miracles, 'and his Doctrine: According as *Polycarp* re-'ceiv'd them from those, who with their own 'Eyes beheld the Word of Life, so he related 'them, agreeing in all things with the Scriptures. 'These things, by the Mercy of God bestow'd 'upon me, I then heard diligently, and copied 'them out, not in Paper, but in my Heart; and 'by the Grace of God I do continually and sin-'cerely ruminate upon them. And I am able to 'to protest in the presence of God, that if that 'Blessed and Apostolick Presbyter should have 'heard any such thing, he would presently have 'cried out, and (*f*) stopp'd his Ears, and accor-'ding to his usual custom would have said; *Good 'God! For what times hast thou reserved me, that I 'should suffer such things!* And he would have run 'out of the place, where he was either sitting or 'standing, should he have heard such words as 'these. And this may be manifested from those 'Epistles of his, which he wrote either to the 'neighbouring Churches to confirm them, or to 'some Brethren to admonish and exhort them. 'Thus far *Irenæus*.

(*e*) All our MSS. and *Nicephorus* do read [ἐξοδους, i. e. *his goings-out*] and so we tran-slate it. *Vales.*

(*f*) It was the custom of the Primitive Christians, (when they heard any impious Expressi-on in a familiar Discourse, which was disagreeable to the rule of the Catholick Faith,) forthwith to stop their Ears, and run away. See *Irenæus* (B. 3. *Against Heresies*, Chap. 4.) and *Jerom*, B. 1. against *Rufinus*. Vales.

CHAP. XXI.

How Apollonius *suffer'd Martyrdom at* Rome.

AT the same time of *Commodus*'s Empire, our Affairs were converted into a quiet and sedate posture; Peace, by the Divine Grace, encompassing the Churches throughout the whole World. In which interim the saving Word [of God] allured * very many of all sorts of Men to the religious Worship of the universal God. So that now many of those at *Rome*, who were very eminent both for Riches and Descent, did, together with their whole Households and Families, betake themselves to [the attaining of) Salvation. But this could not be born with by the envious Devil, that hater of Good, being by nature malicious. Therefore he (*a*) arms himself again, inventing various Stratagems against us. At the City of *Rome* therefore, he brings before the Judgment-seat (*b*) *Apollonius*, a Man who was at that time one of the Faithful, and very eminent for his Learning and Philosophy; having stirr'd up (*c*) one of * his Ministers, who was fit for such [a wicked Enterprize] to accuse this Person. Now this Wretch, having undertaken this Accusation in an unseasonable time, (for according to the (*d*) Imperial Edict, the Informers against those that were [Christians] were to be put to death;) had his Legs forthwith broken, and was put to death, *Perennis* the Judge having pronounc'd this Sentence against him: But the Martyr, most beloved by God, (after the Judge had (*e*) earnestly beseech'd him by many entreaties, and requested him to render an account [of his Faith] (*f*) before the Senate,) having made a most (*g*) elegant defence before them all for the Faith he profess'd, (*h*) was, as it were by a Decree of the Senate, condemn'd to undergo a capital Punishment. For by an ancient (*i*) Law 'twas establish'd amongst them, that those [Christians] who were once accused before the Judgment-seat, should in no wise be dismiss'd, unless they receded from their Opinion. Moreover, he that is desirous to know *Apollonius*'s Speeches before the Judge, and the Answers he made to the Interrogatories of *Perennis*, the Oration also which he spoke before the Senate in defence of our Faith, may see them in *our Collection of the Sufferings of the ancient Martyrs.*

Commodus.

(*b*) This *Apollonius* was not the same Person with him, mention'd Chap. 16. of this Book. *Jerom (in Catalogo)* calls him a *Roman* Senator. *Eusebius* does not say he was one of the Senate, in this place. But more of this hereafter. *Vales.*

(*c*) *Jerom* (in his Book *de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*) supposes the Person here spoken of to be *Apollonius*'s Servant; and calls his name *Severus*. Vales.

* Or, *every Soul of all sorts of Men.* For that's the import of the Greek, if it be exactly rendred. *Valesius* translates it [*Ex omni genere hominum quàm-plurimos*, i. e. *very many of all sorts of Men.*

(*a*) Ἀπεδύσατο, i. e. he *unclothed* himself; 'tis a Metaphor taken from Champions, who, being to engage, strip'd themselves, and studied by various Arts and Subtilties to vanquish their Adversaries. *Vales.*

* That is, *the Devil having stirred up one of his own Instruments*, or *Ministers*, &c.

(*d*) He means *the Rescript* of *Marcus*, mentioned Chap. 13. B. 4. See that place, and the Notes upon it. *Rufinus* thought the Edict of *Trajan*, (which *Eusebius* mentions B. 3. Chap. 33.) or the Rescript of *Adrian*, see Chap. 9. B. 4.) to *Minucius Fundanus*, was here meant. *Vales.*

(*e*) The Judges, who interrogated the Christians that were brought before them, were wont to perswade and entreat them to have a regard for their own Safety, by embracing the Worship of the Heathen Gods. There are infinite Examples hereof in *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, &c. *Vales.*

(*f*) From this passage I am induced to think that *Apollonius* was of the *Senatorian* Order, as *Jerom* has said. Who upon the information of some desperate Fellow (whose name is unknown) was brought before *Perennis*, the *Prefect* of the *Prætorium*, (i. e. *the Officer to whom the oversight of the Soldiers was committed*) as being a Christian; being ask'd by the Judge what Order he was of, and making answer that he was of the *Senatorian* Order, *Perennis* commanded him to give an account of his Faith before the Senate. Which when *Apollonius* had with much Eloquence done, by the sentence of the Senate he was put to death. Why may we not therefore believe *Jerom*, (who in his Book *De Ecclesiast. Scriptor.* and in his Epistle to *Magnus*) has said in expres terms, that *Apollonius* was a Senator? And although *Eusebius* does not expresly say so here; yet from this Relation of his thus much may be collected. Besides, *Jerom* might have read the *Acts* of *Apollonius*'s suffering, to which *Eusebius* does here refer us. In which *Acts*, 'tis probable, *Apollonius* was called a *Roman* Senator, and was said to have been betrayed by his Servant. These *Acts* were written at *Rome* in Greek, by Men that were *Grecians*, after the same manner as the *Acts* of the *Lugdunensian* Martyrs were written in Greek. *Vales.*

(*g*) *Jerom* (in his Book *De Scriptor. Eccles.*) misunderstanding this place of *Eusebius*, has accounted *Apollonius*, amongst the Ecclesiastick Writers. But *Eusebius* only says, that *Apollonius* made a most elegant Oration before the Judges in defence of the Faith he profes'd, not that he wrote an Apology. *Scaliger* takes notice of this mistake of *Jerom*'s in his *Animadvers. Eusebian.* p. 208. But he has there alter'd the reading of part of this place in *Eusebius*, thus [*But the Martyr, most beloved of God, after he had beseech'd the Judge by many intreaties, that he might have leave to give an account of his Faith before the* Senate.] Which Emendation is contradicted by all our MS. Copies, and by reason itself. *Vales.*

(*h*) All Translators have rendred this place without taking any notice of the particle [ὡς] in their Versions; supposing it to be useless. Which, as I judge, is not true: (1) Because the Senators were not Judges, neither had they Jurisdiction. (2) *Perennis*, who was the Judge in this Cause, had remitted *Apollonius* to the Senate, not that the Senate should give Judgment upon him, but that *Apollonius* should give them an account of his Religion: He honoured the Senate so far, that he would not condemn a Senator, before the Senate had

had cognizance of his Crime. When therefore the Senate had heard *Apollonius*, their anſwer was, That the Man ſhould be judged according to the Law. After this *Apollonius* was puniſhed with death, by the ſentence indeed of *Perennis* himſelf, but by the decree of the Senate, becauſe the Senate had heard him, and given their conſent that he ſhould be condemned. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) He means the Reſcript of *Trajan*, which *Euſebius* mentions Book 3. Chap. 33. at the latter end. See the place and the note upon it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

What Biſhops flouriſh'd at that time.

Commodus. MOreover, in the Tenth Year of *Commodus*'s Reign, *Eleutherus*, having executed the Epiſcopal Office (*a*) thirteen years, was ſucceeded by *Victor*. In the ſame year alſo, *Julianus* having compleated his Tenth Year, *Demetrius* undertook the Government of the Churches at *Alexandria*. At the ſame time likewiſe *Serapion*, (whom we ſpake of a little before,) flouriſh'd, being the eighth Biſhop from the Apoſtles of the *Antiochian* Church. At *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* preſided *Theophilus*; and in like manner *Narciſſus* (whom we made mention of before) at that time had the publick Charge over the Church at *Jeruſalem*. At *Corinth* in *Achaia*, (*b*) *Bacchyllus* was then the Biſhop, and at the Church of *Epheſus*, *Polycrates*. Many others, 'tis likely, beſides theſe were eminent at that time; but we, as it was meet, have only recounted their names, by whoſe Writings the Doctrine of the true Faith has been derived down to us.

(a) In his *Chronicon Euſebius* aſſigns fifteen years to *Eleutherus*, and continues his Preſidency to the laſt year of *Commodus*. Between which two accounts of his there is a great diſagreement. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Nicephorus* calls him *Bacchylus*. But ſometimes diminutive terms, ſuch as this is, are written with a double L. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Queſtion then moved about Eaſter.

AT the ſame time no ſmall Controverſie being raiſed, becauſe the Churches of all (*a*) *Aſia* ſuppoſed, as from a more ancient Tradition, that the * fourteenth day of the Moon ought to be obſerv'd as the ſalutary Feaſt of *Eaſter*, [*to wit*] the ſame Day whereon the *Jews* were commanded to kill the Lamb, and that they ought always (*b*) on that Day, (whatever Day of the Week it ſhould happen to be,) to put an end to their Faſtings: When as [notwithſtanding] 'twas not the uſage of the (*c*) Churches over the reſt of the World to do after this manner: Which uſage, being received from Apoſtolick Tradition, and ſtill prevalent, they obſerv'd, [*to wit*,] that they ought not to (*d*) put an end to their Faſtings on any other day, ſave that of the Reſurrection of our Saviour: Upon this account Synods and Aſſemblies of Biſhops were convened. And all of them with one conſent did by their Letters inform the [Brethren] every-where of the Eccleſiaſtick Decree, [*to wit*,] that the Myſtery of our Lord's Reſurrection ſhould never be celebrated on any other day but Sunday, and that on that day only we ſhould obſerve to conclude the Faſts before *Eaſter*. There is at this time extant the Epiſtle of thoſe who then were aſſembled in *Paleſtine*, over whom (*e*) *Theophilus* Biſhop of the Church in *Cæſarea*, and *Narciſſus* [Biſhop] of *Jeruſalem*, preſided. In like manner, another [Epiſtle] of thoſe [aſſembled] at *Rome* concerning the ſame Queſtion, having *Victor* the Biſhop's name prefix'd to it: Alſo [another] of thoſe Biſhops in *Pontus*, over whom (*f*) *Palmas*, as being the moſt ancient, preſided. Alſo [an Epiſtle] of the Churches in *Gallia*, which *Irenæus* had the overſight of. Moreover of thoſe in *Oſdroëna* and the Cities there; and (*g*) a private Letter of *Bacchyllus*'s, Biſhop of the *Corinthian* Church; of many others alſo; all which having utter'd one and the ſame Opinion and Sentiment propos'd the ſame Judgment; and this we have mention'd, was their only definitive Determination.

(*a*) The reading of the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. is [*the Churches of all Aſia*,] as we have tranſlated it. *Aſia* may be taken in a threefold ſenſe; ſometimes 'tis taken for the third part of the World; ſometimes for a Province, divided into nine Juriſdictions, which was governed by a *Roman* Proconſul; at other times 'tis more ſtrictly taken for that Region which lies by the River *Meander*. In theſe words of *Euſebius*, 'tis, in my judgment, to be taken in the ſecond ſenſe, *to wit*, for a Province which a Proconſul governed. *Valeſ.*

* That is, the fourteenth day after the appearance of the New Moon: For the religious part of the Jewiſh Calendar was concerned in theſe appearances of the New Moon, the reports whereof were made by the Country-People. See the whole manner hereof deſcribed particularly, by the Learned Doctor *Cudworth*, *in his excellent Diſcourſe concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper*, pag. 67. See alſo Mr. *Jo. Gregory of Oxford*, *in his Diſcourſe concerning Upper-rooms*, pag. 14, &c.

(*b*) The Learned Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, in his Diſſertation prefixt before *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, Chap. 9. ſays, that the *Aſiatics*, who celebrated *Eaſter* with the *Jews*, on the firſt Day of unleavened Bread, paſſed over that Day with Mourning and Faſting; after which Day was ended, they concluded their Lent-faſt. Which opinion *Euſebius* does here contradict, in that he affirms expreſly, that the *Aſiatics*, did put an end to their Faſtings on the 14th day of the firſt Month, although it were not *Sunday*. Valeſ.

(*c*) Here *Euſebius* does plainly declare that the *Aſiatics* only did at that time celebrate Eaſter with the *Jews*; but that all the other Churches obſerved that Feſtival on another Day. Wherefore I diſſent from *Halloixius*, Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, and others, who ſuppoſe that the *Syrians*, *Meſopotamians*, and *Cilicians*, did then keep Eaſter at the ſame time with the *Aſiatics*. 'Tis evident that the *Syrians* and *Meſopotamians*, were then right in their Sentiments about this matter, which appears from their Councils here mentioned by *Euſebius*; For *Oſdroëna* is a part of *Meſopotamia*: But afterwards they fell to the Jewiſh Obſervation of this Feſtival, and that before the *Nicene* Council, as *Athanaſius* aſſerts: On the contrary, the *Aſiatics* forſaking their former Error, embraced the ſounder Opinion in their obſervation of *Eaſter*; which they did before the *Nicene*-Council, as appears from *Conſtantine*'s Epiſtle, which *Euſebius* relates, B. 3. Chap. 18 and 19. of *Conſtantine*'s Life. *Valeſ.*

Commodus.

(*d*) It was queſtion'd amongſt the Ancients, at what hour the Faſt before *Eaſter* was to be concluded; ſome were of opinion, that it was to be continued to the dawning of *Eaſter*-day, after the Cock-crowing, as may be ſeen in *Epiphanius*, and *Clemens*: Others thought it was to be finiſhed on the *Saturday*-evening before *Eaſter*-day; So *Cyrill*, in *Hom. Paſc.* Valeſ.

(*e*) The Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, (before the *Nicene*-Council, and a long time after,) had the Dignity and Honour of a Metropolitan, and preſided in all the Councils of *Paleſtine*, as being Biſhop of the chief See. Nevertheleſs, the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* had a reſpect ſhown them; theirs being the Apoſtolick Church, which firſt had a Biſhop. Therefore the Biſhops of that See were not under the Biſhops of *Cæſarea*, but were αὐτοκέφαλοι, i. e. *were, as to their priviledges, independent of the See of Cæſarea.* See the ſeventh Canon of the *Nicene* Council. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) He was Biſhop of *Amaſtris* in *Pontus*, of whom *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* makes mention, in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Amaſtris*, which Epiſtle our *Euſebius* ſpeaks of B. 4. Chap. 23. There was one, which bore the ſame name, (to wit, *Palmas*) of the Conſular Order, whom *Adrian* commanded to be killed; ſo ſays *Spartianus*. Moreover, *Euſebius* ſays, this *Palmas* preſided, as being the moſt ancient Biſhop, not that he was a Metropolitan. For *Heraclea*, not *Amaſtris*, was Metropolis of the Cities of *Pontus*. But in the Eccleſiaſtick Councils the Precedency was different, according to the diverſity of times and places. The plaineſt and moſt reaſonable cauſe of Precedency was, that the ancienteſt Biſhop ſhould take place of the reſt. Afterwards the Biſhops of the Metropolitan Churches had that honour given them. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) *Jerom* (in his Book *De Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.*) expounds this place ſo, as if *Bacchylus* had convened a Council in *Achaia*, apart by himſelf: For in this ſenſe he takes the term [ἰδίως] here uſed by *Euſebius*: But there may another ſenſe be given hereof, *to wit*, that *Bacchylus* wrote *a private Epiſtle* in his own Name concerning *Eaſter*, not a *Synodical Letter*, as the reſt did. *Euſebius* (Book 6. Chap. 11.) calls *a private Letter*, ἰδίαν ἐπιστολήν. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Diſagreement [*of the Churches*] *throughout* Aſia.

OVer thoſe Biſhops in *Aſia*, who ſtifly maintain'd they ought to obſerve the ancient uſage heretofore deliver'd to them, preſided *Polycrates*: Who, in the Epiſtle he wrote to *Victor*, and the *Roman* Church, declares the Tradition derived down to his own Times in theſe words:

'We

Commodus. ‘We therefore observe the true and genuine ‘* Day; having neither added any thing to, ‘nor taken any thing from, [the uninterrupted ‘usage deliver'd to us.] † For in *Asia* the Great ‘Lights are dead, who shall be raised again in ‘the Day of the Lord's Advent, wherein he shall ‘come with glory from Heaven, and raise up all his ‘Saints, [I mean] *Philip*, one ‘of the Twelve Apostles, ‘who died at *Hierapolis*, and ‘his two Daughters, who ‘continued Virgins to the ‘end of their lives; also his ‘other Daughter, having whilst she lived been ‘inspired by the Holy Ghost, died at *Ephesus*. ‘And moreover, *John*, who leaned on the Lord's ‘Breast, and was a Priest, wearing a (*a*) Plate ‘of Gold, and was a Martyr, and a Doctor: This ‘[*John*, I say] died at *Ephesus*. Moreover also, ‘*Polycarp* Bishop at *Smyrna* and Martyr, and ‘(*b*) *Thraseas* of *Eumema*, Bishop and Martyr, who ‘died at *Smyrna*. What need we mention (*c*) *Sagaris* Bishop and Martyr, who died at *Laodicea*? ‘And moreover (*d*) *Papirius* of blessed memory, ‘and (*e*) *Melito* the Eunuch, who in all things was ‘directed by the Suggestion of the Holy Spirit, ‘who lies at *Sardis*, expecting the [Lord's coming ‘to] visit him from Heaven, when he shall be ‘raised from the Dead? All these kept the Day ‘of *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the Gospel: In no wise violating, ‘but exactly following the Rule of Faith. And ‘moreover, I *Polycrates*, the meanest of you all, ‘according to the Tradition of my Kinsmen, some ‘of whom also I have follow'd: For (*f*) seven of ‘my Relations were Bishops, and I am the eighth; ‘all which Kinsmen of mine did always celebrate ‘the Day [of Easter] when the People [of the ‘*Jews*] (*g*) removed the Leaven. I therefore, ‘Brethren, who am sixty five years old in the ‘Lord, and have been conversant with the Brethren dispersed over the World, and have read ‘the whole Scripture through, am not at all terrified at what I am threatned with. For those ‘who were greater than I, have said, * *We ought to obey God rather than Men.*” To these words, speaking of all the Bishops who were present with him when he wrote, and were of the same Opinion with him, he adjoyns thus much, saying; ‘I could make mention of the Bishops who ‘are present with me, ‘whom you (*h*) requested ‘me to convene, and I have ‘called them together: ‘whose names should I annex [to this Epistle,] they ‘would be very numerous; ‘all which Persons having ‘visited me, (who am a ‘mean Man) did by their consent approve this ‘Epistle; well knowing that I have not born ‘these hoary Hairs in vain, but have always led ‘my life agreeable to the Precepts of the Lord ‘Jesus.” After this, *Victor* the Bishop of *Rome*, did immediately attempt to cut off from the common Unity the Churches of all *Asia*, together with the adjoyning Churches, as having given their assent to heterodox Opinions; and (*i*) by his Letters he publickly declares, and pronounces all the Brethren there to be wholly excommunicate: But this pleased not all the Bishops: Therefore they perswade him to the contrary, [advising him] to entertain thoughts of Peace, of Unity, and Love of Christians among one another. Moreover their Epistles are now extant, wherein they have sharply reproved *Victor*. Among whom *Irenæus*, having written a Letter in (*k*) the name of those Brethren in *Gallia*, whom he presided over, does indeed maintain, that the Mystery of our Lord's Resurrection ought to be celebrated only on a *Sunday*; but does in many other words seasonably advise him not to cut off whole Churches of God for observing an ancient Custom derived down to them by Tradition: To which words he adjoyns thus much; ‘For ‘the Controversie is not only concerning the

Commodus. * Acts 5. 29.

(*h*) Hence 'tis apparent that *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* had written to *Polycrates* to convene the Bishops of *Asia*; and threatned to excommunicate him, unless he obeyed his determination about *Easter*. As to his Menaces, *Polycrates* answers, *I am not at all terrified at what I am threatned with.* Vales.

(*i*) *Valesius* (in his Note at this place) is of opinion, that *Victor* did not excommunicate the Churches of *Asia*; but only endeavoured, and threatned to do it. The reasons he brings for this are these: (1) *Eusebius* says expresly, [ἀποξενειν πειρᾶται, i. e, *he endeavoured to cut off from the Communion*, &c.] (2) The Epistles written to *Victor* by *Irenæus* and other Bishops, do shew, that the Sentence of Excommunication was not then pronounced by *Victor*; for thus *Eusebius* writes concerning *Irenæus*'s Letters, [*But does in many other Words seasonably advise* Victor *not to cut off whole Churches*, &c.] (3) *Photius* (in *Biblioth.* Chap. 120.) writes that *Irenæus* wrote many Letters to *Victor*, perswading him not to excommunicate any one for their dissent about the observation of Easter; therefore, before *Irenæus* wrote, *Victor* had excommunicated no Body: Now, it cannot be supposed that *Victor* did it after the receipt of *Irenæus*'s Letters; for then *Eusebius* would have made mention of it; but he intimates the contrary to all this, calling *Irenæus* [εἰρηνοποιὸν,] i. e. *Peace-maker*, because his Letters restored Peace to the Church. These are *Valesius*'s reasons. On the contrary *Socrates*, (B. 5. Chap. 22.) *Halloixius* in his life of *Irenæus*, pag. 668; and Dr. *Cave* in the Life of *Irenæus*, pag. 168. are of opinion, that this Sentence of Excommunication was actually pronounced by *Victor*. Their main Argument for this, is grounded on these Words of *Eusebius*, which here follow [κὴ ςηλιτεύει γε διὰ γεγραμμάτων, ἀκοινωνήτους ἁρδην πάντας τὰς ἐκεῖσε ἀναχηρύττων ἀδελφὰς] which we have thus rendred [*And by his Letters he*, i. e. Victor, *publickly declares, and pronounces all the Brethren there to be wholly excommunicated.*] Which, whether it does not outweigh all that *Valesius* has said to the contrary, is left to the determination of the Learned Reader.

Commodus. * He means *Easter-day.* † *Eusebius* quotes part of this Epistle at the 31 Chap. of his 3d. B. The Learned Reader, upon comparing of the original Greek, here, and at the said 31 Chapter, will find some small difference: Upon which account our Version of the two places differs; for we translated them as we found them.

(*a*) See B. 3. Chap. 31. Note (*d*.) But the Jewish use of *this plate of Gold* can't be meant here; for *John* was neither High-Priest amongst the *Jews*, nor yet of the sacerdotal race. *Polycrates* mentions 3 things of *John*; 1. That he was a Priest; 2. a Martyr; 3. a Doctor, or Evangelist. Now as he was a Doctor of Christ, and a Martyr for him; so also must he be understood to be a Priest of Christ. 'Tis probable those first Christian Priests, in imitation of the Jewish High-Priests, did wear a plate of Gold, as a Badge of Honour. *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Nazaræor.*) says, *James* the Brother of our Lord, who was ordained the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, wore such a plate of Gold on his Forehead. The same is said of *Mark* the *Evangelist*, in a MS. *concerning his Suffering*. Vales.

(*b*) This is *Thraseas* the Martyr, whom *Apollonius* mentions in his Book against the *Cataphrygians*; whose Words our *Eusebius* quotes Chap. 18. of this Book; *Rufinus* says he suffered Martyrdom at *Smyrna*. Vales.

(*c*) *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis* makes mention of this Martyr, in his Book *concerning Easter*; in those Words which our *Eusebius* quotes B. 4. Chap. 26. This *Sagaris* was Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Asia*; in whose times the Question concerning Easter was raised at *Laodicea*. Vales.

(*d*) In the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. this Man's name is thus written, [παπίριον, *Papirius.*] 'Tis a *Roman* name. *Polycrates* does not say where this *Papirius* was Bishop. But I find in *Simeon Metaphrastes*, (in the Life of *Polycarp*) that this *Papirius* was Successor to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*. Vales.

(*e*) *Polycrates* does here stile *Melito*, an *Eunuch*, that is, in our Saviour's explication, one of those, *who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's-sake*; who are content to deny themselves, and to renounce the lawful Pleasures and Comforts of the World, for the service of Religion. *Jerom* (*De Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.*) attests that this *Melito* was by many accounted a Prophet. *Vales.*

(*f*) *Rufinus* thought that seven of *Polycrates*'s Ancestors, or Relations, were Bishops of *Ephesus*. But *Polycrates* does not say they were all Bishops of *Ephesus*; we may suppose they were Bishops in several Cities of *Asia*. Vales.

(*g*) In the King's, and *Maz.* MSS. this place is plainly written thus, [ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρνυε τὴν ζύμην,] i. e. *when the People removed the Leaven.* So *Rufinus* read this place, as appears by his Version; viz. *Qui omnes ita observarunt hunc diem ut conveniret cum illo quo fermentum Judæorum populus aufert*; i. e. *All which so observed this Day, that it might agree with that wherein the People of the* Jews *removed their Leaven.* I wonder why *Robert Stephens* read it [ὅτ' ἦν ὁ λαὸς ἤρνυε, *when the People prepared*, &c?] For on the 14th Day of the first Month, the People did not prepare, but cast away their Leaven. See *Exod.* 12. 18. *Vales.*

(*k*) This Epistle therefore of *Irenæus*'s was a Synodical Epistle; because 'twas written in the name of the Churches of *France*, the chief City whereof then was *Lyons*. This Epistle is mentioned by *Eusebius*, in the foregoing Chapter: For I judge it to be one and and the same Epistle, because 'tis unlikely there should be two Synods convened in so short a time, to determine of one and the same matter. *Vales.*

Commodus. ‘ Day; but alſo concerning the very (*l*) Form ‘ of the (*m*) Faſt: For ſome ſuppoſe they ought ‘ to (*n*) Faſt (*o*) one day, others (*p*) two, others ‘ more; (*q*) others computing forty [continued] ‘ Hours of the Day and Night make [that Space]

(*l*) *Irenæus* ſays, that at that time there was a two-fold diſſention in the Church; the firſt, concerning Eaſter-day; the ſecond, about the form of the Faſt; *i.e.* how many Days were to be kept as a Faſt; for ſo he explains himſelf in the following Words. For all, as well thoſe who celebrated *Eaſter* on the *Sunday*, as thoſe who, with the *Jews*, kept that Feſtival on the fourteenth day of the Moons appearance, did agree in this, *to wit*, that they faſted before *Eaſter*. Which Faſt, as well as the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, they had received from Apoſtolick Tradition: See *Euſebius*, Book 2. Chap. 17. And the Notes there. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) Amongſt the ancient Chriſtians there were three kinds of Faſts: the firſt was the Faſt on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, which ended at the 9th hour of the Day, (*i.e.* at three a-Clock in the afternoon,) after the end of the *Station*, or Holy Communion. The ſecond ſort was the Lent-Faſt, which ended about the evening. The third ſort was the ſtricteſt of all, and laſted to the Cock-crowing; which was therefore by the Greeks called [ὑπέρθεσις,] in *Latin Superpoſitio*. *Epiphanius* (in his *Expoſitio fidei Catholicæ*, at the end of his Books, *againſt Hereſies*) does plainly diſtinguiſh theſe three ſorts of Faſts. So does *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, in his Epiſtle to *Baſilides*. But now, it may be demanded, which of theſe three ſorts of Faſts *Irenæus* does here ſpeak of? 'Tis manifeſt, he means not the firſt ſort; for he evidently ſpeaks of a whole days Faſt: *Some ſuppoſe*, ſays he, *they ought to faſt one day*, &c. *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* and *Epiphanius*, (in the places before-mentioned) ſeem to be of opinion, that *Irenæus* means the third ſort of Faſts. *Valeſ.*

(*n*) Theſe Words of *Irenæus* are variouſly underſtood. *Bellarmine* thinks he ſpeaks of Lent. *Cardinal Perron* ſuppoſes he ſpeaks of the Week that precedes *Eaſter*: Which opinion is confirm'd by *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* and *Epiphanius*, in the places before-cited. *Valeſ.*

(*o*) Without doubt *Irenæus* means, the *Friday* of the *Great Week*; (i.e. *the Week before Eaſter*;) on which day was kept a publick Faſt, ſays *Tertullian*, in his Book *De Orat.* and in that *De Jejunio*. Valeſ.

(*p*) *To wit*, on the *Preparation-Day*, (which we call *Good-Friday*,) and on the *Great-Sabbath* (i.e. the *Saturday* before *Eaſter*.) For on theſe two days all Perſons, except the ſick, were wont to Faſt, ſays *Tertullian*, in his Book *De Jejunio*. Valeſ.

(*q*) The King's, *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. do read and point this place thus, [οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμπληροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν.] And *Muſculus* has faithfully tranſlated it thus, [*Alii quadraginta horas diurnas & nocturnas computantes, diem ſuum ſtatuunt,*] whom we follow in our Verſion of this place; having rendred it thus, [*others computing forty continued*] *hours of the day and night make that* [ſpace] *their day* [of Faſting.] This reading is doubtleſs the trueſt: For *Irenæus* having ſaid that *ſome Faſt one day, others two, others more*; what need is there of his adding this [*others Faſt forty Days*] when-as in thoſe Words of his [*others Faſt more Days*] forty Days are comprehended? Beſides, if the ſtop be put at [τεσσαράκοντα, *forty*,] (as 'tis in the *Savil* MS. and in *Ruſinus* and *Chriſtophorſon*'s Tranſlations) to what ſhall the following Words [ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε, &c.] be referred? If they be referred to thoſe that Faſt forty Days, (as 'tis certain they muſt) then 'twill neceſſarily follow, that thoſe who Faſt forty Days during that time do eat nothing at all, ſeeing that they account their Faſt muſt be continued all the Hours of the Night, as well as the Day. Having made out the true Reading of this place, we come to explain the meaning of it. *Irenæus* therefore ſays, that ſome Faſted forty continued Hours of the Day and Night. Some think this Faſt of forty Hours was kept by them in memory of that ſpace of time which was between the Death of Chriſt and his Reſurrection: Which ſpace of time contained about forty Hours; *to wit*, from the ſixth Hour of the Preparation-Day (that is, between 12 and 3 a Clock on *Good-Friday*) to the dawning of *Eaſter-Day*: But I ſuppoſe 'twas kept in honour and memory of Chriſt's forty Days Faſt in the Wilderneſs. Three things may be collected from theſe Words of *Irenæus*. (1.) That the Faſt before *Eaſter* was uſually obſerved in the Church from the very times of the Apoſtles. (2.) This Faſt was celebrated in honour and memory of Chriſt's Faſt: (3.) That the ſpace of time, allotted for this Faſt, was various and different. But we ought always to remember that *Irenæus* does here ſpeak of the Faſt of *Superpoſition*; (See Note (*m*) in this Chap.) which the Chriſtians uſually obſerved throughout the *Great-week*; (i.e. the *Paſſion-week*:) The Faſt in which Week being once admitted, the Faſt of *Lent* muſt alſo be admitted: For the Week before *Eaſter* is part of *Lent*. Sometimes indeed we ſee the Faſt of this Week is diſtinguiſh'd from the Lent-Faſt; (as in *Epiphanius*'s *Expoſitio fidei*, &c.) but 'tis not ſo diſtinguiſh'd, as if it did not really belong to Lent; but 'tis diſtinguiſh'd from it, as the part is from the whole. The reaſon of this diſtinction is twofold; (1) it was kept with a more ſtrict Faſt, *to wit*, the Faſt of *Superpoſition*, as we ſhewed before, (Note (*m*.) (2) This Week does properly belong to *Eaſter*. For the *Feriæ* (or Days) of it have their denomination from the following *Sunday*, as ſhall hereafter be manifeſted. Hence 'tis called *the Great-week*; the reaſons of which term *Chryſoſtom* does give *in his* 30 *Homily on Geneſis*. This Week began from the ſecond *Feriæ*, (i.e. *Monday*,) ſays *Cyril* in *Homil. Paſchal.* and *Epiphanius* in *Acrianis*. Valeſ.

‘ their (*r*) Day [of Faſting:] and this variety in *Commodus.* ‘ obſerving [the Faſt] has not been begun in our ‘ Age, but a long while ſince, in the Times of ‘ our Anceſtors: (*ſ*) Who being (as 'tis probable) 'tis ‘ not ſo diligent in their ‘ Preſidencies, propoſed ‘ that as a Cuſtom to their ‘ Succeſſors, which was introduc'd by ſimplicity and ‘ unskilfulneſs. And yet ‘ nevertheleſs all theſe maintain'd mutual Peace towards one another, which alſo we retain. Thus the ‘ variety of the Faſt commends the conſent of the ‘ Faith.” Hereto he adjoyns a Relation, which I will ſuitably inſert in this place; it is thus: ‘ And the Preſbyters, who, before *Soter*, ‘ preſided over that Church which You now govern, I mean *Anicetus*, and *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Teleſphorus*, and *Xyſtus*, theſe Perſons, [I ſay,] neither obſerv'd it themſelves, nor did they permit thoſe (*t*) with them [to obſerve it.] Nevertheleſs, although they themſelves obſerv'd it not, yet they maintain'd Peace with thoſe that came to them from thoſe Churches wherein it was obſerv'd. But the (*u*) Obſervation of it, amongſt thoſe who kept it not, ſeem'd to have much more of contrariety in it. Neither were any Perſons ever excommunicated upon account of this Form [of the Faſt:] But the Presbyters, your Predeceſſors, who obſerv'd it not, † ſent the Euchariſt to the [Presbyters] of thoſe Churches which obſerv'd it not: And when (*x*) *Polycarp* of bleſſed memory came to *Rome* in the Times of *Anicetus*, and there had been a ſmall Controverſie between them concerning ſome other things, they did ſtraightway mutually embrace each other; having not deſired to be contentious with one another about this (*y*) Head: For neither could *Anicetus* perſwade *Polycarp* not to obſerve it, becauſe he had always kept it with *John* the Diſciple of our Lord, and the other Apoſtles with whom he had been converſant: Nor did *Polycarp* induce *Anicetus* to obſerve it, who ſaid, he ought to retain the uſage of the Presbyters ‘ that were his Predeceſſors. Theſe things being thus, they received the *Communion* together.

(*r*) In the Original [τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν, i.e. *their Day* of Faſting.] But *Irenæus* did doubtleſs write [τὴν νηστείαν αὐτῶν, i.e. *their Faſt.*]

(*ſ*) *Irenæus* would ſhew here whence ſo great a diverſity about the Faſt before Eaſter aroſe. He ſays therefore, that it proceeded not from any Law given by the Apoſtles or Chriſt; but did by degrees grow in uſe; and afterwards ſome Biſhops, being too remiſs in thoſe things belonging to Diſcipline, made that a cuſtom, which was introduced by ſimplicity and ſingularity, and left it to be obſerved by their Succeſſors. In this ſenſe *Socrates* took *Irenæus*'s words here, as appears from what he ſays B. 5. Chap. 22. *Valeſ.*

(*t*) In *Turnebus* and *Moreus*'s Book, at the margin 'tis mended thus [μεθ' ἑαυτῶν,] i.e. *with them.* So *Ruſinus* reads this place, as appears by his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

(*u*) The ſenſe of this place is this; Although the obſerving, and not obſerving of any cuſtom are in themſelves contrary; yet as often as he that obſerves the cuſtom is converſant among thoſe who obſerve it not, this diverſity will be much more apparent. *Valeſ.*

† The Biſhops were wont, in the time of the Feſtivity of *Eaſter*, to ſend the Euchariſt to other Biſhops, in the name of *Eulogiæ*. This cuſtom was at length forbidden in the Council of *Laodicea*, Chap. 14. *Valeſ.*

(*x*) Though the exact time of *Polycarp*'s coming to *Rome* cannot preciſely be defined, yet will it in a great meaſure depend upon *Anicetus*'s Succeſſion to that See, in whoſe time he came thither. Now 'tis evident, that almoſt all the ancient Catalogues place him before *Soter*, and next to *Pius*, whom he ſucceeded. This Succeſſion *Euſebius* (*in his Chronicon*) places on the year of Chriſt 154; (a computation doubtleſs much truer than that of *Baronius*, who places it on the year 167;) and agreeable to this the *Chronicle* of *Alexandria* places *Polycarp*'s coming to *Rome* in the year 158; in the 21 of *Antoninus* the Emperor. See Dr. *Cave*'s Life of St. *Polycarp*, pag. 115.

(*y*) *Valeſius* (in his Note on this place) denies that *Polycarp* came to *Rome* concerning the difference about the *Paſchal* Solemnity; for it was, he ſays, ſome other Controverſies, that brought him thither. But *Irenæus*'s expreſs words are (if our *Euſebius* has rightly repreſented them, in B. 4. Chap. 14.) *That* Polycarp came *to Rome* and *diſcourſt Anicetus* [διά τι ζήτημα ἦν τῆς χώρας τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας,] i.e. *upon account of a certain Controverſie concerning the Day whereon Eaſter was to be kept.* 'Tis true, *Irenæus* ſays (in this Chapter) there was a difference between them [περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, i.e. *concerning ſome other things*;] but this does not hinder, but that the other was his main Errand to *Rome*.

‘ And

Commodus. And *Anicetus* permitted *Polycarp*, (*to wit*, out of an honourable respect to him) to (z) consecrate the Sacrament in his own Church; and they parted peaceably one from another; as well those who observ'd it, as those who observed it not, retaining the Peace and Communion of the whole Church." Indeed, *Irenæus*, being truly answerable to his own name, was after this manner a Peace-maker, and advised and asserted these things upon the account of the Peace of the Churches: The same person wrote not only to *Victor*, but sent Letters also, agreeable hereunto, to several other Governours of Churches, concerning the said Controversie which was then rais'd.

(z) That is, *Anicetus* had so great a respect for the venerable *Polycarp*, that he permitted him, in his own presence to consecrate the Sacrament in his own Church. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXV.

How all with one consent unanimously agreed about Easter.

MOreover, those [Bishops] of *Palestine*, (whom we mention'd a little before) *to wit*, *Narcissus* and *Theophilus*, and with them *Cassius* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Clarus* [Bishop] of that at *Ptolemais*, together with those assembled with them, having treated at large concerning the Tradition about *Easter*, derived down to them by succession from the Apostles, at the end of their Epistle they adjoyn thus much, in these very words: 'Make it your business to send 'Copies of this our Epistle throughout the whole 'Church, that so we may not be blamed by 'those, who do easily seduce their own Souls: 'We also declare to you, that they celebrate [*Easter*] at *Alexandria* on the same day that we do: '(a) For Letters are convey'd from us to them, 'and from them to us; so that we observe the 'Holy Day with one consent and together.

(a) The *Maz. Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. read [παρ' ἡμῶν γάρ, &c. *For Letters*, &c.] The Letters about *Easter* are meant here. The Acts of this Synod of *Cæsarea* are extant in *Bede*, in his Book *concerning the vernal Equinox*; which some look upon to be Spurious; but I think they are in no wise to be despised. *Baronius* accounted them to be genuine. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How many [*Monuments*] *of* Irenæus's *Polite Ingenie have come to our hands.*

Severus. (a) BUT, besides the fore-mentioned Works and Epistles of *Irenæus*'s, there is extant a most concise and most necessary Book of his against the *Gentiles*, entitled *Concerning Knowledge*. And another, (which he dedicated to a Brother, by name *Marcianus*, [containing] *a* (b) *Demonstration of the Apostolick Preaching*: And a Book of *Various* (c) *Tracts*, wherein he makes mention of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and that called *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and quotes some Sentences out of them: And thus many are the [Writings] of *Irenæus*, which came to our knowledge. But *Commodus* having ended his Government after he had reign'd thirteen years, *Severus* obtain'd the Empire, *Pertinax* having not govern'd full out six Months after the Death of *Commodus*.

(a) The Chapters of this fifth Book, were, even in our MS. Copies, very much disordered; but we have put them into due order, from the authority of *Rufinus*; with whom agrees the King's, and the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. For those Copies begin the Chapter at these Words, with this Title, [*How many* [*Monuments*,] &c.] but they call it Chap. 28. whenas 'tis truly the 26; as appears from the Index of the Chapters prefix'd before the Book. The cause of the mistake was, that the Titles of the former Chapters were set down twice in the foresaid Copies, thro' the negligence of the Transcribers. *Vales.*

(b) The reading in the original is, εἰς ἀπόδειξιν. *Valesius* thinks it should be [εἰς ἀποδείξιν, *a Demonstration.*]

(c) *Rufinus* translates it [*dialogos*, *dialogues*:] *Jerom* renders it [*Tractatus*, *Tracts.*] It may be taken to signifie *Sermons* or *Discourses to the People*: For in that sense our *Eusebius* takes the word διαλέγεσθαι in his 6 B. Chap. 10. and in the 36 Chap. of that Book he calls *Origen*'s *Homilies* [διαλέξεις.] *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVII.

How many also of [*the Works of others*] *who then flourish'd are come to our knowledge.*]

Severus. INdeed, very many Monuments of the virtuous and laudable diligence of those Ancient and Ecclesiastick Men which then [flourish'd] are to this day preserv'd amongst many: But [the Works] of those, whom we our selves could (a) discern to be such, are, *Heraclitus*'s [*Comments*] *upon the Apostle*, and the [Book] of (b) *Maximus* concerning that Question so much talk'd of amongst Hereticks, *whence evil proceeds*: And concerning this, *that Matter is made*: Also *Candidus*'s Piece, *on the six Days Work*; and that of *Apion* upon the same subject. In like manner *Sextus*'s Book *concerning the Resurrection*; and another Piece of *Arabianus*'s; and of very many more; whose Times wherein they lived, because we want assistances from the proof thereof, we can neither commit to writing, nor yet (c) declare any memorable Passages [of their's, in this our History.] There are also come to our hands the Books of many others, whose very names we are unable to recite: All which were indeed Orthodox and Ecclesiastick [Persons,] as the Interpretations of the Sacred Scripture [produced] by every one of them do demonstrate; but yet they are unknown to us, because what they have written has not their name prefix'd to it.

(a) Διαγνῶναι (which is the term here) does properly signifie, *internoscere*, ac *distinguere*, i. e. *to discern*, or *distinguish*. The import of *Eusebius*'s Words is, *That those Writers which by some certain mark he was able to distinguish from Heretical Authors, were Heraclitus, Maximus*, &c. *Rufinus* and *Jerom*, instead of *Heraclitus*, read *Heraclius*. Our Historian does here relate, first the Ecclesiastick Writers of that time, whose names he knew: Afterwards he mentions those, whose Books were still extant; but their names were unknown. *Vales.*

(b) The Title of *Maximus*'s Book was περὶ τῆς ὕλης, *concerning Matter*: It was composed by way of Dialogue. *Eusebius* quotes a most excellent piece of it in his last Chap. of his 7 B. *Preparat. Evang.* where he gives the Author this Elogue: Μαξίμῳ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς διαλειφθῆς οὐκ ἀσήμῳ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ λόγου οἰκείου συγγέγραπται ὁ περὶ τῆς ὕλης· i. e. *Maximus, a Person in no wise obscure for his Christian Life and Conversation, wrote a seasonable piece, entitled*, Concerning Matter. *Vales.*

(c) *Eusebius* does usually quote some passages out of those Author's Works, which he mentions: So he did, as we see, out of *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Hegesippus*, *Papias*, and others; whenever he knew the time of the Author's Writing. But in these Writers, whom he mentions in this Chapter, *Eusebius* says he could not perform this, because he could not certainly know the times they lived in, but was in want of Arguments and Proofs thereof. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning those, who from the beginning were Defenders of Artemon's *Heresie; what manner of persons they were as to their Morals, and how that they were so audacious as to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.*

IN an elaborate Piece of one of those Authors, composed against the Heresie of *Artemon*, (which Heresie *Paulus Samosatensis* has again attempted to revive in our Age,) there is extant a certain Relation very accommodate to the History we now have in hand. For the (a) Book now cited, evincing that the foresaid Heresie, which asserts our Saviour to be a meer Man, was an Innovation of a late date; (because the Introducers of it had boasted it was very ancient,) after many [Arguments] brought to confute their blasphemous Lye, has this Relation word for word: 'For 'they affirm that all the Ancients, and the very 'Apostles, received and taught the same things

(a) *Nicephorus* (B. 4. Chap. 21.) says, the name of this Book (the Author whereof is unknown) was, *The Little Labyrinth*: *Photius* (in *Biblioth.* Chap. 48.) relates that *Caius* was the Author of this Book; and makes it not the same with *The Little Labyrinth*: But *Theodoret* (B. 2. *Hæret. Fabul.*) confirms *Nicephorus*'s opinion, and mentions this very Story of *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, and *Natalis* the Bishop, attesting he had taken it out of the Books called *The Little Labyrinth*. Vales.

Severus. ‘ which they now aſſert; and that the Preaching ‘ of the Truth was preſerved till the times of *Victor*, who from *Peter* was the thirteenth Biſhop ‘ of *Rome*; but from the times of his Succeſſor *Zephyrinus* the Truth has been adulterated. Peradventure this ſaying of theirs might ſeem probable, did not in the firſt place the Sacred Scriptures contradict them, and then the Writings ‘ of ſome Brethren ancienter than the times of ‘ *Victor*, which Books they wrote in defence of ‘ the Truth, againſt the *Gentiles*, and againſt the ‘ Hereſies of their own times. I mean the [Writings of] *Juſtin*, *Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, and *Clemens*, and of many others: In all which Books ‘ the Divinity of Chriſt is maintained. For who ‘ is he that is ignorant of the Books of *Irenæus*, ‘ *Melito*, and the reſt, which declare Chriſt to be ‘ God and Man? The ‘ (*b*) *Pſalms* alſo and *Hymns* ‘ of the Brethren, written ‘ at the beginning by the ‘ Faithful, do ſet forth the ‘ Praiſes of Chriſt the Word ‘ of God, and attribute Divinity to him. Seeing ‘ therefore this Eccleſiaſtical Opinion has been ‘ manifeſtly declared for ſo many years ſince, ‘ how can it be that the [Ancients] ſhould have ‘ preach'd that Doctrine, which theſe Men aſſert, ‘ until the times of *Victor*? How can they chooſe ‘ but be aſhamed of framing ſuch Lies of *Victor*; ‘ when as they know for certain that *Victor*, excommunicated *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, the Founder and Father of this Apoſtacy which denies ‘ God, who firſt aſſerted Chriſt to be a meer ‘ Man? For if *Victor* were (as they ſay) of the ‘ ſame Opinion with that, which their Blaſphemy ‘ does maintain, why did he proſcribe *Theodotus* ‘ the Inventor of this Hereſie?” And ſuch was the face of Affairs in the times of *Victor*: To whom, having preſided in his publick Charge ten years, *Zephyrinus* was made Succeſſor about the ninth year of *Severus*'s Empire. [Further,] the Perſon that compiled the foreſaid Book concerning the Author of the new-mention'd Hereſie, relates another thing which was done in the times of *Zephyrinus*, in theſe very words: I will therefore : advertiſe many of the Brethren of a thing done ‘ in our Age; which had, it hapned in *Sodom*, would, I ſuppoſe, have put thoſe *Inhabitants* in mind of [Repentance.] ‘ There ‘ was one (*c*) *Natalis*, a ‘ Confeſſor, who lived not ‘ a long time ago, but even in our times; this ‘ Man had been ſeduced ‘ by *Aſclepiodotus*, and another *Theodotus*, a Banker; ‘ both which Perſons were ‘ Diſciples of *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, who before ‘ had been excommunicated, as I ſaid, by *Victor* then Biſhop, for this Doctrine, or rather Madneſs. *Natalis* was perſwaded by them to be (*d*) elected a Biſhop of this Hereſie, upon the conſideration of a Salary, whereby he was to receive of them monthly an hundred and fifty pence. Being therefore become one of their Aſſociates, he was by Viſions [in his ſleep] frequently admoniſh'd by the Lord: For our compaſſionate God and Lord Jeſus Chriſt was unwilling that he, [who had been] a Witneſs of his own Sufferings, ſhould periſh whilſt he was under Excommunication. But after he was regardleſs of the Viſions [in his ſleep,] being beguiled with the Bait of Primacy among thoſe [of the Sect,] and of filthy lucre, (which is the deſtruction of many Men,) at laſt he was ſcourged by the Holy Angels, and ſorely beaten all night long: Inſomuch that he aroſe very early, and having put on Sackcloth, and beſprinkled himſelf with Aſhes, in great haſte, and with Tears in his Eyes, he caſt himſelf down before *Zephyrinus* the Biſhop, falling down not only before the Feet of the Clergy, but of the Laity alſo; and with his Tears moved the compaſſionate Church of the Merciful Chriſt: And after he had uſed much intreaty, and ſhown the ‘ (*e*) Prints of the Stripes ‘ he had received, with ‘ much difficulty he was admitted into the Communion [of the Church.”] Hereunto we will alſo annex ſome other words of the ſame Writers concerning theſe [Hereticks;] They are theſe: ‘ They have impudently adulterated the Sacred Scriptures; ‘ they have rejected the Canon of the Primitive ‘ Faith; and have been ignorant of Chriſt: They ‘ are not inquiſitive after that which the Holy ‘ Scriptures ſay, but beſtow much labour and induſtry in finding out ſuch a Scheme of a Syllogiſm, as may confirm the Syſtem of their Impiety: And if any one propoſes to them a Text of the Divine Scriptures, they examine whether a (*f*) *Connex*, or *Diſjunctive* Form of a Syllogiſm may be made of it: Leaving the Holy Scriptures of God, they ſtudy Geometry; being of the Earth they ſpeak of things terreſtrial, and are ignorant of him who (*g*) comes from above: Therefore amongſt ſome of them *Euclid*'s *Geometry* is with great diligence ſtudied; *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* are admired; and in like manner (*h*) *Galen* is by others of them even adored. What need I ſay that theſe Perſons, (who make uſe of the Arts of Infidels for the Confirmation of their Heretical Opinion, and by the Craft of Atheiſts adulterate the ſincere Authority of the Divine Scriptures,) are moſt remote from the Faith? Hence 'tis that they have impudently laid their hands upon the Divine Scriptures, ſaying they ought to be corrected; he that is deſirous may be informed that I ſpeak not this falſly of them. For would any one examine the Copies which they have gotten together, and compare them one with another, he would find that they diſagreed very much. For the Copies of (*i*) *Aſclepiadotus* agree not with thoſe of *Theodotus*. Many ſuch Copies as theſe may be procured; becauſe their Diſciples have with much labour and curioſity written the Corrections (as they call them, that is, the Corruptions) of every one of their [Maſters.] Again, the Copies of

Severus.

(*b*) Hence it appears, that 'twas an ancient cuſtom in the Church to compoſe Pſalms and Hymns in honour of Chriſt. *Pliny* (in his Epiſtle to *Trajan*) mentions this uſage amongſt the Chriſtians; as we have already obſerved, at B. 2. Chap. 17.

(*c*) Perhaps this Perſon was that *Cæcilius Natalis*, who by a diſpute of *Octavius Januarius*'s before *Minucius Fælix* at *Rome* was converted to the Chriſtian Faith; as *Minucius Fælix* relates, *in his Dialogue*. Indeed, the name, the time, and the profeſſion of this Perſon do all agree to make this probable. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) The *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. read [κληρωθῆναι, i.e. *to be elected.*] The King's MS. and *Rob. Stephens* read [κληθῆναι, i.e. *to be called.*] Valeſ.

(*e*) *Valeſius* ſays thoſe ſtripes are meant here, which *Natalis* had undergone *for the confeſſion of Chriſt*; *Quas*, ſays he, *pro Chriſti Confeſſione pertulerat*: Indeed *Natalis* is called ὁμολογητὴς, *a Confeſſor*, at the beginning of this Story; and afterwards μάρτυς, a *Martyr* or *Witneſs*: But perhaps the Author might mean here the ſtripes, which the Story ſays he receiv'd from the Holy Angels.

(*f*) Theſe are Logical terms: συνημμένον is properly ſuch a Propoſition, as this [*if it be day, there is light.*] διεζευγμένον is ſuch an one as this [*either it is day, or it is night.*] See *Diogen. Laert.* in *Zenone*. Valeſ.

(*g*) He ſpeaks of the laſt advent of our Saviour; which this ancient Fathers uſually ſpeak of not as future, but preſent. *Valeſ.*

(*h*) *Galen* wrote Books concerning the forms of Syllogiſms, and concerning the whole Syſtem of Philoſophy, as appears from the Catalogue of his Works. From this place 'tis evident, that *Galen* is a very ancient Author, which may be collected not only from the Teſtimony of this Writer, but from many others, who have made him contemporary with *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, and *Plato*. See *Alexander Aphrodiſ.* B. 8. *Topic.* at the beginning. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) Some call him *Aſclepiades*; but *Nicephorus* and *Ruſinus* term him *Aſclepiadotus*.

A little after this inſtead of [*Apollonius*] we read [*Apollonides*] as did *Ruſinus* and *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

‘ *Hermo-*

Severus. 'Hermophilus agree not with these now mentioned; and those of *Apollonides* differ one from another. For he that shall compare them, will find that those Copies first put forth (*k*) by him do very much disagree from his other [Copies,] which he did afterwards again wrest and deform. How much of Audaciousness there is in this wicked Fact, 'tis probable they themselves are not ignorant: For either they don't believe the Divine Scriptures to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are Infidels: Or else they account themselves wiser than the Holy Ghost; and what are they then but Mad-men? For they cannot deny this audacious Fact to have been done by their own selves, because [the Copies] have been written out by their own Hands: (*l*) Neither did they receive such Copies as these from those who were their Instructors; nor yet can they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things. But some of them have not indeed vouchsafed to adulterate the Scriptures, but having wholly rejected both the Law, and the Prophets, (*m*) by a lawless and atheistical Doctrine under a Pretext of Grace, they are fallen into the deepest Pit of Destruction." And let thus much be after this manner related concerning these things. Severus.

(k) Sir *H. Savil* in Margin of his MS. had made it [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, *by him.*] Our other MSS. read it [ὑπ' αὐτῶν, *by them.*] But the former reading is the best: For the Author speaks only of *Apollonides* here; affirming that he put forth two Editions of the Sacred Scriptures, the latter of which differ'd very much from the former. *Valesius.*

(l) The following Words ['*Neither did they receive such Copies as these from those who were their Instructors; nor yet can they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things*] are wanting in the King's MS. I think them not very necessary: But they are in the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. and in *Rufinus*'s Version. *Valesius.*

(m) Ἔνεκα, or διὰ, i. e. *by* or, *by reason of*, is here to be understood. These Hereticks, under a pretence of the Grace given by the Gospel rejected both the Law and the Prophets: Upon which account he calls their Doctrine Lawless and Atheistical. *Valesius.*

THE

SIXTH BOOK
Of the Ecclesiastical History
OF
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Persecution under Severus.

MOreover, when *Severus* stirr'd up Persecution against the Churches in every place throughout all the Churches; noble Martyrdoms were performed by the Champions of Religion; but [the number of the Martyrs] at *Alexandria* far exceeded the rest, the (*a*) choicest of the Champions having been convey'd thither out of all *Egypt* and *Thebaïs*, as to the noblest *Stadium* of God; who in reward of their most patient suffering divers sorts of Torments, and several ways of death, were encircled with Crowns from God: Amongst whom *Leonides*, said to be the Father of (*b*) *Origen*, was beheaded, and left his Son very young. And here 'twill not be unseasonable briefly to relate what Zeal and Affection he bore to the (*c*) Gospel from this time of his Childhood, and for this reason especially, because his fame is much celebrated by all Men.

(a) Ἀκριβεστάτων, *lectissimi*, i. e. *the choicest*, 'tis the neareast signification of the word, but does not fully explain it, for the word imports something more. See *Viger. Idiot.* pag. 195.

(b) 'Tis a critical dispute whether the Greek word be ὠριγένης, or ὡριγένης with an *Aspirate*, or a *Tenuis*: Some say 'tis ὠριγένης, because 'tis derived from ὡρὶ *matur*è and γενηθεὶς *natus*, i. e. born in a fit season: And for this reason the *Med. Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS. always write it with an *Aspirate*. Valesius.

(c) Θεῖος λόγος, *Eusebius* always uses both for the Gospel, and the Christian Religion, as in Chap. 3. and 5. of this Book, and and this *Rufinus* renders *Divina legis studia: Christophor. Sacrarum literarum studium*; and *Musculus* translates it *Divinam Doctrinam.* Valesius.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Origen's *Virtuous Course of Life from a Child.*

NOW should any one undertake accurately and at his leisure to commit to writing this Man's Life, he must say much, and a strict Collection of all Passages concerning him, would require even a particular Subject; but our aim at present is to abbreviate most things, and in short, and, as well as we can, we will give an account of some few Passages concerning him; relating what things have been manifested by some Epistles, or by the Discourse of those his Scholars, who were alive till our times. The Passages concerning *Origen* (as one would say) even from his Cradle seem to be worth remembrance. *Severus* therefore being in the tenth year of his Reign, and *Lætus* being Governour of *Alexandria* and the rest of *Egypt*; *Demetrius* also having lately taken upon him the Episcopal Office over the Churches there, after *Julianus*; when the Flame of Persecution now raged grievously, and many thousands were crown'd with Martyrdom, such a desire of Martyrdom possess'd the Soul of *Origen* being yet very young, that he would expose himself to Dangers, and was very ready and willing to rush forward and leap into the Combat: So that now he was not far from death, had not the Divine and Celestial Providence, for the good of many, hindred and restrained his willingness to die, by

Severus. his Mother's means. Firſt therefore ſhe intreated him like a Suppliant, and beſeech'd him to take pity of her Motherly love: But when ſhe ſaw him more intent upon his purpoſe, and when he underſtood his Father was apprehended and impriſon'd, he was wholly poſſeſs'd with a deſire of Martyrdom: Wherefore ſhe hid all his Cloaths, and by this means neceſſitated him to abide at home. But he, ſeeing he had no way left, (the alacrity of his Mind ſurmounting the ripeneſs of his Years,) could not be at reſt, but compoſed a moſt perſwaſive Epiſtle concerning Martyrdom, and ſends it to his Father, in which he thus exhorts him word for word, ſaying, [*Father,*] *take heed: Let not your care for us make you change your Reſolution.* Let this be noted as the firſt Token of *Origen's* acuteneſs of Wit from his Childhood, and of his moſt ſincere Zeal for Religion. For he had already got no ſmall ſtock of knowledge in the Doctrine of the Faith, continuing whilſt he was yet a Child, to exerciſe himſelf in ſearching the Holy Scriptures; about which he was not a little laborious; his Father having taken great care, both in inſtructing him in the Liberal (*a*) Sciences, and alſo in theſe not ſlightly: Wherefore he always perſwaded him to exerciſe himſelf in the ſtudy of holy things, rather than in the Learning of the *Greeks*, enjoyning it him as a daily Task to learn ſomething by heart out of Scripture and repeat it: Nor was the Child unwilling, or ſlack in the performance, but moſt cheerfully laboured in theſe things; ſo that the ſimple, and common Readings of the Sacred Scriptures cou'd not ſatisfie him, but he would ſearch after ſomething more, and even from that time buſily enquired into the more profound Meanings thereof: Inſomuch that he troubled his Father by asking him, what was the true meaning of ſuch a ſentence of Scripture inſpired by God. He ſeemingly before his face reproved him, admoniſhing him not to ſearch into any thing above the capacity of his years, nor [to enquire] any further than the plain meaning [of Scripture.] But he privately with himſelf rejoyced exceedingly, and gave the greateſt thanks to God the Author of all Good, that he vouchſafed to make him the Father of ſuch a Child: And 'tis reported, he has often ſtood by the Child as he ſlept, and laying his Breaſt bare, would kiſs it with reverence, as if the ſacred Spirit of God had been enſhrin'd in it, and accounted himſelf bleſs'd for his happy Off-ſpring. Theſe and ſuch-like they record, were the Paſſages concerning *Origen* in his Childhood: But when his Father was now crown'd with Martyrdom, he is left deſolate (together with his Mother and younger Brothers, ſix in number,) being no more then ſeventeen years of age: Moreover, his Father's Eſtate having been confiſcate, he was brought into extream want of neceſſary Subſiſtence, together with his Relations, but God thought him worthy of his Providence. And he obtains entertainment and reſt from a Woman, who was very rich in reſpect of her Eſtate, and very eminent otherways; Moreover, (who carefully miniſtred to a very famous Man, one of that Heretical Sect then at *Alexandria*, but by birth an *Antiochian.*) Him the foreſaid Woman having adopted for her Son, kept him with her, and ſhew'd kindneſs to him in a moſt ſpecial manner. But *Origen*, though forc'd to converſe with the ſaid [Heretick,] yet from that time ſhew'd powerful Proofs of his ſound Opinion concerning the Faith. For when great Multitudes of People, not only Hereticks, but alſo them of our Religion, flock'd to *Paul* (for this was the Man's name) becauſe he ſeem'd to be a perſon of great eloquence; [*Origen*] could never be induced to aſſiſt him in prayer: Always from a Child obſerving the Canon of the Church, and abominating the Doctrines of Hereſies, (as he himſelf in expreſs words ſomewhere ſays:) and having been educated in the *Greek* Learning by his Father at firſt, after his death he devoted himſelf wholly and more earneſtly to the ſtudy of the Liberal Sciences; ſo that he was furniſh'd with an (*b*) indifferent skill in the Art of Grammar; and having profeſs'd this Art ſoon after his Father's death, he got plenty of Neceſſaries, conſidering the age he then was of.

Severus.

(*a*) Τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδεία, are the words in the Original: The *Greeks* call ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα, *the Liberal Arts* which Children learned; but Philoſophy, by the teſtimonies of ſeveral Authors, is not included in that Phraſe, as *Diogenes Laertius*, *Clemens Alexan.* and *Euſebius* himſelf in Chap. 18. B. 6. do aſſert; hence 'tis that *Ariſton Ceus*, a noble Philoſopher, ſays, They who place all their ſtudy, in ἐγκυκλίοις παιδεύμασι, are like *Penelope's* Woers, who when they were repuls'd by the Miſtreſs, courted the Maid. Orators alſo exclude *Rhetorick* out of this number; but ſome include both, who miſtake; for the Word ἐγκύκλιον ſignifies *aliquid in triviis poſitum, vulgare*, i. e. *what is trivial and vulgar*; now *Philoſophy* and *Rhetorick* are more noble Sciences: Hence *Demoſthenes* uſes ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι for *mean* and *baſe Offices.* Valeſ.

(*b*) The *Med. Maz. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. read [ἐ μελείῳ i. e. *no indifferent skill.*] Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

How Origen *being very young Preach'd the Word of Chriſt.*

(*a*) WHilſt he yet applied himſelf to his School, (as he in his Writings recordeth,) no one reſiding at *Alexandria* (*b*) to teach the Principles of Chriſtianity, but all being driven away by the threatning Perſecution: Some of the Heathens reſorted to him, to hear the Word of God. Of which number he notes *Plutarchus* to have been the firſt; who when he (*c*) had lived a virtuous ſecular life, was crown'd with Divine Martyrdom. The ſecond was *Heraclas*, *Plutarchus's* Brother, who having under him ſhew'd many inſtances of a Philoſophical and ſevere courſe of life, was honoured with the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria* after *Demetrius.* He was now in the eighteenth year of his age, when he was Maſter of the Catechetical School; in which he made great proficiency, in the Perſecutions during the time of *Aquila's* Prefecture over *Alexandria.* At which time he purchaſed to himſelf a famous name amongſt all them who were well-affected towards the Faith, for the ſingular friendſhip and alacrity which he ſhow'd to all the Holy Martyrs known and unknown. For he converſed not only with ſuch as were in

(*a*) Some diſpute there is concerning the beginning of this Chapter: *Valeſius* (whom we follow) follows the diviſion of *Ruffinus*, but *Chriſtophorſon* begins it at theſe Words [*when* Origen *was* 17 *years old,*] the King's MS. ſomething lower; than *Valeſius*, [when he was 18 years old.] *Fuk.* MS. at theſe Words, [*His Father's Eſtate being confiſcate.*]

(*b*) This word καλπχέω ſignifies originally, *inſono, to ſound:* This prepoſition [κὰτ] makes it, being a verb *Neuter*, to have an *Active* ſignification, and he is properly ſaid καλπχεῖν, *who tells us any thing which he would teach us by way of inſtruction:* Hence it ſignifies to teach the Rudiments, or firſt Grounds of an Art, but peculiarly to teach the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, which we call *Catechiſing* in Engliſh, fitly made out of the Greek. Some ſay, Heathen Authors knew not this uſe of this word, but they miſtake, for *Lucian* uſes it in this ſenſe, to teach the Rudiments of any Art. *Stephan. Lexicon.*

(*c*) Μετὰ τὸ βιῶναι, i. e. *after he had led a pious ſecular Life:* This word βίος is by Chriſtians uſed to ſignifie *ſecularem vitam agere.* For βίος is *ſeculum*, as *Chryſoſtom* uſes it in his 23d Homily on the *Epiſtle to the Romans*, where he calls βιωτικὰς them whom we call *Laïcks*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Clergy, in theſe words; δείκνυς ὅτι ταῦτα διατάττεται καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ μοναχοῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον. In this ſenſe muſt the word here be underſtood; one of *Origen's* Diſciples lived a pious ſecular Life, being a Laick, the other was a Clergyman. *Valeſ.*

Bonds,

Severus.

Bonds, nor with them who had been examined until their last Sentence, but with those Blessed Martyrs also, who, after that was pronounc'd, were led to Execution; making use of great boldness he went to meet Dangers: So that the furious Multitude of the Heathens standing round, were frequently not far from stoning of him, when he boldly came forth, and with great freeness of Speech communed with the Martyrs, and kiss'd them, had he not once miraculously escap'd, having the Right Hand of God for his assistance. The same Divine and Heavenly Grace at other times again and again (so that 'tis impossible to say how often,) preserv'd him from them who then laid wait for him, because of his exceeding Cheerfulness and Confidence in Preaching the Doctrine of Christ: Indeed, so great was the Hostility of the Infidels against him, (because such Multitudes were instructed by him in the things which appertain to the Holy Faith,) that having made a (*d*) Concourse, they set Soldiers to watch about the House in which he abode. And the Persecution against him waxed so hot daily, that all the whole City of *Alexandria* could no longer secure him; he removes indeed from House to House, but is driven from all places, because of the Multitude which through him were made Proselytes to the Divine Doctrine. For his common Actions contain'd the most admirable Rules of the truest Philosophy: Indeed, (as the common saying is) such as his Doctrine was, such was his manner of Life; and such as his manner of Life was, such he demonstrated his Doctrine to be: By this means especially, together with the Divine Power assisting him, he induc'd many to a zealous imitation of him. But when he saw many Scholars now flocking to him, (the exercise of Catechising being committed solely to him by *Demetrius*, who was Bishop of the Church,) supposing the teaching of *Grammar* disagreeable to his Studies in Divine Learning, he forthwith breaks off his *Grammar-School*, as unprofitable and contrary to the Sacred Learning. Then entring into a prudent Consideration with himself, how he might not stand in need of assistance from others, he sold all the Volumes he had of (*e*) Ancient Heathen Writers, which were most elaborately compiled, and was content with four * *Oboli* a-day, that were brought him by the Buyer. For many Years he persevered in this Philosophical Course of Life, depriving himself of all (*f*) Matter [which might nourish] youthful Lusts; both undergoing no small labour of severe Exercise in the Day-time, and also assigning to himself the greater part of the Night for his Study in the Holy Scriptures, patiently persevering in the most Philosophical Life imaginable. Sometimes he inured himself to the Exercises of Fasting; at other times to Hours measur'd out for his repose; which he would by no means enjoy upon a Bed, but made it his business to take it on the bare Ground, for he thought those Evangelical Words of our Saviour ought most especially to be observ'd, which exhort us not to (*g*) *have two coats, nor to wear shoes, nor to be sollicitous about the cares of the time to come.* Moreover, with a Courage far greater than his Age, he patiently endured both Cold and Nakedness, and came to that height and extremity of Want, that he made those of his Acquaintance admire exceedingly. And he caused Grief in many, who entreated him that they might communicate of their Estates to him, because they saw him bring such Labours on himself for the Gospel's sake, but he remitted nothing of his Patience. 'Tis reported he walk'd upon the Ground barefoot many years, in no wise wearing any Shoes. And also for many years he abstain'd from the use of Wine, and from all other things, except necessary Sustenance; so that now he fell into a great danger of spoiling and turning his (*h*) Stomach. He deservedly excited most of his Scholars to imitate him; shewing them, who look'd upon him, such Examples of a Philosophical Life; insomuch that now, not only the (*i*) Vulgar unbelieving Heathens, but also they who were Learned Philosophers, were (*k*) through him brought to submit themselves to his Doctrine. And it came to pass that they who received by him in the bottom of their Hearts sincerely the Faith of the Gospel, were famous in the time of the then Persecution: So that some of them after apprehension, finish'd their lives by Martyrdom.

(*d*) Συσσοφὰς ποιησαμένους, i. e. *having made a concourse:* συσσοφὴ signifies an Assembly or Tumultuous Crowd met together to Plot Mischief, or raise Sedition. *Rufinus* and *Christophorson* will have these Words to be referred to στρατιώτας, *the Soldiers*, which is improper and improbable; we must without doubt understand ἀπίστους, *the Infidels*, as best agreeing with the propriety of the Greek, and sence of the place: But *Nicephorus*, worst of all, explains the place thus, as if *Origen*'s Disciples, fearing the outrages of the *tumultuous populace*, should get a guard of Soldiers for their own safety. *Vales.*

(*e*) Λόγων ἀρχαίων συγγεγράμματα, *Rufinus translates, his Library of Heathen Writers*, better than *Christophorson*, who takes this phrase of *Eusebius*'s to signifie only *the Books of old Orators:* As if the word λόγοι were never us'd for *Grammar* and Philosophy, but for Orations only; as if *Origen* parted with his old Orators only, and not with his Grammarians, and Philosophick Books also. *Musculus* says they were Notes upon Authors gather'd by *Origen*, and compos'd into Volumes; but *Rufinus*'s Version is most natural. *Vales.*

* Or, *five pence.*

(*f*) This word ὕλη primarily signifies *any matter of which a thing is made*; but amongst Divines it peculiarly signifies *the filth and dregs of this World*, out of which proceed unlawful Lusts, Desires, and Contempt of God.

(*g*) The Word ἔχειν, *to have*, is left out in the *Greek*; but must necessarily be added.

(*h*) Στόμαχος here signifies *the stomach*; and στόμαχου ἀναστροφὴ, in *Galen* and *Dioscorides*, is used as here, for *the spoyling, or turning of the stomach, to wit*, when it loaths any thing; in Latin 'tis termed *subversio stomachi.* Vales.

(*i*) Οἱ τυχόντες, *the vulgar*; τυχόντες ἄνθρωποι, *homines ex trivio.*

(*k*) The *Med.* MS. leaves out [δι' αὐτοῦ,] i. e. *by his means*; and reads only τῇ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ, *by his doctrine*; which is the better reading: For the place seems to be corrupted, this [δι' αὐτοῦ] creeping out of the Margin into the Text; or out of the line following into this place. The King's, and the *Maz.* MSS. alter nothing here, but the *Fuk.* MS. reads τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

How many of those who had been instructed by him became Martyrs.

THE first of them was the aforementioned *Plutarchus*, whom (when he was led to Execution) * he of whom the Discourse is, accompanied to the last hour of his life, and again wanted little of being kill'd by the Men of his own City, as seeming the Cause of *Plutarchus*'s Death. But then also the Providence of God preserv'd him. Next to *Plutarch*, the second of *Origen*'s Disciples, that was a Martyr, was *Serenus:* Who by Fire gave a tryal of the Faith which he had received. *Heraclides* was made the third Martyr of the same School. The fourth after him was (*a*) *Heron:* Both which Persons were beheaded, the former of them while he was yet learning the Principles of Christianity, the latter when he was newly (*b*) baptiz'd. Besides these, another *Serenus*, different from the former, is declar'd the fifth Champion of *Piety* [who came out] of this School: Who, 'tis reported, was punish'd with the loss of his Head, after a most patient sufferance of many Torments. And of

* That is, *Origen.*

(*a*) *Christophorson* calls him *Heronex.*

(*b*) Νεοφώτιστος, i. e. *newly Baptized:* φωτίζω in *Gregory* and *Chrysostom*, and many other Divines, is peculiarly us'd in this sense, *to Baptize*, and rendred by the Translators *Baptizare.*

Severus. of women, (*e*) *Heraïs*, who as yet was learning the Principles of Chriſtianity, did as he himſelf ſomewhere ſays, depart this life, having received Baptiſm by Fire.

(*e*) I long ſince conjectured it ſhould be [Ἡραΐς] in one word, not [ἡ ῥαΐς,] two words; which conjecture I found confirmed by the King's, and *Fuk.* MSS. *Ruſinus* agrees hereto, who tranſlates this place thus, *Sed & mulieres plurimæ, in quibus Hera quædam Catechumena.* 'Tis a proper name derived from *Juno*, who is called in Greek Ἥρα: Whence comes Ἡραΐσκος, *Heraiſcus*, the name of an *Egyptian* Philoſopher, concerning whom ſee *Suidas*. The *Greeks* celebrate the memory of this *Herais* on the fourth, or rather the fifth day of *March*, as 'tis in the *Menology* ſet forth by *Caniſius*. I am not certain whether this Perſon be the ſame with *Irais* the *Alexandrian* Virgin, who in the *Roman* Martyrology is ſaid to have ſuffer'd Martyrdom (together with ſome others) at the City *Antinoe* on *September* 22. In Cardinal *Sirletus*'s Menology, at the fifth of *September*, theſe Words occur; *Natalis* B. *Martyris* Rhaïdis, *quæ igne conſumpta eſt*; i. e. *the birth-day of the B. Martyr* Rhaïdis, *who was burnt.* This is the ſame whom *Euſebius* mentions here. Therefore there were three *Heraïs*'s; the firſt is ſhe mentioned in the *Menæum*, at the fifth day of *March*: The ſecond *Heraïs* is the *Catechumen*, of whom mention is made in the *Menology*, on the fifth of *September*: The third *Heraïs* the *Egyptian* Virgin, born at a place called *Tamma*; whoſe Father's name was *Peter*, a Presbyter: She ſuffered Martyrdom when ſhe was twelve years old, as 'tis in the *Menæum*, at the 23d of *September*; where ſhe is called *Hieraïs*: In the *Roman Martyrology* ſhe is termed, *Iraïs*. Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Potamiæna.

LET *Baſilides* be reckon'd the ſeventh among theſe, who lead the moſt renown'd *Potamiæna* to Execution, concerning which Woman, even yet there is a famous report amongſt the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries, for that ſhe combated many times with her Lovers, in defence of the Chaſtity and Virginity of her Body; for which ſhe was famous: (For beſides the Vigour of her Mind, there flouriſh'd in her a Comelineſs of Body:) Who, having ſuffer'd many things for her Faith in Chriſt, at laſt, after grievous Torments and horrible to be related, was together with her Mother *Marcella* conſumed by Fire. Moreover, they ſay that the Judge, (whoſe name was (*a*) *Aquila*,) after he had inflicted grievous ſtripes upon every part of her Body, threatned at laſt he would deliver her to the (*b*) Gladiators, to abuſe her Body. But ſhe (having conſider'd of the matter ſome ſhort time,) being ask'd what her Determination was, return'd [they ſay] ſuch an anſwer, as thereby ſhe ſeem'd to ſpeak ſomething which was accounted impious amongſt them. Forthwith therefore ſhe receiv'd the definitive Sentence [of the Judge,] and *Baſilides*, one of the Military Apparitors, took and led her to Execution: But when the Multitude endeavour'd to moleſt and reproach her with obſcene words, he prohibited them, (*c*) thruſting away them who reproach'd her, ſhewing much commiſeration and humanity towards her. She taking in good part the Man's commiſeration ſhown towards her, exhorts him to be of good courage, for when ſhe was gone hence ſhe would entreat her Lord for him, and within a little while ſhe would make him a requital for what he had done for her. When ſhe had ſpoken theſe things, they ſay ſhe valiantly underwent death, hot ſcalding Pitch being leiſurely, and by little and little, pour'd upon all the ſeveral Members of her Body, from the Sole of the Foot, to the Crown of the Head; ſuch was the Combat fought by this famous Virgin. But not long after, *Baſilides* upon ſome occaſion being deſired by his Fellow-Soldiers to ſwear, avouch'd 'twas not lawful for him to ſwear at all; for he was a Chriſtian, and he openly confeſs'd it. At firſt they thought he only ſpake in jeſt, but when he conſtantly maintain'd it, he is brought before the Judge, and after he had made profeſſion of his Stedfaſtneſs before him, he was put into Bonds: And when ſome of the Brethren in the Lord came to him, asking him what was the cauſe of this ſudden and unexpected change, he is reported to have ſaid, that *Potamiæna*, three days after her Martyrdom, ſtood by him in the Night, put a Crown about his Head, and ſaid, ſhe had intreated the Lord for him, and had obtain'd her requeſt: And within a little while the Lord would take him up to himſelf. After theſe things the Brethren imparted to him the (*d*) Seal of the Lord; and the Day after, being famous for his Teſtimony of the Lord, he was beheaded: They relate, that many more throughout *Alexandria* came thick at that time to the Doctrine of Chriſt; *to wit*, ſuch as *Potamiæna* had appear'd to in their ſleep, and (*e*) invited them to be converted to the Goſpel: But for theſe things let thus much ſuffice.

Severus.

(*a*) This *Aquila* was Governour of *Ægypt*, as *Euſebius* before relates in the 3d Chapter: At which time *Origen* was in the eighteenth year of his age. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) The *Gladiators* were commonly noted to be laſcivious wicked Men; therefore *Aquila* threatned to deliver her to them, thinking ſhe, who had ſuch ſpecial care of her Chaſtity, would rather revolt from her Faith, then hazard the Purity of her Body, by being put into their Power.

(*c*) Ἀποσοβέω, properly ſignifies *to fright Birds away*, but here, as alſo in *Demoſthenes*, it ſignifies to *thruſt aſide out of the way*, ἀποσοβῶν τὴν ἀγορᾶν. *Demoſt.*

(*d*) Σφρᾶγίδα, *Euſebius* means *Baptiſm.*

(*e*) *Ruſinus* tranſlates this place ſo as to make *Potamiæna Origen*'s Scholar; neither dare we contradict him in that. For although *Euſebius* does not mention it particularly, yet we may gather ſo much from this his Narration; for, reckoning up the Martyrs which were of *Origen*'s School, he adds to them *Baſilides* and *Potamiæna*; whence 'tis collected theſe two alſo were his Diſciples; and though we cannot for certain ſay *Baſilides* was, yet 'tis probable *Potamiæna* might be one of them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

(*a*) CLemens, who ſucceeded *Pantænus*, was Maſter of the Catechetick-School at *Alexandria* till this time. So that *Origen* when he was a Boy was one of his Scholars: Moreover, this *Clemens*, committing to writing the Subject of that Work of his, entitled *Stromateis*, in his firſt Volume explains the Series of Times, and determines his Computation at the Death of *Commodus*. So that 'tis plain thoſe Books were elaborated by him in the Reign of *Severus*, the Hiſtory of whoſe Times this Book of ours contains.

(*a*) There is little connexion betwixt this and what he ſaid before. *Clemens* was not then the *Catechiſt* at *Alexandria*; but *Origen*, *Clemens*'s Scholar. Moreover concerning *Clemens*, and his Books, *Euſebius* writes in the foregoing Book. And *Caius* in *his little Labyrinth*, reckons him among the Eccleſiaſtick Writers which writ in the time of *Victor*; the Words of *Caius* are at the end of the 5th Book: Therefore *Ruſinus* rightly places this and the following Chapter in the 3d Chapter of this Book, where he ſpeaks of *Demetrius* the Biſhop's committing the Office of Catechizing to *Origen*. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Judas *the Writer.*

AT this time alſo lived *Judas* another Writer, who commented upon the Seventy Weeks in *Daniel*, and puts an end to his Computation of the Times at the Tenth year of *Severus*'s Reign. His Opinion was, that even at that time the coming of Antichriſt, which was ſo much talk'd of, drew nigh. So great a Diſturbance did the raiſing of the Perſecution then againſt us cauſe in many Men's Minds.

CHAP.

Severus.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the bold Act of Origen.

AT this time while *Origen* perform'd the Office of Catechizing at *Alexandria*, an Act of an unripe and youthful Mind was committed by him, but which withal contain'd a most manifest token of Continence and true Faith: For he taking these words [*Some* * *Eunuchs there are which have made themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake*] in the more simple meaning, unadvisedly like one of his juvenile years, thinking it both his duty to fulfil our Saviour's words, and also [considering] that during his youthful years he was to converse not only with Men, but Women, about the things which appertain to God; that he might exclude the Infidels from all suspicion of obscene slanders, his Mind was full bent to perform really our Saviour's words, taking great care that it might escape the knowledge of many of his Familiars: But it was impossible for him, altho' he was desirous, to conceal such a Fact. But when *Demetrius* understood it, as being then Governour of the Church there, he both greatly admires him for his boldness, and also, (having commended his alacrity of Mind, and sincerity of Faith,) forthwith encourages and excites him to a more diligent Employment about the Duty of Catechizing: For such at this time was [*Demetrius*'s] opinion of this Act: But no long time after, when he saw *Origen* do well, and that he was famous, and well-reported of by all Men; being affected with the Frailties of Mankind, he endeavour'd by Letters, sent to all the Bishops in the World, to describe what was done as a most absurd action. (*a*) For the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*, the most approved and most famous of all the Prelates in *Palestine*, judging *Origen* worthy of Dignity and the highest pitch of Honours, had by Imposition of Hands ordain'd him Presbyter. Therefore when he had ascended to great Honour, and had purchas'd a name amongst Men in all places, and no small fame for his Virtue, and Wisdom; *Demetrius*, being furnish'd with no other Accusation, made a great and malicious complaint against that Act which he had done in his youth. Daring also to involve the Bishops in his Accusations who had promoted him to the Office of a Presbyter. These things were done a little after. But then *Origen* (*b*) freely and without any Impediment perform'd his Office of teaching the Divine Doctrine to all that came to him by Day or by Night; laboriously spending all his time either in Divine Learning, or upon them who came to him. (*c*) After *Severus* had held the Empire eighteen years, his Son *Antoninus* succeeds him. At this time there [lived] one (*d*) *Alexander*, one of their number who had behav'd themselves manfully in the Persecution, and also by the Providence of God had been preserv'd after their Combats during their Confessions; him we before manifested to have been Bishop of the Church in *Jerusalem*. Now because he was famous for his Confession of Christ in the time of the Persecution, he is promoted to the afore-mention'd Bishoprick, whilst *Narcissus*, his Predecessor, was yet alive.

* Matth. Chap. 19. v. 12.

(*a*) *Eusebius* here lays open the reason why *Demetrius*, who was formerly so much *Origen*'s friend, should now so persecute him by his Letters; which was, because the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem* had ordained him Priest. In which thing no small injury was done to *Demetrius*, both by the Bishops, and *Origen*; by *Origen* because he had yielded to be ordained by foreign Bishops; and by the Bishops, because by doing this they had translated the Catechist of *Alexandria* into their Church. Moreover, there arises a difficulty not to be pass'd by, *viz.* Why two Bishops together should ordain *Origen*? By this means he had power to sit in two Churches, and to communicate with other Priests. See the 23. and 27. Chapters following; where this conjecture is confirm'd. 'Twas the Order, when either Deacons or Priests were ordained, some Bishops should be present, that the Ordination might be more solemn, (says *Innocentius* in his Epistle to *Marcianus* the Bishop.) *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* Chap. 118. says that *Theoctistus* solemnized the Ordination, but *Alexander* gave his approbation. *Christophorson* also says these were the names of the Bishops; *Theoctistus* was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Alexander* of *Jerusalem*. Vales.

(*b*) Ἀσυλάκτως (the word here) has several significations; *Rufinus* explains it thus, *When a Man has free power to do a thing, all impediments being removed*; which explanation seems best; for, before *Origen* made himself an Eunuch, for fear of a scandalous Report he had reason to be cautious of conversing with Women, and teaching them; but when he had unman'd himself, as he did, he might do it freely without suspicion. *Vales.*

Antoninus Caracalla.

(*c*) *Rufinus* his old Book which was in the Church at *Paris* begins a new Chapter here, and so does *Christophorson*. Vales.

(*d*) Concerning this *Alexander*, *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicle*, in the 12 year of *Severus*'s Reign, which was the second year of this Persecution, writes thus; *Alexander was accounted famous for his confession of the Name of the Lord.* Vales.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Miracles of Narcissus.

THE Inhabitants of this Diocess report many Miracles of this *Narcissus*, by tradition deriv'd from a continued succession of the Brethren: Amongst which they relate such a like Miracle as this done by him. 'Tis reported that on the great Vigils of *Easter* the Minister's Oil fail'd them, for which great pensiveness of Mind having seiz'd the whole Multitude, *Narcissus* gave command to them who took care of the Lights, that they should draw Water out of the Well which was nearest at hand, and bring it to him; which being forthwith done, he pray'd over the Water, and commanded them to pour the Water into the Lamps with a sincere Faith in the Lord. When they had done this also, contrary to all reason and expectation, by a miraculous and Divine Power, the Nature of Water was chang'd into the (*a*) Fatness of Oil. Some small Specimen of this Miracle then done, has been preserv'd amongst many of the Brethren for a long time, even from that to our Age. They also relate several other things worth remembrance concerning this Man's Life. Amongst which there is such a [Story] as this: Some vile Fellows who could not endure this Person's Vigour, and his Perseverance in leading of a pious Life, fearing lest when they were caught they should suffer Punishment, because they were conscious to themselves of many evil Actions, they [resolve to] prevent him by patching up a Plot against him, and utter a grievous Calumny against him. Then, that they might perswade the Hearers to credit them, they confirm'd their *Accusations* with Oaths: One of them swore it was true which he said, or he wish'd he might be consumed by Fire; another, if 'twas not true, that his Body might be wasted by some terrible unhappy (*b*) Disease;

(*a*) Εἰς ἐλαίου ποιότητα, *into the nature or quality of Oil*; we should rather read it πότητα, *the fatness of oil*. *Rufinus* translates it thus, *aquæ naturâ in olei pinguedinem versâ*, and in *Moræus*'s Book 'tis so corrected in the Margin; the *Fuk.* MS. also reads πότητα. *Vales.*

(*b*) Σκληρᾷ νόσῳ *Rufinus* renders thus, *Regio morbo*: But *Langus* calls it *morbus sonticus*, *the falling-sickness*. *Christophorson*, *morbus scevus & fœdus*, *an unfortunate, or cruel and filthy disease*; which comes nearest to *Rufinus*'s Version: For by this *morbus Regius* he means *the Leprosie*, as appears by what follows. For in the 10 Book and 25 Chapter he speaks thus of *Eunomius*; *vir corpore & anima Leprosus, & interius, exteriúsque morbo Regio corruptus.* *Gregorius Nyssenus* also in his first Book against *Eunomius* certainly affirms he was a Leper, pag. 307. Ὁ εἰσδυνων εἰς τὰς ὀικίας αὐτόκλητος, καὶ τὴν ἀκηλιδωτον ἐν τῷ πάθους τῆ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαγωγῆ φεισέλλων, καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πρὸς ὑγιαινόντων πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστροφὴν λογιζόμενος. *He who goes into another Man's house not invited, and keeps not the filthiness under his own Roof, considers not what natural abhorrence they who are sound have towards those who are infected.* *Hieronymus* in the Life of *Hilario* speaks thus of his Scholar *Adrianus*, *Post aliquantum temporis computruit morbo Regio.* Vales.

and

Antoninus. and the third, that he might be depriv'd of his Sight: But none of the Faithful gave heed to 'em, altho' they ſwore thus, becauſe *Narciſſus*'s Continency was always reſplendent amongſt all Men, and his Courſe of Life moſt eminently virtuous and pious: But he being in no-wiſe able to endure the Wickedneſs of what had been ſaid againſt him; and, beſides this, for a long time being deſirous to embrace a Philoſophical Life, retir'd from the whole Congregation of his Church, and liv'd many years, lying hid in Solitudes and in obſcure Fields. But the great Eye of Juſtice could not quietly wink at what was done; but was quickly revenged upon theſe wicked Men by thoſe *Curſes* with which they had bound themſelves, being (*c*) forſworn againſt themſelves. The firſt therefore was burnt together with his whole Family, the Houſe in which he liv'd being burnt in the *night* by (*d*) the fall of a little ſpark of Fire upon it, which upon no *occaſion* given came out of it. The ſecond Perſon's Body was totally infected from the bottom of his Feet to his Head with the Diſeaſe he had puniſh'd himſelf with. But the third, ſeeing the End of the two former, and fearing the unavoidable Vengeance of the All-ſeeing God, (*e*) publickly confeſs'd to all what they had plotted together in common amongſt themſelves; and he pin'd away with ſo great complaints, repenting of what he had done, and never ceas'd weeping ſo long, till he loſt both his Eyes. And theſe ſuffer'd ſuch Puniſhments for their lying Accuſation.

(*c*) Καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιορκοῦντες. The interpreters ſeem not to have rightly underſtood this place. *Euſebius*'s meaning is this, thoſe perjur'd Men did not forſwear themſelves againſt *Narciſſus*, but againſt themſelves, alluding without doubt to that of the Pſalmiſt, *he ly'd miſchief to himſelf*; For craft often falls upon the Author's own head, tho he intends it for another. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) Διαπεσόντος; *Nicephorus* thinks 'twas *the ſnuff or ſpark which fell from a Candle. Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* render the place, as if Fire had fell from Heaven upon this perjur'd Man's Houſe, but *Euſebius* confutes that, ſaying, it came ἐφ' ἧς κατέμενεν οἰκίας. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) Ὁμολογεῖ μὲν τὰ κοινὰ, *makes a publick confeſſion.* So the King's MS. reads, but the *Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read ὡμολόγει which tenſe the following Word κατετεύχετο confirms. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Biſhops of Jeruſalem.

WHen *Narciſſus* was retired, it being altogether unknown where he was, 'twas the Opinion of the Biſhops of the bordering *Churches* that they ſhould proceed to the Ordination of another Biſhop. This Man's name was *Dius*. To him having preſided no long time *Germanio* was Succeſſor. *Gordius* ſucceeds him, in his time from ſome place or other *Narciſſus* again appear'd, as riſen from death to life, and is immediately invited by the Brethren to his Biſhoprick; all Men admiring him much more both for his Retreat, and alſo for his Philoſophick [Courſe of life:] But above all for the Revenge which was vouchſafed him from God [upon his Accuſers.]

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Alexander.

NArciſſus being no longer able to officiate by reaſon of his very great Age, the Providence of God by Revelation made known to him in a Viſion by Night, and call'd the fore-mention'd *Alexander* Biſhop of another Church to be Co-adjutor in the Diſcharge of his Office. By this Revelation therefore, as if he had been warn'd by ſome Oracle from God, *Alexander* made a Journey to *Jeruſalem* from *Cappadocia* (where he had before been honour'd with a Biſhoprick,) upon account both of praying there, and alſo of ſeeing the places: The Brethren there received him moſt kindly; and would not permit him to return home, becauſe of another Revelation, made known alſo to them by night, and a (*a*) voice moſt plainly utter'd to ſome who were the moſt eminent for Piety amongſt them: For it told them if they went out of their Gates, they ſhould meet him who was predetermined by God to be their Biſhop. When they had done this with the common (*b*) conſent of the Biſhops who govern'd the *Churches* round about, they forc'd him of neceſſity to continue there. Indeed, *Alexander* himſelf, in his own Epiſtles to the *Antinoites* which are preſerv'd amongſt us till this time, makes mention of *Narciſſus*'s Preſidency together with him; writing thus word for word, at the end of that Epiſtle: '*Narciſſus* ſalutes 'you who before me go-'vern'd this Epiſcopal See, 'and he now is my (*c*) Aſ-'ſociate in Prayer, being 'an hundred and ſixteen 'years old, and exhorts you 'to be of the ſame mind 'with me." Theſe things were thus done. Now when *Serapion* was dead, *Aſclepiades* ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of the Church of *Antiochia*. And he alſo was famous for his Confeſſions in the time of Perſecution. *Alexander* alſo makes mention of his Conſecration, writing thus to the *Antiochians*; '*Alexan-*'*der* the Servant and Priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt, 'ſendeth greeting in the Lord to the Bleſſed 'Church of the *Antiochians*. The Lord made my '*Bonds* eaſie and light in the time of my (*d*) impri-'ſonment, when I heard that by *Divine Providence* '*Aſclepiades* (a Man moſt fit by reaſon of the wor-'thineſs of his Faith) was intruſted with the care 'over the whole Church of the *Antiochians*." He ſignifies that he ſent this Epiſtle by *Clemens*, writing on this manner, at the End. 'I have ſent 'theſe Letters to you, (my Lords and Brethren) 'by (*e*) *Clemens* a bleſſed Presbyter, a virtuous 'and approved Perſon, whom ye have known, 'and ſhall know better; who, while he was 'here, by the Providence and Care of God con-firm'd and increaſed the Church of the Lord.

(*a*) Μιᾶν τε φωνήν. *Chriſtophorſon*, and *Muſculus* alter the reading thus μιᾷτε φωνῇ σαφεστάτῃ· which alſo *Nicephorus* follows; but the reading ought not to be alter'd. *Ruſinus* very well corrects this Story of *Euſebius*'s (which he makes ſomething obſcure) thus. He ſays that that *Revelation* concerning *Alexander* was ſent by God to *Narciſſus* and other holy Men; but the voice was heard by all Men: Here *Ruſinus*, like a good interpreter, lightly corrects what the Author ſays amiſs. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Nicephorus* and *Hieronymus* write that *Narciſſus* alſo conſented; which without doubt he did. Here are two things contrary to the Canon of the Church committed in the Election of *Alexander*, firſt his Tranſlation from one Biſhoprick to another; ſecondly, that he was joyn'd as an aſſiſtant to another Biſhop while he was yet alive, which was afterwards forbid in the Council of *Sardis*. Valeſ.

(*c*) Συνεξεταζόμενος μοι διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν. *Ruſinus* and *Chriſtophorſon* do not tranſlate this place well; but *Hieronymus* renders it truly according to the ſenſe, though not word for word, he tranſlates it thus: *Narciſſus ſalutes you who before me governed the Biſhoprick, and now governs the ſame in Prayers with me.* *Alexander*'s meaning was undoubtedly this; That, *Narciſſus* only aſſiſted him in Prayers, but in no other part of the Office of Biſhop. Which makes him add, that he was an hundred and ſixteen years old, ſignifying thereby that he performed the Office, and *Narciſſus* being very old had only the Title, and Name of Biſhop. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *Alexander* wrote this Epiſtle in the heat of Perſecution while he was in priſon, before he was elected to the *Biſhoprick of Jeruſalem*, as appears by theſe words, calling himſelf the Priſoner of Chriſt. Hence *Euſebius* does not well by reckoning, in his *Chronicon*, *Aſclepiades*'s Conſecration in the firſt year of *Antoninus Caracalla*: For *Aſclepiades* was Conſecrated when *Alexander* was in Priſon; which *Euſebius* in his Chronicle ſays, happen'd in *Severus*'s Reign. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) *Hieronymus* (in *Catalogo*) conjectures this to be *Clemens Alexandrinus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* certainly liv'd till the times of *Severus*, and travelled into theſe Countreys, as he witneſſes in the firſt Book of his *Stromateων*, he was alſo a familiar Friend of *Alexander* the Biſhop, for to him he dedicates his work concerning the Canon of the Church, as *Euſebius* writes in the 13 Chapter of this Book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

Antoninus

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Serapion, *and his Books that are extant.*

'TIS likely that other Monuments of (*a*) *Serapion*'s Studiousness and Learning are preserv'd amongst other Men; but those [Writings] only came to our hands which he wrote to one *Domninus*, a Man who in time of Persecution fell from the Faith in Christ to the Jewish Superstition: And what he wrote to *Pontius* and *Caricus*, Ecclesiastical Men; and other Epistles to other Persons. Another Book also was composed by him, concerning that Book intitled *The Gospel according to Peter*; which Book he wrote to confute the Errors in that, for some Men's sakes in the Church of (*b*) *Rhosse*, who, taking an occasion from the foresaid Gospel, inclined to Heterodox Doctrines. Out of which Book 'twill not be unfit to set down some few words, in which he sets forth the Opinion he had concerning that Book, writing thus: 'For we, my 'Brethren, do admit of *Peter* and the other Apostles, as of Christ himself; but, like wise Men, we reject those Writings which are forged 'in their (*c*) names, knowing that we have received 'no such [*Books.*] For I, 'when I came to you, 'thought all of you had adhered to the right Faith. 'And when I read not the 'Gospel which was offer'd me, that bears *Peter*'s name, 'I said, if this be the only thing which seems 'to breed this dejected Spirit in you, let it be 'read. But now understanding, from what has 'been told me, that their Minds were cover'd 'with some Heresie, I will make haste to come 'to you again; wherefore, Brethren, expect me 'suddenly: But we, Brethren, have found out 'what Heresie *Marcianus* was of, for he contradicted himself, not understanding what he said, 'which you shall understand by some things 'which have been written to you. For we have 'been able to (*d*) borrow this very Gospel of 'some who have been continually exercised in it, (that is of some of their Successors who preceded *Marcianus*, whom we call *Docetæ*, for many of [*Marcianus*'s] Tenets are derived from their Doctrines,) and read it; and we find indeed many things agreeable to the true Doctrine of 'Christ: But some things that are particularly to be excepted against and avoided, which also 'we have here subjoyn'd upon your account." And thus much concerning *Serapion*'s Books.

(*a*) The *Greeks* write this name *Serapion* with an α, thus, Σαραπίων; but the *Latines* with an e. So the *Greeks* write Σάραπιν, but the *Latines Serapin*. This name is always writ thus in the Med. Maz. and Fuket. MSS. *Vales.*

(*b*) This *Rhosse* is a City of *Cilicia*; it lies upon the right hand to them who sail into the Gulf of *Issus*. Some write this City's name with a single *s*: So *Stephanus* in his Tract *De Urbibus*, and *Theodoret* in his *Religious History*, Chap. 10, and 11. The name of this place in *Plutarch* is corrupted: for he calls it Ὄρρωτις, *Orossus*. Vales.

(*c*) The Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil's MSS. read πὸ ὀνόματι, i. e. *in his name*. So *Rufinus* seems to have read it. *Serapion* also a little lower says, περφερόμενον ὀνόματι αὐτῦ εὐαγγέλιον. *Origen* in his Commentaries upon the 13th Chapter of *Matthew* makes mention of this Gospel of *Peter*. *Vales.*

(*d*) Here *Serapion* says, he borrow'd this Gospel from the Successors of some of those *Heretick*s who were call'd Δοκηταὶ, *Docetæ*, of which Hereticks *Marcianus* was one. The Translator takes no notice in this place of that Heretical Sect called the *Docetæ*. They held that Christ was not really Incarnate, nor did truly suffer, but in opinion only. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in his 7th Book *Stromat.* and also *Theodoret* in his Book *Divinorum Decretorum* mentions them. The Ring-leader of this Sect was one *Julius Cassianus*, as *Clemens* tells us in his Third Book. *Vales.*

Antoninus

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Writings of Clemens.

CLemens's (*a*) *Stromata's*, which are in all eight Books, are extant amongst us, which Books he thus intituled, *The Variegated Contexture of* (*b*) *Discourses of* Titus Flavius Clemens, *concerning all things which appertain to the knowledge of the true Philosophy*: Of the same number with these are his Books intituled *Institutions*: In which he by name mentions *Pantænus*, as being his Master, and he writes down his (*c*) Opinions he had receiv'd concerning the scope of Scripture, and explains his Traditions. He has also an *Hortatory* discourse to the *Gentiles*: And three Books intitled the *Tutor*. And another Book of his [with this Title, *What Rich Man can be saved?* And a Book concerning Easter. *Disputations also concerning Fasting: And concerning Detraction: And an Exhortation to Patience to those who were newly baptized.* And a Book intitled *the Ecclesiastick Canon, or against those who Judaized*, which Book he dedicated to *Alexander* the forementioned Bishop. Moreover, in his *Stromata* he does not only compose miscellaneous Discourses out of the Holy Writings, but he also mentions some things out of the *Gentile* Writers, if any thing seems profitable which was spoken by them: He also explains various Opinions [which occur] in several Books both of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. He moreover confutes the false Opinions of the Arch-Hereticks. He lays open much of History, affording us large subject-matter of several sorts of Learning. Amongst all these he intermixes the Philosophers Opinions. Hence he fitly made the Title *Stromata*, answerable to the Subject of the Book. In the same Book he produces Authorities out of those Scriptures which are not allow'd of [as Canonical;] out of that which is call'd *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and out of the Book of *Jesus the Son of Sirac*: And out of *the Epistle to the Hebrews*. And out of the [Epistles] of *Barnabas*, *Clemens*, and *Jude*. He also makes mention of *Tatianus*'s Book *against the Grecians*, and of *Cassianus*, (*d*) who also made a *Chronography*. Moreover, he mentions *Philo*, (*e*) *Aristobulus*, *Josephus*, *Demetrius*, and *Eupolemus*, Jewish Writers; who all have proved by their Writings, that πεποιημένε, made *Rufinus* believe, that the preceding person *Tatianus* wrote a *Chronography* as well as *Cassianus*: But we must in no-wise think that true. *Vales.*

(*a*) *Rufinus* very well translates this Title στρωματεῖς thus, *Opus varie contextum*. *Plutarch* calls some Books of his, which are part History, and part Poetry, στρωματεῖς. *Eusebius* takes the Books to be so call'd from the divers sorts of matter which they treat of, and so says *Baronius* in his *Annals*, and *Suidas* in his History: στρώματα, in Greek signifies *Carpets* or *Hangings* which were woven of divers colours: Hence these Books are metaphorically entitled στρωματεῖς, *from the mixture of things they treat of*: For he intermixes *Grecian*, *Barbarian*, and *Latine Opinions*, confutes Hereticks, and composes a kind of a various History. *Photius Biblioth.*

(*b*) Ὑπομνήματα (which is the term here,) are such Writings as contain only the Heads, and some Particulars of some special things; or, as *Cicero* in *Verrem* says, *Sunt scripta quæ domi continentur, nec in vulgus offeruntur*: But now the word has got a larger signification.

(*c*) *Langus* renders this word ἐκδοχὰς *Dictates*, *Musculus* verbally, *Excerptions*, *Rufinus*, *Expositions*, and *Christophorson*, *Commentaries upon the Scriptures*; but none of them sufficiently explain the Propriety of the Word: ἐκδοχαὶ, are the *Sense and Meaning of Scripture*. *So Origen uses it in his* 4th Book *De Principiis*, Chap. 2. speaking of the double Sense of Scripture, that is, the literal, and the spiritual Sense; and so also does *Methodius*, *Epiphanius* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* use the term. *Vales.*

(*d*) These words ὡς καὶ αὐτῦ χρονογραφίαν

(*e*) Some Copies read, Δειγοβόλε, but in all our MSS. and in *Nicephorus* 'tis Δειγοβόλε. This *Aristobulus* here is that same *Aristobulus* the *Peripatetick* who wrote Books *of the Explications of the Mosaical* Law to *Ptolomy Philometor*, as *Eusebius* records in his *Chronicle*, and he produces a Fragment of these Books, in his 8th Book *Præparationis*. *Origen* also mentions something of these Books in his 4th Book against *Celsus*, pag. 204. *Vales.*

Antoninus MOSES, and the Originals of the Jewiſh Nation are ancienter than any thing of Antiquity amongſt the *Grecians*. And this Man's Books aforemention'd are ſtuffed with very much excellent Learning of ſeveral kinds. In the firſt of theſe Books he ſays concerning himſelf, that he was born next to the firſt Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. He promiſes alſo in them that he would write Commentaries upon *Geneſis*. And in his Book *concerning Eaſter*, he confeſſes he was conſtrained by his Friends to commit to writing [for the benefit of] Poſterity thoſe Traditions which he had heard from his Anceſtors. In the ſame Book alſo is mention'd *Melito*, *Irenæus*, and ſome others, whoſe Explications he ſets down.

CHAP. XIV.

What Writings Clemens *has mentioned.*

THat I may ſpeak briefly, in his (*a*) *Inſtitutions* he makes (*b*) ſhort Explications of all the (*c*) written word of God, not omitting thoſe Scriptures whoſe authority is (*d*) queſtion'd by ſome; I mean the Epiſtle of *Jude*, and the other (*e*) Catholick Epiſtles, and that of *Barnabas*, and that which is ſaid to be the *Revelation of Peter*: And *The Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, which he affirms to be *Paul*'s, but was written to the *Hebrews* in the Hebrew Tongue; which when *Luke* had with much care and pains tranſlated, he publiſh'd it for the [uſe of the] *Grecians*. Wherefore we may find the Stile of the Tranſlation of this Epiſtle, and *Of the Acts of the Apoſtles* to be the ſame. '(*f*) But 'twas for a very good (*g*) reaſon, that this Title [*Paul the Apoſtle*] was not ſet before it; for he (ſays he) writing to the *Hebrews*, who were poſſeſs'd with a prejudice againſt, and a ſuſpicion of him, very wiſely did not prefix his name at the beginning, leſt he ſhould cauſe an averſion in them to his Epiſtle. But a little after, he continues, ſaying, Now, as a bleſſed Presbyter ſaid, becauſe the Lord, being the Apoſtle of the Almighty, was ſent to the *Hebrews*, *Paul* through modeſty, in that he was ſent to the *Gentiles*, does not entitle himſelf the Apoſtle of the *Hebrews*, both in reverence to the Lord, and alſo becauſe 'twas over and above his duty that he writ to the *Hebrews*, being the Preacher and Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*. Again, *Clemens* in the ſame Books writes a Tradition, concerning the Order of the Goſpels which he receiv'd from the Elders before him, and it is this: 'Thoſe Goſpels, he ſaid, which contain the Genealogies were written firſt. And this was the occaſion of writing *Mark*'s Goſpel: When *Peter* preach'd the Word publickly in *Rome*, and declared the Goſpel by the Spirit, many who were there preſent entreated *Mark* (who had been his Follower (*h*) a long time, and remembred what he had ſaid) that he would write down the things which had been ſpoken. When he had compoſed the Goſpel, he imparted it to thoſe who had intreated it of him. *Peter* having underſtood this, (*i*) uſed no Perſwaſives either to hinder him, or to incite him to it. But *John*, being the laſt of all, when he ſaw how thoſe things which appertain'd to Chriſt's Humanity were already manifeſted in the Goſpels, was mov'd [to the Enterprize] by his (*k*) Acquaintance; and being inſpired by the Spirit, he wrote a Goſpel concerning Chriſt's Divinity. Thus much *Clemens*." But again, the ſaid *Alexander* in an Epiſtle of his to *Origen*, mentions *Clemens*, and *Pantænus* alſo, as Men who were his Familiars: he writes thus. 'For this, as you know, was the will of God, that the Friendſhip which was begun betwixt us from our Anceſtors, ſhould not only remain inviolable, but alſo become more fervent and firm. For we know thoſe bleſſed Fathers who went before us, with whom we, after a ſhort time, ſhall be joyn'd; I mean the truly bleſſed *Pantænus* my Maſter, and the holy *Clemens* my Maſter, who alſo profited me much; and if there be any others like them, by whom I came to the knowledge of you, my moſt excellent Lord and Brother. And after this manner were theſe things. Moreover, *Adamantius* (for that alſo was *Origen*'s name,) in theſe Times, when *Zephyrinus* preſided over the Church of *Rome*, (*l*) travell'd to *Rome*, (as he himſelf ſomewhere ſays) having a deſire to ſee the moſt ancient Church of the *Romans*: Where he made no long ſtay, but return'd to *Alexandria*; and with all diligence there performed his cuſtomary Duty of Catechiſt, *Demetrius* the then Biſhop of thoſe Churches exciting him to it, and little leſs than beſeeching him to labour earneſtly for the Utility of the Brethren.

Antoninus

(*a*) For the explication of the Title of this Book; ſee the Note (*a*) upon the 11th *Chap.* of the 5th *Book*, where 'tis prov'd by ſeveral *Quotations* that the true rendring of this Title is *Inſtitutions*, or, *Informations*.

(*b*) This phraſe ἐπιτεθειμένας διηγήσεις, *Langus* tranſlates *compendioſam enumerationem*, *Muſculus contractas explicationes*. And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* alſo: But *Ruſinus* calls them *compendioſas diſſertationes*. Διηγήσεις, therefore is the ſame as ἐξηγήσεις, or διεξηγήσεις· which Words *Photius* uſes in that ſenſe, that is, *explications*, *interpretations*; though διήγησις ſignifies a Narration only. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Λόγῳ ἐνδιαθήκῳ, according to *Heſychius*'s interpretation, is rendered *the written word*; *aliquid Scripto conſtans*. Heſych.

(*d*) Γραφὰς ἀντιλεγομένας are Scriptures, whoſe authority is queſtioned, diſputed of, and by ſome contradicted; we muſt not therefore call them *Apocrypha*, as *Ruſinus* does, for *Apocrypha* are thoſe which are certainly falſe and compos'd by Hereticks; but ἀντιλεγόμενα are thoſe which ſome approve of, others not: Of which here *Euſebius* gives us a Catalogue, ſome of which in St. *Hierome*'s Catalogue are accounted Apocryphal, as the *Revelation* of *Peter*, which is concluded to be undoubtedly falſe. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) *Catholick Epiſtles* are thoſe which were not written to certain Perſons, particular Cities, or Provinces, but to whole Nations, and the Univerſal Church. Thus *Themiſon*, one of *Montanus*'s Diſciples, impudently wrote a Catholick Epiſtle, like an Apoſtle to the Univerſal Church, as *Apollonius* teſtifies Book 5. Chap. 16. *Euſebius* alſo mentions *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth*'s Epiſtles to four Cities; which he calls Catholick. *The Revelation of Peter* which *Euſebius* mentions here, is quoted in *Theodotus*'s *Excerptions* which are printed at the end of *Clemens*'s *Stromata*: Hence 'tis plain that theſe Collections of *Theodotus* are nothing elſe, but fragments of *Clemens*'s *Hypotypoſeon*. Valeſ.

(*f*) This quotation *Clemens* has out of *Macarius*.

(*g*) This reaſon alſo St. *Hierome* confirms upon the firſt Chapter of the *Epiſtle of Paul to the Galatians*, where he ſays that St. *Paul* does not after his accuſtomed way prefix his name before this Epiſtle, becauſe he was about to ſpeak of Chriſt, and thought it not fit to call himſelf an Apoſtle where Chriſt alſo muſt be ſtyl'd an Apoſtle. *Valeſ.*

(*h*) Tho' this word [πόρρω-θεν] ſignifies *a-far off*; yet here it muſt be rendred as ἐκ πολλοῦ *for a long time*; which word *Nicephorus Cal.* uſes in this place in ſtead of [πόρρωθεν. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) All Copies read περιτρεπτικῶς μὴτε κωλύσαι· and ſo alſo does *Niceph.* but *Chriſtophorſon* boldly alter'd the reading, ſaying, that this paſſage impugn'd the authority of the Goſpel. *Euſebius* relates this Story in the 2d Book, at the 14th Chap. otherwiſe; ſaying, that *Peter* was *mightily pleaſed* with the Goſpel which was written by *Mark* and confirm'd it, appointing it ſhould be read in the Churches. But if we weigh the words of *Euſebius* and *Clemens* carefully, theſe places will not appear in the leaſt contradictory, as *Chriſtophorſon* ſays they are: For altho' St. *Peter*, as *Clemens* ſays, did neither openly prohibit nor further him; yet he may be ſaid to have tacitly approv'd of what he had done. *Ruſinus* has very well tranſlated the place, whom we ought to imitate; becauſe by his Tranſlation he explains it very well, rendring it thus; *Licet fieri ipſum non juſſerit, tamen factum non prohibuit*: By which 'tis very plain that he did not diſallow of it. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) This *Hieronymus* atteſts, ſpeaking of *John*, in his Preface to his *Commentaries* upon St. *Matthew*. *Valeſ.*

(*l*) *Baronius* places *Origen*'s coming to *Rome*, on the Year of Chriſt 220; which was the firſt Year of the Reign of *Elagabalus* the Emperor: But we muſt in no-wiſe yield to this; ſeeing that *Euſebius* ſays, he came to *Rome* in *Antoninus Caracalla*'s Reign. *Baronius* alſo affirms that he came again to *Rome* in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperor, that is, in the Year of Chriſt 248. But we muſt not believe *Baronius* in this; for *Euſebius*, who carefully and truly wrote the Hiſtory of *Origen*, makes no mention of *Origen*'s ſecond coming to *Rome*; but rather ſeems to confute this of *Baronius*, ſaying thus, that *Origen* ſent Letters concerning the Profeſſion of his Faith to *Fabianus*, who was Biſhop of *Rome*, therefore *Origen* went not to *Rome*, as *Baronius* ſays, only ſent Letters to *Fabianus* the Biſhop of *Rome*. But hence ariſes *Baronius*'s miſtake; he follows *Porphyrius*, who *in his Life of Plotinus*, mentions one *Origen*, who was *Plotinus*'s and *Herennius*'s School-fellow; but this is not that *Origen Adamantius* which we mean here; but another *Origen*, therefore we muſt carefully make a diſtinction betwixt theſe two *Origens*; which we will ſhew hereafter. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

Antoninus

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Heraclas.

BUT when he perceiv'd himself not supplied with sufficient Strength both for the more profound study of Divinity, for his Researches into, and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and moreover for the Catechizing of them who came to him; (having scarce time to breath, so many flocking together to him; one Company after another coming from Morning to Evening to his School;) he divided the Multitudes, and electing *Heraclas*, one of his Familiars, made him his Assistant in Catechizing; a Man who was very studious in Divinity, most eminently skilful in other Learning; and one who was not unexperienced in Philosophy. He commits the Instruction of the New-beginners to him, but reserves to himself the hearing of those who had made some proficiency.

CHAP. XVI.

What Pains and Study Origen *bestow'd about the Holy Scriptures.*

Origen now intended to make such accurate Researches into the Holy Scriptures, that he learn'd the *Hebrew* Tongue; and bought the (*a*) Authentick Scriptures written in *Hebrew* Letters, which were extant among the *Jews*. And he searched after other Editions of Translators of the Sacred Scriptures besides the *Seventy*. And he sought out some other Versions besides those (*b*) common ones of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, different from them; which he, having search'd out, first brought to light, from I know not whence, nor out of what Corners, having been forgotten for a long time: Concerning which, because he was uncertain who were the Authors of them, by reason of their Obscurity, he only noted this, that one of them was by him found at (*c*) *Nicopolis* near *Actium*; and another at some other place. Moreover, in his *Hexapla of the Psalms*, after those four excellent Editions, he adds (*d*) not only a fifth, and sixth, but also a seventh Version; and upon one of them again he has noted, that it was found at *Jericho* in an Hogs-head, in the times of *Antoninus* the Son of *Severus*. When he had thus collected all these Versions into one body, and divided them into (*e*) Verses, (*f*) having placed them directly one against the other, together with (*g*) the Hebrew Text, he left us those Copies which are called (*h*) *Hexapla*. He (*i*) afterwards prepared apart by themselves, *Aquila*'s, *Symmachus*'s, and *Theodotion*'s Edition, together with the *Septuagint*, [and put them out] in his *Tetrapla*.

Antoninus

(a) Πρωτοτύπους, *Budæus* calls *exemplaria*, *Copies*, by which we do any thing, or make any thing. *Valesius* translates this Phrase [πρωτοτύπους γραφὰς] *the Authentick Scriptures*; because, says he, *Eusebius*'s meaning is plainly the same, for he implies thus much, that these were not the very first Copies which were writ by *Esdras*; but Authentick in respect of the Septuagint, and other Translators; and he says this word πρωτοτύπους is commonly rendred in Latin *Authenticas*: But *Christophorson* translates it *the old Copies*.

(b) Κατὰμαξεύω signifies properly *curru tero*, hence ὁδὸς καταμαξευτὴ *via curru trita*, the high way καθ' ἣν αἱ ἅμαξαι διέρχονται, hence Metaphorically (as the Latin word *tritum* does to which it exactly answers) it signifies *aliquid vulgare*, that which is trite, or common; 'tis sometimes written καθαμαξεύω, as here in *Eusebius*.

(c) In the *Med. Maz. Fuk.* MSS. we find πρὸς ἀκτίοις, but 'tis not so well as πρὸς ἀκτίῳ; for ἄκτια signifies *Ludi Actiaci*, but *Nicopolis* had not its name from those Games; but from the *Promontory* near which it was situate, 'twas called *Nicopolis* near *Actium*. Vales.

(d) In stead of [ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην, *a sixth and seventh*] I read [ὃ μόνον πέμπτῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ, *not only a fifth and sixth, but also a seventh*;] and judge this Emendation to be altogether necessary. For *Eusebius*, having before spoken of a fifth and sixth Edition found by *Origen*, here adds this further, that *Origen* put a seventh into the Copies of his *Hexapla* of the *Psalms*. Therefore his Edition of the *Psalms* was seven-fold. But because this seventh Edition had only the *Psalms*, *Origen* altered not the Title of his Edition, to wit, *Hexapla*. This Amendment and Exposition of ours is evidently confirmed by *Johannes Zonaras*, *in his History of the Emperor Severus*. See the Author's words. But that which *Zonaras* there adds, *to wit*, that the seventh Edition was found at *Jericho*, is not expresly said by *Eusebius* here. *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De ponderib.*) and *Athanasius* (in *Synopsi*,) affirm that the fifth Edition was found at *Jericho* in an Hogshead: But *Nicephorus* thought that both the sixth and seventh were found there. Although the particular Authors of this fifth and sixth Edition are unknown; yet 'tis manifest they were *Jews*: Which is asserted by *Hierom*, in his B. 2. *Advers. Rusinum*. Vales.

(e) Κῶλα (the term here) signifies *verses*, or *such parts of the Text as contain an entire sense*. *Hierom* was the first amongst the *Latins*, who divided his Translation into Verses: See his Preface to *Isaiah*. This he did in imitation of *Origen*, who had done the same in his *Hexapla*. *Origen* herein had a regard to the profit of the Readers. For what is thus distinguish'd by Verses, is both more easily understood, and also more readily gotten by heart. Besides, this distinction was altogether necessary in order to a comparing of the *Greek* Editions. *Origen*'s Example was afterwards followed by many; who did the same in the *New Testament*, which *Origen* had done in the Old. *Vales.*

(f) This was another of *Origen*'s inventions, *to wit*, the placing of the Translations one against the other; that so, if one differed from another, it might be presently discerned by one view. See *Hierom*, in his Preface to *Chromatius*, upon the *Chronicles*. Vales. See a Scheme of *Origen*'s Contrivance herein in Dr. *Cave*'s Life of *Origen*, pag. 228.

(g) Σημείωσις (the term which occurs here) signifies properly *Annotation*; See Book 5. Chap. 20. note (*d.*) But *Eusebius* does here call the *Hebrew Text*, σημείωσιν, because 'twas prefix'd before the six Greek Translations; in like manner as in Comments the words of the Author are prefix'd before the Exposition: This term [σημείωσις] signifies not only the Exposition, but the Text, at which the Exposition is set. *Vales.*

(h) From this place 'tis evident, that this work of *Origen*'s was called *Hexapla*, because there were six Greek Translations contained in it, besides the *Hebrew Text*, which was written in two Columns two manner of ways, in the one in *Hebrew*, in the other in *Greek* Letters. See *Epiphan. Hæres. Origenist.* cap. 3. And the reason why this Work was thus termed, is plain; for, as the *Tetrapla* were so called, because they contained four *Greek* Translations collected into one Body; so the *Hexapla* were thus termed, because they comprehended six *Greek* Versions, *to wit*, that of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, *the Seventy-two*, *Theodotion*, and lastly the *fifth* and *sixth* Translation. But the *Hebrew Text* must not be reckoned amongst the Versions; that being the Original. *Zonaras* (in his *History of the Emperor Severus*) is of the same Opinion with us, and explains this place of *Eusebius* (though he mentions not his Name) as we do. *Vales.*

(i) The *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. have it written [ἐπικαλασκευάσας·] which is all one as if *Eusebius* should have said [ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἑξαπλῶν ἐκδόσει καλασκευάσας, i. e. *after the Edition of his Hexapla, having prepared*, &c.] For when *Origen* perceived that his *Hexapla* required too much cost and labour, he composed his *Tetrapla*, (which were more ready and useful,) having taken away the two Editions of the *Hebrew Text*, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh Translation. Hitherto it has been the Opinion of the Learned, that *Origen* made his *Tetrapla* before his *Hexapla*: *Usher* (in *Syntag. de Sept. Interpret.* cap. 5.) and *Salmasius* (in his Book *De Linguâ Hellenist.*) are of this Opinion. But this passage in *Eusebius*, (as it is corrected by the Authority of our MSS. Copies) does wholly confute it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Symmachus *the Translator.*

MOreover, we must understand that this *Symmachus*, one of the Translators, was an *Ebionite*. For there is an Heresie called the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, who say that Christ was born of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and suppose him to have been meer Man, who also stifly affirm that the Law ought to be strictly observ'd according as the *Jews* kept it, as we have before made known somewhere in our History. *Symmachus*'s Commentaries are even yet extant; in which he seems to confirm the foresaid Heresie,

Antoninus

Antoninus (*a*) diſputing ſtrongly againſt *Matthew*'s *Goſpel*: *Origen* tells us that he received theſe, together with other Interpretations of *Symmachus*'s of the Scriptures, from one *Juliana*, upon whom, he ſays, theſe *Books* of *Symmachus*'s devolved by right of Succeſſion.

(*a*) The *Ebionites* admitted only St. *Matthew*'s *Goſpel* to be genuine: But that Goſpel of the *Ebionites* was not the ſame Goſpel of St. *Matthew* which we now have, but a forged one, and which wanted the Genealogy of Chriſt, as *Epiphanius* declares (*in Hæreſ. Ebion.*) For the Goſpel *according to the Hebrews*, which they made uſe of, (as *Euſebius* ſays Book 3. Chap. 25. where ſee Note (*c*),) they called the Authentick Goſpel of St. *Matthew*. Theſe Words therefore [πρὸς τὸ κατὰ ματθαῖον ἀκριβὲς εὐαγγέλιον] we have rendred thus [*diſputing ſtrongly againſt Matthew's Goſpel,*] *to wit*, ours, and the true Goſpel of St. *Matthew*. From this *Symmachus* the *Ebionites* were afterwards termed *Symmachians*, becauſe he ſtrongly aſſerted their opinions. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Ambroſius.

AT this time *Ambroſius* ((*a*) who favour'd the *Valentinian* Hereſie) being convinc'd by the Truth preach'd by *Origen*, and having his Mind cleared as it were with light, aſſents to the Doctrine of the Orthodox Faith of the Church. And (*Origen*'s fame being noiſed abroad every-where) ſeveral Men of great learning flocked to him, intending to make tryal of this Man's ſufficiency in the Scriptures. Alſo infinite multitudes of Hereticks, and not a few Philoſophers, and them moſt famous, gave (*b*) diligent attention to him, almoſt like Scholars learning from him, beſides Divinity, thoſe things which appertain to * External Philoſophy: For he initiated (*c*) thoſe, whom he perceived to have acute Parts into Philoſophical Learning; teaching them *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*, and the other previous Sciences: Alſo guiding them into the knowledge of the various Sects among Philoſophers; explaining the Writings that are amongſt them, and commenting on, and ſearching into all things. So that even amongſt the *Gentiles* this Man was openly declar'd to be a great Philoſopher. He alſo incited many of meaner Capacities to the ſtudy of the Liberal Sciences; telling them that from hence would accrue to them no ſmall fitneſs and preparation for the contemplation of the Divine Scriptures: For which reaſon he eſteemed the ſtudy of Secular and Philoſophical Literature moſt neceſſary for himſelf.

(*a*) Τὰ τινὸς φερνεῖν is elegantly us'd for *alicujus partibus favere*, to be a favourer of ſuch a Man's party: So *Euripides* in *Hecuba*, when *Polyxena* ſpeaks to her Mother, ſaying, Ἀγαμέμνων τὰ ἡμῶν φρονεῖ, *Agamemnon is on our ſide*: Thus much for the *Phraſe*. Now that *Ambroſius* was of *Valentinus*'s Sect, or at leaſt favour'd that Opinion, *Origen* teſtifies in the *Proœmium* of his fifth Tome *of Explications* on St. *John*'s Goſpel, where he commends *Ambroſius* for relinquiſhing thoſe dangerous Principles. But ſome will have *Ambroſius* not to have been a *Valentinian*, but a *Marcioniſt*, and *Epipbanius* is of that opinion. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Περοσέχειν here ſignifies *to give attention to any one, ſo as to learn ſomething from him*, or *to come often to any one, to learn as Scholars*; and therefore he adds μονονυχὶ παιδευόμενοι, *almoſt like Scholars*. Valeſ.

* That is, *Grecian* Philoſophy. (*c*) That is, who were his Scholars. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIX.

What things have been recorded concerning Origen [*by the* Gentiles.]

THE Heathen Philoſophers who flouriſhed in his Age are Witneſſes of his great proficiency in theſe Studies: In whoſe Writings we have found frequent mention of this Man; [ſome of them] both dedicating their *Books* to him, and alſo delivering up their private Labours to his Cenſure, as to a Maſter. But I need not ſpeak of theſe things, whenas (*a*) *Porphyrius*, (who lived in *Sicily* [almoſt] till our Age, having written ſome Books againſt us, and in them endeavoured to cavil at the Holy Scriptures, when he had mentioned thoſe Men who made explications upon them) was unable in any wiſe to caſt any baſe Aſperſion upon their Opinions, and through want of Arguments betakes himſelf to railing, and reviles the *Commentators*. Of whom he attempts chiefly to reproach *Origen*, ſaying, that when he was young, he knew him; but he unawares commends the Man; partly by ſpeaking the truth in ſome things where he could not do otherways; and partly by lying, wherein he thought he ſhould eſcape being detected. Sometimes he accuſes him as being a Chriſtian; by and by, he admires, and deſcribes the acceſſion he made to Philoſophick Literature. Hear therefore what he ſays word for word: 'Some Men, deſirous to find out not, a defection from the pravity of the Jewiſh Scriptures, but an explication [of the Obſcurities in them] have betaken themſelves to Expoſitions, which have no agreement nor coherence with thoſe Scriptures, and which contain the Author's approbation and praiſe, rather than a defence of thoſe ſtrange Sectaries. For, having boaſted that what things were plainly ſpoken by *Moſes* were obſcure Riddles, allowing them the Authority of, and quoting them as, Divine Oracles full of hidden Myſteries; and having (*b*) bewitched the Judgments and Minds of Men, with their Pride, they afterwards put forth their Expoſitions." Then after ſome few words he ſays; 'Let an Example of this Abſurdity be taken from a Man whom I ſaw when I was (*c*) very young, being a perſon then of great repute, and yet eminently renowned upon account of his Writings which he left behind him, I mean *Origen*, whoſe Renown is very much ſpread abroad amongſt the Teachers of thoſe Doctrines. For this Man having been an (*d*) Hearer and *Chriſtophorſon* underſtand theſe Words: But *Valeſius* otherwiſe. He ſays *Porphyrius*'s meaning was this, that the Authors of theſe Expoſitions through the loftineſs of their Words, bewitch'd or inchanted the Minds and Judgments *of their Hearers*, and then impos'd upon them with their Expoſitions. *Valeſ.*

Antoninus.

(*a*) *Eunapius*, in his *vitâ Philoſophorum*, ſays this *Porphyrius* was a *Tyrian* by birth, and was firſt called *Malchus*, which in *Syriack* ſignifies *a King*: But afterwards, by his Maſter *Longinus* a *Platonick*, whom he was an Auditor of at *Athens*, he was called *Porphyrius*, which ſignifies *one cloath'd in Purple, a King*; becauſe Kings only wore the true πορφύρα. St. *Hierom* ſays he was a *Jew*, born in the City of *Batanæa*; thence he calls him *Bataneotes* or *Batanætes*: *Socrates* atteſts that this Man was once a Chriſtian, but could not endure the reproofs of thoſe Chriſtians who reprov'd him, and therefore turn'd an Apoſtate. *Lactantius*, who lived in his time, ſays, he wrote his Books againſt the Chriſtians in the ſame year the Emperor pull'd down the Churches; but St. *Hierom* affirms he left his Maſter *Plotinus*, and *Rome*, and went to *Sicily* for his healths-ſake, and dwelt at *Lilybæum*; where he wrote thoſe Books: But we ought rather to believe *Lactantius*, who lived in his time. St. *Auguſtine* ſays there were two *Porphyrius*'s; one who liv'd in *Sicily* a famous Man; and another who wrote againſt the Chriſtians: But all agree that 'twas one and the ſame *Porphyrius* the Platonick who lived in *Sicily*, and wrote againſt the Chriſtians. *Baronius*'s *Annals.*

(*b*) Κρῖσιν τῆς ψυχῆς; *their own judgment, and underſtanding being bewitch'd or miſleaden by their Pride.* So *Langus*, *Ruſinus* and *Chriſtophorſon*

(*c*) 'Tis probable *Origen* was ſeen by *Porphyrius* in his younger days, in the City of *Tyre*, where *Origen*, having left *Alexandria*, ſtaid ſome time. For *Porphyrius* was a *Tyrian*; and he was a young Man at the ſame time when *Origen* made his abode at *Tyre*. But *Porphyrius* could by no means ſee *Origen* at *Alexandria* when he was an old Man; becauſe when *Origen* left *Alexandria* he was not compleat fifty years old. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) We muſt believe *Porphyrius*, whenas he ſo expreſly affirms here, that *Origen Adamantius* (ſo he was called) was an Auditor of *Ammonius Alexandrinus*. But amongſt the Auditors of *Ammonius* there was at that time another *Origen*, School-fellow to *Herennius* and *Plotinus*; mentioned by *Porphyrius* (*in vitâ Plotini,*) by *Longinus* (*in his Book de fine,*) by *Eunapius*, and *Hierocles* (*in his Book De Providentia.*) *Baronius* (*in his Annals,*) and *Lucas Holſtenius* (*in 2 and 6 cap. De vitâ Scriptiſque Porphyrii,*) ſuppoſed this *Origen* to have been the ſame Perſon with *Origen Adamantius*. But I diſſent from them, for theſe two reaſons eſpecially. (1.) *Longinus* the Philoſopher (in his Book *De*

De fine) reckons *Ammonius* and *Origen*, (*Platonick Philosophers*) among those, who would not commit to writing their Opinions for the benefit of Posterity, but thought it sufficient to deliver them by word of Mouth to their Auditors. *If any thing be written by any of them*, (these are the words of *Longinus*,) *as indeed* Origen *did write one Book De Dæmonibus, it is very little: For they seemed not to have made it their business to write Books.* These Words cannot be supposed to have been spoken of *Origen Adamantius*, who 'tis manifest, was a *Voluminous Writer*, as the Catalogue of his Works recorded by *Eusebius* does manifest: Moreover, *Porphyrius* (in these Words of his here quoted by *Eusebius*) says, *Origen was eminently renowned upon account of his Writings which he left behind him.* (2.) *Porphyrius* (in his Life of *Plotinus*, not far from the beginning) has these Words: *But when* Herennius, Origen, *and* Plotinus *had agreed amongst themselves, that they would not publish the Opinions of* Ammonius, *which having heard from him they approved of as most especially pure and refined*; Plotinus *was as good as his Word: But* Herennius *first broke the Compact*; *and afterwards* Origen *followed him: But* Origen *wrote nothing besides a Book concerning Dæmons, and a piece in* Gallienus's *time, wherein he proved that the King was the only Poet.* This last Book *Origen* wrote in praise of *Gallienus* the Emperor, to commend his Poetical faculty. For *Gallienus* was given to Poetry; and there are some nuptial Verses of his extant amongst the fragments of *Petronius Arbiter*. Now, if it be true, that this *Origen*, School-fellow to *Plotinus*, wrote this Book under *Gallienus* the Emperor, doubtless he must necessarily be distinguished from *Origen Adamantius*. For *Origen Adamantius* survived not the times of *Gallienus*, but died when *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were Emperors, in the year of Christ 252, having compleated the sixty ninth year of his age. *Vales.*

Antoninus ‘of that *Ammonius*, who in our Age made a ‘great Proficiency in Philosophy; as for his ‘Knowledge in Philosophick Literature he pro‘fited much by this Master. But as concerning ‘a right course of life, he undertook a way quite ‘contrary to him: For *Ammonius*, having been ‘educated a Christian by Christian Parents, ‘when he arrived to Understanding, and, [the ‘knowledge of] Philosophy, quickly betook ‘himself to a course of life which was agree‘able to the Laws. But *Origen* being a *Gentile* ‘and brought up in the Learning of the *Greci‘ans*, diverted to the (*e*) Impudence of the *Bar‘barians*. Being devoted to this [Religion] he ‘(*f*) corrupted both himself, and also that pro‘ficiency he had made in Philosophick Learning: As to his manner of life he lived like a ‘Christian, and contrary to the Laws: but in ‘respect of his Opinions concerning things, and ‘concerning God, he imitated the *Grecians*, ‘(*g*) substituting the Sayings of the Heathens ‘in the room of those strange Fables. For he ‘was continually conversant in *Plato*'s [Works,] ‘and in those of (*h*) *Numenius* and *Cronius*, and ‘revolved the Works of (*i*) *Apollophanes* and (*k*) *Lon‘ginus*, and (*l*) *Moderatus*, and *Nicomachus*, and ‘the Works of all the famous Men amongst the ‘*Pythagoreans*; he also made use of the Works of ‘(*m*) *Chæremon* the *Stoick*, and of (*n*) *Cornutus*'s ‘*Books*; when he had learn'd ‘from them the *Allegorical* ‘mode of explaining the *Gre‘cian* Mysteries, he apply'd ‘it to the Jewish Scriptures.’ These are *Porphyrius*'s words in his third *Book* of that Piece he wrote against the Christians; who has said the truth concerning the Man's hard Study and great Learning; but herein he has plainly lied, (for what would not he say who wrote against the Christians?) in that he says, that [*Origen*] was converted from a *Heathen* to a *Christian*, and that *Ammonius* fell from a pious course of life to the Heathenish way of living. For, (as our History has before manifested) *Origen* kept the Christian Doctrine received from his Ancestors: And the Precepts of the Divine Philosophy remained uncorrupted, and unshaken in *Ammonius* even till his death; as his Works even to this present do testifie; he being famous amongst most Men for his *Books* which he left behind him: As for example, that *Book* which is thus entitled, *concerning the Concord of Moses and Jesus*, and those other *Books* of his, whatsoever sort they be of, which are found amongst lovers of Learning. Let what we have said therefore be an evidence both of the Detraction of this lying Accuser, and also of *Origen*'s great knowledge in the *Grecian* Learning. Concerning which, *Origen* (in an Epistle of his, wherein he makes an Apology for himself, to some who blamed him for his too great studiousness about this sort of Learning) writes these words: ‘When I employed my self wholly in the Scri‘pture, the fame of my progress in Learning ‘spreading it self every-where, there resorting ‘to me sometimes Hereticks, at other times those ‘who studied the *Grecian* Learning, and especially ‘such as were skill'd in Philosophy, I thought it ‘convenient to make researches into Heretick's ‘Opinions, and into whatsoever things are re‘ported to be said by Philosophers concerning ‘the Truth: This we did, both in imitation of *Pan‘tænus*, who profited many before us, (who was ‘furnish'd with no small stock of Provisions of ‘this sort:) And also of *Heraclas*, who at this ‘time sits among the Presbyters of *Alexandria*; ‘(*o*) whom I found with a Philosophy-Master, ‘under whom he studied diligently five years be‘fore I began to be an Auditor of his Doctrine. ‘And for this reason, he wearing a com‘mon Habit before, put it off, and put on ‘a (*p*) Philosophical Habit, which he (*q*) retains

(*e*) The Heathens called the Christians and Jews Religion barbarous, as *Justin*, *Tatianus*, and others affirm: so they termed every thing which was not *Grecian*. *Porphyrius* calls this *barbarous Impudence*, to despise the *Roman* Gods, and the Emperor's Edicts, to be forc'd by no Torments or Persecutions to sacrifice to those Heathen Gods. *Vales.*

(*f*) Καπηλεύει; *Cauponari, to sell Wine, or to keep a Victualling-house.* Now because these *Cauponæ* us'd to cheat the buyers, by mixing and and dashing their Wines, and so enrich themselves; this Word is us'd to *adulterate* or *corrupt*; as here, and likewise in holy Writ, in the second *Epistle to the Corinthians*, Chap. 2. 17. we find, ὃ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον, *not corrupting the Word of God.* Vales.

(*g*) Ὑποβάλλομαι; *Porphyrius* takes this Metaphor from *Hucksters*, who, by counterfeiting false Wares for true, circumvent the buyers: For [ὑποβάλλεσθαι] signifies *to suborn, to lay one thing for another*: Hence ὑποβολιμαῖος, *a changling, a false Child left in the place of one taken away.* Thus *Porphyrius* says *Origen* plays the Huckster. *Vales.*

(*h*) *Origen* quotes this *Numenius* in his Books against *Celsus*: He was a famous *Pythagorean*, born at *Apamea* in *Syria*. *Longinus*, in his Book *De Fine*, mentions these Philosophers, *Numenius*, *Cronius* and *Moderatus*; who, he says, connected *Pythagoras*'s and *Plato*'s Opinions together. *Cronius*'s Book περὶ παλιγγενεσίας is quoted by *Nemesius* in his Book *De Naturâ Hominis*, Cap. 2. *Vales.*

(*i*) *Apollophanes* is called by *Stobæus*, in his ἐκλογαὶ, the Son of *Ægimius*. Vales.

(*k*) This was *Cassius Longinus* who has only one Book extant at this day, entitled *De sublimi Genere dicendi*; most Men think he was a *Grammarian*; but he profess'd Philosophy, as *Suidas* and others testifie: He was *Porphyrius*'s Master in Platonick Philosophy at *Athens*. He liv'd in *Origen*'s time, and was younger than him, and died a long time after him, 'tis a wonder therefore that *Porphyrius* should reckon him amongst the ancient Philosophers. *Vales.*

(*l*) This *Moderatus* was born at *Gades*, now call'd *Cales*, an Island on the South-side of *Spain* without the Straits of *Gibraltar*: He wrote eleven Books, ἀλλῶν πυθαγορείων. Concerning *Nicomachus*; See *Photius* and *Suidas*. Vales.

(*m*) *Chæremon* was a *Stoick Philosopher*: *Origen*, in his Books against *Celsus* quotes *Chæremon*'s Book *De Cometis*: He taught Philosophy at *Alexandria*, and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* succeeded him in his School. See *Suidas* in *Dionysio*. Vales. Of this *Chæremon*, see *Martial's Epig.* Book 11. Epig. 57.

(*n*) This *Cornutus Afer Leptitanus* taught Philosophy at *Rome* in the Reign of *Claudius Nero*: He wrote many things concerning Philosophy, and Eloquence: *Persius* dedicates his fifth *Satyr* to him, as to his Master: He wrote a Book *De Græcorum Theologia*, which is cited by the *Etymologist* in the word ζεύς. But the name is corrupted by *Aldus Manutius*, and called *Phornutus*. Vales.

(*o*) We may from these words gather that *Heraclas* and *Origen* had the same Philosophy-Master, which *Porphyrius* affirms was *Ammonius* the most famous Philosopher of that Age. *Vales.*

(*p*) The *Philosophick* Habit was the *Pallium*, or *Cloak*; which was the usual Badge of the *Greek* Philosophers, different from that which was worn by the ordinary Greeks; which those Christians still kept to, who before their Conversion had been professed Philosophers: This our *Eusebius* affirms of *Justin* the Martyr (B. 4. Chap. 11.) ἐν φιλοσόφῳ σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, *one that in a Philosophick habit was an assertor of the Divine Word.*

(*q*) Hence we may conjecture that the Clergy had at that time no peculiar habit; seeing that *Heraclas*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and afterwards Bishop, always retain'd his *Philosophick* habit. *Vales.*

Antoninus 'to this day, neither does he deſiſt from a ſtudi- 'ous reading of the Books of the learned *Grecians*". This he ſaid in defence of the ſtudious diligence he uſed about the *Grecian* [Learning.] At this time while he made his abode at *Alexandria* there came a Soldier who deliver'd Letters to *Demetrius*, the Biſhop of that Church, and to the then Prefect of *Egypt*, from the Governour of *Arabia*, that they ſhould ſend *Origen* to him with all ſpeed that he might impart to him his Doctrine. He was therefore ſent by them, and came to *Arabia*. But in a little time, having finiſh'd thoſe things which were the cauſe of his coming, he again return'd to *Alexandria*. Within ſome interval of time, there being kindled in *Alexandria* no ſmall War, he withdrew out of *Alexandria*, and judging there was no ſafe dwelling for him in *Egypt*, he went to *Paleſtine*, and made his abode in *Cæſarea*; where the Biſhops of thoſe Parts intreated him, altho' he was not yet ordain'd Prieſt, to diſcourſe and to expound the Holy Scriptures (*r*) publickly in the Church. This will be evidenc'd by what *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* wrote concerning him to *Demetrius*, who thus excuſe him. '[Your (*ſ*) Holineſs] has 'added in your Letters that 'this thing was never heard 'of, nor done till this time, '[*to wit*,] that *Laicks* 'ſhould Preach in the pre- 'ſence of Biſhops. I (*t*) know 'not how you came ſo ap- 'parently to miſrepreſent 'the truth: For they are in- 'vited to Preach to the Peo- 'ple, (when they are found 'fit to profit the Brethren) 'by the Holy Biſhops. For 'example, *Euelpis* [was in- 'vited to Preach] by *Neon* 'at *Laranda*: and ſo was *Paulinus* by *Celſus* at *I- 'conium*. And *Theodorus* by *Atticus* at (*u*) *Syn- 'nada*, who were our bleſſed Brethren. And 'tis not incredible that the like was done in o- 'ther places, tho' we never knew it." On this manner was the above-named *Origen* honour'd, though he was yet (*x*) young, not only by his Familiars, but alſo by foreign Biſhops. But *Demetrius* again recalling him by Letters, and urging his return to *Alexandria* by perſons that were Deacons of that Church, he return'd thither, and there executed his accuſtom'd Office.

(*r*) Hence 'tis conjectured, that *Origen* Catechiz'd at *Alexandria* in a private Auditory, and not publickly in the Church; for had he before taught in the Church, *Demetrius* could not have brought this as an Objection, againſt *Alexander* and *Theoctiſtus*. Wherefore *Ruſinus* miſtakes, who ſays *Demetrius* permitted him to Catechize publickly in the Church. *Valeſ.*

(*ſ*) He writes to *Demetrius* the Biſhop in the third Perſon; underſtanding Ἡ σὴ ἁγιότης *Your Holineſs*. And without doubt had we the whole Epiſtle we ſhould find theſe Words to precede. *Valeſ.*

(*t*) *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* was a very eloquent Man, and without doubt wrote this Epiſtle himſelf, which makes him uſe the firſt Perſon here: But the Letter was writ both in his name, and in the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*'s. Valeſ.

(*u*) This *Synnada* is a very noted City of *Phrygia*, and as *Stephanus*, in his B. *De Urbibus* writes, it ought to be written with a double (*n*) though ſome write it with a ſingle one, it is derived from συνναίω, *cohabito*, *to dwell together*, becauſe many flock'd from *Macedonia* to dwell together there, from whence it was firſt called Συνναία, but was corrupted by the interpoſition of (*δ*.). There is alſo ſome old pieces of *Caracalla*'s Coin, with this Inſcription, CYNNAΔEΩN, ΔΩPIEΩN IΩNΩN. Hence it appears theſe *Synnadenſes* were *Doricks* mix'd with *Ionians*, for they were originally *Macedonians*, and therefore *Doricks*, tho' they liv'd in the midſt of *Ionia*. Valeſ.

(*x*) *Origen* was about 30 years old when he came into *Paleſtine*: For according to our *Euſebius*'s account in this place, he went thither about the end of *Antoninus Caracalla*'s Reign. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

What Books are now extant of ſuch as wrote in theſe Times.

AT this time flouriſh'd many learned Eccleſiaſtick Perſons, whoſe Epiſtles, which they wrote to one another 'tis an eaſie thing to meet with, being preſerv'd to this preſent. For they have been kept even in our Age in the Library of the City *Ælia*, which was built by *Alexander*, who preſided over the Church which is there: Out of this Library we our ſelves have gather'd together matter for this Subject now in hand. *Beryllus*, Biſhop of *Boſtra* in *Arabia*, being one of them, left, together with his Epiſtles and Commentaries, (*a*) Several other Monuments of his *Polite Ingenie*. In like manner did (*b*) *Hippolitus*, who preſided over another Church ſomewhere; there came alſo to our hands a Diſputation attempted by one (*c*) *Caius*, a moſt eloquent Man, at *Rome* in the times of *Zephyrinus*, againſt *Proclus* who was a Defender of the *Cataphrygian* Hereſie. In which Diſpute, he ſilencing the Adverſaries Raſhneſs and Boldneſs in compoſing new Scriptures, mentions only thirteen Epiſtles of the Divine Apoſtle [*Paul*,] not accounting that to the *Hebrews* amongſt the reſt: Indeed, even till this preſent 'tis thought by ſome of the *Romans*, that that Epiſtle was not written by this Apoſtle.

Antoninus

(*a*) *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates this Phraſe Διαφόρες φιλοκαλίας, *libellos ex variis Scriptoribus excerptos, tanquam floſculos*, i. e. *Books like Flowers, ſelected out of divers Authors.*

'Tis true, the Ancients called φιλοκαλίας, *things ſelected*, or *excerptions out of any Author*, ſuch are *Origen*'s *Philocaliæ*: Such alſo are *Apuleius*'s *libri floridorum*. But this ſignification does not well agree with this place; becauſe *Euſebius* does not mention that *Beryllus* ſelected them out of any Books. And likewiſe he adds Διαφόρες *Several*. And 'tis not likely that *Beryllus* ſhould compoſe ſeveral Books upon ſo ſlight an Argument: Therefore 'tis better to tranſlate it (as we have done) *Elegantis ingenii monumenta*, i. e. *Monuments of his Polite Ingenie*. He ſeems to mean Hymns and Poems. And in this ſenſe, *Phrynicus* uſes this word in his Epiſtle to *Menodorus*. Valeſ.

(*b*) *Georgius Syncellus*, *Nicephorus* and others, affirm, that this *Hippolytus* was Biſhop of *Portua*: *Theodoret* who quotes him much, terms him a Martyr, and a Biſhop, but does not mention where: *Gelaſius*, in his Book, *De Duabus Naturis*, ſtiles him a Martyr, and calls him Biſhop of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*. Valeſ.

(*c*) This Sect of the *Cataphrygæ* was divided into two parts; the leader of one part of them was *Proclus*, and over the other Parties *Æſchines* was their chief, as *Tertullian* atteſts. Thoſe which adher'd to *Proclus* were called οἱ κατὰ Πρόκλον, or *Proclus's Men*; as *Tertullian* again witneſſes. Hence we may ſafely conclude, that *Proclus* was a *Grecian*. Beſides, *Caius* wrote againſt this *Proclus* in Greek: Wherefore we muſt not aſſent to *Baronius*, who ſays that this *Proclus* and *Proculus* the *African*, who as *Tertullian* ſays wrote againſt the *Valentinians*, were one and the ſame Perſon. Now if theſe were one and the ſame, why ſhould *Tertullian* call one of them *Proculus* a Latin name, and the other Πρόκλος in Greek: Concerning *Caius*'s Book againſt *Proclus*, ſee *Photius*'s *Biblioth.* But *Theodoret* inſtead of Πρόκλος writes Πάτροκλος, this Book of *Proclus* was a Dialogue in which *Proclus* was brought in defending *Montanus*'s Prophecy. See Third Book of this *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, Chap. 31. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *Euſebius* before in the 3d Book, and 3d Chapter, diſputing about *Paul*'s Epiſtles, ſays that ſome rejected *the Epiſtle to the Hebrews* as falſe, averring that the Church of *Rome* queſtion'd the Authority of that Epiſtle. Amongſt the *Roman* Authors, who doubted the Authority of this Epiſtle, *Hippolytus* the afore-named Biſhop of *Portua* may be reckoned; for he in his Book *againſt Hereſies*, has affirmed, That *the Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, is not *Paul*'s the Apoſtles. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

What Biſhops were eminent in thoſe Times.

BUT now *Macrinus* ſucceeded *Antoninus* after he had reign'd ſeven Years and ſix Months, who having continued [Emperor] about a Year, another *Antoninus* again aſſumes the *Roman* Empire. In the firſt Year of his Reign *Zephyrinus* Biſhop of *Rome* departed this life, having held that [Epiſcopal] Charge eighteen Years compleat. After him *Calliſtus* preſides in the Biſhoprick. He having ſurvived five years, leaves the [care of the] Church to *Urbanus*. After this *Alexander* the Emperor ſucceeds in the *Roman* Empire, *Antoninus* having reigned only four Years. At this time *Philetus* ſucceeded *Aſclepiades* in the Church of *Antioch*. Now [*Alexander*] the Emperor's Mother, whoſe name was *Mamæa*, being a moſt

Alexander

Alexander most pious Woman, and religious in her Conversation, (*Origen*'s fame being now every-where so spread abroad, that it came even to her ears,) was mightily desirous to see the Man, and to make tryal of his Knowledge in Divine Matters, which was so admired by all Men: She therefore making her abode at *Antioch*, sends a military Guard for him: When he had spent some time with her, and had demonstrated to her most things which tend to the Glory of God, and the Power of the Divine Doctrine, he hastned to his wonted Charge.

CHAP. XXII.

How many of Hippolitus's *Works are come to our hands.*

AT this time also *Hippolytus*, amongst many other Works of his, compiled a Book also (*a*) *concerning Easter*. In which having explain'd the Series of Times, and set forth a Canon of sixteen Years, concerning *Easter*, he determines his Computation at the first Year of *Alexander* the Emperor. Now the rest of his Works, which came to our hands are these: *Upon the six Days Work. Upon those things* (*b*) *which follow'd upon the six Days Work. Against Marcion.* (*c*) *Upon the Canticles. Upon some Chapters of Ezekiel. Concerning Easter.* (*d*) *Against all Heresies.* And many more which you may find preserv'd amongst many Men.

(*a*) *Hippolytus's Canon Paschalis* is extant till this day, which *Joseph Scaliger* has inserted into his B. *De Emendatione temporum*. And *Ægidius Bucherius* translated it into Latin, but neither of them takes notice that this *Canon* is only a part of the Book which he wrote *Concerning Easter*. And through his inadvertency *Scaliger* blames this place of *Eusebius*, and says, that *Hippolytus*'s *Canon* does not end at the first year of *Alexander*'s Reign, but begins there; which is really true: But *Eusebius* does not speak concerning the *Canon* which *Hippolytus* annex'd to his Books, but concerning the Book it self, which ends at the first year of *Alexander* the Emperor's Reign. *Vales.*

(*b*) He means the second Chapter of *Genesis*, as *Scaliger* Notes. Where also he reproves *Hieronymus* as if he had been ignorant of it, but undeservedly: For when *Hieronymus* says he wrote upon *Genesis*, he means as well his Books on the *Hexameron*, as those on the *Post-Hexameron*. Vales.

(*c*) *Theodoret* in his Book call'd *Eranistes* quotes this Book of *Hippolytus*. Vales.

(*d*) Concerning this Book of *Hippolytus*'s, see *Photii Biblioth.* Chap. 121. This Book was written against 32 Heresies; the first of which was the *Dosithean*, the last the *Noetian* Heresie. Which Heresies *Irenæus* having confuted in his Sermons, *Hippolytus* his Scholar wrote an Epitome thereof. *Stephanus Gobarus* has often quoted this piece of *Hippolytus*'s, as appears from his 7, 10, and 13. Chap. B. 2. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Origen's *Studiousness, and how he was honour'd with the Dignity of Priesthood.*

(*a*) Here the *Maz.* MS. and that most excellent Copy of *Rufinus* which we have often quoted, begin this Chap. 23. But *Rufinus*'s Book instead of Chap. 23. calls it the 20. *Hieronymus* takes these words [ἐξ ἐκείνου] in a bad sense, as if *Origen* had set himself to write in Emulation of *Hippolytus*; and refers ἐξ ἐκείνου to *Hippolytus*: Which is not so, for we must understand χρόνου, which thing is common, and so the sense is plain, *to wit, from this time.* Vales.

(*a*) ABout this time was the beginning of *Origen*'s writing *Commentaries* upon the *Holy Scriptures*; *Ambrosius* chiefly inciting him to it by innumerable Instigations, not with Supplications and bare Words only, but also with most plentiful Supplies of all things necessary: For there were always by him when he dictated, more in number than seven Notaries, which at set times chang'd Courses with one another. Neither was there a less number of them which wrote Books fair, together with Girls who had been instructed to write neatly and handsomely. To all these *Ambrosius* liberally afforded a sufficient supply of all things necessary. And indeed he convey'd into *Origen* an unspeakable alacrity, in his study and labour about the Divine Oracles. By which means chiefly he induc'd him to write Commentaries: Whilst these things were in this posture, *Pontianus* succeeds *Urbanus*, who had been Bishop of *Rome* eight years: And *Zebinus* [succeeds] *Philetus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. At which time, (the Necessity of the (*b*) Church's Affairs constraining him) *Origen* made a journey through *Palestine* into *Greece*; and received the Order of Priesthood at *Cæsarea*, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops there. But what Combustions were hereupon rais'd concerning him, and what (*c*) Decrees were made by the Prelates of the Churches upon these Commotions: And whatever else he did, continuing to be of great esteem, contributing to the Preaching of the Divine Word. [These things] requiring a distinct Volume, we have in some measure declared *in the second Book of our Apology*, which we wrote in defence of him.

Alexander

(*b*) *Rufinus* his version may here well serve instead of a Comment upon this place who has rendred it thus, *He was intreated by the Churches of Achaia to come thither to convince Hereticks, who grew strong in those Parts.* So also says *Hieronymus* in *his Catalogue*. Vales.

(*c*) *Eusebius* ought here to have recited the Decrees of the Bishops against *Origen*, as being matter most accommodate to an Ecclesiastick History; and might better have omitted other things concerning him, and have inserted these, as most pertinent: But we ought not to blame *Eusebius* for this omission here, because it had been superfluous, having before declared them in his second Book *De Defensione Origenis*: Which Books some Men, through their immoderate hatred to *Origen*, envied us the use of. There is nothing of *Eusebius*, and *Pamphilus* the Martyr's *Apologia Origenis* extant, except some Fragments which *Photius* preserv'd as it were from Shipwreck. He, *in his Biblioth.* chap. 118. says that there were two *Synods* summon'd against *Origen*; the first decreed that *Origen* should be banish'd out of the Church of *Alexandria*, but did not divest him of his Priesthood: The second, which was assembled by *Demetrius*, consisting of *Egyptian* Bishops, degraded *Origen* from the Office of a Priest, to which Decree almost all the Bishops of the World subscribed, as *Hieronymus* says, whose words *Rufinus* relates in two *Apolog. Hieronymus* also adds that he was not only deposed, but also excommunicated by *Demetrius*. But this Decree of *Demetrius*'s was ineffectual for two reasons; first, because he issued it out against him in his absence, without any legal Citation; and secondly, because this Sentence was not confirmed by the Authority of many Bishops, particularly not by the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherefore *Origen* still retain'd his Priest's Office, and continued Preaching in the Church, as *Eusebius* witnesses in this Book, and *Pamphilus* in his first Book *Apologiæ Origenis*. Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Expositions he made at Alexandria.

BUT 'twas necessary for us to have annex'd these (*a*) to the things aforemention'd; for in his sixth Book of his Expositions upon *John*'s [*Gospel*] he declares he composed those five first Books while he yet lived at *Alexandria*. But only (*b*) twenty two Books of his Works upon that Gospel are come to our hands. In his ninth Book also upon *Genesis* (for there are twelve in all) he manifests that he did not only write those first eight Books at *Alexandria*, but also those Comments upon the twenty five first *Psalms*: And moreover those Comments upon the *Lamentations*, five Books of which came to our hands. In which Books there is some mention of his Books

(*a*) He means, he ought to have adjoyn'd these things to what he has said *in his second Book of his Apology*. Vales.

(*b*) There were thirty four Books of *Origen*'s Expositions upon *John*, as *Hieronymus* says; but only nine are now remaining, which are still divided into thirty four. *Vales.*

Alexander upon the (c) *Reſurrection*: Thoſe alſo are two Volumes. Indeed he alſo wrote his Books *De Principius*, before his removal from *Alexandria*. He alſo compoſed thoſe Books entitled (d) *Stromata*, which are ten in number, in that City in the Reign of *Alexander*, as his (e) *Annotations* written with his own Hand, and prefix'd before thoſe Books do manifeſt.

(c) *Hieronymus* in his *Apology* makes this ſhort Catalogue of *Origen*'s Works: Thirteen Books upon *Geneſis*, two *Books of Myſtical Homilies*: *Excerptions upon Exodus*: *Excerptions upon Leviticus*: Alſo *Monobiblia*: *Four Books De Principiis*: Two Books concerning the *Reſurrection*; and two *other Dialogues* concerning the *Reſurrection*. *Methodius* the Biſhop wrote an excellent Book of the *Reſurrection*, againſt *Origen*'s Books upon the ſame ſubject, as *Hieronymus* in his Book *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, and *Maximus in his Scholia* upon *Dionyſius*'s *Eccleſiaſtick Hierarchy* do teſtifie: There are excellent fragments of this *Methodius*'s book *of the Reſurrection*, in *Epiphanius* againſt the *Origeniſts*, and in *Photius*'s *Biblioth.* And I think 'tis for no other reaſon, that *Euſebius* never mentions this *Methodius*, (whereas he mentions ſeveral Eccleſiaſtick Writers far inferior to him,) but this, that he wrote againſt *Origen*: *Euſebius*, being a very great favourer of *Origen*, could not endure this Man's name in his Hiſtory, becauſe he was not his friend. *Valeſ.*

(d) *Hieronymus* in his Epiſtle to *Magnus* the *Roman Orator*, ſays *Origen* wrote theſe ten books in imitation of *Clemens*; for the Argument of theſe books and *Clemens*'s afore-mentioned are alike. *Hierom* alſo cites a piece of theſe Books in his Apology againſt *Ruſinus*, not far from the beginning. *Valeſ.*

(e) Tranſlators did not underſtand what theſe ὁλόγραφοι ἐπισημειώσεις were: ὁλόγραφοι in this place is the ſame as ἰδιόγραφοι, *written with his own hand*. The Lawyers call a Will ὁλόγραφον, which is *written with the Teſtator's own hand, and not only confirm'd by his ſubſcription*. So *Euſebius* here calls thoſe Notes ὁλόγραφοι *which were written with* Origen's *own hand*, and either prefix'd or annexed to every Tome. For 'twas uſual for Authors to note ſomething with their own Hands either at the beginning, or end of their Books. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

After what manner Origen *has mentioned the Books of the Old and New Teſtament.*

BUT in his Explication *of the Firſt Pſalm*, he has exhibited a Catalogue of the Holy Scriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, writing on this manner word for word. 'We muſt underſtand that, as the *Hebrew* Traditions ſay, there are (b) twenty two *Books* of the *Old Teſtament*; juſt ſo many in number as they have Letters." A little after he adds, ſaying; 'Theſe are the twenty two *Books* according to the *Hebrews*. That which we give the Title of *Geneſis* to, is by the *Hebrews*, from the beginning of the *Book* entitled *Bereſith*, that is, *in the beginning*. *Exodus*, *Velleſmoth*, that is, *theſe are names*. *Leviticus*, *Vaicra*, that is, *and he hath called*. *Numbers* the *Hebrews* call (c) *Hammiſphecodim*. *Deuteronomy*, *Helle-haddabarim*, that is, *theſe are the words*. *Jeſus the Son of Nave*, [in *Hebrew*] *Jehoſue*, *Ben Nun*. *Judges*, *Ruth*, are by them comprehended in one *Book*, and call'd *Sophetim*. *The Firſt and Second of Kings*, among them one *Book*, termed *Samuel*, that is, *called of God*. The Third and Fourth of *Kings*, amongſt the *Hebrews* one *Book*, called *Vammelech David*, that is, *the Kingdom of David*. The First and Second *Book* of *Chronicles*, in one Volume, call'd *Dibre Hajamim*, that is, *The words of Days*. *Eſdras* the Firſt and Second *Book*, by them made one *Book*, called *Eſra*, that is, *A helper*. The *Book of Pſalms*, *Sepher Tehillim* [in Hebrew.] *Solomon's Proverbs*, in Hebrew, *Miſloth*. *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Coheleth*. (d) *The Song of Songs*, *Sirhaſirim*. (e) *Eſaias*, *Ieſaïa*: *Hierimas* with his *Lamentations*, and his Epiſtle, all in one *Book*, called *Jermia*. *Daniel*, [the Hebrews alſo call] *Daniel*. *Ezechiel*, *Jeezchel*, *Job*, *Job*, *Eſter*, *Eſter* alſo among the *Hebrews*. Beſides theſe there are (but not of their number) the *Maccabees*, which are entitled *Sarbet Surbane-el*.' Theſe *Origen* has ſet forth in the foreſaid Work. But in the firſt *Book of his Comments upon Matthew's Goſpel*, obſerving the Canon of the Church, he atteſts there are only four Goſpels, in theſe words: 'As I (f) have underſtood by Tradition, there are four Goſpels, which, and only which, are to be allow'd without contradiction by the Church of God under Heaven. As for the firſt, 'twas written by one *Matthew*, formerly a Publican, but afterwards an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt; he publiſh'd it, being written in Hebrew for the ſake of thoſe *Jews* who believed. The ſecond is *Mark's Goſpel*; *who wrote it as Peter* expounded to him; whom alſo he confeſſes to be his Son, in his Catholick Epiſtle, and in theſe words, (g) *The Church which is at Babylon elected together with you ſaluteth you, and ſo doth Marcus my Son.* And the third is the Goſpel according to St. *Luke*, which is commended by *Paul*; he wrote it for the ſake of the Heathens. Laſtly, St. *John*'s Goſpel. And the ſame Writer in the (h) fifth Book of his Expoſitions upon *John* has theſe words concerning the Apoſtle's Epiſtles. *Paul* being made a fit Miniſter of the *New Teſtament*, not in the Letter, but in the Spirit, he who (i) *fully preach'd the Goſpel from Jeruſalem round about to Illyricum*, wrote not to all thoſe Churches which he taught, but to thoſe to whom he wrote he ſent [*Epiſtles that contained*] but a few Verſes. But *Peter* (k) on whom the Church of Chriſt was build-

(a) This whole quotation is to be ſeen in *Origen's Philocalia*; chap. 3. but that place of the *Philocalia* muſt be corrected by this, for there εἴκοσιν in ſtead of εἴκοσι is read. And this is the common miſtake of all Editions that they writ εἴκοσιν, when the Word following begins with a Vowel. But in all good Copies εἴκοσι is written, although a Vowel follow. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Victorinus* upon the *Apocalyps* ſays, there are twenty four Books of the *Old Teſtament*; twenty two you may find in *Theodotus his Excerptions*. Some reckoned twenty two, ſome twenty four Books of the *Old Teſtament*: Hence aroſe this different account, ſaith *Hieronymus*, becauſe ſome reckoned the book of *Ruth*, and that of the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* in the Catalogue of Scriptures apart by themſelves. Others, as *Hilarius* ſays, added *Tobius*, and *Judith* to make 24 books of the *Old Teſtament*; *Epiphanius* ſays, that ſome reckoned up twenty ſeven books of the *Old Teſtament*. Valeſ.

(c) I know not what Copy *Robert Stephens* follows, who here reads it ἀμμιωαεὶμ ἢ πακτημ. For in the King's, the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. ἀμμισφεχωδείμ, is the reading. *Valeſ.*

(d) Some Books add this clauſe, ἃ γέ ὡς ἐπολαμβάνουσί τινες ἄσματα ἀσμάτων, *not as ſome think the Song of Songs*. This we have omitted in our Edition, but 'tis in the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. and alſo in the *King's Copy*, and in *Ruſinus*'s Tranſlation of this place. *Valeſ.*

(e) In this Catalogue the Book of the twelve minor Prophets is left out. Hence it comes to paſs that although *Origen* promiſes to reckon up twenty two Books, we can find but one and twenty. In *Ruſinus*'s Verſion this Book is reckoned immediately after the *Canticles*. So alſo *Hilarius* and *Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem* do reckon them. The Books of the Holy Scripture are recounted here in a different order to *Epiphanius*, *Hieronymus*, and *Melito*'s reckoning of them: But *Hilarius in his Prologue to his Commentaries upon the Pſalms*, agrees all along with *Origen*; and no wonder, for that Prologue is almoſt all of it a Tranſlation of *Origen's Comments* upon the *Pſalms*. Valeſ.

(f) Theſe are *Origen*'s own words, and ſo *Ruſinus*, *Langus* and *Muſculus* tranſlated them: Only *Chriſtophorſon* thought they are *Euſebius*'s own words: To whom we cannot conſent, although in the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. after the Word [μαθῶν] there is a final diſtinction; but in the King's Copy the whole Clauſe is continued without any diſtinction. Moreover, beſides this place quoted by *Euſebius*, *Origen* alſo in another place (that is in the beginning of his *Comments upon Luke*) ſays there were four Goſpels only which were allowed by the Catholick Church. *Valeſ.*

(g) 1 Pet. 5. 13.

(h) This place of *Origen*, which *Euſebius* here quotes, is in the Preface to the *fifth Book of his Expoſitions upon John*; the greateſt part of this Preface is extant in the fifth Chapter of his *Philocaliæ*. Therefore this place here quoted by *Euſebius* muſt be joyned to that fragment. In that Preface *Origen* raiſes this diſpute, whether many Books are to be written concerning Sacred things? And he proves it from *Eccleſiaſtes* 12. 12. Alſo he brings for proof the Examples of Holy Men, Prophets and Apoſtles, who wrote very little. But theſe Examples the *Collector* of the *Philocaliæ* on ſet purpoſe omitted, as he himſelf confeſſes. *Valeſ.*

(i) Rom. 15. 19.

(k) *Matthew* the 16 Chap. and ver. the 18. See Dr. *Hammond* upon the place.

'ed

Alexander.

'ded, against which the Gates of Hell shall not 'prevail, left but one Epistle which is acknow-'ledged to be his. But let us grant that the Se-'cond is his too, for it is question'd whether it 'be his or not. But what must we say of *John*, '(*l*) he who lay in Christ's Bosom? He left be-'hind him but one Gospel, [though] he profes-'ses he could have written (*m*) so many Books, 'as the World could not have contain'd. He al-'so wrote *the Revelation*: Being commanded to 'be silent, (*n*) and not to write the voices of the 'Seven Thunders. He also left to Posterity a 'very short Epistle. But let us grant that the 'second and third were his: For all Men do not 'allow them to be genuine: Both of them do 'not contain above an hundred Verses." Besides, he discourses thus concerning the Epistle to the *Hebrews* in his *Homilies upon that Epistle*. 'For the 'Stile of that Writing, entitled *The Epistle [to the* 'Hebrews, has nothing of that plain homeliness 'of the Apostle [*Paul*,] who confesses himself to 'be unlearned in his Speech, that is, in his man-'ner of expression. But this Epistle, as to the 'composition of the Stile, savours much of the 'Grecian Eloquence; this every one will confess 'who knows how to judge of Stiles which are 'different. Again, the Sentences of this Epistle 'are admirable, and nothing inferior to those 'Books which are acknowledged to be Apostol-'lick: And this every one will assent to as true, 'who gives attention to the Reading of the A-'postles Writings" After the interposition of some words, *Origen* adds these, saying: (*o*) 'This 'is my Opinion, that the Sentences are the Sen-'tences of an Apostle; but the Phrase and Com-'position is some one's else, who committed to 'writing the Words of the Apostle, and as it 'were illustrated with Explications the Words of 'his Master. If any Church therefore accounts 'this to be *Paul*'s Epistle, let it be commended 'even for so doing: For the Ancients did not in-'considerately declare it to be *Paul*'s Epistle. But 'God alone truly knows who wrote this Epistle. 'But of those written Records which are come 'to our hands, some ascribe the writing of this 'Epistle to *Clemens*, who was Bishop of *Rome*; 'others to *Luke*, who wrote the *Gospel, and the* 'Acts. But thus far concerning this."

(*l*) S. *John*'s Gospel, c. 13. v. 23, and 25.

(*m*) *John* 21. 25.

(*n*) See *Apocaly*, p. 10. 4.

(*o*) Απομνημονευειν, signifies *to remember, to repeat a thing by heart*, as Scholars do, who repeat their Master's Dictates; σχολιογραφειν, signifies *to illustrate*, or *make a thing plain by short Scholia's*, or *Explications*; that is, to explain obscure words, by other words more common and known. The Translators, and especially *Christophorson*, seem by their Versions not to have understood this Passage. *Origen* says, that the Sentences of *the Epistle to the Hebrews*, are the Apostle's own; but the Words and Composition of the whole Epistle are some-body's else, who recorded the Sayings of the Apostle, and, like a *Scholiast*, explain'd them more elegantly. See Chap. 18. Book 4. Note (*b*.) *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How Heraclas *succeeded in the Bishoprick of* Alexdria.

(*a*) In the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, in stead of [δέκατον, *the Tenth*] it is δωδέκατον, *the Twelfth.*] In *Eusebius's Chronicon* this Remove of *Origen* from *Alexandria* to *Cæsarea* is, in some Copies, placed on the 12 Year of *Alexander*, as *Pontacus* attests. *Eusebius* does strangely disagree from himself, who in his *Chronicon* records this Removal of *Origen* a year, or two years after the death of *Demetrius*. But here he says *Origen* removed from *Alexandria* a little before *Demetrius* died. This last account I suppose to be truest. For after *Demetrius*'s death, *Origen* had no reason to leave *Alexandria*; especially when *Heraclas*, one of *Origen*'s Scholars succeeded *Demetrius*. Besides, *Eusebius* relates in this Chapter, that when *Origen* departed from *Alexandria*, he left his Catechetick Office to *Heraclas*. Whence it appears, that *Origen* departed from *Alexandria* a little before *Demetrius* pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication against him. For after that Sentence he could not hold his Office of *Catechist* in the Church of *Alexandria*. *Baronius* therefore has done well in amending *Eusebius's Chronicon*, in placing *Origen*'s departure from *Alexandria* on the Tenth Year of *Alexander*'s Reign, and the Death of *Demetrius* on the year following. But he mistakes in saying *Demetrius* pronounc'd the Sentence of Excommunication against *Origen* a year before he left *Alexandria*; which we have evidently refuted. For since *Origen* kept his Office of *Catechist* till such time as he resign'd it to *Heraclas* at his departure, 'tis plain he departed before the Sentence of Excommunication was pronounc'd against him. Moreover, when *Origen* understood he was Excommunicated by *Demetrius* in the Synod of the Bishops, he wrote a Letter to his Friends at *Alexandria*, in which he inveighs against *Demetrius* and the rest of the Bishops. *Jerome* (in Book 2. *Advers. Rufin.*) quotes part of this Letter. Further, *Origen* had once before retired to *Cæsarea*, in the times of *Antoninus Caracalla*; but was in a short time honourably recalled by *Demetrius* to *Alexandria*, as was before related. But afterwards, when he went into *Achaia*, passing through *Cæsarea-Palestine*, he was there Ordained *Presbyter*. *Vales.*

sarea, and left the care of his Catechetick School to (*b*) *Heraclas*: And not long after died *Demetrius*, the Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, having continued in that Office forty three years compleat: *Heraclas* succeeded him. At this time *Firmilianus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* was very famous.

(*b*) *Heraclas*, as 'tis before related Ch. 15. was *Origen*'s Assistant only: but after his departure, he was *Catechist*. Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

How the Bishops had him in admiration.

*HE had so great an esteem for *Origen*, that he both invited him into the Countries of his Province for the good of the Churches; and also at another time went into *Judea* to visit him, and to stay some time with him, to improve himself in the knowledge of Divine matters. Besides, *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and *Theoctistus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, at all times (as one may say,) were attentive to him, as if he had been their Master, and permitted only him to expound the Holy Scriptures, and to perform all other things appertaining to Ecclesiastical Doctrine.

* Firmilianus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Persecution under Maximinus.

Maximinus.

MOreover, *Maximinus Cæsar* succeeded *Alexander* the *Roman* Emperor, after he had reign'd thirteen years. He, because of his hatred to *Alexander*'s Family, which consisted of many Believers, rais'd a Persecution, and gave command that only the Prelates of the Churches should be slain, as the Authors of the Preaching of the Gospel. And at that time *Origen* composed his *Book concerning Martyrdom*, which he dedicated to *Ambrosius*, and *Protoctetus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæsarea*; because no trivial Peril and Afflictions seiz'd on them both during the times of this Persecution. Fame records the illustrious Eminency of these Men for their Confession [*of the Christian Faith*,] (*a*) when *Maximinus* had not reign'd above three years. *Origen* remarks the time of this Persecution, *both in the twenty second Book of his Expositions upon John*, and in several of his Epistles.

(*a*) *Christophorson* did not all understand the meaning of this place, for he thinks that *Ambrosius*, and *Protoctetus* were afflicted for the Name of Christ about the end of *Maximinus*'s Reign: But *Eusebius* does not say so; he only means thus much, that the Persecution continued all *Maximinus*'s Reign, but that his Days were shortned, as the Scripture

pture ſays of *Antichriſt*. Moreover, this Perſecution begun when *Maximin* was Emperor, (after a long continued Peace in the Church,) becauſe of frequent and moſt dreadful Earthquakes, which the Heathens, as they uſually did, imputed to the Chriſtians. *Firmilianus* in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian* atteſts this: See *Baronius* at the Year of Chriſt 237. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Fabian, *how unexpectedly he was elected by God Biſhop of* Rome.

Gordianus GOrdianus having ſucceeded *Maximinus* in the *Roman* Empire, *Anteros* ſucceeds *Pontianus*, who had been Biſhop for the Church of *Rome* ſix Years. And *Fabian* ſucceeds him after he had perform'd the Office for a Month. They report that after the death of *Anteros*, *Fabian*, together with ſome other of his Acquaintance, came out of the Country to *Rome* to ſojourn there: Where he unexpectedly came to be elected Biſhop, through the Divine and Celeſtial Grace. For when all the Brethren were aſſembled together in the Church, in order to the Election of one who ſhould ſucceed in the Biſhoprick, and many of them had Intentions of [Electing] ſeveral eminent and worthy Men, *Fabian* being there preſent, no one ſo much as thought of him: But on a ſudden, as they report, a Dove came flying from above, and ſat upon his Head, which ſeem'd to be a repreſentation of the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon our Saviour in the ſhape of a Dove: Upon which all the People, being at the ſame time moved as it were by the Divine Spirit, cry'd out with all imaginable alacrity and one common conſent, (*a*) He is worthy: And without any delay they took him, and ſet him in the Biſhop's-Chair. At that time alſo *Zebinus* the Biſhop of *Antioch* dying, *Babylas* ſucceeded in the Preſidency. *Heraclas* alſo takes upon him the [Epiſcopal] charge of the Church at *Alexandria*, after *Demetrius* (*b*) had executed that Office for forty three years. And *Dionyſius* ſucceeds in the Catechetick School there, who alſo was one of *Origen*'s Scholars.

(*a*) This was the common Acclamation at the Election of Biſhops, of which we have many Examples in *Philoſtorgius*, in his Tenth Chapter of the Ninth Book. And in the Relation of what things were done at *Eradius*'s Election, (recorded in *Auguſtine*'s *Epiſtles*) theſe Acclamations are read, which were then uſed: They cry'd out twenty times, *Dignus & juſtus eſt*, *He is worthy and juſt*; and five times *Bene meritus, bene dignus eſt*, *He is very deſerving, he is very worthy.* Valeſ.

(*b*) The *Med. Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. add theſe words, *had executed that Office for forty three years:* But the King's MS. and *Ruſinus* own them not. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXX.

Who were Origen's *Scholars.*

WHilſt *Origen* executed his accuſtom'd Duty at *Cæſarea*, many, not only Natives of that Country, but alſo infinite others from places moſt remote, forſaking their own Countries, reſorted to him to be his Diſciples. The moſt eminent of them, we underſtand, were *Theodorus*, (who was alſo called *Gregorius*, one of the moſt famous Biſhops in our Age,) and his Brother *Athenodorus*. He by perſwaſion induced them (being too much addicted to the love of the (*a*) *Roman* and *Greek* Learning, having infuſed into them a love of Philoſophy,) to exchange their former Studies, for the Study of Divinity: When they had convers'd with him five years compleat, they made ſo great an improvement [of their Knowledge] in the Divine Scriptures, that while they were both as yet young, they were judg'd worthy of the Government of the Churches in *Pontus*. *Gordianus*

(*a*) *Euſebius* means by the *Roman Learning*, the *Civil Law*, which *Gregory* learn'd at the City *Berytus*, at that time when *Origen* perſwaded him to nobler Studies, as he, in *his Oration to Origen*, teſtifies: The ſame thing alſo *Origen* atteſts in his Epiſtle to *Gregory*, Chap. 13. of his *Philocal.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning Africanus.

AT this time *Africanus*, (*a*) the Author of the Books entitled *Ceſti*, was very famous; there is extant an Epiſtle of his written to *Origen*, in which he ſuſpects the Hiſtory of *Suſanna* in *Daniel*, to be ſpurious and fictitious. *Origen* very fully anſwers this Epiſtle. There alſo came to our hands five Books of this ſame *Africanus*'s *Annals*, written with great care and accuracy. In which Books he ſays he took a Journey to *Alexandria*, becauſe of the great fame of *Heraclas*; who, as we before ſignified, was intruſted with the care of the Church there for his eminent knowledge in Philoſophy, and other Heathen Learning. There is alſo extant another Epiſtle of this ſame *Africanus*'s to *Ariſtides*, concerning the diſagreement which is thought to be betwixt *Matthew* and *Luke*, in the relation of Chriſt's Genealogy. In which he manifeſtly demonſtrates the conſent of the Evangeliſts, out of an Hiſtory which came to his hands; which [Epiſtle] we alſo took, and placed it in the firſt * Book of this Work in hand, being its proper place.

(*a*) I ſuppoſe that theſe words (*viz.*) *the Author of the Books entitled Ceſti* ought to be raz'd out, for the Clauſe is neither in *Ruſinus*'s Verſion, nor in *Hieronymus*. Beſides, it ſeems ridiculous, when he here ſpeaks of an Eccleſiaſtick Writer, to mention thoſe *Books* firſt, which contain'd nothing elſe, but certain Medicines made up of Herbs, Metals, Magick Figures, Charms, and the like: For, as *Suidas* witneſſes, theſe *Ceſti* contain nothing elſe, and have their Title from *Venus*'s *Ceſtus*, or *Girdle*, becauſe they treat of Love-affairs. Beſides, this *Africanus*, the Author of theſe *Ceſti*, ſeems to be a diſtinct Perſon from *Africanus* the Chronologer, whom *Euſebius* mentions, for, as *Suidas* ſays, this Author of the *Ceſti* was a *Libyan* by birth, and was called Σέξτος. But *Scaliger* in his *Animadverſions* upon *Euſebius* calls him *Sextus Africanus*. But perhaps that Σέξτος in *Suidas* ought to be made Κέστος. And ſo he may be called *Africanus Ceſtus* from the title of his Books, even as *Clemens* was called *Stromateus*. But this *Africanus* the Chronologer was born in *Paleſtine*, ſays *Euſebius*'s Chronicle; and in a Town call'd *Emmaus*, and his name was *Julius Africanus*: This *Africanus* was a Chriſtian, but the other was a Heathen, as appears by his Books. There was alſo another *Julius Africanus*, who wrote a Book *De Apparatu Bellico*; which Book in the Manuſcript-Copy of the King's Library has the title of Κέστοι, and under that title it is quoted by *Politianus* in his *Miſcellanies*. The *Grecians* indeed were proud in prefixing Titles before their Books, they ſeem therefore to call thoſe Books *Ceſti*, which were filled with knowledge of divers kinds, like the *Ceſtus*, which amongſt the *Grecians* ſignifies a Girdle wrought of divers colours: For that ſame reaſon were *Clemens*'s Books called *Stromata*. Valeſ.

* Book 1. Chap. 7.

CHAP. XXXII.

What Expoſitions Origen *wrote at* Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine.

ABout this time *Origen* wrote his [Comments] upon *Eſaias*, and thoſe upon *Ezekiel* at the ſame time, of which Books there came to our hands thirty five Volumes upon the third part of *Eſaias*, *unto the Viſion of the four-footed Beaſts in the Wilderneſs*: And twenty five Volumes upon *Ezekiel*, which were all he wrote upon the whole Prophet: Making his abode at that time at *Athens*, he finiſh'd his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*. He alſo begun his Comments upon the *Canticles*, and there proceeded in them to the fifth Book: But

Gordianus

but he afterwards returned to *Cæsarea*, and there finish'd them, being ten Books in number. But what necessity is there at present to write an exact Catalogue of this Man's Works, which requires a Work itself; which we have also written in our (*a*) *History of Pamphilus's Life*, the blessed (*b*) Martyr of our Times. In which, endeavouring to prove how great *Pamphilus*'s care and love towards sacred Learning was, we have publish'd the Catalogues of *Origen*'s Works, and of several other Ecclesiastick Writers which he collected. From whence, he that is desirous, may have a full information concerning all the Monuments of *Origen*'s Labours which came to our hands. But now we must proceed to the subsequent Series of our History.

(*a*) *Eusebius* wrote three most elegant Books concerning *Pamphilus* the Martyr's Life, as *Hieronymus* witnesseth in his first *Apology* against *Rufinus*; where he also quotes a piece of that Work out of the third Book; he also mentions those Books in his Epistle to *Marcella*; 'twas in *Eusebius*'s third Book *De Vitâ Pamphili*, wherein he wrote a Catalogue of *Origen*'s Works. *Vales.*

(*b*) The *Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read it ἱερομάρτυρ☩, all in one word, not ἱερῶ μάρτυρ☩. The Greeks call those ἱερομάρτυρες who were both Martyrs, and Priests: Therefore *Pamphilus* being a Presbyter, and a Martyr, may well be styl'd ἱερομάρτυς. The Greeks in their *Menologies* have three sorts of Martyrs, some they call μεγαλομάρτυρες, i.e. *great Martyrs*: Some ὁσιομάρτυρες, i.e. *holy Martyrs*; others ἱερομάρτυρες, that is, the Bishops, or sometimes Presbyters who suffer'd Martyrdom: All the rest they call μάρτυρες, barely Martyrs: There is also another title yet, namely, πρωτομάρτυρες; but this is only proper to *Stephen*, and *Thecla*, he being the first of Men, and she the first of Women which were crown'd with Martyrdom. Here we may see what decency the *Greeks* use in comparison of the *Latines*; they give Epithets to their Saints, with which, as with titles they are honour'd, distinguished from other Men. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Error of Beryllus.

Beryllus, who was mention'd a little before, Bishop of *Bostra* in *Arabia*, subverting the *Ecclesiastick Canon*, endeavour'd to introduce some new Doctrines alienating from the Faith; *daring to affirm that our Lord and Saviour, before his* * *coming amongst Men,* (*a*) *had no proper different Subsistence: Neither any Godhead of his own, but only the Deity of the Father residing in him.* Many Disputes and Conferences having been held by the Bishops against this Man about that Point, amongst the rest *Origen* was called: At first he enters into a friendly Discourse with the Man, that he might discover what his Opinion was; which when he understood by his Discourse, he reprehended him being not Orthodox; and having convinced him by Arguments and Demonstrations, he took him as it were (*b*) by the hand, and set him into the way of the true Doctrine, and reinstated him in his former sound Opinion. There are also written Monuments extant to this day both of *Beryllus*, and also of the Synod which was convened upon his account, which contain *Origen*'s Questions proposed against him, and the Disputes holden in his Church, and all that was done at that time. Infinite other *Memoirs* the Ancients of our Times have deliver'd to Posterity concerning *Origen*: Which I intend to omit, as not pertinent to this present Subject; but what things concerning him are necessary to be known, may be read at large in that (*c*) *Apology* for him which was written by me, and *Pamphilus* the Holy Martyr of our times: Which we, Fellow-Labourers, carefully and joyntly composed upon the account of some of his quarrelsome Accusers.

Gordianus.

(*c*) *Hieronymus* in his *Catalogue*, and also in his first *Apology* against *Rufinus*, says, *Eusebius* wrote six Books *in defence of Origen*. *Rufinus* translated the first of these Books, and put it out under the name of *Pamphilus the Martyr*; for which he is most severely reprov'd by *Hieronymus*, for that he set forth a Book of *Eusebius*'s, (whom *Jerome* always calls an *Heretick*) under the name of *Pamphilus* the Martyr. But *Rufinus* may make answer for himself from these words of *Eusebius*, who says that that Apology was written by both of them. Which also *Photius* confirms with his Testimony; *Photius*'s *Biblioth.* Chap. 120. From this Book, as well as from *Eusebius*'s own Words, we may gather, that *Origen* had many Enemies and Opposers, because of the newness of his Opinions. The chiefest of them was *Methodius*, concerning whom, and the reason why he is not mentioned by *Eusebius* in his History, see Book 6. Chap. 24. Note (*c.*) *Vales.*

* That is, before his Incarnation.

(*a*) This Phrase ἰδίας ὑπεροχῆς, is nothing else but *difference of subsistence*, which may appear by the words of *Gregorius Nyssenus* in his Book *De Differentiâ Subsistentiæ, & Essentiæ.* *Beryllus* seems to take οὐσία to signifie a *Person*, after the manner of his times, which confounded these two terms, ὑπόστασις, and οὐσία. Concerning the true signification of them, see *Socrates*'s *Ecclesiastick History*, Book 3. Chap. 7. where these terms are largely discuss'd. *Beryllus* erred in that he believed Christ had no proper personality before his Incarnation; but he was Orthodox in that he holds Christ had not a Godhead proper to himself, only the Godhead of the Father residing in him; *for the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one, the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal*; otherwise there would be three Gods, not one God: Therefore if this were *Beryllus*'s opinion he may be excused; but he erred in that he asserted the Son by himself is not properly God, but has only a derivative Divinity from the Father. For if he asserted that the Son subsisted not personally before his Incarnation, it follows that he deprived him of his Divinity. *Vales.*

(*b*) Ἀναλαμβάνειν here may be best explained by the words of *Nicephorus*, who says, he regain'd him gently, and calmly. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning Philip *the Emperor.*

Philippus.

When *Gordianus* had held the *Roman* Empire six complete years, *Philip*, together with his Son *Philip*, succeeded him. The report is, that he, being a Christian, upon the day which is the last of the *Vigils of Easter*, was desirous to be a Partaker, together with the Congregation, of the Prayers of the Church; but could in no wise be permitted to enter into the Church by him who was then Bishop, before he had made a general confession of his Sins, and recounted himself amongst their number, who were (*a*) reckon'd *the Lapsed*, and stood in the place of Penitents: For had he not done this, he would not have been admitted by the Bishop, because of his many *offences*: And 'tis reported that he willingly (*b*) obey'd, and demonstrated in his Deeds, the sincerity and devoutness of his Affection towards the fear of God. Vales.

(*a*) Ἐξεταζόμαι here signifies *annumeror, I am reckoned amongst*.

(*b*) This Story concerning *Philip* the Emperor, whom *Babylas* would not admit into the Church, being then Bishop, is told by the Author of *Chron. Alexand.* and also by *Chrysostome* in his Oration concerning Holy *Babylas*; but he does not name the Emperor. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

How Dionysius *succeeded* Heraclas *in his Bishoprick.*

It was the third of *Philip*'s Reign in which *Heraclas* died, after he had govern'd the Church sixteen years, and *Dionysius* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

What other Books were written by Origen.

At this time therefore, the Faith (as it was meet) daily encreasing, and our Doctrine being boldly preach'd amongst all Men, *Origen* ('tis said) was now above sixty years old: And because he had now gotten a most excellent habit of speaking thro' long use and exercise, he permitted the Notaries to (*a*) write his Discourses which he deliver'd in publick, but never before this time would he suffer that to be done. About this time

(*a*) *Pamphilus the Martyr in his first Book of his Apology* attests this of he him. *Vales.*

Philip. he wrote eight Books againſt a Book of (*b*) *Celſus* the *Epicurean*, intitled *The Word of Truth.* He alſo wrote twenty-five Volumes upon *Matthew's Goſpel*: And thoſe upon the *Twelve Prophets*, of which Books we have found only twenty-five. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle of his to *Philip* the Emperor, another to his Wife *Severa*: And ſeveral others to divers other perſons: Which being ſcatter'd here and there, in ſeveral Mens hands, as many of them as we could find preſerved, being above an hundred in number, we have collected and digeſted into proper Books by themſelves, that they may not hereafter be again diſperſed. He wrote alſo to (*c*) *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, and to ſeveral other Prelates of Churches concerning his own Orthodoxy: You have alſo the Declarations of theſe things in the *ſixth Book of the Apology we wrote in defence of him.*

(*b*) There were two *Celſus*'s, both *Epicurean Philoſophers*, one of 'em lived in the Reign of *Nero*; the other about the times of *Antoninus*, as *Origen* writes in *his firſt B. againſt Celſus*: It was againſt this latter *Celſus* that *Origen* wrote *eight moſt elegant Books*, which are ſtill extant. This is the ſame *Celſus*, to whom *Lucian* dedicates his Book called *Alexander*, or *the Falſe Prophet*; being intreated by him to write the Life of that Impoſtor. In the end of that Book, *Lucian* ſpeaking to him, plainly demonſtrates him to be an *Epicurean*. In the ſame place alſo he ſeems to mention *Celſus*'s Book, intitled, *The True Diſcourſe*. Valeſ.

(*c*) *Hieronymus* in his 65th *Epiſtle* mentions this Epiſtle of *Origen*'s to *Fabian*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the Diſſenſion of the Arabians.

AGain, about the ſame time there ſprang up in *Arabia* Introducers of another Opinion alienating from the Truth. Theſe affirm'd, that Men's Souls even in this preſent life expired together with their Bodies, and were turn'd to corruption together with them; but that they ſhould again revive together with the Bodies at the time of the Reſurrection. No ſmall Synod being call'd together upon this account, *Origen* is (*a*) again ſent for thither, and having diſputed publickly concerning this Queſtion, he managed the cauſe ſo well, that thoſe who before were fallen into Error, changed their Sentiments.

(*a*) 'Twas ſaid before, chap. 33. that *Origen* was ſent for into *Arabia* by the Biſhops, to diſpute againſt *Beryllus*: Wherefore this was the ſecond time that *Origen* was called thither to diſpute. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Hereſie of the Helceſaïts.

AT that time alſo ſprang up another perverſe Error, called the Hereſie of the *Helceſaïts*, which was ſtifled in its birth. *Origen* mentions it in (*a*) his Homily to the People upon the *eighty ſecond Pſam*, in theſe words. 'Lately there came 'one, highly conceited of himſelf for his ability, 'to defend that Atheiſtical and moſt Wicked 'Opinion, called the Opinion of the (*b*) *Helce-'ſaits*, which lately was raiſed in oppoſition to

(*a*) *Origen* wrote three ſorts of Books upon the Scripture, *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies*. His *Comments* he wrote for the ſake of the Learned, and his *Scholia* alſo: But upon thoſe Books which did not require long and tedious Comments he made *Homilies*, adapted to the People's Capacity. And this is that which *Sedulius* aims at in his Preface to his *Opus Paſchale*. See *Hieronymus* in his Preface to *Iſaiah*, and *Matthew*, and alſo in his Preface to his Comments upon *The Epiſtle to the Galatians*: Where he mentions this threefold Work of *Origen*'s; only in ſtead of the word *Homilia* he uſes *Tractatus*, i. e. *Diſcourſes*, which is all one: For *Tractatus* in *Latin* is the ſame as Ὁμίλιαι in *Greek*. Concerning this threefold Work of *Origen*, *Ruſinus* ſpeaks in his Epiſtle to *Urſacius*, which he prefixes before his Tranſlation of *Origen*'s Book *upon Numbers*. Valeſ.

(*b*) *Theodoret* in his ſecond Book *Fabularum Hæreticarum*, Chap. 7. calls theſe Men Ἐλκεσαίους, and ſays they were ſo called from one *Elceſai*. *Epiphanius* names him *Elxæus*, a falſe Prophet, who joyn'd himſelf to the *Ebionites*, and was Author of a ſtrange, uncertain, and unfix'd Opinion concerning Chriſt: Which he relates, and which little differs from *Theodoret*'s ſtory in the place quoted. Hence it appears that this *Elxæus*, and *Elceſai* are one and the ſame Man. *Epiphanius*, in his *Hæreſi Oſſenorum*, calls him *Elxai*, and ſays he liv'd in *Trajan*'s time. At firſt, he ſays, he put forth a Book full of Divine Wiſdom, and a Prophecying Spirit: But afterwards he affirmed 'twas no ſin for a Man to ſacrifice to Idols in the time of Perſecution, if ſo be he do it not with his whole heart. The ſame alſo *Origen* here relates of theſe *Elceſaits*: But *Epiphanius* more plainly demonſtrates this in his *Hæreſi Sampſæorum*, where he ſays, that that theſe *Elceſæi* (which we prov'd were the ſame as *Elceſaits*) had one *Elxæus*, or *Elxai*, Author of their Sect. Wherefore *Scaliger* in his *Elenchus*, Chap. 27. errs; where he ſays, that this Ἠλξαΐ is the ſame perſon with *Eſſæus*; and that theſe *Elceſæi* or *Elceſaits* are the ſame as *Eſſæi*: Than which nothing is more abſurd. *Valeſ.*

'the Church. I will explain to you what evil 'things that Opinion aſſerts, that ye be not 'drawn away by it. It rejects ſome things of e-'very part of the Scripture, but makes uſe of 'ſome Texts both out of the Old, and alſo out 'of the Evangelical Scripture. It rejects the A-'poſtle [*Paul*] wholly. It ſays, 'tis an indifferent 'thing to deny [the Faith.] It holds alſo, that 'upon neceſſity (*c*) a Wiſe Man would deny [Chri-'ſtianity] with his Mouth, but not with his Heart 'alſo at the ſame time. They alſo carry about 'with them a Book which, they ſay, fell down 'from Heaven; and every one that hears it, and 'believes it, ſhall obtain remiſſion of Sins: a Re-'miſſion different from that which Jeſus Chriſt 'beſtow'd." But let thus much ſuffice concerning theſe things.

(*c*) The Tranſlators *Ruſinus*, *Langus*, and *Chriſtophorſon*, knew not the uſe and propriety of this Phraſe [ὁ νοήσας,] and ſo miſ-interpreted it. The word ſignifies no more than *qui ſapit*, or *ſapiens*, *a wiſe man*. See that old Verſe of *Heſiod*, Αἶνον τοι βασιλοῦσ' ἐρέω νοέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς, *and to wiſe men.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning what happen'd in the times of Decius.

Decius.

BUT in the mean while *Decius* ſucceeds *Philip*, after he had reigned ſeven years: Who becauſe of his hatred towards *Philip*, rais'd a Perſecution againſt the Churches. In which *Fabian* being Martyr'd at *Rome*, *Cornelius* ſucceeds in that Biſhoprick. And *Alexander* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in *Paleſtine*, is again brought before the Governour's Tribunal for Chriſt's ſake: And was very famous for his ſecond Confeſſion at *Cæſarea*, where he was impriſon'd: Being now adorn'd with a venerable old Age, and reverend grey-Hairs. After this noble and famous Teſtimony before the Governour's Tribunal, he expired in Priſon, and *Mazabanes* was pronounc'd his Succeſſor in the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*. Alſo *Babylas* Biſhop of *Antiochia* died (in like manner as did *Alexander*) in priſon after his Confeſſion, and *Fabius* is preferr'd to be Biſhop of that Church. Moreover, how many, and how great [Afflictions] happened to *Origen* in this Perſecution, and what was the end of theſe things, (the Devil with all his forces enviouſly ſetting himſelf in oppoſition to this Man, and fighting againſt him with all ſubtilty and power, aſſailing him particularly above all thoſe who were ſet upon at that time:) how many, and how great things he alſo ſuffer'd for the Doctrine of Chriſt, as Bonds, and bodily Torments, the Puniſhment of the *Iron-Chain* in the inmoſt Receſſes of the Priſon: how he was put upon the (*a*) Rack, his Feet for

(*a*) Ξύλον ſignifies (as we before noted) the ſame as *Nervus*, *a pair of Stocks*, wherein the Feet are put: But in this place 'tis uſed for *Eculeus*, *a Rack*: For, *Euſebius* in this place means, that *Origen*, being put upon the Rack, patiently ſuſtained the threats of Fire and other Torments. Ξύλον therefore in this place ſignifies the ſame as the Latin word *Eculeus*, which the word added, (*viz.*) Κολαστήριον ſufficiently ſheweth; for as often as this term ſignifies *Stocks*, or *Shackles*, we read ξύλον only; but when it ſignifies *the Rack*, κολαστήριον, or βασανιστήριον, is commonly added, as here we find it to be. *Valeſ.*

ſeveral

Decius. several days being stretch'd so wide as to the distance of four holes: How valiantly he sustain'd the menaces of Fire, and all other [Tortures] inflicted by his Enemies: What also was the Exit of these things: (The Judge with his utmost power earnestly endeavouring * that he might not be slain.) Lastly, what expressions he left behind him, and how comfortable to the (*b*) comfortless: [All these Particulars] many of his Epistles do both truly and accurately comprehend.

* That is, the Judge was desirous to prolong his Life, that so he might undergo the more Tortures.

(*b*) Ἀναλήψεως δεόμενοι are *the comfortless*, or *helpless*; which some Translators did not understand; this transposition in *Eusebius* is common. *Eusebius* here says nothing of the *Æthiopian*, who was suborned against *Origen*; or concerning his denial of the Faith: *Baronius* with good reason thought these things were fabulous; But *Nemesius*, in his Book *De Naturâ Hominis*, Chap. 30. confirms that Narration of *Epiphanius*. Vales.

CHAP. XL.

Concerning what things happen'd to Dionysius.

I Will also record some things concerning *Dionysius*, out of his Epistle to *Germanus*. Where speaking concerning himself, he makes this Relation: 'I speak in the presence of God, and he 'knows that I lie not. I never made my escape '(*a*) of my self, nor without 'the Divine appointment. 'But before, *to wit*, at the 'same time when the (*b*) Decree for the Persecution 'came out from *Decius*, *Sabinus* sent out his (*c*) Deputy to make inquisition for 'me; and I stay'd at home 'four days, expecting the arrival of the Deputy: But 'he went about searching 'all places; both High-ways, 'Rivers, and Fields, where 'he thought I might be conceal'd, or where he conjectured I might have gone: 'But he was so blinded, that 'he found not my House. 'Neither could he imagine that I should stay at 'home when there was Inquisition made for 'me. And at length after the fourth day, (when 'God had commanded me to depart thence, and 'had miraculously open'd a way for me) I, and 'my (*d*) Servants, and many of the Brethren, went 'out together. Now that that was a special act 'of God's Providence the sequel declared, in which 'peradventure I was profitable to some." Again, after the interposition of some words, he relates what hapned to him after his Flight, in these words: 'I myself, (and my Companions) being 'much about the time of Sun-setting apprehended by some Soldiers, was brought to *Taposirus*. But *Timotheus*, according to the Providence of God, was not with us, neither was he 'taken: But when he at last came, he found the 'House empty, and Soldiers keeping guard about 'it, and us reduc'd to Slavery." After some other words he saith thus. 'What now was the order 'and manner of this miraculous Act of Providence? (I will tell nothing but truth.) A certain '(*e*) Country-man met *Timothy* as he was flying, and thus disturb'd in Mind; and he enquired of him the reason of this great haste; 'he told him the real truth. When the Man had 'heard his Relation, (he was then a-going to a 'Marriage-feast, and 'tis customary amongst 'them to tarry all night at such meetings) he went 'his way, and coming into the House, told the 'story to those that were set at the Table: All 'of them with an unanimous earnestness (as if it 'had been by a Compact amongst them) rose 'up together, set a-running, and with great 'clamours came speedily upon us. The Soldiers 'who guarded us being by them forthwith put 'to flight, they came upon us as we were, and '[found] us lying upon '(*f*) Couches without any 'Furniture on them; I (God 'knows) at first supposing 'them to be Thieves, who 'came thither for Prey and 'Pillage, continued lying 'on the Couch, naked as I 'was, excepting only a Linnen-Garment which I had 'on; and offered to them 'my other Cloaths, which 'lay by me: But they bid 'me arise, and come out 'immediately. Then understanding what was the 'cause of their coming thither, I cry'd out, intreating and beseeching them to depart and let 'us alone. But if their intent was to do me a 'kindness, I begg'd of them to behead me, and by 'that means to prevent those who brought me Prisoner thither. While I thus cry'd out (as my 'Companions and Fellow-sufferers in all my 'Troubles do know) they compelled me to rise 'up: I threw myself on my back upon the ground; 'but they took me by the Hands and Feet, and 'dragg'd me out: There follow'd me those who 'are my *Witnesses* of these things, *Caius*, *Faustus*, *Peter*, and *Paul*; (*g*) who took me together with that 'Couch upon their Shoulders, and convey'd me 'out of the Village; and having set me upon an 'Ass unsaddled, they carried me away." These things *Dionysius* relates concerning himself.

Decius.

(*a*) Ἐπ ἐμαυτῷ βαλλόμενος, (i. e.) *Not by my own Counsel, not on my own accord.* But the *Fuk.* MS. and *Georgius Syncellus*'s *Chronicle* read ἐπ ἐμαυτοῦ· *Maz.* and *Med* MSS. ἐπ ἐμαυτόν. The *Med.* MS. begins this Epistle where we have begun it. *Vales.*

(*b*) Διωγμὸς is here taken *for the Decree of the Persecution*: And accordingly we have translated the place. *Vales.*

(*c*) *Frumentarii milites* were Soldiers sent to seek after Offenders, and to pick up all Rumours and News. *Constantine* put down this sort of Officers; they were also *Deputies under Governours of Provinces*; such an one was this *Frumentarius*, whom *Dionysius* here mentions. *Vales.*

(*d*) Οἰ πατέρες, *Musculus* and *Christoph.* translate *Liberi, Children*, which interpretation I do not approve of. *Vales.*

(*e*) *Christophor.* translates χωείτης *indigena, one born and bred in that Country*; the Translator of *Georg. Syncell.* calls it *incola*; neither of them rendring it well: For χωείται are *Country-Men, Rusticks.* So in the *Greek Councils* we find, ὁι τῆς χωρῶν πρεσβύτεροι, in stead of ὁι τῆς χωειτῆς πρεσβύτεροι, *The Country-Presbyters.* The *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. in stead of χωειτῆς read χωεικῶν, so also does *Alexandrinus* use χωεικοὶ for *Rusticks.* Vales.

(*f*) *Scimpodia* are *low Beds*, such as are used in great Houses to this Day, only to sit in; call'd Couches. So *Libanius* in his own Life uses the word: Where he saith, pag. 47. *that at home he us'd to lye upon a Bed, but in the School he lean'd* ὅπι τῷ σκίμποδι, *upon a Couch.* Hence 'tis plain those Couches were made for the ease of sick People: ἄστρωτος signifies *unmade*, without any furniture upon it. So *Martial* in his *Apophoretis*, speaking of *Sheets*,

Nudo stramina nè toro paterent,
Junctæ nos tibi venimus sorores.
Vales.

(*g*) We must refer this word συλλαβόντες, *who took me up*, to *Caius*, and the rest of the Presbyters, and not to the *Riotous Country-men*, as *Christophorson* does. Φορεῖον signifies, *together with the Bed or Couch on which he lay.* *Dionysius* says nothing here of what hapned to him after the Rusticks forc'd him to leave *Taposiris*, having beaten the Guard: But in his Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, which is in the 7th Book, and 11th Chapter, he saith, that he and *Peter*, and *Caius* were separated from the rest of their Company, and abode in a desert and dry place of *Libya*. *Dionysius* liv'd an Exile till the death of *Decius* the Emperor, and from that desert place he wrote Letters to *Domitius* and *Didymus*. Vales.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning those who suffer'd Martyrdom at Alexandria.

THE same Man in an Epistle of his to (*a*) *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives this account of the Combats of those Martyrs who suffer'd at *Alexandria* in the times of *Decius*. 'The Persecution a-'mongst us did not begin at the time when the 'Imperial Edict was issued out, but preceded it 'one whole year. For a Soothsayer, and (*b*) a Poet

(*a*) The *Med. Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. call this Man *Fabianus*, not *Fabius*: So also *Rufinus* names this Bishop of *Antioch*. Vales.

(*b*) I have translated [ποιητὴς] *a Poet*: First, because there is a great familiarity betwixt *Poets* and *Prophets*, for the Divines or Soothsayers us'd to deliver their Oracles in Verse. Besides, the *Ægyptians* were chiefly delighted with Poetry, which *Eunapius* takes notice of. Moreover, no People were more malicious towards the Christians than these Soothsayers, moving the People to persecute them, and encouraging them by their Oracles. *Vales.*

Decius.

(whoever he was who ſo endamag'd this City,) had ſtirr'd up, and encouraged the Tumults of the Heathens againſt us, exciting them to their Country-Superſtition. They being prick'd forward by him, and having obtained free Power of acting all Miſchief, thought it the moſt acceptable Service * and Worſhip of their Gods to ſlaughter us. Firſt of all therefore they lay hands upon an old Man named *Metra*, and bid him pronounce ſome Atheiſtical words, and becauſe he obey'd them not, they beat him with Clubs, and prick'd him in the Face and Eyes with ſharp Reeds; and when they had led him into the Suburbs, they ſtoned him to death. Afterwards they dragg'd a believing Woman called *Quinta*, to the Temple of their Idol, and compel'd her to fall down and worſhip: But ſhe turning away her face, and abominating it, they bound her feet, and drag'd her through the City, which is pav'd with ſharp Stones; and having daſh'd her againſt Milſtones, and ſcourg'd her, they led her to the ſame place without the City, and ſtoned her. Afterwards all with one accord violently broke into the Houſes of pious Men, and every one of them ran to their Neighbours, whom they knew, and plunder'd and robb'd them; their Goods which were of greater value they (*c*) purloin'd, but the Lumber and what was made of Wood they caſt forth and burn'd in the Streets: So that the City ſeem'd as if it had been taken by an Enemy. But the Brethren withdrew themſelves thence and privately fled; and (like thoſe St. *Paul* ſpeaks of) * *took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods*. And not one of them that I know of, except one who ſomewhere fell into their hands, renounced the Lord till this time. Moreover, at that time they took a moſt admirable Virgin who was ancient, called *Apollonia*, and buffeting her on the Cheeks, they daſh'd out all her Teeth. And when they had built a Pile of Wood before the City, they threatned to burn her alive, except ſhe ſhould repeat together with them ſome (*d*) prophane words. But ſhe, having begg'd a little reſpite, being let looſe, forthwith leap'd into the fire, and was conſumed to aſhes. They alſo apprehended *Serapion* as he was in (*e*) his Houſe; and having tortured him with grievous Torments, and broken all his Joints, they caſt him down headlong out of an Upper-room. There was now no way for us, not the common High-way, not ſo much as any narrow Street through which we could ſecurely paſs either by day or night. Every body proclaiming at all times, and in all places, that whoſoever would not repeat thoſe blaſphemous words, he ſhould be dragg'd away, and burnt immediately. After this manner theſe things continued for a great while: Afterwards follow'd Sedition, and a Civil War, which [ſeized] theſe Wretches, and returned the cruelty they uſed towards us upon themſelves. And we had a little breathing time, their fury towards us being ſomething appeaſed. But preſently news came of the (*f*) Tranſlation of that Empire, which had been more favourable to us: And much fear of a threatning Storm appeared. And now arrived the [Imperial] Edict, almoſt like that foretold by our Lord, (*g*) repreſenting thoſe moſt terrible [Times] inſomuch that even the Elect, if it were poſſible, ſhould be diſcouraged. Indeed, all were put in great fear. Immediately many of of them who were more eminent, yielded up themſelves [to their Idolatry] through fear: Others, who (*h*) had to do in the management of the publick Affairs, were forc'd thro' the neceſſity of their Offices [they held;] and they induced others of their acquaintance, who, being ſummon'd by name, repaired to their impure and prophane Sacrifices. Some look'd pale and trembled, as if they themſelves were about to have been Sacrifices and Victims, not Sacrificers to their Idols. So that they rendred themſelves the ſubject of laughter to the Multitude that ſtood round about them; becauſe they demonſtrated themſelves to all, to be fearful both of Death and of Sacrificing: But others of them ran to the Altars more willingly, proteſting very confidently that they never were Chriſtians before. Concerning whom the Lord's Prediction is moſt true, *that they ſhall hardly be ſaved*. As for the reſt, ſome of them adhered to the one or the other of thoſe Parties we have mentiond; ſome fled away; others were apprehended. And of theſe [though] ſome proceeded ſo far as till [they came to] Bonds and Impriſonment, and others of them had been impriſon'd ſeveral days; yet before they were brought to the Tribunal, they renounced [the Faith.] Some of them after they had perſiſted ſome time in ſuffering Torments, yet for fear of what might follow renounc'd [their Religion.] But the ſtedfaſt and bleſſed Pillars of the Lord, being ſtrengthned by him, and having received Power and Patience equal and anſwerable to their ſtrong Faith, became admirable Witneſſes of his Kingdom. The firſt of which was *Julianus* a Gouty Man, who could neither go nor ſtand; he, together with two other Men who carried him, was brought before the Judge: One of thoſe Perſons ſtraightway deny'd [Chriſt.] But the other whoſe name was *Cronion*, but was ſirnamed *Eunus*, together with the old Man *Julianus*, having confeſſed the Lord, rode upon Camels through the whole City (which you know is very large) and were ſcourged as they ſat on high, and at laſt in the preſence of all the Multitude ſtanding round, they were conſum'd by

* These words [τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν δαιμόνων, *worſhip of their Gods.*] ought, as I ſuppoſe, to be expunged: For they diſturb the ſenſe, and were added by ſome *Scholiaſt*, to explain the preceding term [εὐσέβειαν, *ſervice.* Valeſ.

(*c*) Νοσφίζομαι, *to purloin*; ſee *Tit.* 2. 10.

* Heb. 10 34.

(*d*) Τῆς ἀσεβείας ῥημάτα, are the terms here, and what the words were, 'tis hard to conjecture: In his Epiſtle to *Germanus* he calls them [ἀθέους φωνὰς, *impious words*;] and in this Epiſtle δύσφημα ῥήματα, *horrid words.*] *Valeſ.*

(*e*) Here we read ἐφέσιον, i. e. *in his own Houſe*, but *Nicephorus* very ill reads ἑφεσίην. Concerning this *Serapion*, *Bede*, and *Uſuardus* ſpeak at the 14th of *November*. Where they ſay he ſuffered in the Reign of *Decius*; but they might better have ſaid in the Reign of *Philip*. For *Dionyſius* in this Epiſtle to *Fabius* expreſly affirms that *Serapion*, and ſome other Martyrs, ſuffer'd before the Death of *Philip* the Emperor. The ſame Error is committed in all *Martyrologies* concerning *Apollonia* the Virgin, which ſay ſhe ſuffered in the time of *Decius* upon the 9th day of *February*. Valeſ.

Decius.

(*f*) Here he means the Death of *Philip* the Emperor, who behaved himſelf gently and kindly toward the Chriſtians: Therefore what Paſſages are here next related, happened in the laſt Year of the Reign of *Philip*: Which thing *Dionyſius* intimates in the beginning of this Epiſtle; where he ſays, the Perſecution began a Year before the Emperor's Edict came out: But *Chriſtoph.* did not underſtand this place, he rendring [μεταβολὴν βασιλείας] *the alteration of the Emperor's mind towards us.* *Baronius* follows this Error of his, at the Year of Chriſt, 253. Chap. 102. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) In the King's MS. and *Stephanus*'s Edition, in ſtead of ἀποφαίνων, ῥιφ.βαφαγὲ is read, but in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. ἀποφαίγων is the term, which is a great deal better as I think. For *Dionyſius* here means that this Decree of *Decius* was ſo terrible, thar it ſeemed to repreſent thoſe moſt dreadful times of *Antichriſt*, foretold by our Saviour. *Valeſ.*

(*h*) *Chriſtophor.* miſtakes in his Tranſlation of this place. I have rendred here [δημοσιεύοντες,] as if it had been [δημόσια πεφιλοντες] *the Decurions* or Magiſtrates: For theſe always aſſembled themſelves at the reading of the Emperor's Edicts in the Courts; and firſt of all executed his Commands; hence they were compelled to be preſent at the reading of this Decree, and immediately after it was read, to ſacrifice to the Gods, according to the Injunction of the Decree. *Valeſ.*

Decius.

(i) This ἀσβέστου πῦρ may be rendred *vivæ calcis incendio, a fire of unslaked Lime*; so also we may translate the same phrase which is us'd a little after this, speaking of *Epimachus* and *Alexander*, where he says, πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ διεχθησαν. Instead of which phrase *Nicephorus* uses τίτανος, *with Lime*. *In Menæo*, on the 30th day of *October*, there is mention of these Martyrs, *Julianus*, *Cronio*, and *Macarius*, where the words are, ἀσβέστῳ ζέοντι καὶ ἀνυδρῳ ἐπιχυθέντα; *burning Lime being poured upon them*. Vales.

(k) *Macar* is derived from the Greek term μακάριος, which signifies *blessed*: *Dionysius* seems here to allude to those Words of our Saviour, *Matt.* 5. 10. *Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness-sake*, &c. *Rufinus* translates this place thus, *Alius quidam, vir nominis sui* Macarius, *gente Lybicus*. Vales.

* Ξυσῆρας is the term in the original: It signifies properly *any kind of Iron-instrument to make incision*: *Dionysius* does here mean by it, *an Engine wherewith they scraped the flesh from off the bones of the Christians.*

(l) These words [*also another Ammonarium.*] I have added out of *Rufinus*: For *Dionysius* said there were *four Women*; but we find but three, except, according to *Rufinus*, we add these words. *Vales.*

(m) In stead of *Ater* in *Georg. Syncellus*, and *Niceph.* we find *Aster*: In *Rufinus* 'tis *Arsinus*; in the old *Roman Martyrology*, which is mostly taken out of *Rufinus*, he is called *Arsenius*, at the 19th of the Kalends of *January*. Vales.

'by an (i) exceeding hot fire. A Soldier who at-
'tended on them as they were led [to the Stake,]
'thrust away all those who abused them, and
'when the People exclaim'd against him; this
'most valiant Champion of
'God (by name *Besas*) was
'called in question, and
'after he had behav'd him-
'self nobly in a great Com-
'bat in defence of Piety, he
'was beheaded: Also ano-
'ther Man, a *Libyan* born,
'(both according to his
'name, and also agreeable to
'the Divine *Benediction* truly
'stil'd (k) *Macar*) after much
'exhortation of the Judge
'to a Renunciation, being
'nothing subdu'd there-
'with, was burn'd alive. Af-
'ter these *Epimachus* and *A-*
'*lexander*, after a tedious im-
'prisonment, which they
'endured, having suffered
'infinite sorts of tortures, as
'* *Iron-scratchers*, *Scourges*,
'were also burn'd to death
'with unslak'd Lime: With
'them also four Women: *Am-*
'*monarium*, an holy Virgin,
'(whom the Judge for a long
'time and with much ear-
'nestness tortured, because she had before-hand
'said she would utter nothing he should enjoyn
'her,) when she had verified her promise, she
'was led to execution. Now the rest were these,
'*Mercuria* a most Virtuous and Venerable Ma-
'tron; and *Dionysia* the Mother of a numerous
'issue, but did not love her Children more than
'the Lord; (l) also another
'*Ammonarium*. The Judge
'being now ashamed that
'he tortured them yet in
'vain, and that he was thus
'overcome by Women, slew
'them with the Sword, be-
'fore they underwent the
'tryal of tortures. For *Am-*
'*monarium* their Leader had
'suffer'd torments for them
'all. *Heron* also, and (m) *A-*
'*ter*, and *Isidorus*, *Egyptians*, and with them *Dios-*
'*corus*, a Lad of about fifteen years of age, were
'set before the Judge. Who first of all endea-
'vour'd to deceive the Youth with words, as think-
'king him flexible and easie to be perswaded;
'he endeavour'd also to force him by Torments,
'[supposing] him to be remiss and inclinable to
'yield; but *Dioscorus* was neither moved with
'Perswasions, nor yielded he to Torments. When
'[the Judge] had most barbarously torn the rest
'with Stripes, and they persisted, he delivered
'them also to the Fire, but he dismiss'd *Dios-*
'*corus*, because he was lovely in the eyes of the
'People, and he also himself admired him for his
'most prudent Answers to his Questions: Saying,
'he allow'd him space for repentance because of
'his tender Age. And now the most Excellent
'*Dioscorus* continues with us, reserved for a
'greater and more lasting Combat. Also one
'*Nemesion*, another *Egyptian*, was falsly accused
'as a Companion of Thieves: But having before
'the *Centurion* cleared himself of this Accusation
'brought against him, as being most absurd,
'he was impeach'd as being a Christian, and
'brought bound before the Governour: Who,
'(most unjust Man!) having inflicted upon him
'double as many Torments and Stripes, as up-
'on the Thieves, [commanded] him to be burnt
'amongst Thieves. Blessed Man! who was ho-
'noured after Christ's example. Moreover, a
'whole (n) File of Soldiers, *to wit*, *Ammon*, and
'*Zeno*, and *Ptolomy*, and *Ingenuus*, and with them
'the old Man *Theophilus*, stood together before
'the place of Judicature. And when a certain
'Man was accused for being a Christian, and in-
'clined to a Renunciation [of his Religion,]
'they standing by gnash'd upon him with their
'Teeth, made Grimaces at him with their
'Countenances, stretch'd out their Hands, and
'shew'd mimick and antick Gestures with their
'Bodies; [in-so-much that] all Mens Eyes
'were turned towards them. Before any one
'came to lay hands on them, they ran to the
'(o) place where the Accused usually sat, confes-
'sing themselves to be Christians: Upon which
'the Governour and the Assessors were surprized
'with a great fear. The Accused seem'd most
'couragious at what they were about to suffer,
'but the Judges trembled. So they went out of
'the place of Judicature in a kind of Pomp and
'State, and rejoyced at the Testimony [they
'were to give to the Faith,] God (p) making
'them to triumph gloriously.

Decius.

(n) σύνταγμα στρατιωτικὸν, *Rufinus* renders *a Troop of Soldiers*; him *Christophorson* also follows: But I had rather translate it *a file of men*. Some may perhaps think that these Soldiers were the *Prefect's Apparitors*, and other Officers, because they stood before the judgment-seat, but I rather think they were *Legionary* Soldiers of that Legion, which kept Garison at *Alexandria*, and were under the Command of the Emperor's Deputy-Governour of *Egypt*; for at that time he who was the Emperor's Prefect in *Egypt*, had not only power in Civil Affairs, but also in Military. In the old *Roman Martyrology* the Birth-day of these Martyrs is set down on the 13th of the Kalends of *January*. Vales.

(o) By this word βάθρον is meant *Subsellium*, i. e. *the place on which the Criminals while they are examin'd by the Judge sate*. It is in some places call'd *Ambon*, or *Pulpitum*. Vales.

(p) Θεὸν θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς, *Rufinus* translates thus, *God thus triumphing by his Saints*; hence we may suppose he read δι' αὐτῶν. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* follow this Translation of *Rufinus*: But we must take notice and see whether *Dionysius* means not by θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς, θριαμβεύειν ποιοῦντος αὐτοὺς, which I think he does, and therefore have so translated it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLII.

Concerning some other things which Dionysius *relates.*

'SEveral others were torn in pieces by the
'Heathens, both in the Cities, and in the
'Countrey-Villages: One of them I will hear
'speak of for example's sake. *Ischyrion* was a mer-
'cenary *Officer under one
'of the Magistrates. He,
'whom he serv'd, enjoyn'd
'him to sacrifice: but when
'he obey'd him not, he was
'injurious to him; when he
'still persisted to be disobe-
'dient, he basely reproach'd him. After he had
'patiently sustain'd all this, he took a great Stake,
'and having run it through his *Guts* and *Bowels*,
'murther'd him. What need I to reckon up the
'Multitudes, which wandered in Deserts and
'Mountains, and dyed by Pestilence, Thirst, and
'Cold, and by Diseases, Thieves, and Savage-beasts?
'Such of them as surviv'd are Witnesses of their
'Choice and Victory. But I will add one Fact
'for a manifestation of the truth hereof. There
'was one *Chæremon* a very aged Man, Bishop of
'the City called *Nile*, he together with his Wife

* Ἐπίτροπος (from whence the term [ἐπιτροπεύω,] which here occurs, is derived) signifies *one that looketh to another Man's Business, and that has the Charge of his Affairs committed to his care.*

Decius. ‘ fled unto the Mountain (a) *Arabius*, but never re- ‘ turn'd; neither could they, or any thing of ‘ their Bodies ever be found, altho' the Brethren ‘ ſearch'd all places careful- ‘ ly. Alſo many about this ‘ Mountain *Arabicus* were ‘ taken Captives and inſlav'd ‘ by the barbarous (b) *Sara- ‘ cens*: Some of which were ‘ with much difficulty re- ‘ deem'd with great Sums ‘ of Money; but others of ‘ them are not yet [re- ‘ deem'd] even at this time. ‘ Now (my Brother) I have ‘ not at large related theſe ‘ things to no purpoſe, but ‘ that you may ſee how great ‘ and how grievous miſeries ‘ hapned to us, which they ‘ who have moſt experienc'd ‘ do beſt underſtand. Afterwards, after ſome few words he makes an addition to all this, ſaying; ‘ Therefore thoſe ‘ Divine Martyrs, (who are now Aſſeſſors with ‘ Chriſt, Colleagues of his Kingdom, and are ‘ (c) Partakers of his Judgment, giving ſentence ‘ together with him) during their being amongſt ‘ us, receiv'd to themſelves ſome of the Brethren ‘ who were lapſed, and lay convict as having ſa- ‘ crificed to Idols: And when they had ſeen their ‘ Converſion and Penitence, judging it might be ‘ acceptable to God, who in no wiſe willeth the ‘ death of a Sinner, but rather that he repent, ‘ they admitted them, and (d) brought them to- ‘ gether, and received them into their Congre- ‘ gation, and (e) communicated with them in ‘ Prayer, and in Eating. Now, therefore (Bre- ‘ thren) how do you counſel us concerning theſe ‘ things, what muſt be done by us? Shall we be ‘ of like Mind, and of the ſame Opinion with ‘ the [Martyrs?] Shall we obſerve their Deter- ‘ mination, and the Favour they [ſhew'd ſuch ‘ Perſons?] And ſhall we be indulgent towards ‘ them, to whom they were merciful? Or ſhall ‘ we render their Sentence unjuſt, and make our ‘ ſelves Examiners and Judges of their Opinion? ‘ Grieve their Goodneſs and Clemency? And de- ‘ ſtroy the Order [which is conſtituted?"] *Dionyſius* very adviſedly annexed theſe words, diſcourſing concerning them, who in the Times of Perſecution had lapſed through infirmity of Mind. Decius.

(a) *Herodotus* mentions a Mountain, called *Arabius*; which *Ptolomy* and others call *Troïcus*. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore does not well in calling it *a Mountain in Arabja*. 'Tis a little after called *Arabicus*, from its vicinity to *Arabia*. Valeſ.

(b) This place ought to be taken notice of for this one thing: For of all the Writers which came to our Hands, there is none (that I know of) who is ancienter than *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, that mentions the *Saracens*. Indeed *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſays in his 14th Book, that he mentioned the *Saracens* amongſt the Acts of Prince *Marcus*. So alſo ſays *Spartianus*, (*in Nigro*) ſaying they were conquered by the Roman Soldiers. *Valeſ.*

(c) It was the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers, that Martyrs ſhould be Chriſt's Aſſeſſors, and ſhould judge the World together with him. So ſays *Eulogius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in his 5th Book *againſt the Novatians*: But *Photius* in his *Biblioth.* reproves this Opinion. (*Photius* ſays) that thoſe words of St. *Paul* in the 1 Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* 6. 2. *Know ye not that the Saints ſhall judge the World?* Muſt not be underſtood as if the Saints were to be judges with Chriſt: *Paul*, ſays he, only meaneth thus, that other Men who had not lived ſo piouſly ſhould by the Saints means be condemned. As it is in the Goſpel, The Men of *Nineve, and the Queen of the South ſhall riſe up in judgment againſt wicked Men, and condemn them*, Matt. 12. 41. *Photius* took this Expoſition out of *Chryſoſtome*; but *Eulogius*'s Opinion ſeems the truer to me. For if the Martyrs are now Colleagues of Chriſt in his Kingdom, Why may not they be partakers of his Judgment? Moreover, Chriſt expreſly promiſed the Apoſtles, *That they ſhould ſit on twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Iſrael*, Matth. 19. 28. *Valeſ.*

(d) This place muſt be rendred according to our Tranſlation; though *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlate it, as *if the Martyrs admitted the Penitents into the Church*: Which they could not do, being in Bonds. Moreover the Biſhops only had power of reconciling Penitents, the Martyrs could only intercede for them, and write commendatory Letters in their behalf; though this word συγχωρεῖν may be rendred paſſively, as in the 3d Chap. of this 6th Book. *Valeſ.*

(e) Communion in the Church is twofold, *of Prayer*, and *of the Sacraments*, that of the Prayers was granted to *Penitents* after a certain time; but the Communion of the Body of Chriſt was not granted except to them who were reconciled after long time of Repentance. But *Dionyſius* here means private Communion; now that I call private Communion, which was granted to any one by ſome private Perſons, and not by the Biſhop, whoſe Power and Duty it was to grant it. The thing theſe private Perſons granted, was this; theſe Martyrs and Confeſſors permitted Penitents who deſired their pity and interceſſion, to pray to God with them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Novatus, *what manner of Perſon he was as to his Morals; and concerning his Hereſie.*

FOR *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, being puffed up with pride againſt theſe * Men, as if there were no further hopes of Salvation left for them, altho' they perform'd all things appertaining to an unfeigned Converſion, and a ſincere Confeſſion, conſtituted himſelf the Ring-leader of a peculiar Sect, of thoſe who by reaſon of their haughty Minds ſtiled themſelves † *Cathari*. Upon this account a very great Synod was aſſembled at *Rome*, conſiſting of ſixty Biſhops, but of Presbyters and Deacons [the number] was greater. And when the Paſtors of each reſpective place in the reſt of the Provinces, had conſulted by themſelves concerning what was to be done; (a) This Decree was promulged to all: ‘ That ‘ *Novatus*, together with all ‘ thoſe who imitated his ‘ Pride, and who preſumtuouſly aſſented to his uncharitable and moſt inhuman Opinion, ſhould be accounted as alienated ‘ from the Church: But that the Brethren who ‘ were fallen into the Calamity [of the Lapſed,] ‘ ſhould be healed and cured by the Remedies of ‘ Repentance." There came to our hands the Epiſtles of *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*; which ſet forth the Acts of that Synod at *Rome*, and the Opinions of all thoſe in *Italy* and *Africa*, and the Provinces there. There are alſo extant other Epiſtles written in Latin, by *Cyprian* and thoſe Biſhops aſſembled with him in *Africa*: By which it appears, that they conſented to the relieving of thoſe who were fallen into Temptation, and that the Author of this Hereſie ought with good reaſon to be expelled out of the Catholick Church, together with all thoſe who had been ſeduced by him. There is alſo annex'd to theſe (b) another Epiſtle of *Cornelius*'s concerning the Decrees of that Synod: And alſo another concerning the miſchievous Acts of *Novatus*. Part of which, nothing hinders but that we may here inſert, that ſo they who read this Work, may have a perfect knowledge in all things concerning *Novatus*. *Cornelius* therefore, informing *Fabius* what a Man this *Novatus* was as to his courſe of life, writes theſe very words: ‘ But that you may the better underſtand how ‘ this admirable Fellow heretofore covered ‘ a Biſhoprick, and concealing this his hot ambition

* That is, *the lapſed.*

† That is, *the pure.*

(a) *Ruſinus* tranſlates this Phraſe δόγμα παρείχετο τοῖς πᾶσι, *Decretus ſignificatur quid facto opus eſſet*, but the other Tranſlators in my Opinion turn it better, by tranſlating it thus; *Decernitur ab omnibus.* Valeſ.

(b) *Ruſinus* confounds, and mixeth this Epiſtle with that which *Euſebius* afore-mentioned, for he owns but two Epiſtles of *Cornelius*. *Hieronymus* in his Book, *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, reckons up four, but *Euſebius* in this place gives us an account of three only. The firſt and the third ſeem as if *Cornelius* had writ them in Greek, which may be proved by ſeveral Arguments, for *Euſebius* quotes ſeveral things out of the third Epiſtle, but does not in the leaſt ſignifie that it was ever tranſlated out of Latin into Greek, which thing he always does as often as he quotes any Latin Authors. Moreover, in this very Chapter *Euſebius* ſignifies that the firſt Epiſtle was writ in Greek, for ſpeaking of it, he adds that there was another Epiſtle of *Cyprian* annex'd to it, which was written in Latin. Which Clauſe certainly he had not added, had not *Cornelius*'s Epiſtle been written in a contrary Language. *Valeſ.*

Decius. ‘bition continued undiscover'd, for a Covert for ‘his Folly, usually from the beginning having the ‘Confessors in his company, I will make this Declaration to you: (c) *Maximus* ‘a Presbyter of our *Church*, and *Urbanus*, which ‘Men have the second time ‘acquir'd great renown to ‘themselves for their Confessions: *Sidonius* also, and ‘*Celerinus*, a Man who has ‘most patiently endured all ‘sorts of Tortures through ‘God's Mercy; and having ‘corroborated the weakness ‘of the Flesh through the ‘strength of his Faith, utterly vanquish'd the Adversary: These Men [I ‘say,] when they had made enquiry into the ‘Man, and (d) detected his Subtilty and Deceit, ‘his Perjury and Lyes, his Unsociableness and ‘Wolfish Friendship, return'd to the Holy *Church*; ‘and divulged all his subtil Devices, and his Villanies (which he had kept ‘conceal'd within himself ‘for a long time, refusing to ‘declare them) in the presence both of a sufficient ‘number of Bishops, and also of a great many Presbyters and Laicks; lamenting and repenting, because, having been ‘seduced by this subtil and wicked Beast, for some ‘small time they had abandon'd the Church." After some few words, he also adds this (‘Dear Brother) What a wonderful change and alteration ‘we saw made in a short time in him? For this ‘most excellent Fellow, (who affirm'd with terrible Protestations and Oaths, that he did not in ‘the least covet the Office of a Bishop) on a sudden ‘appears a Bishop, as if he had been (e) thrown ‘into the midst by an Engine. For this *brave* ‘Doctor, who [pretended himself] to be a Maintainer of the Church-Discipline, when he endeavour'd by force to acquire to himself, and surreptitiously to steal the Bishoprick which was not ‘assign'd to him by God, chose for his Confidents ‘two Men, who despair'd of Salvation, that he ‘might send them into some little corner, and the ‘most despicable part of *Italy*, and there delude ‘three Bishops, who were simple and unlearned ‘Men, by a certain fraudulent enterprize, affirming and protesting that with all possible speed ‘they must post to *Rome*, that all the disagreement ‘which had been there, might by their mediation, ‘together with the other Bishops, be composed. ‘When (f) they arrived, being (as we said before) persons unexperiencee in the ‘Plots and subtilty of these ‘wicked Men, having been ‘shut up close by some persons like himself who were ‘assign'd for that purpose, ‘at ten of the clock he compelled them, being drunk ‘and doz'd with over-much Wine, to give him the Bishoprick by (g) an imaginary and an ineffectual Imposition of Hands: this *an imperfect*, and *ineffectual* Ordination, because it was solemnized by Bishops of another Dioceses, and not by those Bishops who had the Right and Power of Ordaining the Bishops of *Rome*, which were the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Tibur*, and others: 'Twas also ineffectual and vain, because it was done by Men who were drunk, by force, at the Tenth Hour of the Day, none of the Clergy or People being present; and lastly, because another Bishop was before regularly Ordain'd. *Cornelius* both here, and in his Epistle to *Cyprian*, says, *Novatianus* was Ordain'd by three Bishops, whereas *Pacianus* says, in his second Epistle to *Sempronianus*, he was Ordain'd by the Letters Commendatory of the Confessors: but these Differences we may thus reconcile. *Novatianus* was named to be the *Bishop*, by the Epistle of the Confessors, but was afterwards Consecrated by three Bishops. *Vales.*

‘And he laid claim to that by craft and subtilty, *Decius.* ‘which did in no-wise appertain to him. One ‘of those Bishops not long after return'd to the ‘Church, bewailing and confessing his Sin, whom, ‘through the mediation of all the People then present, (h) we received into ‘the Communion of the ‘Laity. We ordain'd Successors for the two other ‘Bishops, and sent them away to possess their Sees. ‘(i) This Maintainer therefore of the Gospel, knew ‘not that 'twas meet there ‘should be but one (k) Bishop in a *Catholick Church*. ‘In which he was not ignorant (for how could he be?) ‘that there should be (l) 46 ‘Presbyters, 7 Deacons, ‘7 Sub-Deacons, Clerks ‘42; Exorcists, Readers, ‘together with Janitors, 52. ‘Widows and (m) Indigent ‘Persons, which could not ‘maintain themselves, above a thousand and five ‘hundred. All these the ‘Grace and Bounty of the ‘Lord maintain'd. But neither could so great Multitude, so necessary in the ‘Church, (a Congregation ‘which by God's Providence is both rich and numerous, together with a ‘great and innumerable ‘multitude of People) make ‘this Man ashamed of this ‘so desperate an attempt, or ‘deter him from proceeding ‘in it, or recal him into the ‘Church." And again, after some other words, which intervene, he adjoyns these. ‘But come on, let us in our ‘following words declare, ‘in what Works of his own, or what good Practices he was so confident, as to aspire to a Bishoprick. Was it upon this account, that from ‘the beginning he had been conversant in the ‘*Church*, and had fought many Combats in defence ‘of it, and had been in many and great perils upon ‘account of *Religion*? No, this is nothing so. For ‘the *Devil* who had entred into him, and for a long ‘time dwelt in him, was the occasion of his being ‘a deliever. He being relieved [thereof] by the ‘Exorcists, fell into a grievous Distemper, and it ‘being supposed that he would die immediately, ‘he receiv'd *Baptism*, ((n) being besprinkled with Water,) on the Bed whereon he lay: (If that

(c) Concerning this *Maximus* the Presbyter, *Urbanus*, and *Sidonius*, Confessors, how they deserted *Novatianus*, and were converted to the Church; see *Cornelius* the Pope's Epistle to *Cyprian*. There was also at the same time another *Maximus*, Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, whom *Novatianus* employ'd as Embassador to *Cyprian* into *Africk*, together with *Machæus* and others: Afterwards the Schismaticks made this *Maximus* a Bishop in *Africk*, as *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Cornelius* tells us. *Vales.*

(d) Καλαφωάω, signifies to catch a man in the very act of Robbery, whilst the φωεία, or things which he hath stolen are yet in his hands; hence it signifies to bring any Plot, Robbery, or any other Wickedness to light, to bewray, or disclose. *Viger. Idiot.* pag. 27.

(e) Ἐκ μαγγάνης (the *phrase* here in the Original) has the same import with [ἀπὸ μαγγανῆς,] which is a proverbial speech in *Greek*, and signifies, *ex insperato, improviso*; i.e. *unlookt for*, or *on a sudden*. See *Erasm. Adag.* pag. 46. *Edit. Froben.*

(f) *Theodoret* in his 3d Book *of his Hæretic. Fabul.* Chap. 5. writes that *Novatus* himself went into *Italy* to fetch these Bishops, and when he, with the Bishops upon their Journey, came into some Town or other, he forced them to Ordain him, which those Bishops complained of when they came to *Rome*; but this Epistle of *Cornelius* refutes that Story of his. *Vales.*

(g) *Cornelius* calls this *an imperfect*, and *ineffectual* Ordination, because it was solemnized by Bishops of another Dioceses, and not by those Bishops who had the Right and Power of Ordaining the Bishops of *Rome*, which were the Bishops of *Ostia*, *Tibur*, and others: 'Twas also ineffectual and vain, because it was done by Men who were drunk, by force, at the Tenth Hour of the Day, none of the Clergy or People being present; and lastly, because another Bishop was before regularly Ordain'd. *Cornelius* both here,

(h) Hence we may gather that *Cornelius* degraded the Bishops which assisted in the Consecration of *Novatianus*, and also Excommunicated them all, except one who by the mediation of the People, obtain'd the priviledge of the Communion which the Laicks have; which was to kiss the Bishop after they had taken the Eucharist of him, as *Hieronymus* and *Paulus Diaconus* affirm. *Vales.*

(i) This is spoken ironically of *Novatianus*, because he himself (as *Cyprian* in his first Epistle to *Cornelius* witnesseth) boasted he was a Defender of the Gospel of Christ. *Vales.*

(k) The same words [ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ] are in the Epistle of *Cornelius* to *Cyprian*: Where the Confessors, who deserted *Novatianus*, use these words, as a renunciation of their former Principles; by this ἐκκλησία καθολική, is here meant the *Church of Rome*. Vales.

(l) Hence we may gather how many Churches there were then at *Rome*, for every Presbyter had his particular Church; so that if there were 46 Presbyters, there were also 46 Churches: See *Baronius* in the Year of Christ 57. *Vales.*

(m) Some Editions read κλυδώμενοι, others κλινόμενοι; but without doubt the true Reading is θλιβόμενοι, that is, as *Rufinus* renders it, *indigent Persons*; or as the *Roman Clergy* explain it, *Persons who could not maintain themselves*. *Chrysostome* in his 67th *Homily* upon *Matthew*, saith, that the Church of *Antioch* in his Days, though it had but small Revenues, yet reliev'd above 3000 Widows and Virgins daily, besides Strangers, Lepers and Prisoners: And besides *Clerks*, whom it supplied with Meat and Cloathing. *Vales.*

(n) This word ἀπεχυθεὶς *Rufinus* very well renders *perfusus*, *besprinkled*; for People which were sick, and baptized in their Beds, could not be dipp'd in Water by the Priest, but were sprinkled with Water by him: This Baptism was thought imperfect, and not solemn for several reasons. Also they who were thus baptiz'd were called ever afterwards *Clinici*, and by the 12th Canon of the Council of *Neocæsarea*, these *Clinici* were prohibited Priesthood. *Chrysostome* describes this sort of Baptism in his 60th Homily, Tome the 2d. (to the *Catechumeni*:) *Cyprian*, in his 76th Epistle, holds this Baptism to be lawful and perfect. *Vales.*

Decius.

can be termed Baptiſm:) Neither when he had eſcaped that Sickneſs, did he afterwards receive the other things which the (o) Canon of the Church enjoyneth ſhould be received: Nor was he (p) ſealed by the Biſhop's Impoſition of Hands; which if he never receiv'd, how did he receive the Holy Ghoſt?" And again, a little after, he ſaith; 'This Man in the time of Perſecution, through timerouſneſs and a deſire of life, deny'd that he was a Presbyter. For being deſired and intreated by the Deacons that he would come out of his Chamber, in which he had ſhut himſelf up, and ſuccour the Brethren as far as it was meet and poſſible for a Presbyter to ſuccour the diſtreſſed Brethren, who wanted aſſiſtance: He was ſo far from complying with the Deacons who intreated him, that with great indignation he went his way, and departed. For he ſaid he would no longer be a Presbyter; but was a favourer of another kind of Philoſophy." Having ran over ſome few Paſſages, he makes this addition hereto in theſe words: 'For this excellent Fellow has deſerted the Church of God, in which, after he had receiv'd Baptiſm, he was (q) vouchſafed the Degree of Presbyter by the favour of the Biſhop, who by Impoſition of Hands Ordain'd him Prieſt: Who being (r) deny'd [Orders] by all the Clergy, and many of the Laity, (becauſe it was not lawful for one who had been baptized in his Bed by reaſon of ſome Infirmity, as he was, to be admitted into (ſ) any ſacred Order,) the Biſhop intreated licence might be granted him to Ordain this Perſon only." To theſe impious acts he afterwards ſubjoyneth this other, the worſt of all his wicked Exploits; ſaying thus; 'For he made Oblations, and diſtributed to every one a part thereof; which when he had (t) delivered, in ſtead of bleſſing them, he compelled the wretched Men to ſwear, holding the hands of him that received with both his hands, and not letting them go, till the Perſons had ſworn, pronouncing theſe words; (for I will here make uſe of his own words:) *Swear to me by the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt never deſert me, and revolt to* Cornelius. So the miſerable Man was not permitted to taſte before (u) he had curſed himſelf. And at the receiving of the Bread, inſtead of ſaying † Amen, he ſays, I will never return to *Cornelius*." Again, after ſome other words he ſays thus: 'Now you muſt underſtand he is ſtrip'd naked of all his Followers, and left deſolate. The Brethren daily deſerting him, and returning to the Church: And (x) *Moſes a bleſſed Martyr*, (who lately amongſt us ſuffered a famous and admirable Martyrdom,) taking notice in his life-time of this Man's Impudence and Folly, (y) depriv'd him of Communion, together with the five (z) Presbyters, who with him had voluntarily ſeparated themſelves from the Church." Now at the end of his Epiſtle, he makes a Catalogue of thoſe Biſhops who were preſent at *Rome*, and condemn'd the folly of *Novatus*. He alſo gives an account of their names, and the name of every one's particular Church, in which he govern'd. He does alſo expreſly mention thoſe, who were not then preſent [at *Rome*,] but by Letters approv'd of the Sentence of the foreſaid Biſhops, together with their names, and the names of the Cities, from which each of them wrote. Thus much *Cornelius* has recorded in his Epiſtle to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*.

Decius.

(o) The Canon was this, *That they who were baptized in their beds, if they recovered again, ſhould afterwards go to the Biſhop, that he might ſupply what was wanting in that Baptiſm.* *Novatianus* is here accuſed by *Cornelius*, becauſe, after his recovery, he never went to the Biſhop for the completion of Baptiſm, as the Canon of the Church injoineth: For it is expreſly commanded in the 47th Canon of the *Council* of *Laodicea*, and in Chap. 38. of the Council of *Eliberis*. Valeſ.

(p) *Ruſinus* thinketh that by this Phraſe [τὸ σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τῦ ἐπισκόπυ] is meant the *Chriſm*, but I rather think he means *the impoſition of Hands*, by which the Biſhops gave the Holy Ghoſt to them who were baptized. *Cyprian*, to *Jubaianus*, confirms our interpretation. 'Tis true σφραγίζειν ſignifies *to ſign*, or *mark*, it alſo ſignifies, *to lay hands on*, as *Innocentius* uſes it in his 3d and 6th Chap. to *Decentius*, and *Marcus* in his Life of *Porphyrius* Biſhop of *Gaza*, and *Ambroſe* (or whoſoever it is who is the Author of thoſe Books) upon the 4th Chap. of *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. This Sealing of the baptized was ſometimes perform'd with the *Chriſm*, (that is) when the Perſon, in caſe of approaching death, had been baptized by ſome of the inferiour Clergy, and not anointed; but if he had been perfectly baptized before, only impoſition of Hands by the Biſhop was required, as the *Canon Arauſicanus* tells us. Hence I conjecture aroſe the cuſtom of not uſing the *Chriſm* in Baptiſm amongſt the *Novatians*, (as *Theodoret* tells us they did not, in his third Book *Hæret. Fabul.*) becauſe their Ringleader *Novatianus* received Baptiſm without the *Chriſm*. Valeſ.

(q) Hence we may gather that *Novatianus* immediately received Prieſt's Orders, being never Ordained Deacon, or Subdeacon: Which thing was at that time cuſtomary in the Church, as we may ſee in *Origen* and others. *Valeſ.*

(r) Formerly Biſhops could not Ordain Prieſts without the conſent of the Clergy, and People. Now concerning the requiring of the People's Votes in the Election of Presbyters, the *Nicene* Fathers themſelves do evidence that, in their Synodical Epiſtle to the Biſhops of *Egypt*. Out of ſeveral places of that Epiſtle we may gather, that the conſent of the People was required in the Ordination of Clergy-men. The Holy Fathers alſo in that ſame Epiſtle deprive thoſe Biſhops who adhered to *Meletius* the Schiſmatick, of all Authority of propoſing their names to the People, who were to be admitted into Holy Orders, and only granted it to thoſe Biſhops who were pure from all Schiſm. For, in thoſe days, the Biſhops gave up the names of them who were to be Ordained to the People, that if they had any thing to object againſt any of them, they might atteſt it openly; as we may read in the *Sacramentarium* of *Gregory the Great*. There is alſo an excellent paſſage in St. *Chryſoſtome* upon the ſame thing *in his 18th Homily upon the ſecond Epiſtle of Paul to the Corinthians*. We have the whole Solemnity excellently deſcribed in the *Sacramentarium* of *Gregory the Great*, pag. 236. upon which place conſult the whole Annotations of that moſt learned Man *Hugo Menardus*. Valeſ.

(ſ) Κλῆρος ſignifies *a Degree or Order of them who have any Office in the Church*. So *Cornelius* calls κλῆρον πρεσβυτερίας, *the Presbyterſhip*. *Euſebius* and *Irenæus* very often uſe κλῆρον ἐπισκοπῆς for *the Dignity of a Biſhop*: κλῆρός τις ſignifies any degree whatſoever. *Valeſ.*

Decius.

(t) It was the proper duty of the *Prieſt* to deliver the Euchariſt, and the Cup into the Hands of the Receivers. See *Chryſoſtome*'s 46 Homily upon *Matthew*: In the 2d Council of *Orleans*, Chap. 15. the Deacons are forbid to preſume to deliver the Body of Chriſt to the Believers, when the Prieſt is preſent. *Valeſ.*

(u) Every Oath has a Curſe annex'd to it, which though it is not always expreſſed (as in this place) yet may be tacitly underſtood; which thing the Latin Tranſlators did not take notice of, and hence they make αὐτῷ κατασῆσαι to ſignifie, *before he had devoted himſelf to him* (i. e.) as they ſuppoſed to *Novatianus*: But I had rather read it ἑαυτῷ, with *George Syncellus*. The meaning of the place then is this, *That the unhappy Man was not permitted to taſte, before he had ſolemnly curſed himſelf.* Valeſ.

† This Phraſe [ἀντὶ τῦ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀμὴν, *inſtead of ſaying Amen*] has the ſame import with what *Cornelius* has ſaid a little before, *viz.* [ἀντὶ τῦ εὐλογεῖν, *inſtead of bleſſing him.*] For the faithful (when they received the Euchariſt from the hands of the Prieſt) uſed to anſwer *Amen*, after the Prieſt, delivering the Sacrament: had ſaid, *The Body of our Lord*, &c. See *Ambroſ.* in his B. 4. Chap. 5. *De Sacrament*: *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, *in his laſt Catechiſm*; and *Auguſt.* B. 12. Chap. 10. *againſt Fauſtus*, Valeſ.

(x) Concerning this *Moſes*, a Presbyter of *Rome*, *Cyprian* in his Epiſtles do ſpeak frequently. After the Martyrdom of *Fabianus* Biſhop of *Rome* (who ſuffered *Anno Chriſti* 250.) this *Moſes* was apprehended, (together with *Maximus* the Presbyter, and *Nicoſtratus* the Deacon,) caſt into Priſon, where after 11 Months and 11 Days, he dy'd. See *Cyprian*'s 15th Epiſtle to *Moſes* and *Maximus*. Valeſ.

(y) *Moſes* being a Presbyter had no Authority to excommunicate his fellow-Presbyters: All he could do was to ſeparate himſelf from their Communion, when they came to viſit him in Priſon. This Phraſe here [ἀκοινώνησεν ἐποίησε, i. e. *he deprived him of Communion*] the ancient Writers frequently uſed, when they ſpake of thoſe Presbyters, who abſtained from Communion with others. See *Paulinus in the Life of* St. *Ambroſe*. *Moſes*'s depriving of *Novatianus* of Communion was, I ſuppoſe, done by him a little before his death. For at firſt *Moſes* the Confeſſor had Communion with *Novatianus*: And when the Clergy of *Rome* wrote that Epiſtle to *Cyprian* (which among *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles is accounted the 31,) *Moſes* then had Communion with *Novatianus*; for both of them ſubſcrib'd that Epiſtle. Moreover, *Novatianus* himſelf wrote an Epiſtle, as *Cyprian* atteſts in his Epiſtle to *Antonianus*: From which Epiſtle we may perceive the Wit and Eloquence of *Novatianus*; for that Epiſtle, we muſt confeſs, is a moſt elegant Piece; and it was written when *Moſes* had been a year in Priſon, as may be collected from *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles to *Moſes*. Valeſ.

(z) Who theſe five Presbyters were, who with *Novatianus* made a Schiſm, 'tis to me unknown. I can't think that *Maximus* the Presbyter and Confeſſor, who with *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, *Nicoſtratus*, and the reſt of the Confeſſors were ſeduced by *Novatianus*, adhered to his Party any long time. For *Maximus* and the reſt of the Confeſſors went

went over to *Novatianus*'s party after *Moses*'s death. Indeed *Novatianus* separated himself from the Church before *Moses*'s death, which happened in *February*, *Decius* 3, and *Etruscus* being *Consuls*: But the Confessors did not betake themselves to *Novatianus*'s side till after *Moses*'s death. So great was the power and authority of *Moses*. Besides, 'tis evident the Confessors were not dismist of their imprisonment till *Moses* was dead: For why should they be freed rather than *Moses*? Therefore they became *Novatianus*'s followers after *Moses*'s death. One *Maximus*, name-sake to *Maximus* the Presbyter and Confessor, seems to have been one of these five Presbyters; whom *Novatianus* sent as his Messenger afterwards into *Africa*. Vales.

CHAP. XLIV.

Dionysius's *Story concerning* Serapion.

Decius. DIONYSIUS Bishop of *Alexandria* sent Letters to to this same *Fabius*, who was something inclining to this Schism, and having discoursed several things concerning Repentance in his Letters to him, and also related the Combats of some who had undergone Martyrdom a little before at *Alexandria*, amongst other Stories, he relates a miraculous thing, which I thought necessary here to insert into this our History, it runs thus: 'I 'will here propose to you one Example which 'hapned amongst us. There was amongst us one *Serapion* an old Man, a Believer; who for a long time had liv'd blameless: But in the time of Persecution he lapsed; he often petition'd for pardon, (*a*) but no body gave attention to him, because he had sacrific'd. Being taken with Sickness, he remain'd for the space of three days speechless, and senseless: Being a little refresh'd on the fourth day, he called his Daughter's Son to him, and said, Child, how long do you detain me? I pray make haste, and absolve me quickly, call one of the (*b*) Presbyters to me: And when he had spoken these words, he was again speechless. The Child ran to the Presbyter. It was now Night; and the Presbyter also was sick, and not able to come. But (because I had before given command, [that those People who were dying, if they desired it, and (*c*) especially if they had before humbly requested it, should be (*d*) absolved, that they might depart with a lively hope) he (*e*) gave 'to the Child a piece of the Sacrament, bidding him to (*f*) moisten it in Water, and put it into the old Man's Mouth: The Child return'd with it. And when he approached, before he came in; *Serapion* again recover'd himself a little, and said, Child thou art come, the Presbyter was not able to come; but do thou perform quickly what he enjoyn'd thee, and let me depart. The Boy moisten'd it in Water, and put it into his Mouth immediately: And when he had swallow'd it by little and little, he straightway gave up the Ghost. Is it not plain that he was preserved, and his Life prolong'd till he was absolv'd, that his Sin being quite blotted out, he might for the several good Works he perform'd, be (g) acknowledg'd [by Christ?"] Thus much *Dionysius*.

(*a*) He means that none of the Clergy, or Laity, were moved with his entreaties so as to think him worthy of absolution. (For the People's Suffrages were required when any one was to be received into the Church, who for any fault had been excommunicated.) And the Bishop himself sometimes asked the Consent of the People, The People also did often intercede for the Penitents to the Bishop, as we may see in the preceding Chapter in the Epistle of Pope *Cornelius* to *Fabian* Bishop of *Antioch*. Vales.

(*b*) Some one may perhaps ask why *Serapion* did not rather send for the Bishop, whose Office it was to reconcile Penitents. The Bishop had given this Authority to the Presbyters, for fear, lest he being absent, any one should dye without Absolution and the Communion. See *Epiphanius in his Heresie of the Arians*. This custom of committing this Authority to the Presbyters was usual in all great Cities. *Vales.*

(*c*) This was the Decree of the *African Synod* about the same time that *Dionysius* wrote these things. *Vales.*

(*d*) In the *Savil* and *Fuk.* MSS. before this word [ἀφιέσθαι] there are some Words inserted which also *Christophorson* inserts in his Translation: It may appear from this place that the Sacrament was delivered to such Penitents in case of necessity, without the reconciliatory imposition of Hands. And this Communion was called, the *Vitaticum*. See Canon the 77 and 78 of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, and the 39th Canon of the first Council of *Arausica*: This Communion was called also *dispensatoria*, because it was granted to dying Penitents, before the completion of the full time appointed for Repentance, and if the penitent Communicant recovered, it was perfected after his recovery by Imposition, he compleating his time of Repentance. *Vales.*

(*e*) This that *Dionysius* here says concerning the giving of the Eucharist to the Boy to carry to the sick Person, ought not to seem strange, for it was frequently done a long time after; So that St. *Udalric* thought it necessary expresly to prohibit it, in his Synodical Speech which *Gretser* published, together with the Life of *Gregory the Seventh*, Chap. 20. But that which *Gretser* takes to be St. *Udalric*'s Oration, I found lately to be the Synodical Epistle of *Ratherius* Bishop of *Verona* to his Clergy. And so 'tis entitled in the old *Laudunensian* MS. *Vales.*

Decius. (*f*) *Rufinus* translates this *Phrase* ἐπιῤῥέξαι κελεύσας, thus, *He commanded it should be given him being dipped.* So the Ancients us'd to dip the Consecrated Bread in Water, as *Adamannus* witnesseth in his 2d Book *concerning the Miracles of St.* Columba, Cap. 6. And *Bede* also in the Life of St. *Cuthbert*, Chap. 31. and in his Poem upon the same Man's Life; and several other Ecclesiastical Writers. But the Eucharists being put into the mouth of sick Persons, is mentioned in the 76th Canon of the 4th Council of *Carthage*; which Canon is, *concerning sick Persons, who desired Repentance, but were speechless before the Priest came to them.* See the Contents of that Canon. *Vales.*

(*g*) *Langus*, *Wolfius* and *Musculus* render ὁμολογηθῆναι in this place by the Latin word *confiteri*; which, in my opinion, is intolerable. *Christophorson* renders it, *in numerum Confessorum referri, to be reckoned amongst the Confessors*: Which translation I like, if it be understood thus, *referri à Christo, to be reckoned by Christ.* For *Dionysius* alludeth to *Christ*'s Words in the Gospel; *He who shall confess me before Men, him will I also confess before my Father*, &c. Matth. 10. 32. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLV.

Dionysius's *Epistle to* Novatus.

LET us now see what the same Person wrote to *Novatus*, who about this time disturb'd the Fraternity of the *Roman* Church. Take notice therefore how he writes to him, because he pretended that some of the Brethren were the Authors of his Apostacy and Schism, and how he yielded to it, being compelled by them. 'Dionysius sendeth greeting to our 'Brother (*a*) *Novatus*. If 'you (as you say) were seduced unwillingly, you 'should manifest it by a 'voluntary return. For better it were to endure any 'thing whatever, than that 'the Church of God should 'be rent asunder. Nor were 'Martyrdom less honourable if a Man suffer death 'before he will yield to 'raise Schism in the Church, 'than if he undergo it rather than he will yield to 'sacrifice to Idols. Yea, in 'my opinion, 'tis much 'more glorious, for in that 'case Man suffers Martyrdom for his own Soul's 'sake only: But in this he undergoes it for the 'sake of the whole Church. Wherefore now, 'if you can perswade or compel the Brethren to 'return to concord, your Good Deed will be 'greater than your Crime; for this will not be 'imputed to you; but that will be commended. 'But if you can effect nothing upon the Disobedient, save your own Soul. I wish you Health, 'and that you may embrace Peace in the Lord." These things he wrote to *Novatus*.

(*a*) *Hieronymus*, *in his Catalogue*, where he relates the beginning of this Epistle, in stead of *Novatus* more truly writes *Novatianus*. And so in *George Syncellus*'s *Chronicle* we read Διονύσιος Νοβατιανῷ *Rufinus* says that *Dionysius* wrote two Epistles after the same Copy; one to *Novatus*, another to *Novatianus*; and at the end of *Dionysius*'s Epistle to *Novatus*, which *Eusebius* here rehearseth, he adds thus much, *And he wrote these* same Words to *Novatianus*: Which Words are no where found in the Greek Text. The Greek Writers being deceived through the likeness of the Names, make a confusion betwixt *Novatus*, and *Novatianus*, using them both to signifie one and the same Person. Our Author *Eusebius* is also guilty of this mistake. *Vales.*

Decius.

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning Dionyſius's *other Epiſtles.*

HE alſo wrote an Epiſtle *concerning Repentance* to them (*a*) in *Egypt*; in which he layeth down his Opinions concerning the Lapſed, and makes diſtinctions in the degrees of Faults. There is alſo extant a particular Book of his *concerning Repentance*, to *Conon* Biſhop of the Church of *Hermopolis*. And another (*b*) objurgatory Epiſtle to his Flock at *Alexandria*. And amongſt them there is an Epiſtle written to *Origen concerning Martyrdom*: And an Epiſtle to the Brethren at *Laodicea*, over whom *Thelymidres* was Biſhop: He alſo writ *concerning Repentance* to the Brethren in *Armenia*, over whom (*c*) *Meruzanes* was Biſhop. He writes to all theſe, and alſo to *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, after he had received his Epiſtle concerning *Novatus*: Where he declares that he was invited by *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe who were with him; and alſo by *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cappadocia*, and by *Theoctiſtus* Biſhop of *Paleſtine*, to meet them at the Synod at *Antioch*, where ſome Men endeavour'd to eſtabliſh the *Novatian* Schiſm. (*d*) Moreover, he ſends him word that he had heard *Fabius* was dead, and that *Demetrianus* was appointed to be his Succeſſor in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*. He alſo writes concerning the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in theſe very words: 'Alſo bleſſed *Alexander* being in Priſon, there 'died a happy death." There is extant beſides this another Epiſtle of his ſent by *Hippolytus* to the Brethren at *Rome*, *concerning the* (*e*) *Office of a Deacon*. He alſo wrote another to them *concerning Peace*, and *concerning Repentance* likewiſe. And again he wrote another to the Confeſſors there, who even at that preſent were favourers of *Novatus*'s Opinion. He alſo ſent to thoſe ſame Men two other Epiſtles, after their return to the Church. He alſo compiled many more Epiſtles written to divers perſons, wherein he has left to them, who at this time ſtudiouſly peruſe his Works, variety of profit.

(*a*) *Hieronymus* in his Book *concerning the Eccleſiaſtick Writers*, ſaith, that *Dionyſius* wrote this Epiſtle about *Repentance*, *and the Order and Degree of Sins*, to the *Armenians*. Valeſ.

(*b*) *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophor.* tranſlate ἐπιστρεπτικὴν, *an Hortatory Epiſtle*; but not well: *Euſebius* uſes the ſame word in his former Books. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) In the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. inſtead of μερυζάνης, 'tis μερυαζάνης; he was Biſhop of *Armenia the Leſs*, as I think. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) We muſt underſtand this News was written in the ſame Epiſtle, and not in another, as *Chriſtophorſon* thinks. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) *Ruſinus* tranſlates Διακονικὴν *de Miniſteriis*, as if the Epiſtle were ſo intitled, becauſe it treated *concerning the Miniſters of the Church.* *Jacobus Goar*, who publiſhed *Georgius Syncellus*, and illuſtrated him with his Notes, thinks that this Διακονικὴ was a kind of an Eccleſiaſtick Epiſtle, as were *the Synodical*, the Dimiſſory-Epiſtles, and the like: But I rather aſſent to *Ruſinus*, that it was called Διακονικὴ, becauſe it treated *concerning the Duty of a Deacon.* Valeſ.

28 SE 60

THE

THE

SEVENTH BOOK
Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory
OF
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

The PREFACE.

DIonyſius the Great, *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *ſhall again aſſiſt us with his Words in the Compoſure of of this* Seventh Book *of the* Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory; *who particularly relates all the Actions of his own Times, in the Epiſtles which he left to Poſterity: And our Narration ſhall take its beginning from hence.*

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Wickedneſs of Decius *and* Gallus.

Gallus.

GALLUS ſucceeds *Decius*, who was ſlain in a ſhort time, together with his (*a*) Children, before he had fully compleated the (*b*) Second Year of his Reign. (*c*) About this time died *Origen*, having lived Seventy Years wanting one. But *Dionyſius* in his Epiſtle to *Hermammon*, writes thus concerning *Gallus*: 'But neither did *Gallus* underſtand what 'was *Decius*'s Deſtruction; neither did he before 'ſee what brought his Ruin; But he alſo ſtumbled upon the ſame Stone, which lay before his Eyes. He, (his Kingdom being in a happy ſtate, and all Affairs ſucceeding according 'to his (*d*) deſire) perſecuted the Holy Men 'who offer'd up their Prayers to God for his 'Peace and Safety, and together with them, drove 'away thoſe Prayers, by which they interceded 'for him." This he writes concerning *Gallus*.

(a) *Decius* the Emperor had 2 Sons, the elder was named *Quintus Herennius Etruſcus Meſſius Decius*; The younger, *Caius Valens Hoſtilianus Meſſius Quintus*. They were both made *Cæſars* by their Father, and afterwards *Auguſti*, as may appear by their Coins, and the Inſcriptions upon them. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Euſebius* in his *Chronicle* ſaith, *Decius* reign'd one year and three months. *Aurelius Victor* ſaith, he died after he had reign'd two Years compleat. But *Victor* in his *Epitomy* ſaith he reigned thirty months. *Euſebius in his Chronicle* aſſigns one year and three months to *Decius*, becauſe he had before ſaid that *Philip* reign'd ſeven years, whereas he reigned but ſix. After his Death *Decius* proclaim'd himſelf both Emperor and Conſul, which was in the Year of Chriſt 249. And in the Year 250. he was again Conſul: And alſo the Year after he kept his Government, as we may gather by a Decree of the Senate which was made in that Year, which *Pollio* in *Valerian* relates. Wherefore he died the Year following, together with his Sons (when *Gallus* and *Voluſianus* were Conſuls,) being all kill'd in the Wars in *Thrace*. Valeſ.

(c) *Baronius* placeth *Origen*'s Death at the Year of Chriſt 256. in the third Year of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*: *Euſebius* here placeth it in the ſame year that *Decius* died, and *Gallus* began to govern. But *Euſebius* himſelf in the 36th Chapter of the 6th Book of this Hiſtory confirmeth what *Baronius* ſaith: For he ſays that in the 3d Year of *Philip* the Emperor's Reign, *Origen* was above 60 years old. And from the 3d Year of *Philip*'s Reign to the 3d Year of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*'s Conſulſhip, 'tis 9 years. Moreover, if we ſay *Origen* liv'd 69 years, and died in the firſt year of *Gallus* the Emperor, he muſt neceſſarily be born in the 4th year of *Commodus* the Emperor: But the *Chronicon Alexandr.* aſſigns his Birth to the 9th Year of that Emperor. *Valeſ.*

Gallus.

(d) Some Copies, as the King's MS. and *Stephan.* Edit. inſtead of χῦ νῦν, read χῦ ῥᾶν. And make it a Metaphor taken from them *who ſail with Tide and Stream.* Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

Who about theſe Times were Biſhops of Rome.

COrnelius having poſſeſs'd the Biſhoprick of *Rome* about three years, *Lucius* was appointed his Succeſſor. He having miniſtred in the Office not eight whole months, died, and relinquiſhed the Dignity to *Stephen*. It was this *Stephen* to whom *Dionyſius* wrote the firſt of his Epiſtles *concerning Baptiſm*, there being about that time a great Controverſie raiſed, whether it were lawful for the Converts, of what Sect ſoever, to be cleanſed by Baptiſm. (*a*) For an old Cuſtom had prevail'd, that about theſe Converts only Impoſition together with Prayer was to be uſed.

(a) At theſe *words* we ſhould begin the 3d Chapt. for what follows concerning *Cyprian*, ought to be contain'd in the ſame Sentence with theſe laſt words in this Chapter. And before theſe words in all Books we find a diſtinction, which ſhews, here is to begin another Period. But *Muſculus* and *Chriſtoph.* begin the third Chapter where we do. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. III.

How Cyprian, *with ſome Biſhops which were of his mind, was the firſt that was of the Opinion, that the Converts of any Heretical Sect whatever, ought to be a rebaptized.*

CYprian then Biſhop of *Carthage* was the (*a*) firſt of all, who thought, that Hereticks ſhould not be admitted unleſs they were cleanſed

(a) *Cyprian* was not the firſt Author of this Opinion; but *Agrippinus*, who was Biſhop of *Carthage* a long time before

before him, having aſſembled together the Biſhops of *Africa* and *Numidia*, made a Decree that Hereticks ſhould be re-baptiz'd, as *Cyprian* ſaith in his 71 and 73 Epiſtles. Therefore *Cyprian* ought here to be excuſed, who only endeavoured to maintain his Predeceſſors Opinion, which was eſtabliſh'd by the Authority of a Synod. But this Cuſtom of re-baptizing Hereticks, had been uſed in *Cappadocia* time out of mind, as *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*. Valeſ.

Gallus. from their former Error by Baptiſm. (*b*) But *Stephen* thinking no Innovations ought to be raiſed in oppoſition to the Tradition which had prevailed of old, was in no wiſe well pleaſed the Biſhops at this.

(*b*) The Epiſtle of *Stephen* to the Biſhops of *Africa* is in the 74 and 75 Epiſt. of *Cyprian*. *Firmilianus* alſo, in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*, relates ſome Heads of that Epiſtle, and confutes them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

How many Epiſtles Dionyſius *wrote concerning this Controverſie.*

* To *Stephen.* DIonyſius therefore having written at large to * him concerning this buſineſs, at laſt certifieth him, that the Perſecution being allay'd, the Churches in all places, which deteſted *Novatus*'s (*a*) *Novelties*, had regain'd a general Peace amongſt themſelves: Thus he writes.

(*a*) Νεωτερηγποίια (the term here) has ſome alluſion to *Novatus*, or *Novatianus*'s name: Other *Greek* Authors call that which the Latines call *Novitates hæreſeon, Novelties, Innovations*, or *newneſs of Doctrine*, νεωτερηγποίιας. *Valeſ.*

'(*d*) frequently relieve, and to whom you have now written: *Meſopotamia* alſo, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*: And in a word, all People every-where rejoyce for the Concord and Brotherly-love, and praiſe God." Theſe are the words of *Dionyſius*. But *Xyſtus* ſucceeds *Stephen* after he had executed the Epiſcopal Office two years. To him *Dionyſius* wrote a ſecond Epiſtle *concerning Baptiſm*, and ſet forth to him the Judgment and Opinion of *Stephen*, and the other Biſhops. Concerning *Stephen* thus he writes: 'Indeed he before '(*e*) wrote Letters concerning *Helenus* and *Firmilianus*, and all the [Biſhops] of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*. And moreover, concerning all the neighbouring Provinces, that he would have no communion with them for this very reaſon, becauſe, ſays he, they rebaptize Hereticks. And conſider the weightineſs of the Affair; for truly I hear that there have been Determinations made in the (*f*) greateſt Synods of Biſhops concerning this buſineſs, that Hereticks which were converted, ſhould be firſt Catechized, and then ſhould be waſh'd and cleanſed from the Filth of their old and unclean Leaven. And I wrote to him, making interceſſion for all theſe Men. And afterwards he ſays; Alſo to our Well-beloved and Fellow-Presbyters, *Dionyſius* and *Philemon* (who were formerly of *Stephen*'s Opinion, and wrote to me concerning the ſame things) I before wrote in ſhort, but now I have written more at large." But thus much concerning the ſaid Controverſie.

Gallus.

(*d*) The Church of *Rome* was wont formerly to relieve other *Churches*, and to ſend *Money* and *Cloaths* to the Brethren in Captivity, and to thoſe which wrought as *Slaves* in the Mines. So *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Corinth* ſaith in his Epiſtle to Pope *Soter*; which Epiſtle *Euſebius* quotes in his 4th B. Chap. 23. *Euſebius* alſo in that ſame place ſays, that this laudable cuſtom continued in the Church of *Rome* in his days. And to that purpoſe Collections were made in the Church. Ἐπαρκεῖν properly ſignifies, *to ſupply one with all things neceſſary for a journey, viaticum præbere*, and alſo it ſignifies (as it does here) *to relieve charitably, as we do Beggars, with Money*, or *Alms*. So *Clemens Alex.* in his firſt Book *Stromat.* and *Chryſoſt.* in his 67 Homily upon *Matthew*, uſe the word. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) *Stephen* wrote another Epiſtle (beſides that we mentioned, before he wrote to the Biſhops of *Africa*) to the Eaſtern Biſhops, which *Firmilianus* mentions in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*, near the end: Where *Firmilianus* ſays, that he broke off all Peace and Friendſhip with the Eaſtern Biſhops, but he did not, only threatned that he would renounce all communion with them, if they perſiſted in their old Opinion, as *Dionyſius* here expreſly teſtifieth. It is certain that *Stephen* never proceeded in this matter farther than threats; for after *Stephen*'s death, *Dionyſius* wrote to *Xyſtus* deſiring his judgment in that point. For *Dionyſius* inclined to the Opinion of the *Africans*, and the Eaſtern Biſhops, as *Hieronymus* witneſſeth. *Firmilianus* in his foreſaid Epiſtle does ſtrangely aggravate the buſineſs; ſo that ſome think from his words they may gather that *Stephen* excommunicated thoſe Biſhops: He was indeed much diſpleaſed that the *African* Synod ſhould pretend to diſannul ſo ancient a cuſtom, and make Decrees, that Hereticks ſhould be rebaptized, without the knowledge of the Church of *Rome*: But he never broke Peace with them, nor excommunicated them: For he wrote an anſwer to *Cyprian*. And altho' his Letters to *Cyprian* were ſomething ſharp, yet they ſtill remain'd Friends: For *Cyprian* afterwards in his Letters to *Pompeius*, called *Stephen* Brother. In fine, the *Africans*, notwithſtanding *Stephen*'s Letters, rebaptiz'd Hereticks till the Times of *Conſtantine*, as we may ſee from the Council of *Orleans*. Valeſ.

(*f*) He means by *theſe great* Synods, the Synod of *Iconium*, of which ſee *Firmilianus*'s Epiſtle to *Cyprian*; the Council of *Synnada*, and the Council of *Carthage* under *Cyprian*: In which Council above eighty Biſhops gave their Opinion, ſome of which were Martyrs and Confeſſors: In the Council of *Iconium* fifty Biſhops met, as *Auguſt.* atteſts in Book 3. and Chap. 3. againſt *Creſconius*. But the Eaſtern Churches, eſpecially the Churches of *Cappadocia*, ſtill retained their old cuſtom of rebaptizing Hereticks. And that cuſtom remained amongſt them even till the firſt Synod of *Conſtantinople*. Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Peace which followed the Perſecution.

(*a*) *Baronius* from this Epiſt. of *Dionyſius*'s (at the Year of *Chriſt* 259) gathers that the Eaſtern Biſhops had renounced their Error, and adher'd to *Stephen*'s Opinion, *that Hereticks were not to be rebaptiz'd.*

'(*a*) BUT know (my Brother,) that all the Churches throughout the Eaſt, amongſt which there were formerly Diviſions, are now united." (*b*) *And a little farther he writes*, And all the Prelates every-where are in perfect concord, as to their Sentiments, and rejoyce exceedingly for this unexpected Peace: [*to wit,*] *Demetrianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*; *Theoctiſtus* of *Cæſarea*, *Mazabanes* of (*c*) *Ælia*, *Alexander* being dead, *Marinus* of *Tyre*; *Heliodorus* of *Laodicea*, *Thelymidres* being deceaſed; *Helenus* of *Tarſus*, and all the Churches of *Cilicia*; *Firmilianus*, and all *Cappadocia*. For I have here only named the more eminent Biſhops, that my Epiſtle might not be too long, nor my Relation troubleſome: Alſo all the Provinces of *Syria* and *Arabia*, whom you

But any conſiderate Reader of this Epiſtle will find it far otherwiſe. For the Subject of this Epiſtle is twofold. 1. Whether Hereticks were to be rebaptized. 2. Concerning the Unanimity of the Oriental Churches, which had abominated the *Novatian* Hereſie, and decreed that the Lapſed ſhould be received. He therefore tells him, that *Demetrianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, Metropolitan of the Eaſt, and the reſt had ſubſcribed to this Opinion; which he knew would pleaſe *Stephen*, becauſe *Fabius*, *Demetrianus*'s Predeceſſor, endeavour'd to eſtabliſh the *Novatian* Hereſie, as *Dionyſius* before ſignified in the end of the 6th Book of this Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Theſe words [καὶ ἔτι προϊόντως, 'and a little farther,'] are not in the *Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. but *Syncellus*, *Nicephorus*, King's, *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. have them; and though ſome will have theſe words to ſignifie προϊοντως Ἐκκλήσιαι, *the more remote Churches*, yet I think that they are *Euſebius*'s own words, repeating the Heads of *Dionyſius*'s *Epiſtle*. And this is my Reaſon, becauſe in moſt of our MSS. there is a middle diſtinction at theſe words; therefore we tranſlate it thus, *a little further he writes*. Valeſ.

(*c*) This City was in *Dionyſius*'s Days, and alſo till *Conſtantinus*'s Time called *Ælia*. It was afterwards called *Jeruſalem* (as I before noted) through the Pride of the Biſhops of that See, who termed themſelves the Succeſſors of *James the Juſt*: Hence is it that *Rufinus* never calls it *Ælia*, but according to the manner of his Times, always *Jeruſalem*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Hereſie of Sabellius.

(*a*) AFter this Head of diſcourſe, he informs him of the (*b*) *Sabellian* Hereticks, who at that

(*a*) Inſtead of σημαίνων ἐν τούτῳ, the King's MS. reads ἐπ' αὐτῷ, which reading we follow, and underſtand κεφαλαίῳ, which word is uſed in *Euſebius* before. Now ἐπ' αὐτῷ κεφαλαίῳ, ſignifies, *Poſt illud capitulum, after that Chapter*, or *Head of his Diſcourſe*. *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to *Xyſtus* conſiſted of two principal Heads, which were the Matter and Subject of the whole, (*viz.*) *Concerning Hereticks being rebaptized*, and *concerning Sabellius's Hereſie*. Valeſ.

(*b*) Theſe Hereticks were very ancient, even before *Sabellius*, though thoſe

those who maintained these Opinions were afterwards also denominated from *Sabellius*. For we find this was the Opinion of *Praxeas*, against whom *Tertullian* wrote. After *Praxeas* followed *Noetus*, (See *Epiphan. Hæres.* 57.) from whom they were called *Noetiani*. Suddenly after *Noetus* arose *Sabellius*, from whom all which held the same Opinion, were afterwards called *Sabellians*. This *Sabellius* (the reviver of this Heresie) was a *Lybian*, born at *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*: He affirmed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but one Subsistence, one Person under three several Names, which in the time of the Old Testament gave the Law under the notion of the Father: In the New, was made Man in the capacity of the Son, and descended afterwards upon the Apostles, in the quality of the Holy Ghost. *Dionysius* undertakes this Man; but managing the Cause with too much eagerness and fervency of disputation, he bent the Stick too much the other way, asserting not only ἑτερότητα τῆς ὑποστάσεως, *a distinction of Persons*, but also ἄνισας διαφορὰς, *a difference of Essence*, and an inequality of Power and Glory. Upon which account he is severely censured by St. *Basil*, (*Epist.* 41. *ad Magn. Philosoph.*) and others of the Ancients, as one of those who in a great measure opened the Gap to those *Arian* Impieties, which afterwards broke in upon the World.

Gallus. time abounded mightily; and thus he writes; 'For concerning the Opinion which lately 'sprung up at *Ptolemais* a City of *Pentapolis*, which 'is impious, and full of Blasphemies against God 'Almighty, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; 'and contains much Infidelity against his only-'begotten Son, the first-begotten of every Crea-'ture, the Word that was conversant amongst 'Men; and is full of stupidity and senselesness 'about the Holy Ghost: When Letters came to 'me from both Parties and Brethren to discourse 'with me, I wrote some (*c*) Epistles according to 'my ability with God's assistance, explaining 'those [Points] more at large like an Instructor: 'Of which Epistles I have sent you Copies.

(*c*) *Dionysius* here seems to mean his Epistle to *Ammon* Bishop of *Bernice*, and that to *Telesphorus*, and that to *Euphranor*: All against *Sabellius*. *Eusebius* mentions these Epistles, in Chap. 26. of this seventh Book. *Athanasius* in his *defence of Dionysius Alexandrinus* mentions but one Epistle of *Dionysius*'s to *Ammonius* and *Euphranor*. *Dionysius* was accused by some Bishops of *Egypt*, for speaking some things about Christ in that Epistle which were not Orthodox. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the most execrable Error of the Hereticks, and concerning the Vision sent from God, which appeared to Dionysius, *and the Ecclesiastick Canon he received.*

THE same *Dionysius* in his third Epistle *concerning Baptism*, written to *Philemon*, Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, annexeth these words: 'I have read over the Books and Tra-'ditions of the Hereticks, defiling my Mind for 'a little while with their most accursed Inven-'tions: Indeed, I received this advantage from 'them, that I can the better confute them in 'my own thoughts, and do grow to a greater 'detestation of them. And when one of my Bro-'ther-Presbyters prohibited me, fearing lest I 'should be mixed and disordered with the Filth 'of their Wickedness; (for he said my Mind 'would be defiled, and truly I was sensible he said 'true:) a Vision sent from God corroborated me. 'And a voice came to me, which gave me 'this express command, saying, Read all things 'that thou shalt take into thy hands, for thou art 'able to search into, and to examine every thing, 'and this was the principal cause of thy becoming 'a Christian: I gladly received the Vision, as 'being consonant with the (*a*) Words of the Apo-'stle, who speaketh thus to those who are able,

(*a*) These Words γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, *be ye skilful Tryers or Examiners*, are no where found in the Apostle. Indeed we have, in *the first Epistle to the Thessalonians* Chap. 5. ver. 21. these Words, *Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*: Which are the same in effect with these, *be ye Tryers*, &c. But *Origen* and *Hieronymus* say that these words, *Estote boni Trapezitæ*, are an express command of our Saviour's: And that the place out of the *Thessalonians* above-quoted has relation to these words δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, and exactly agrees with them; wherefore I am of the same mind with the Learned *Usher*, who in his *Proleg. to Ignatius's Epist.* cap. 8. says, this command of Christ is taken out of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. These words are also quoted in *Cyril Hierosolymit.* his 6 Catechism, near the end. *Vales.*

'*Be ye skilful* * *Examiners.*" Afterwards, having spoken something concerning all the Heresies, he continues, saying; 'I received this Rule and 'Canon from *Heraclas* our Blessed Pope. For 'those who were Converts from Heresies, (altho' 'they were (*b*) Apostates from the Church; or 'rather not Apostates, but seemingly assembled 'themselves, and were privately discovered to 'frequent any of the Heterodox Teachers) he ex-'communicated, and would not again admit 'them into the Church although they intreated 'him before they had made a publick Confession 'of what they had heard from the adverse Party. 'And then he again admitted them to Commu-'nion, but thought no second Baptism was re-'quisite for them, because they had before re-'ceived Holy * [Baptism] from him." Again, after a copious discourse upon this Question, he thus concludes: 'This furthermore I understand, 'that the *Africans* of this Age were not the 'only Introducers of this Custom, but this was 'established long before by Bishops, who were 'before our Age, in their most populous Assem-'blies, and in the (*c*) Synods of the Brethren at '*Iconium*, and at *Synnada*, and amongst many o-'ther Persons; whose Sentiments and Determi-'nations I will by no means overthrow, nor ex-'cite them to Contention and Strife. For it is

Gallus.

* The term in the original is τραπεζῖται, which word occurs *Matt.* 25. 27. where our Translation renders it *Exchangers*. The *Israelites* being bound by the Law (Exod. 30. 13.) to come up to *Jerusalem*, how far soever they dwelt from it, and there to sacrifice and offer the *half-shekel* for the use of the Temple, (which by the length of their journey they were sometimes disabled to do) these *Trapezitæ* set up their Tables in the very Temple, that so they might traffick with all that had use of them; in like manner as others brought *Oxen* and *Sheep* and *Doves*, to sell there to them which had not brought their Sacrifices with them. See Dr. *Hammond* on *Matt.* 21. v. 12.

(*b*) Here we may see the Difference between *Apostates*, and those which are *simply called Hereticks*. *Apostates* were them, who had been baptized in the Catholick Church, but had deserted the Church and revolted to Hereticks: *Simple Hereticks* were those who had never been admitted into the Church. And this was the custom in the Church, that *Apostates* as well as *simple Hereticks* should be received (when they returned to the Church) *by imposition of Hands*. St. *August.* in his 48 Epistle to *Vincentius* saith, the Church dealt more kindly with them who were never received into the Church, (that is with them who were *simply Hereticks*) than with them who had been received into her, and deserted her, (that is *Apostates*.) This is therefore the sense of *Dionysius*'s words here, as we may gather by the aforementioned Words of St. *August.* *Dionysius* here says, *Heraclas* his Predecessor had this form of admitting Converts, who had been *Apostate Hereticks*, into the Church. He required *a publick Confession* (which is called *Exomologesis*) of the Principles of that Heresie which they had followed; but he did not baptize them, because they had been before baptized: Immediately after this Confession he laid his Hands upon them (as we may gather from *Dionysius*'s words;) this imposition of hands upon *an Apostate*, and *a simple Heretick*, was different. The one was *ad pœnitentiam, in order to Repentance*: The other was *ad tradendum Spiritum Sanctum, for the delivery of the Holy Ghost*; the first was used at the admission of *Apostates*, the other at the admission of them whom they called *pure Hereticks*. See *Cyprian*'s Epistle to *Stephanus*. Vales.

* In the *Med.* MS. and *Rob. Stephen*'s Edit. the reading is [τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πνεύματος, &c. *for they had received the holy Spirit*, &c.] In the King's, *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. the word [πνεύματος, *Spirit*] is wanting: Which in my judgment is the truest reading. For *Dionysius* gives the reason why *Heraclas* did not reiterate Baptism in the admission of Hereticks in these words [τὸ γὰρ ἅγιον πρότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ τετυχήκεσαν] [understand βαπτίσματος, *Baptism*] [*for they had before received Holy Baptism from him.*] *Dionysius* calls Baptism *Holy*, to difference it from the Baptism of Hereticks; which *Cyprian*, *Firmilian.* and others (who at that time defended the opinion *of not rebaptizing Hereticks*) call *profane*: *Dionysius* was a favourer of their party, as appears both from his Epistles here quoted by *Eusebius*, and also from St. *Jerom*'s Testimony. *Vales.*

(*c*) That these Synods were before *Dionysius Alexand.* his time, we may easily gather by his own Words here: For he expressly affirms that these Synods were πολλῷ πρὸ ἡμῶν, *long before our time*. The same thing *Firmilianus* witnesseth, in his Epistle to *Cyprian* concerning the Synod of *Iconium*. This Synod was a long time before the Days of *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, as we may gather by *Firmilianus*'s Words in his said Epistle to *Cyprian*, where he expressly affirms that this Synod

of

of *Iconium* had been long ſince aſſembled: Alſo *Dionyſius Alexand.* in his Epiſtle to *Philemon* Presbyter of *Rome*, which he wrote about the beginning of the preſidency of *Xyſtus*, ſaith, that this Synod was ſolemnly aſſembled by the Biſhops which preceded him *a long time*. Therefore this Synod ſeems to have been aſſembled about the end of *Alexander Severus*'s Reign: About which time, as *Euſebius* in the 6th Book of this Hiſtory recordeth, *Firmilianus* was newly promoted to the Dignity of Prieſt in the Church of *Cæſarea*. Therefore I cannot aſſent to *Baronius* and *Binius*, who reckon this Synod of *Iconium* in the Year of Chriſt 258, which was the 2d Year of *Stephen*'s preſidency. *Valeſ.*

Gallus. ‘written: *Thou ſhalt not remove thy neighbour's land-*
‘*mark, which thy fathers have ſet in thine inheritance.*” His fourth Epiſtle *concerning Baptiſm*, is written to *Dionyſius*, who was at that time Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, and a little while after obtained the Biſhoprick there. From which Epiſtle we may learn what a Learned and Admirable Man this ſame *Dionyſius* was, by *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*'s Teſtimonies of him. After other things he writes to him in that Epiſtle concerning *Novatus* in theſe words:

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Novatus's *Hereſie.*

‘FOR with ſufficient reaſon we abominate
‘*(a) Novatianus*, who ſtir'd up Schiſm in the
‘Church, and ſeduced ſome of the Brethren to
‘Blaſphemies and Impieties, and introduced moſt
‘prophane Doctrine concerning God, and calum-
‘niouſly accuſed our moſt gracious Lord Jeſus
‘Chriſt as unmerciful; beſides all theſe things he
‘*(b)* diſalloweth of Holy Baptiſm; and utterly
‘aboliſheth Faith, and the *(c)* Confeſſion of Faith
‘before Baptiſm: And he perfectly *(d)* baniſheth
‘the Holy Ghoſt from them, (although there,
‘were ſome hope that it ſtill reſted in them
‘or would return to them again.)

(a) The *Maz. Med. Fuk* MSS. read Νοουατιανῷ, and truly, as we afore-noted Book 6. Chap. 45. 'Tis ſtrange that we find the true name of this Heretick only in this place of *Euſebius*. Valeſ.

(b) Ἀθετεῖν τὸ λετρὸν ἅγιον· What may be the true meaning of ἀθετεῖν, in this place may be beſt conjectured by conſidering the divers Significations of the Word, for from the various meanings of the Word, aroſe the different Tranſlations of this place. Ἀθετεῖν ſometimes ſignifies *to reject*, *to ſcorn*, ſometimes *to diſgrace*, or *diſhonour*, as *Heſych.* ſaith, ἀθετεῖ, ἀτιμάζει, *not to eſteem*, or *value one*, but *to deſpiſe*: So *Clemens Alexand. Stromat.* Book 4. uſes the word. Οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ τὴν θεὸν ἀθετεῖ. *Novatianus* who did not allow but condemn the Baptiſm of the Catholick Church, is fitly ſaid here ἀθετεῖν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα· (i. e.) *he rejected*, and *contemned* that Baptiſm as unprofitable and ineffectual to Salvation. *Valeſ.*

(c) 'Twas the cuſtom for the *Catechumeni*, or *Catechized*, before the receiving of Baptiſm to repeat the Creed. And at every Article the Prieſt asked them whether they believed; to which they anſwered, *Yes, I believe*: Wherefore when they ſaid that *they believed the Remiſſion of Sins*, *Novatianus* who did not allow Remiſſion of Sins, but aboliſhed it, muſt alſo aboliſh that Confeſſion of Faith which the *Catechized* repeated before Baptiſm. See *Cyprian*'s 70th and 76th Epiſtle. *Valeſ.*

(d) It is very difficult to underſtand what *Dionyſius* here means by ſaying, *Novatianus baniſhed the Holy Spirit from the Brethren*: Perhaps by the Holy Spirit he means *the Grace which was given to Penitents by impoſition of Hands when they were admitted into Communion, after the performance of the duty of Repentance.* But then theſe words are very obſcure (*altho' there was ſome hope that it ſtill reſted in them, or would return to them again.*) 'Tis plain and evident that *Dionyſius* here ſpeaks concerning them who had lapſed, but how can the Holy Spirit be ſaid to abide in them who had ſinned? Indeed it may be ſaid to return again to them after their Repentance, but can in no wiſe abide in them, for the Scripture ſaith, *Every Soul which ſinneth ſhall likewiſe periſh.* We muſt then underſtand it of them who had lapſed through weakneſs and ignorance: Who in thoſe days were called *libellatici*, or *ſacrificers*, (who had purchaſed libels of ſecurity from the Heathen Magiſtrate, for fear leſt they ſhould be compelled to ſacrifice) for ſuch as ſin through weakneſs or ignorance, do not forfeit the Grace of the Spirit: But if this explication pleaſe not, we will underſtand it ſpoken of the Faithful: Some of whom retained the Holy Spirit which they received in Baptiſm, ſome loſt it. From them who had loſt it, *Novatianus* utterly expelled and baniſhed the Holy Spirit, by denying them Repentance and Peace, by which the Grace of the Holy Spirit is regained; he drove it away from them who retained it, and kept it, by inſinuating into their minds falſe and ſiniſter Opinions of the Holy Ghoſt, as that he was *unmerciful*, *implacable*, &c. And ſo denied them, and utterly deprived them of all hopes of pardon for Sin committed. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

Gallus.

Concerning the Baptiſm of the Hereticks, that it is impious.

Dionyſius's Fifth Epiſtle was written to *Xyſtus* Biſhop of *Rome*. In which after much diſcourſe againſt Hereticks, he relates this very accident which hapned in his days. ‘For truly
‘(Brother) I want your advice, and deſire your
‘judgment. Such a thing as this, coming to my
‘knowledge, I fear leſt I ſhould err in it. For
‘one of the Congregation of the Brethren, who
‘was accounted an ancient *Believer*, a perſon who
‘had been a Member of the Congregation before
‘my Ordination, (yea, and as I think) before
‘ever bleſſed *Heraclas* was conſtituted Biſhop:
‘This Man (*I ſay*) being preſent at the Bap-
‘tiſm of ſome who were lately baptized, and
‘having heard the Queſtions and their Anſwers,
‘came to me weeping, and lamenting his own
‘caſe: And falling down at my Feet he made a
‘confeſſion of, and renounced the Baptiſm which
‘he had received from the Hereticks, that it was
‘not of this kind, neither had it any likeneſs at
‘all to this of ours; but was full of Impieties and
‘Blaſphemies. He alſo ſaid that he was now moſt
‘grievouſly prick'd in Mind, and had not the
‘confidence to lift up his Eyes to God, having
‘been initiated by ſuch impious words and ce-
‘remonies. For this reaſon he pray'd that he might
‘partake of the moſt pure Baptiſm, *(a)* Adoption
‘and Grace: Which thing I durſt not perform;
‘but told him that the daily Communion with
‘the Church he had ſo long enjoy'd was ſufficient
‘for that. For I durſt not rebaptize one who had
‘heard the (*b*) giving of thanks, and had toge-
‘ther with the reſt of the Congregation ſaid *A-*
‘*men* to it, and who had *(c)* ſtood before the holy
‘Table, and *(d)* ſtretch'd out his hand to receive
‘the holy Food; and who had receiv'd it, and for
‘a long time had been partaker of the Body and
‘Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Moreover, I
‘bade him be of good courage, and approach the
‘Holy Communion with a ſtedfaſt Faith, and a
‘good Conſcience. But he ceaſed not his Lamen-
‘tations, and has been afraid to come to the holy

(a) υἱοθεσία is by *Chriſtophor.* rendred *ſuſceptioin Eccleſiam, a receiving into the Church*; 'tis by *Muſculus* rendred *ſuſceptio* only; which Verſion I rather approve of. For *Baptiſm* is termed υἱοθεσία, becauſe in it *God receiveth us as his Sons*: υἱοθεσία may alſo be tranſlated *perceptio*, for ſo Baptiſm is ſtiled in the MS. Acts of the Paſſion of St. *Geneſius Mimus*. Valeſ.

(b) When the Prieſt had finiſhed the ſolemn Prayer of the Euchariſt, all the People with a joint Acclamation uſed to ſay aloud *Amen*, (that is) *ſo be it*. We muſt underſtand that place of St. *Paul* in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinth.* Chap. 14. v. 16. to be ſpoken in reference to this Cuſtom, in which place St. *Paul* taxeth the *Hebrews*, who uſed the *Hebrew* or *Syrian* Language commonly in their Oblations and Divine Service, when the *Grecians* were preſent with them, (as the Commentator ſays upon the place.) This word *Amen* denotes the aſſent of the People to the Prayer made by another before them, and it is an expreſſion of affirmation, which the Church ſtill retaineth. *Valeſ.*

(c) From theſe Words [τραπέζῃ προσάντα] we may gather that the Communicants came to the Altar, and received the Body of Chriſt from the Presbyter, ſtanding up, and not upon their Knees, as we do now: Had it not been ſo, *Dionyſius* would not have added προσάντα; which word we find to be properly uſed in reference to them who miniſter at the Altar. *Chryſoſtom* in his 41 Homily, upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinth.* uſeth [ὁ παρεδρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ] for *the Prieſt*; but [οἱ προεστῶτες, or προσελθόντες] he uſeth to ſignifie *the Laity*. But in the 44 Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* all Communicants were prohibited from coming to the Altar, except *the Prieſts*. Valeſ.

(d) In the Primitive Church the faithful Communicants came to the Altar with their Hands carefully waſhed, and when they were about to receive the Body of our Lord, they ſtretched out their right Hands bending them and making them hollow, and they put their left Hands under them leſt they ſhould drop any of that Holy Food. See *Chryſoſt.* 3d Homil. upon the *Epheſians*, and alſo his 52 Homil. upon *Matthew*. Valeſ.

‘Table

'Table, and can scarce endure to be present at 'the Prayers, altho' he be desired." There is also extant another Epistle of his, besides those beforespoken of *concerning Baptism*, which is directed from him and the Church he presided over, to *Xystus* and the Church at *Rome*. In which Epistle he enters into a prolix Argumentation about, and discourses at large upon the Question proposed. There is also extant another Epistle of his, besides these concerning *Lucianus*, which he wrote to *Dionysius* the *Roman*. But thus much concerning these things.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Valerian, *and the Persecution in his Reign.*

Valerian. MOreover, *Gallus* having not possessed the Empire two compleat years, was slain; *Valerian* and *Gallienus* his Son, succeeded in the Government. Again therefore, what *Dionysius* relateth concerning this [*Valerian*] we may gather out of his Epistle to *Hermammon*, in which he makes this Narration: 'This also is reveal'd 'to St. *John*; for saith he, '(a) *And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies, and power was given unto him,* [*to continue*] '*forty and two months.* It is matter of wonder to 'see how both these things are fulfilled in *Valerian*, and especially if we consider how he behaved himself before the Persecution, how kind 'and how loving he was to the Servants of God: 'For no Emperor of all his Predecessors was so courteously, so lovingly disposed towards them '(no not (b) those who are manifestly reported 'to have been Christians) as he was, who at the 'beginning of his Empire seem'd most merciful, 'most loving towards them. His whole Houshold was filled with pious Men, and was [seemingly] a Church of God. (c) But his Master, and '(d) Chief of the Magicians of *Egypt*, persuaded him to change his resolution: Bidding him murther and persecute those pure and holy Men, as being Impugners and Obstructors of accursed and abominable Sorceries. For there were then, and are yet living, Men, who with their very aspects, or (e) blowing upon, or words, are powerful enough utterly to dissipate the Cheats of noxious *Demons*. He advised him to perform impure Rites of Initiation, abominable Inchantments and execrable Sacrifices; to cut the Throats of miserable Infants, to sacrifice the Children of unhappy Parents, to rip open the Bowels of new-born Babes; and to tear in pieces and cut asunder God's own Workmanship, as if by these Acts he should purchase for himself a prosperous Felicity." He also adds these words: 'Indeed, (f) *Macrianus* offer'd acceptable Thank-offerings to the *Demons* for the Empire which he hoped for, who at first when he was named the Emperor's (g) Rationalist, did mind nothing that was reasonable, (h) or for the Publick: But he lay under the curse of the Prophet, which saith, (i) *Wo to them who prophesie after their own hearts, and regard not the publick good.* For he did not understand that there was a Providence which over-ruled all things. Neither had he regard to the Judgment of him, who was before all, is in all, and above all. Upon this account he was indeed an Adversary of his Catholick Church: But he alienated, and banished himself from the mercy of God, and fled away from his own * Salvation as far as he could; in this thing verifying his own name." After some other Passages he again saith: 'For *Valerian*, who was induced 'to act these things by his means, was exposed to Affronts and Reproaches, according to what was spoken to *Esaias*, saying, *They have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations; I also will chuse their delusions, and recompence their sins upon them.* (k) This *Macrianus* was most extraordinarily desirous of the

(a) *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 257. cap. 7.) does excellently well explain this passage of *Dionysius*'s; to wit, concerning the space of time, during which *Valerianus*'s Persecution lasted.

For whereas *Valerian* reigned almost seven years, as 'tis acknowledged by all; in his former three years he was mild towards the *Christians*, but in his latter *triennium* he raised a Persecution against the Church- *Valerian* began to reign in the year of Christ 253. (about the end of the year) *Volusianus* 2. and *Maximus* being Coss. This is manifest from the old Coins produced by *Occo* and *Goltzius*, wherein *Valerian* is inscribed TRIBVN. POTESTAT. 3. *Consul* 3. Also, TRIB. POT. 5. Cos. 4. The same may be gathered from *Gallienus*'s Coins. *Vales.*

(b) By these Christian Emperors he means *Philip* the first Christian Emperor (as many of the Ancients do affirm) of the *Romans*: But because he speaks in the plural number, we may add *Alexander Severus*, who in his private Chappel had Christ's Image, and favoured the Christians. But *Dionysius* here means those Emperors who were called and thought to be Christians, not that they were really so. *Vales.*

(c) This ἀρχισυνάγωγος τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μάγων, *Baronius* at the year of Christ 252. saith, was the same Man that excited the *Alexandrians* in the Reign of *Decius* to persecute the Christians. (See Chap. 41. Book 6. of this History:) But I think it was quite a distinct Person, namely *Macrianus*, he that was afterwards Emperor, who stirred up *Valerian* to persecute the Christians: This *Macrianus* was *Valerian*'s Master or Tutor, and by his evil Counsel it was that *Valerian* raised this Persecution; which thing *Dionysius*'s following Words do confirm. *Vales.*

(d) This ἀρχισυνάγωγος, is a term borrowed from the *Jews*; for in their Synagogues there were these degrees of Officers; the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, or *Rulers of the Synagogues*; also *Fathers of the Synagogues*; *Priests*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons of the Synagogues*, whom they called *Azanites*; there were also *Apostles* and *Patriarchs*, who were set over all these: But what this ἀρχισυνάγωγος may mean in this place, we are yet to seek; Neither know we what these μάγοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου were, except we call them *Aruspices* or *Diviners*, who were at *Rome*: Or we may call them *the Priests of Isis* and *Serapis*, over whom this *Macrianus* was *Ruler* or *Chief*. Now these Magicians were prohibited by the *Jews*, but the *Roman* Emperors, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, had these Magicians with them in their Camps and in all their Exploits. *Dio* says, *M. Antony*, in his expedition into *Germany*, took *Arnuphis* an *Ægyptian Sorcerer* along with him; so *Valerian* here had Magicians in his Army, and the Chief or Head of them was this *Macrianus*, as *Dionysius* attests. *Vales.*

Valerian.

(e) This Participle ἐμπνέοντες, *Vales.* renders *insufflantes*, (i. e.) *blowing upon.* For the Christians used to blow upon the *Demons* and their Delusions, Temples, and Images; shewing thereby that they abominated them: Concerning this usage amongst the *Christians*, see *Brissonius*'s Notes in *Commentar.* ad *Tit. Cod. Theod. de Feriis.* And *Heraldus in his Notes* on *Minucius Felix.*

(f) This Phrase κατὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς μακελανὸς, is spoken in reference to the δαιμόσι, the *Demons*, and not βασιλεῦσι, *the Emperors*, as some think; which interpretation if we should follow, the sense would be lost; but in our Translation the sense is plain and entire. And also although here we find Μακελῖνος, yet the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read Μακελανὸς. So likewise the Writers of the *Roman History*, and the old Coins name this Tyrant. *Vales.*

(g) The Greeks call them ἐπὶ τῆς καθόλου λόγων, whom the Latines call *Rationales*, *vel procuratores summæ rei*; *Receivers-General*, or *Stewards of the Emperor's Estate.* Whose *Procurator* or *Steward* this *Macrianus* was, we cannot certainly tell; we must not suppose he was *Valerian*'s. Vales.

(h) *Dionysius* here jesteth upon the word καθολικὸν, by which he meaneth both *the Steward's Office*, and also the *Catholick Religion*, from which signification some gather our Religion to be called καθολικὸς, *quod sit rationalis*, because 'tis rational: But I can scarce think that we can hence gather the Catholick Religion to be so called; for this word καθολικὸς does not signifie *rationalis*, except we understand λογοθέτης *a Steward*, or *Rationalist.* We find this Title attributed to the Church about the first Age after the Apostles, see B. 4. Chap. 15. pag. 59. and in the Acts of the Martyrdom of *Pionius* the Martyr, who suffered in the Reign of *Decius Augustus*, it is so termed: About which time several Heresies arose, and endeavoured by their Traditions to subvert the true Faith of Christ, and the Doctrine of the Apostles. At that time, that the true Church might be distinguished from the adulterate Conventicles of Hereticks, this name *Catholick* was attributed to the Congregation of the Orthodox Persons. *Vales.*

(i) This place out of the 13th Chap. of *Ezek.* vers. 3. μὴ καθόλου βλέπωσι, *Hieronym.* translates, *non omninò vident, see not at all:* But our Author *Dionysius* renders it as if it were τὴν καθόλου ψεύδειαν; accommodating the words of the Prophet, or rather of the Septuagint, to his own purpose. *Vales.*

* *Robert Stephens* reads [τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, *from his own Church:*] But in the Kings, the *Maz. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. the reading is [τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, *from his own Salvation.*] Vales.

(k) *Christoph.* thought these words [ὅτος δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιμανεὶς, *he was most extraordinarily desirous of the Empire*] were spoken concerning *Valerian*, when as 'tis plain they must be referred to *Macrianus.* For he could not possibly say of *Valerian*, that he was unfit for the Empire which he coveted, for he was a most

eminent Man, the very chief of the City: And before he reigned (as Hiſtorians aver) was judged worthy of the Empire by common conſent. This Tranſlation and Miſtake of *Chriſtoph.* has alſo brought *Baronius* into an Error. *Valeſ.*

Valerian. ‘Empire, but being unable to put on the Imperial Dignity, becauſe of his feebleneſs of Body, he made his two Sons Emperors, who were Heirs of their Father's Iniquities. The Prophecy which God ſpake is moſt evidently accompliſhed in theſe two Brothers: *Viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me:* For he impoſed his own (*l*) evil Luſts which he could not enjoy, upon the Heads of his Children, and imprinted on them his own Wickedneſs and Hatred againſt God.” Thus much *Dionyſius* writeth concerning *Valerian.*

(*l*) Ων ἠπύχει we have rendred (*which he could not enjoy*) And if that reading [ἠπύχει] be true, it muſt be ſo rendred: The King's MS. and *Steph.* Edit. read [ἠπύχει·] But the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read ὧν ἐυπύχει, *which he ſucceſsfully obtained*; and in my opinion 'tis the better reading: For *Macrianus* did obtain the Empire, which he was ſo deſirous of, but by reaſon of his debility of Body he was unable to carry the *Inſignia* of the Empire, but raiſed his two Sons to that Dignity, wherefore upon the obtaining of all theſe his deſires, *Dionyſius* might well ſay of him, ὅτι ἠπύχησε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιθυμιῶν, that he was *votorum compos, Maſter of all his wiſhes.* As for *this feebleneſs of Body* (ἀναπηρῳ σώματι) which he attributeth to *Macrianus*, we find it mentioned in no Hiſtorians, except in *Zonaras's Annals* (who was the only Man that gave us a true Relation of the Acts of *Macrianus* and his Sons) and he ſays *Macrianus* was lame. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning what then happened to Dionyſius, *and to thoſe Chriſtians which were in* Egypt.

BUT concerning the Perſecution which raged exceedingly againſt him; what [Sufferings] alſo he and others ſuſtained upon account of the worſhip of the Supream God, his own words will declare, which he wrote in anſwer to * *Germanus*, a Biſhop of thoſe times, who endeavour'd out of malice to revile him: Thus he anſwers him. ‘(*a*) I run the hazard ‘of falling into great folly ‘and ſtupidity, being compelled of neceſſity to relate the miraculous Providence of God concerning us. But becauſe 'tis ‘ſaid; (*b*) *It is good to keep ‘cloſe the ſecrets of a King, ‘but it is honourable to reveal ‘the works of God:* Therefore I will hand to hand engage in the aſſault made againſt me by *Germanus*. I came to *Æmilianus* not without company, for there followed me *Maximus* my Fellow-Presbyter, and *Fauſtus*, *Euſebius*, and *Chæremon* who were Deacons. One of the Brethren of *Rome* alſo then preſent went in with us. Neither did *Æmilianus* ſay to me at firſt, do not you hold ſolemn Aſſemblies; For this was needleſs for him to have ſaid, and a recurſion from the laſt to the firſt, or principal thing in hand: For it was not his deſire that we ſhould not aſſemble others, but his principal care was that we ourſelves ſhould not be Chriſtians. And he commanded me to leave off that way of Worſhip, for he thought that if I would change my mind, others would follow my example: I replied not impertinently but in ſhort, that (*c*) *we ought to obey God rather than man.* But I openly proteſted that I worſhipped him who is the only true God, and adored no other, and that I would never change my mind, nor ever ceaſe being a Chriſtian. After theſe words he bid us depart thence into a Village called *Cephro* adjoyning to the Wilderneſs. But hear what words paſſed on both ſides, as we find them inſerted in the (*d*) Publick Records (*e*): When *Dionyſius* and *Fauſtus*, and *Maximus* and *Marcellus* and *Chæremon*, were brought in, *Æmilianus* the Governour ſaid; I have alſo diſcourſed with you by word of mouth concerning the Clemency which our Lords the Emperors have uſed towards you, for they have given you power to remain in ſafety, if you will but turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and adore the Gods which are Protectors of their Empire, and forget thoſe things which are repugnant to nature. What ſay you to theſe [Propoſals?] For I hope you will not ſhew yourſelves ungrateful towards their Clemency, becauſe they incite you to better things. *Dionyſius* replied, all Men do not worſhip the ſame Gods, but every one worſhips thoſe whom they think to be Gods: But we pay reverence and adoration to one only God, the Creator of all things, who gave the Empire into the hands of the moſt Sacred and Auguſt Emperors *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. And to him we offer up our Prayers inceſſantly for the permanency and ſtability of their Empire. *Æmilianus* the Governour ſaid unto them, who hindreth you but you may alſo worſhip him (if he be a God) together with them who are by nature Gods: For you are commanded to worſhip the Gods, and alſo thoſe Gods whom all Men own to be ſuch: *Dionyſius* replied, we adore no other. Then ſaid *Æmilianus* the Governour unto them, I ſee you are altogether ungrateful and inſenſible of the Emperor's Lenity towards you: Wherefore you ſhall not abide in this City, but ſhall be ſent into the parts of *Libya*, to a place called † *Cephro*; for this place I have deſign'd for you according to our Emperor's command; and it ſhall in no wiſe be ſuffer'd that either you, or any others, keep your Meetings, or have recourſe to the places called the (*f*) *Cœmeteries*; but if it appears that any one of you be not gone to the place which I have commanded you to go to, or ſhall be found afterwards in any Aſſembly, he will bring imminent ‘danger upon himſelf, for a neceſſary obſervation [thereof] ſhall not be wanting. Therefore ‘depart

Valerian. (*c*) These words occur in Chap. 5. of the Acts of the Apoſtles, ver. 29. they are St. *Peter's* anſwer to the *Sanhedrim*, when they laid to their charge the preaching the Goſpel: But how theſe words come in in this place I cannot tell, except we read with the Kings MS. ἀπεκειναμεν δὲ ἐν ἀποιτιπωςὶ δὲ μαχεςὴν τῶ Αποςολε, &c. (i. e.) *I anſwered him not abſurdly, and not much unlike the anſwer of the Apoſtle.* Valeſ.

(*d*) *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates [ὡς ὑπεμνηματίσθη] *ſicut à quibuſdam in Commentarios relata ſunt*; but we have rendred it thus, *as they are inſerted in the Publick Records.* For the Greeks uſe ὑπομνήματα in the ſame ſenſe as the Latines uſe their word *Acta*, ſee Book 1. Chap. 9. Note (*b.*) Thoſe which wrote theſe, ὑπομνηματογράφοι, the Latines call *ab Actis*, *Regiſters*, *Recorders.* We find mention of the *Regiſters* of *Alexandria* in ſeveral places. *Lucianus* was once *Recorder of Alexandria*, and he ſaith he had a large Salary out of the City-Treaſury for the performance of this Office; and for the good execution thereof he had the Government of a Province conferred upon him. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) This was the form of their publick Acts, as *Amm. Marc.* informs us *in his* 22 *Book.* Valeſ.

Cephro was the moſt rude and barbarous tract of the *Lybian* Deſart; and *Coluthio* (a place hereafter mentioned in this Chapter, to which *Dionyſius* was in particular deſigned) was, 'tis like, the moſt uncomfortable part of that tract. See *Nicephor.* B. 6. Chap. 10.

(*f*) Thoſe places which *Euſebius* in Greek here calls κοιμητήρια, the Latines call *Areæ.* Valeſ. They were the places where the Martyrs were uſually buried; upon which account the Chriſtians frequented them. See Book 4. Chap. 15. Note (*o.*)

*The paſſage which follows, is an eminent fragment of the Epiſtle (or rather the Book) which *Dionyſius* wrote againſt *Germanus* the Biſhop; and it is to be joined to that other fragment of the ſame Book, which you had in Chap. 40. of Book 6. *Valeſ.*

(*a*) This place of *Dionyſius* alludeth to that of Saint *Paul* in the 11th Chap. of the 2d Epiſt. *to the Corinthians* v. 16; where St. *Paul* uſeth this ſame excuſe, being about to commend himſelf: Upon which place ſee *Chryſoſtom's* Annotat. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Theſe words we find in the 12th Chap. of *Tobit.* ver. 7.

Valerian.

'depart hence whither you are commanded: And 'he compell'd me, altho' I was sick, to depart, 'and gave not one day's respite. (*g*) How then 'could I have any leisure to call or not to call a 'Meeting?'' *After some Passages again he saith;* 'But neither were we absent (by God's assi-'stance) from a corporal 'Congregation: For with 'greater diligence I gather-'ed together those in the 'City, as if I had been pre-'sent with them, being ab-'sent in Body (as I (*h*) said) 'but present in Spirit. In 'Cephro also there was a 'great Congregation as-'sembled with us, some of 'whom were the Brethren 'who follow'd us out of the 'City; others came thither 'from the rest of *Egypt*: 'And there God opened to 'us a Door [to preach his] 'Word: At first indeed we 'were persecuted and sto-'ned: But afterwards some 'of the Heathens, and those not a few, forsook 'their Idols, and were converted to God; for the 'Word, which they had not before received, was 'then first sown amongst them by us; as if God 'had sent us away to them for this End. After 'we had here fulfilled the Ministry, he again 'removed us to another place. For *Æmilianus* 'resolved to convey us into places more uncom-'fortable (as he thought) and more like the '*Lybian* Desart: And he gave command that we 'should altogether repair to *Mareotis*, having 'allotted particular Villages throughout that Re-'gion for every of us. But he ordered us to 'reside near the High-road, that we might be the 'first that should be apprehended. For this was 'wholly his Contrivance and Provision, that when-'ever he had a mind to apprehend us, he might 'have all of us easily taken without any trouble. 'But when I was commanded to depart to *Ce-'phro*, although I knew not where the place lay, '(having scarce ever before heard the name of 'it,) yet I went away willingly, and not at all 'disturb'd. But when they told me I was to 'depart thence to the (*i*) '[Parts] of *Colluthio*, they 'who were present with 'me can tell how I was 'then disposed; for here I 'will blame myself: At 'first indeed I was grieved 'and sorely vexed; for al-'tho' I had a better know-'ledge of, and was more ac-'quainted with those places, 'yet they reported it was a 'Country not inhabited by 'Brethren and good Men, and exposed to the 'Disturbances of Travellers, and Incursions 'of Thieves. But I received comfort by the 'Brethren, when they suggested to me, that it 'lay nearer to the City; and although *Cephro* 'had brought us a great Multitude of Bre-'thren out of *Egypt*, so that we could hold 'larger Assemblies, yet there, the City lying 'nearer, we should more frequently enjoy 'the Company of our truly beloved Friends 'and Acquaintance, for they would flock 'thither, and reside with us. And there would 'be (*k*) particular Congregations, as if it were in 'the more remote Suburbs. And so it fell out to 'be.'' After some other discourse he thus again writeth concerning what happen'd unto him. '[But perhaps] *Germanus* * glorieth in his many 'Confessions; and he can enumerate a great ma-'ny [Afflictions] which 'have befallen him. But 'how many Sentences of 'the Judges may he reckon 'up which were pronounc'd 'against us; [how many] 'Confiscations, Proscri-'ptions, Plundering of 'Goods, (*l*) Deprivations of 'Dignities, Contempts of 'worldly Glory, Despisings 'of the Praises of the Pre-'fects and (*m*) Senators: 'What patient sufferance of 'publick *Menaces*, of Excla-'mations against us, and of 'Perils, and of Persecutions, 'of wandring up and down 'in Exile, and of Anxieties, 'and of all sort of Tribula-'tion: What things hap-'pen'd to me under *Decius*, 'and (*n*) *Sabinus*, and what 'to this present under (*o*) '*Æmilianus*. But where 'appear'd *Germanus*? What 'report is there concerning 'him? But I desist from this 'great Imprudence which 'I am fallen into upon *Ger-'manus*'s account. Where-'fore I willingly give those 'Brethren, who perfectly 'know these matters, leave 'to make a Narration of e-'very thing which did be-'fal us.'' The same *Diony-sius*, in his Epistle to *Do-mitius* and *Didymus*, doth a-gain in these words menti-on some things concerning this Persecution; 'It is su-'perfluous to recite to you, 'who knew them not, the 'names of all our [Mar-'tyrs,] which were very 'many. But understand 'thus much, that both Men 'and Women; Young and 'Old; young Women and 'ancient Women; Soldi-'ers and Rusticks; Persons 'of all sorts, and all Ages; 'some of them having been 'victorious in the Combate 'by Scourges and Fire, and 'others by the Sword, re-'ceived Crowns of [Mar-'tyrdom.] But a long in-'terval of time pass'd away, 'being insufficient to make 'some appear acceptable to 'the Lord: In like manner, 'as for me it hath not 'seem'd [sufficient to make 'me acceptable] who have continued even till this 'time: Wherefore *God* hath reserved me for a time 'which he knows to be opportune, who saith; (*o*) *In*

(*g*) Here *Dionysius* answers *Germanus*'s Cavil, who accused him, because he never called an Assembly of the Brethren before the Persecution began; which was a custom in those days, (*viz.*) That the Bishops, upon the approach of a Persecution, should gather the People together, and exhort them to a constant perseverance in Christianity; and Baptize Infants, and *Catechumens*, lest they should die unbaptized; and also distribute the Sacrament to Believers. *Vales.*

(*h*) Altho' we read here [ὡς ἄπον] and have so translated it; yet the Maz. and Med. MSS. read [ὡς εἰπεῖν] [*as one may say:*] The Fuk. and Savil MSS. read ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, *as the Apostle said:* 'Tis certain *Dionys.* here alludeth to that of the Apostle in the First to the *Corinth.* Chap. 5. Ver. 3. *Vales.*

(*i*) In the Original the reading is [τὰ κολλυθίων·] but we must necessarily understand μέρη [parts,] and so we have translated it. This *Colluthio* was a part of the *Mareotic* Prefecture in *Egypt*; so called from them who were formerly Possessors of it. *Colutho* is a common name amongst the *Egyptians*, and hence came κολλύθιον· which in *Niceph.* we find written with a single (*L.*) There were several *Egyptians* called by this name *Colutho.* Vales.

(*k*) These words, which we here translate *particular Congregations*, are in *Greek* κατὰ μέρος συναγωγαί. Those that dwelt in the remotest parts of the Suburbs were not bound to come to the Congregation of the Great Church: But in that part of the Suburbs there were particular Assemblies in a Church, or some other place fit for that purpose. Thus much we may gather by this Passage of *Dionysius*. Moreover, the *Greeks* did not call those places only which joyned to the City πρόαστια, but also the Villages which were a great way distant from the City. *Canopus* which was twelve miles from *Alexandria*, is called by *Athanasius*, in his Libel which he presented to the Council of *Chalcedon*, πρόαστιον. Further, from this place we may gather, that in *Dionysius*'s days there was but one Church in *Alexandria*, whither all the Christians assembled themselves to pray: But afterwards, in the Days of *Athanasius*, the number of the Churches being increased by the bounty of the Bishops of *Alexandria*, the Citizens of *Alexandria* had particular Congregations in divers Churches; except in the solemn Festivals of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, when all the People assembled themselves in the Great Church. *Vales.*

* These things concerning *Germanus* are here spoken Ironically. *Vales.*

(*l*) By these words, ἀξιωμάτων ἀποθέσεις, *Deprivations of Dignities*; we may conjecture that *Dionysius* was descended of a good Family; for *dignitas* is that which cometh by nobleness of birth. Thus we find, *In Gest. Purgat. Cæciliani*, that *Victor* being ask'd by *Zenofilus* the President, *cujus conditionis esset*, he answered, he was *Professor litterarum Romanarum*, and when he ask'd him *cujus dignitatis esset*, he answered he was sprung a *Patre Decurione Constantinensium, avo milite, qui in Comitatu militaverat. Dionysius Alexandrinus*, before he turn'd Christian, was by Profession an Orator, or Teacher of Rhetorick. *Vales.*

(*m*) *Augustus* commanded the *Alexandrians* to govern their City without any Senators or Aldermen. But afterwards *Severus* the Emperor granted the *Alexandrians* power of having a Senate, as we may read in Book 51. of *Dio.* And in *Athanasius*'s Epistle *Ad solitarios*, there is mention of the Senators of *Alexandria*. *Vales.*

(*n*) This *Sabinus* was Prefect of *Egypt* under *Decius* the Emperor; of him *Dionysius* speaketh in his Epistle to *Fabius*, which Epistle is quoted in Chap. 41. Book 6. of this History: But *Æmilianus*, who is here mentioned as Governour, afterwards seized the Empire, as *Pollio* writeth in his 30 Tyrants. *Vales.*

(*o*) These words occur in *Isa.* c. 49. v. 8.

Valerian.

'*In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of ſalvation have I helped thee.* But becauſe you are inquiſitive after our Affairs, and deſirous to be informed in what condition we live: You have fully heard, how when I, *Caius*, *Fauſtus*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were led away Priſoners by the Centurion, and (*p*) the Magiſtrates [of *Alexandria*] and the Guards and Officers that were with them, (*q*) ſome of them of *Mareotis* came upon them, and took us away by force, dragging us by violence who were unwilling, and would not follow them. But at this preſent, I, and *Caius*, and *Peter* being alone, and deprived of the reſt of the Brethren, are ſhut up in a deſert and moſt uncomfortable place of *Libya*, being three days journey diſtant from *Parætonium*. And a little after theſe words, he ſaith; 'Some have hid themſelves ſecretly in the City that they may viſit the Brethren; as *Maximus*, *Dioſcorus*, *Demetrius*, and *Lucius*, who are Preſbyters. (For *Fauſtinus* and *Aquila* being Men more eminently known in the World, travel up and down *Egypt*.) But the Deacons that are ſurviving, beſides thoſe that died in (*r*) the Plague, are theſe: *Fauſtus*, *Euſebius*, *Chæremon*. *Euſebius*, [I ſay,] one whom God hath impower'd from the beginning, and furniſhed with great vigour to fulfil the Office of Miniſtration to the Confeſſors in Priſon, and to perform the Funeral (*ſ*) Rites due to the Bodies of the perfected and bleſſed Martyrs, with great hazard and danger. For to this very preſent the Governour ceaſeth not moſt cruelly to ſlay ſome who are brought before him, (as I before told you) to tear in pieces others with tortures, and to make other-ſome to pine away in Priſons, and Bonds, giving a ſtrict charge that none approach them, and making diligent ſearch whether any one be ſeen to come near them. Notwithſtanding, God through the chearfulneſs and fortitude of the Brethren, doth inceſſantly refreſh the afflicted.' Theſe are *Dionyſius*'s words, and are contained in that Epiſtle. We muſt further underſtand, that this *Euſebius* whom he before called a Deacon, was a (*t*) great while after conſtituted Biſhop of the Church of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. And *Maximus*, who he ſaid was then a Presbyter, ſucceeded *Dionyſius* himſelf in the Government of the Brethren at *Alexandria*. *Fauſtus* alſo, (who together with *Dionyſius* was at that time famous for his being a Confeſſor) was reſerv'd even till the Perſecution in our days, and being very old, and full of years, he was perfected by Martyrdom, being beheaded even in our Age. But thus much concerning what happen'd to *Dionyſius* about that time.

(*p*) Tranſlators generally miſtake in rendring this word στρατηγοὶ in this place, by the Latin *wordduces*, *captains*: *Chriſtoph.* ſaw the abſurdity it led to by rendring it *duces*, and therefore he renders it *dux*: But neither does he by thus rendring it, avoid an abſurdity, for it was not the leaſt branch of the Captain's duty to lead Criminals into baniſhment, but that was rather the Centurion's or the Guard's duty. Wherefore this word στρατηγοὶ muſt here ſignifie ſome other Officer beſides a Captain, we will therefore render it the *Duumviri*, or, as we call them, *the Sheriffs*, or *Magiſtrates of Alexandria*; which are in Greek often called στρατηγοὶ. Now it was the duty of theſe Magiſtrates to apprehend Criminals, commit them to Priſon, examine them, &c. ſtill reſerving the power of judging to the *Roman* Preſident. Wherefore 'tis not here abſurd, but very reaſonable to ſay, theſe *Duumviri* aſſiſted the Governour in leading theſe Men into baniſhment: The following Words alſo στρατιῶται and ὑπερέται confirm our Opinion: For στρατιῶται are the Guards which belonged to the Preſect; ὑπερέται are the Officers belonging to the *Duumviri*, or *Sheriff*. *Athanaſ.* in his Epiſtle *ad Solitarios*, calls this Magiſtrate, or *Duumvir*, στρατηγόν. *Valeſ.*

(*q*) Theſe things hapned in the firſt Perſecution under *Decius*, at that time when *Dionyſius*, by the ſentence of *Sabinus* the Governour, was led to *Tapoſiris*. See his own Epiſtle to *Fabius* in Chap. 40. Book 6. And whoſoever does compare that Epiſtle with this here, he will conclude them both written concerning the ſame thing. Wherefore, *Euſebius* miſtakes when he thinks that the ſubject of this Epiſtle here to *Domitius* is that thing which happened in *Valerian*'s Reign: For none of theſe things which he here mentioneth, happened in *Valerian*'s Reign, but in the Perſecution which begun a little before *Decius*'s Reign, as *Dionyſius* himſelf ſaith in his Epiſt. againſt *Germanus*, which *Euſebius* quoteth in the 6th Book. But in the Perſecution under *Valerian*, he had only thoſe Companions which he mentions in the beginning of this Chapter. *Valeſ.*

(*r*) *Ruſinus* inſtead of νόσῳ readeth νήσῳ, and accordingly he tranſlates the place, *ſome who dyed in the Iſland*: But *Dionyſius* means *the Plague*, which in *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*'s time, ſpread itſelf quite through the *Roman* Empire, as *Euſebius* and others Record. *Valeſ.*

(*ſ*) *Chriſtoph.* renders this word τελεῖσθαι, by a long Periphraſis thus, *ad lintea, quibus corpora beatorum Martyrum jam vitâ defunctorum involverentur, conficienda*; he all along having relation to the uſage in our days, for with us the dead are wrapped in linnen-cloth, and ſo interr'd. But the Ancients, I mean the Chriſtians, uſed to wrap the dead in moſt coſtly cloathes, and ſo bury them: But for *Chriſtophorſon*'s tranſlation, we have *Athanaſius*'s authority, who ſaith, *in his life of St. Anthony*, that the *Ægyptians* uſed to wrap their dead Bodies, eſpecially thoſe of the Holy Martyrs *in Linnen*, and did not inter them, but laid them upon Beds, and kept them within their own private Houſes. *Valeſ.*

Valerian.

(*t*) These words ὑ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς χρ Συ εἰαν ἐκκλησίας, are in the *Med. Fuk.* and *Maz.* MSS. and not without reaſon; for it was *a great while after* that *Euſebius* was ordained Biſhop of *Laodicea*. For he ſucceeded *Socrates*, as *Euſebius* atteſts a little lower. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Martyrs which ſuffered at Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine.

IN this Perſecution under *Valerian*, three Men of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* very eminent for their Confeſſion of Chriſt, were crown'd with Divine Martyrdom, being made food for the Wild Beaſts. One of them was called *Priſcus*; the other *Malchus*; the name of the third was *Alexander*. They report that theſe Men, living in the Country, ſhould blame themſelves firſt for being careleſs and ſlothful Perſons, becauſe they were negligent of, and did not eagerly catch at the Crown of Martyrdom, ſeeing that was a ſeaſonable time of diſtributing thoſe rewards of Victory to them who had the leaſt ſpark of Celeſtial love in them. Then, when they had conſulted about theſe things amongſt themſelves, they took a journey to *Cæſarea*, and went immediately to the place where the Judge was, and received the afore-mention'd Sentence of Death. Beſides theſe, there was a Woman of the ſame City, in the ſame Perſecution, who they report, ſtrove in the ſame Combat: But 'tis famed that ſhe was one of *Marcion*'s Sect.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Peace under Gallienus.

(*a*) BUT not long after, *Valerian* being (*b*) captivated and enſlaved by the *Barbarians*, his Son reigned alone, who behav'd himſelf more prudently in his Empire. He immediately putteth a ſtop to the Perſecution againſt us by his Edicts; and gave command that the Prelates of our Religion ſhould ſecurely, and with freedom execute their uſual Offices, by his Reſcript which runs thus: EMPEROR CÆSAR PUBLIUS LICINIUS GALIENUS, PIUS FELIX AUGUSTUS, *To* Dionyſius, Pinna, Demetrius, *and the reſt of the Biſhops: We have commanded that the Indulgence of our Gracious Bounty be publiſhed through the whole World: That all ſhall quickly depart out of Religious places. And for this cauſe you are impower'd to make*

(*a*) *Ruſinus* here alters the courſe of the Chapters, and placeth theſe which we place here as the 13th and 14th, after the 19 Chapter immediately; but in his *Index* before his Hiſtory he keeps the ſame method as the Greek Copies of *Euſebius* does: Why he ſhould here pervert the Order, I cannot tell; except it is, becauſe he thinks it is more convenient to ſubjoin the ſufferings of *Marinus*, and *Aſturius* to the ſufferings of the Martyrs of *Cæſarea*. But he ought to obſerve that thoſe Martyrs of *Cæſarea* ſuffered in *Valerian*'s Perſecution; but *Marinus* and *Aſturius* ſuffered in the Reign of *Gallienus*. This miſtake of *Ruſinus* has brought ſeveral other Authors into the ſame Error. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Valerian* was taken captive by the King of *Perſia*, in the year of Chriſt 259.

Gallienus.

make use of a Copy of our Rescript, that no body may molest you: And that which is lawful for you to put in execution was granted by Us long ago: And upon this account Aurelius Cyrenius, *Our* (c) *High-Steward shall keep the Copy of this Edict granted by Us.* For the more manifest understanding of these things, they were translated by Us out of Latin into Greek, and here inserted. There is also extant another Rescript sent to other Bishops, in which he permitteth to them the Restauration of the places called (d) *Cæmeteria.*

(c) For an explication of this Person's Office, see *Valesius's* Notes, *Ad Excerpta ex Dione Cocceiano*, pag. 112.

(d) They were the places where they buried their Dead, and often assembled for their Religious Solemnities, especially the Memorials of the Martyrs; as has before been remark'd.

CHAP. XIV.

What Bishops flourish'd in those Times.

(a) *Xystus* was dead long before; for he died a famous Martyr in the Persecution under *Valerian*, when *Tuscus* and *Bassus* were Consuls, on the 8th *of the Ides of August*; as we may see in *Cyprian*'s Epistle. *Vales.*

AT this time (a) *Xystus* still continued to preside over the Church of *Rome*; but *Demetrianus* succeeded *Fabius* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*; *Firmilianus* was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*: Moreover, *Gregorius*, and his Brother *Athenodorus* governed the Churches of *Pontus*; they were both *Origen*'s Scholars. *Theoctistus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* being dead, *Domnus* succeeded in that Bishoprick: He living but a little while, *Theotecnus*, who lived till our times, was constituted his Successor. And this person also was one of *Origen*'s School. But *Mazabanes* of *Jerusalem* being dead, *Hymenæus* succeeded in that See, who also was very eminent in our days.

CHAP. XV.

How Marinus *was Martyr'd at* Cæsarea.

(a) He means the *Cohortalis Militia*, as may be collected from what follows. For mention is made of *Achæus* the Judge,

A General Peace being at this time restored to the Churches in *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*, *Marinus*, a Man honour'd with a (a) Military Dignity, and eminent for Descent and Riches, was beheaded for his Confession of Christ, upon this account. There is a certain Dignity amongst the *Romans* termed the (b) Vine, which those that obtain'd, are said to be made Centurions; (c) this place being vacant, *Marinus*, whose course in order it was, was called to that Promotion: When he was forthwith to have been invested in that Dignity, there came another before the Tribunal, and accused him, saying, it was unlawful according to the Old Laws, for him to hold any Dignity amongst the *Romans*; for he was a Christian, and did not sacrifice to the Emperors; therefore the Office belonged to him. (d) *Achæus* (for that was the name of the Judge) being enraged at this, first ask'd *Marinus* what Opinion he was of: Then when he saw that he stedfastly confess'd himself to be a Christian, he granted him three hours respite for deliberation. When he was gone out of the place of Judicature *Theotecnus* the Bishop of that City coming to him, taketh him aside to discourse with him; and laying hold of his Hand, leads him to the Church; wherein when he had placed him at the very Altar, he put his (e) Cloak a little aside, and shewed him the Sword wherewith he was girded, and also brought the Book of the Sacred Gospels and placed it right against him, bidding him on his own accord to take which of those two best pleased him. When *Marinus* without any delay had put forth his Right Hand, and taken up the Sacred Book, *Theotecnus* said unto him, adhere therefore, adhere to God; and being impower'd by him thou shalt obtain what thou hast chosen; go in peace. Immediately as he return'd from the Church, the Cryer, who stood before the Tribunal, called him; for the time allotted him was now accomplish'd: When he was brought before the place of Judicature, and had shew'd a greater courage in the Caafession of the Faith than he did before, immediately he was halled away to Execution, *and was* (f) *crown'd with Martyrdom.*

Gallienus.

(b) The Phrase in the Original is [Τὸ κλῆμα] which we have rendred [*The Vine.*] It was enacted by a Law amongst the *Romans*, that *no Citizen should be beaten with Rods, but with Vines*: See *Livy*, in his 57 Book. Upon this account the Soldiers were by the Centurions beaten with Vines; whence at last the Vine came to be the Badge of the Centurion's Office. *Spartianus* (in the Life of *Hadrian*) uses it in this sense; and so does *Plutarch* in *Galba.*

(c) In the Maz. Fuk. and Med. MSS. there is a stop here; but in the King's MS. there is none: Which Punctation in the three MSS. first named, *Salmasius* (in his Notes on *Spartianus*) defends against *Casaubon*, (in his Notes on the same Author,) who thought that the Vine was a Badge which denoted those that were to be chosen Centurions, who should bear that Office, when there was a Place vacated. And therefore *Casaubon* read this Passage thus; [*There is a certain Dignity amongst the Romans termed the Vine, which those that obtain are said to be made Centurions when there is a place vacant:*] Which Reading agrees with the King's MS. But *Salmasius* makes a stop (as we do) at the word [Centurions,] which doubtless is the truest Reading: See Note (b) in this Chapter. *Vales.*

(d) That was the Judge's name: So a famous Captain was call'd, who heretofore rebelled against *Antiochus*, as *Polybius* relates. This *Achæus* was President of *Palestine*, and had his residence at *Cæsarea*, which was the chief City of that whole Province. *Vales.*

(e) We read τῆς χλαμύδος, not τῆς χλανίδος; which is a common, but an erroneous Reading. The *Clamys* and the *Balteus* (i. e. *the Cloak* and *the Belt*) were Military Badges, as may be proved from innumerable places in *Chrysostom*, *Libanius*, and others. *Vales.*

(f) The term here is [τελειῶται,] i. e. *he was perfected by Martyrdom.* For Martyrs were initiated by Confession, and perfected by Death; as *Dionysius* phrases it at the end of Chap. 11. in this Book. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (in Book 4. *Stromat.* pag. 206.) gives another reason, why Martyrdom is called τελείωσις ὅτι τέλειον ἔργον ἀγάπης ἐπεδείξατο, *because it demonstrates the Perfection of Love.* Vales.

CHAP. XVI.

A Relation concerning Astyrius.

Astyrius also is much fam'd for his Religious boldness and freedom at that time: A Man who was a *Roman* Senator, a singular Favourite of the Emperor's: And both for his nobleness of Birth and Estate, known to all Persons. He, being present at the Death of the foresaid Martyr, took up the Corps, wrapped it in a white and precious Garment, laid it upon his Shoulders and carried it away; and when he had adorn'd it very richly, he deposited it in a decent Grave. This Person's Familiars, who lived till our days, relate infinite other things concerning him.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the mighty Miracles of our Saviour at Paneas.

AMongst which they relate this Miracle. At *Cæsarea-Philippi*, (which the (a) *Phænicians* call *Paneas*) they report there are Springs to be

(a) Those whom our *Eusebius* here calls φοίνικες, *Phænicians*, are the *Grecians* which inhabited *Phænicia.* For *Paneas* is a Greek name, the *Syrians*, or rather the *Syro-Phænicians*, called this City *Dan*, as S. *Jerom* affirms in *his Questions on Genesis*; his words are these: *Dan Phænices oppidum, quod nunc Paneas*

Paneas dicitur. Dan autem unus è fontibus Jordanis. Nam & alter vocatur Jor, quod interpretatur ῥεῖθρον. Duobus ergo fontibus, qui haud procul a ſe diſtant, in unum rivulum fœderatis, Jordanis deinceps appellatur; i. e. *Dan is a Town of Phœnicia, which is now called Paneas. Alſo Dan is the name of one of the Spring-heads of Jordan. For the other is named Jor, the Interpretation whereof is* [a Stream.] *Theſe two Fountains therefore, which are not far diſtant from each other, are united into one Rivulet, which is afterwards called Jordan.* Valeſ.

Gallienus. ſeen at the foot of the Mountain called *Panius*, out of which the River *Jordan* hath its Original. They ſay, that on a certain Feſtival they uſed to (*b*) caſt a Sacrifice into theſe Springs, and by the Power of the Devil it would miraculouſly vaniſh out of ſight: And that this was a Miracle much talk'd of by them who had ſeen it. *Aſtyrius* therefore being upon a time preſent with thoſe that did this, and ſeeing many ſtruck with admiration at what was done, was ſorry for their Error. Then he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and beſought the ſupream God, by Jeſus Chriſt, that he would rebuke this Devil which ſeduced the People, and command him to ceaſe from deceiving of Men. They report that when he had prayed thus, the Sacrifice floated upon the Waters immediately. Thus periſh'd their Miracle, and never afterwards was there any Prodigy done near that place.

(*b*) This cuſtom, σφάγιον καταβάλλεσθαι, *of caſting the Sacrifice into the Springs*, or *Wells*, which they worſhipped, was uſed by the Heathens. And hence it is that *Publicola* asked *Auguſtine*, in his 153. Epiſtle, whether it were lawful to drink of that Spring or Well, into which any part of a Sacrifice had been caſt. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Statue, which the Woman who had the Flux of Blood, erected.

BUT ſince I have made mention of this City, I think it not at all unſuitable to produce a Story, which is worthy to be related to Poſterity. For they ſay that the Woman, (*a*) who had the Iſſue of Blood, whom the ſacred Goſpels inform us to have been healed by our Saviour, was born in this City: And that her Houſe may be ſeen there, and that the illuſtrious Monuments of our Saviour's beneficence ſhown towards her do yet remain. For near the Gate of her Houſe ('tis ſaid) ſtands upon a Pillar of Stone, the Effigies of a Woman in Braſs, kneeling on her Knees, and ſtretching forth her Hands forward in the form of a Suppliant. On the other ſide oppoſite to it ſtood another Image of a Man made of the ſame Metal ſtanding upright, dreſſed decently in a * ſhort Veſture, and ſtretching out his Hand towards the Woman. At whoſe Feet upon the Baſe of the Pillar 'tis ſaid there ſprings up a ſtrange kind of an Herb, which grows up to the (*b*) Skirt of his brazen Doublet, and is a preſent Remedy to remove all ſorts of Diſeaſes: They ſay that this Statue repreſented our Saviour. This remained till our Age, and therefore we our ſelves went to the City to ſee it. Nor need it ſeem a wonder that the ancient *Gentiles*, who received Benefits from our Saviour, did theſe things; ſeeing that we have ſeen the Pictures of his Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, and of Chriſt himſelf, drawn in colours, and preſerved till our days. It is probable enough that thoſe Ancients, according to the cuſtom of the Heathens, were wont (*c*) unadviſedly to honour all thoſe after this manner as Saviours, by whom they have been any ways benefited.

(*a*) This place of *Euſebius*, concerning the Woman who had the Iſſue of Blood, is quoted in the *Seventh Synod*, *Action* 4. pag. 508. See alſo what *Philoſtorgius* ſaith in his Seventh Book, Chap. 3. And what *Nicephorus*, who borroweth it from him. *Valeſ.*

* Διπλοΐδα· it ſometimes ſignifies a *Military Cloak*: This term occurs *Pſal.* 109. 29. where 'tis rendred *a Mantle*.

(*b*) *Rufinus* underſtands this place [μεχεὶ τῆς κρασπέδα ἄνιον] ſo, as if this Herb had no healing vertue till it was grown up to the Skirt of our Saviour's Veſture: But ſince *Euſebius* does not expreſly determine it that way, every one may interpret the place as pleaſeth him beſt. I think *Euſebius* meaneth by the addition of theſe words, that the Herb grew up no higher than the Skirt of our Saviour's Doublet, as if it were in reverence to him. See *Nicephor.* Book 6. Chap. 15. *Valeſ.*

Gallienus.

(*c*) *Rufinus* transleteth this word ἀπαφυλάκτως, *indifferenter*, *indifferently*; but I rather think ἀπαφυλάκτως here ſignifieth *inconſiderately*, *unadviſedly*, *contrary to the Doctrine of the Ancients*, *unwiſely*. Moreover, Sir *Henry Savil* in the Margin of his MS. upon theſe words ἐθνικὴ συνήθεια, *the cuſtom of the Heathens*, bids us take notice that this is here ſpoken *concerning Images*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Chair of James *the Apoſtle.*

THE Epiſcopal Chair of *James* the Firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who was conſecrated by our (*a*) Saviour himſelf, and the Apoſtles; (who in Holy Writ is honoured with the title of the Brother of Chriſt;) being reſerved till this time, the Brethren who have ſucceeded in that Church do reverence it: Hence they plainly manifeſt to all what great veneration and reſpect, both the Ancients, and alſo thoſe of our Age, have, and do pay to Holy Men for their love to God. But thus much concerning theſe things.

(*a*) This was an old Tradition that *James* the Apoſtle was ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by Chriſt. Beſides *Euſebius*, St. *Chryſoſt.* in his 38 *Homil.* upon the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, on theſe words, *Deinde viſus eſt Jacobo*, *Then he was ſeen of James*; expreſly affirmeth it: The ſame alſo *Epiphanius*, *Niceph. Calliſt.* and others do affirm. They all ſeem to borrow this Opinion from the Firſt Book of *Clemens's Recognitions*: Alſo in the Eighth Book *of his Conſtitutions*, Chap. 35. we find him ſpeaking of *James* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in theſe words, ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς κυρίου, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων χειροτονηθείς, *Ordained by our Saviour himſelf, and the Apoſtles.* We muſt farther advertiſe the Reader that theſe words τῆς Ἀποστόλου, *the Apoſtle*, are wanting in the King's, Fuk. and Maz. MSS. and in *Rufinus*: But in our Maz. Med. Fuk. MSS. in the Contents of this Chapter, we find this word Ἀποστόλου, *the Apoſtle*: Although in the Index of the Chapters which is prefixed, we find it thus written, περὶ τῆς θρόνου Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, *concerning the Chair of James the Biſhop.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning Dionyſius's Paſchal Epiſtles, *in which he preſcribeth a Canon concerning* Eaſter.

MOreover, beſides thoſe his fore-mention'd Epiſtles, the ſame *Dionyſius* at the (*a*) ſame time wrote theſe ſtill extant, called (*b*) *Paſchal Epiſtles*: Amongſt which he interweaves *Panegyrick Diſcourſes concerning the Feaſt of Eaſter*. One of theſe Epiſtles he dedicateth to *Flavius*; another to *Domitius* and *Didymus*: In which he publiſhed a Canon of eight years, having proved that we ought to celebrate the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, at no other time, but after the Vernal Æquinox. He compoſed anether Epiſtle beſides theſe, to his Fellow-Preſbyters at *Alexandria*, and others to divers other Perſons, and theſe he wrote whilſt the rage of the Perſecution ſtill continued.

(*a*) From this word πανηγυρικοῦ *at the ſame time*, ſome would conclude, that *Dionyſius* wrote theſe Epiſtles in the Perſecution, raiſed by *Valerian*: But that is falſe; for this Epiſtle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, was written in the Reign of *Decius* the Emperor. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Rufinus* very well tranſlates this word ἑορταστικὰς, in this place, *Paſchales*, *Paſchal Epiſtles*. The Biſhops of *Alexandria* uſed to write theſe *Paſchal Letters* every Year, and ſend them to the reſt of the Churches of *Egypt*; that they might all agree in the time of the Celebration of *Eaſter*. There are at this day extant Epiſtles of this ſort, written by *Theophilus*, *Cyril*, and others: What was the Form of theſe Epiſtles we may underſtand from the 30 *Paſchal Homilies of Cyril*; firſt they diſcourſed ſome thing concerning *Eaſter*: In the end they declared the beginning of *Lent*, and the Day of *Eaſter*, whence we may call them *Homilies*, as well as *Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

CHAP.

Gallienus.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning what things hapned at Alexandria.

Dionysius returned to *Alexandria*, Peace being as yet scarce throughly settled there. But when Sedition and War joyntly raged again there, so that he could not visit all the Brethren in the City, they being divided into the one or the other Party of the Faction: Again, even on *Easter-Day*, as if he had been exiled out of *Alexandria*, he conversed with them by Letters. And in his other *Paschal Letter*, which a little after this he wrote to *Hierax*, one of the *Egyptian* Bishops, he mentioneth the Sedition then at *Alexandria*, in these words: 'It is no wonder if it be difficult 'for me to converse with Men far remote even 'by Letters, whenas it is render'd now no easie 'matter for me to discourse with my self, and 'to give advice to my own Soul. For I am com-'pel'd to send Letters even to my own Bowels, 'my Brethren, who live under the same Roof, 'have the same mind, and are Members and In-'habitants of the same Church; and it appears 'to me a great difficulty, how I should convey 'my Letters to them: For a Man may with more 'ease and less danger travel not only beyond 'the Bounds of this Province, but even from East 'to West, than out of *Alexandria* into *Alexandria*. 'For the very Middle-street of this (*a*) City is 'more unfrequented and unpassable than that vast 'and invious Wilderness which *Israel* travelled 'through in two Ages. (*b*) Those calm and still 'Havens do represent the Sea through which the 'Israelites had a spacious passage, it being divi-'ded, and made like a Wall on both hands; '(*c*) but the *Egyptians* were drown'd in the Paths 'thereof. And through the frequent slaughters 'perpetrated therein, they were like a Red-Sea. 'The River which runneth by the City seemed 'sometimes more dry and uncomfortable than 'the thirsty Wilderness, through which, when 'the Israelites travelled, they were so thirsty, 'that they murmur'd against *Moses*, until by the 'Power of God (who only doth marvellous 'things) Water gush'd out of a craggy Rock 'for them. At other times it overflow'd in such 'abundance, that it laid all the Country round 'about under water, the High-ways and the 'Fields, and seem'd to threaten a return of that 'Deluge which was in the Days of *Noah*. It 'runneth by, being continually polluted with 'Blood, and murthered, and drowned Bodies; 'like that River which by *Moses*, in the sight of 'Pharaoh, was turned into Blood, and stank: 'And what other Water can purifie this Water 'which purgeth all things itself? How can that 'vast and immense Ocean which is unpassable 'by Men, cleanse this bitter Sea? Or how can 'that great River which springeth out of *Eden*, 'though it gather its four Heads, into which it 'is divided, into that one of *Geon*, wash away 'this putrified Gore? Or how can that * Air 'be purified, which on every side is defiled with 'most noisome Exhalations? For such Vapours 'arise from the Earth; such Winds from the 'Sea; such Blasts from the Rivers; and such 'Mists from the Havens, that the very Dews are 'nothing else but the Gore of dead Carkases 'putrified in all the subjacent Elements. After 'all this they wonder, and seem to doubt whence 'these (*d*) continued Plagues; whence these noi-'some Diseases; these Contagions of all kinds; 'and this various, and numerous Destruction of 'Men proceeds. They admire why this great 'City contains not in it as many Inhabitants, '(should they be number'd even from Infants to 'the most Aged and Decrepit) as it formerly 'maintained Persons, who were (*e*) lively old 'Men, as they called them. But in those days 'there were many persons betwixt forty and se-'venty years old, that their number could not 'now be made up, although all from fourteen to 'fourscore years of age were registred, and their 'names enrolled in the Tables, that they might 'partake of the publick Distribution of Corn. 'And our youngest Men now look as if they 'were of the same age with our old Men for-'merly. And altho' they see Mankind so much 'diminished and consumed from off the Earth, '(their intire Destruction being increased and 'augmented incessantly) yet they tremble not.

Gallienus.

* The very situation of *Alexandria* did doubtless conduce much to the insalubrity of the place. For the River *Nile*, coming from the West, was convey'd into the City under Ground by Arches made under the houses. The manner how this was done, is set down by *John Leo*, in his description of *Africa*: His words are these; *Cuique fere domui civitatis ingens cisterna concamerata, crassisque innitens fornicibus substructa est, in quas exundans* Nilus *per aquæductum in planitie magno artificio constructum extra* Alexandriam *deductus, sub ejus manibus demittitur*, &c. This artificial conveyance of the River, though it were otherwise acceptable to the Inhabitants, yet it could not be without some annoyance to the Air, the Complexion whereof suffered much alteration by the noysome Vapours which rose up out of the Waters, which in tract of time putrified in their Cisterns. It is the collection of the foresaid *Leo*, in his following Words, *Cisternæ porrò temporis successu turbidæ ac cænosæ redditæ, plurimis æstivo tempore languoribus occasionem præbent*, &c. The same Author gives us another reason for the unwholesomeness of that City; which was caused by certain little Gardens planted near the City, the Fruits whereof were so unwholsome, that the Inhabitants were thereby made subject to very noxious Feavers, and many other Diseases. See *John Leo*'s *descript. Afric.* 675, and 676. *Edit. Lugd. Batav.* 1632.

(*a*) In the King's MS. we find, in stead of τῆς πόλεως, *this City*, ἧς πόλεων, *these Cities*; which reading is not to be rejected: for that Faction had so divided *Alexandria*, that in a manner it became of one City two, as before he seemeth to intimate, when he saith, that *a Man may with more ease travel from East to West, than out of Alexandria into Alexandria.* This great Sedition, I think, happened, when *Æmilianus* possest himself of the Government of *Alexandria*. Vales.

(*b*) There are divers ways of translating this place according as we point it. Most Translators have erred here, by an Erroneous conjunction of this Sentence with what precedeth. But *Dionysius*'s following words confirm our Punctation and Version: The sense of which is that the Havens of *Alexandria*, overflowing with the Blood of the slaughtered Citizens, did truly represent the Red Sea. Wherefore it is not the Middle Street of the City which is compared to the Red Sea (although some so interpret it) but the Ports or Havens are said to represent that. *Vales.*

(*c*) Betwixt these words where we use only a middle distinction or *comma*, *Robert Stephens* uses a full period, contrary to the Authority of all the MSS. we ought rather to follow the punctation of the MSS. and join this passage with what precedeth: But here we meet with a Genitive case plural of the Article [ὧν,] which we translate in the singular number, and refer it to θαλάσσης *the Sea*, which is a singular put for the plural number. For the Sea was divided into two parts, and opened a broad way for the *Israelites*; so that what was really but one Sea, seemed to be two; but if we translate it according to *Stephanus*'s Punctation, we can find no word to which this *Genitive case plural* of the Article can reasonably be referred. *Vales.*

(*d*) Συνεχεῖς λοιμοὶ, *continued Plagues without intermission.* The Plague even from the times of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, over-ran and destroyed almost all the *Roman* Empire. *Eutropius* saith that the Reign of *Gallus* and *Volusianus* was only remarkable for the great Plague which happened in their Days. *Aurelius Victor* affirms that *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were beloved very much on this account, because they took care of every ones, even of the poorest Man's Funeral. The Plague afterwards raged at *Rome*, and in the *Roman* Provinces, in the Days of *Gallienus*, as *Pollio* in *Gallienus*'s Life attests. *Vales.*

(*e*) Ὠμογέροντες; *vivid, lively, lusty old Men.* So they were called at *Alexandria*, who were between forty and seventy years old. Their names were registred in Tables that they might partake of the publick distribution of the Corn, as *Dionysius* attests in his following Words. Over these were the *Archigerontes*, of whom mention is made in *the first Law of the Codex Theodosianus, de Alexandrinæ plebis primatibus.* Hither may be referred that which *Gregor. Naz.* affirms, in his 21 *Oration concerning St. Athanasius*, to wit, *that the Alexandrians were wont to be distributed into Sexes, Ages, and Trades, as often as, out of respect, they went forth to meet any Person.* Vales.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Plague which then raged.

AFterwards the Pestilence succeeding the War; when the Feast [of *Easter*] was at hand, *Dionysius* again writeth to the Brethren,

Gallienus. deſcribing the Miſeries of that Calamity in theſe words: 'To ſome Men this preſent may ſeem 'not a time to celebrate a Feſtival; but neither 'this which we obſerve, nor any other time (I 'ſpeak not only of the mournful, but alſo of a-'ny of thoſe times which they account moſt joy-'ful) is a time of Feſtivity 'to them. Now indeed all 'places are full of mourning, 'all perſons lament, and 'the City rings on every 'ſide with continual lamen-'tations for the Multitudes 'of them who are already 'dead, and who are daily 'dying: For as the Scri-'pture ſaith concerning the 'Firſt-born of the *Egyptians*, 'ſo now a great *cry is heard*: 'For there is no Houſe, in 'which there is not one 'dead;((*b*) and I wiſh there 'were but one in every 'Houſe:) Indeed many 'and ſore Afflictions have 'befaln us before this Ca-'lamity. (*c*) Firſt of all they 'expel'd us out of the City: 'And when we only were 'perſecuted and oppreſſed 'by all men, yet nevertheleſs 'even then we kept the Feſti-'val days. And every place 'where every one of us par-'ticularly underwent affli-'ction; the Field; the De-'ſart; the Ship; the Inn; 'the Priſon, was a place 'for holding our ſolemn 'Aſſemblies: But the per-'fected Martyrs, who are 'ſatiated in Heaven, kept 'the moſt joyful *Feaſt* of all. 'After theſe [Miſeries] 'ſucceeded *War* and *Famine*; 'in which we were Fellow-'ſufferers with the *Heathens*. 'We alone ſuffer'd what-'ever they afflicted us with; 'but whatever Calamities 'they brought upon them-'ſelves and ſuffer'd, we par-'ticipated of. And we were 'again made joyful by the 'Peace of Chriſt, which he 'granted to us alone: But when both we and 'they had enjoy'd a very ſhort time of Refreſh-'ment, this Plague immediately invaded us. A 'thing moſt formidable to them, and more cala-'mitous than any accident whatſoever. And, as 'one of their own Writers ſaith, it was the only 'thing which ſurmounted all Men's expectation 'and fear. It was indeed no ſuch thing to us; 'but rather an exerciſe and tryal, nothing infe-'rior to our former Sufferings: For this Plague 'did not ſpare us; but it raged grievouſly a-'mongſt the Heathens." After theſe words he continues, ſaying; 'Indeed many of our Brethren 'through their ſuperabundant love, and brotherly 'kindneſs neglecting their own ſelves, and firmly 'adhering to one another, without any thing of 'caution viſiting them who are infected, care-'fully miniſtring to them, and healing them in 'Chriſt, moſt willingly died with them; infe-'cting themſelves with other Men's Diſtempers, 'attracting the Diſeaſe from their Neighbours 'upon themſelves, and voluntarily (*d*) drawing 'the Infection out of them by tranſlating it into 'themſelves. And many who had cured and 'reſtored others to their former health, died 'themſelves, having brought their Death upon 'themſelves; and being thus made the Ranſom 'and Expiation for them all, they died, really 'fulfilling that common ſaying, which always 'hitherto hath ſeem'd to contain no more than 'an officious (*e*) Friendſhip. Thus therefore died 'the beſt of our Brethren; ſome of whom were 'Prieſts, and others Deacons; alſo thoſe of the 'Laity which were eminent died voluntarily: So 'that this kind of death which was ſuffered upon 'account of Piety, and a ſtedfaſt Faith, may be 'eſteem'd no leſs honourable than Martyrdom. 'They took the dead Bodies of the Saints up in 'their open hands, and into their Boſoms; they 'cloſed their Eyes, and ſhut their Mouths; car-'ried them upon their Shoulders; and (*f*) buried 'them: They ſtuck cloſe to them; embraced 'them; waſhed them; and (*g*) adorned them cu-'rioufly in their Cloaths; not long after they 'had the like good Offices performed to them-'ſelves: For thoſe who ſurvived did continually 'tread in the ſteps of ſuch as went before them. 'But the *Gentiles* practice was quite contrary to 'this. They thruſt out of doors thoſe which 'begun to be infected; they fled away from thoſe 'who were moſt dear to them; they deſerted 'them being half-dead in the High-ways; and 'caſt forth the dead Bodies unburied; being ut-'terly averſe from a Participation and Society '[with them] in Death, which yet was in no 'wiſe eaſie for them to avoid, though they uſed 'all Arts and Devices to decline it." After this Epiſtle, when Affairs in *Alexandria* were in a peaceable and quiet poſture, he again ſendeth another *Paſchal Epiſtle* to the Brethren throughout *Egypt*; he alſo writ ſeveral other beſides this. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle of his *concerning the Sabbath*, and another *concerning Exercitation*. Again, in an Epiſtle to *Hermammon*, and the Brethren in *Egypt*, he has a long Diſcourſe concerning the Improbity of *Decius* and his Succeſſors, where he alſo makes mention of the Peace in the Reign of *Gallienus*.

Gallienus.

(*a*) This Exordium of this *Paſchal Epiſtle* of *Dionyſius*'s is really a moſt elegant one. Here he ſaith, that this preſent time, when all things were in ſo lamentable a poſture, would ſeem to the unbelieving Heathens no fit time to keep a Feaſt in: But neither this time, which (ſaith he) is really a time of mourning, nor any other, though never ſo undiſturb'd, never ſo merry, could poſſibly yield the Heathens any true Joy. For the Wicked and Unbelievers can never keep a Feaſt, altho' they daily ſacrifice, becauſe they can't enjoy any true Mirth: Only the Pious and Virtuous do truly keep a Feaſt, becauſe they perform their duty, and offer Prayers and unbloody Sacrifices to God. *Origen*, in his 8th Book *againſt Celſus*, diſcourſes at large concerning this Opinion: Which Paſſages in him are borrow'd from the Stoicks, and they give much light to the underſtanding of this place of *Dionyſius*. Valeſ.

(*b*) Here we read only ὄφελόν γε, *and I wiſh*: But *Turnebus* in the Margin of his Book very well correcteth and pointeth it thus; Καὶ ὄφελόν γε εἷς; *And I wiſh only one had died in every Houſe*. The King's MS. reads thus καὶ ὄφελόν γε· εἰς πολλὰ, &c. But *Turnebus* does very well amend this place of *Dionyſius*, by his foreſaid Punctation of it. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Dionyſius* here makes a compendious Repetition of all the Sufferings of the Chriſtians from the time he was firſt ordain'd Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Firſt, he recounts the Perſecution and Expulſion, which began in the laſt Year of *Philip* the Emperor. Next the Civil War which immediately followed; concerning which Civil War, ſee Chap. 41. Book 6. of this Hiſtory. Then he ſaith, after a little Ceſſation follow'd the Plague; which raged grievouſly in the times of *Gallus* and *Voluſianus*; but it began in *Decius*'s Reign: For it is evident by *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, that ſome Deacons died of this Plague in the Reign of *Decius*. See Chap. 11. Book 7. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) Ἀναμασσόμενοι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας, ſome Tranſlators render *mitigantes* *eaſing and leſſening their Diſtempers*; but I cannot approve of that Verſion; for the Verb ἀναμάσσειν, or ἐκμάσσειν, ſignifies *to ſqueeze out*, or *to wipe off*. *Dionyſius*'s meaning is this, that they who viſited the infected Chriſtians, did in a manner force the Infection from them, and tranſlate it to, or take it upon themſelves. And this is the true notion of ἐκμάσσειν, *to take upon himſelf, and as it were, to ſuck out another's Diſeaſe and Infection*. It is no more than what he ſaid in theſe words, τὴν νόσον ἐφ' ἑαυτὸς ἕλκουσες, *drawing the Infection upon themſelves*. Valeſ.

(*e*) This word φιλοφροσύνη we have here rendred *Friendſhip*; yet the word primarily and properly ſignifies that which the Latines call *Comitas*, that is, *Complaiſance*, *Courteouſneſs*, *Civility*, *Affability*: As for this term περίψημα, which we have tranſlated *a Ranſom*; we find it in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinth.* Chap. 4. v. 13. This word ſeems to have been uſed by the *Alexandrians* in their Salutations: When they met together, and promiſed their ſincere love, willingneſs and diligence in ſerving one another, they uſed to ſay ἐγὼ εἰμὶ περίψημα σοῦ; or elſe we may take the word in this ſence; as if the Heathens ſhould call the Chriſtians the very περίψημα πάντων, *the Off-ſcouring*, the Filth, the very *Fæces Populi*, and the *Purgamenta Seculi*; which Interpretation is not to be rejected here. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) *Chriſtoph.* in his Latin Verſion, renders this word [διατιθέντες] *decenter ornantes*, *dreſſing them up neatly*: But he miſtakes; for *Dionyſius* ſpeaks of their Dreſs afterwards in theſe words, περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες, *decking them in their beſt Cloaths*: Διατιθέντες, here we therefore render *Componentes*, (that is) *burying them*; and ſo the word is uſed in Prophane as well as in Sacred Authors: *Compoſtus pro ſepulto*, in *Virgil*, and *Horace*. Valeſ.

(*g*) Περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες, ſome render *linteo funebri involventes*, *ſhrowding them in a Winding-ſheet*. But this is contrary to the cuſtom of Buryings in thoſe Days; for the Heathens uſed to dreſs the Dead in their beſt Cloaths, and ſo interr them. And the Chriſtians uſed in like manner ſo to dreſs the Saints Corps: See Chap. 16. of this Seventh Book, concerning *Aſturius*. Valeſ.

CHAP.

Gallienus.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Reign of Gallienus.

NOthing hinders but we may hear his own words, which run thus: ‘ [(*a*) *Macrianus*] ‘ therefore, having treacherously betray'd one of ‘ the Emperors which preceded him, and made ‘ War upon the other, was immediately extirpa- ‘ ted, and together with his whole Family be- ‘ came extinct. *Gallienus* was ‘ now proclaim'd, and by ‘ common consent receiv'd ‘ Emperor. He was both an ‘ old Emperor and a new; ‘ for he was before * them, ‘ and also surviv'd them: ‘ For according to that ‘ which was spoken by the ‘ Prophet *Esaias*, † *Behold* ‘ *the former things are come to* ‘ *pass, and new things shall now* ‘ *rise up.* For as a Cloud ri- ‘ sing up before the Rays of ‘ the Sun, overshadoweth it ‘ for a while, and appears to ‘ be substituted into the place thereof: But when ‘ the Cloud has gone over it, or is dissolved; the ‘ Sun, which before was risen, seems then to a- ‘ rise again: So *Macrianus*, who set himself be- ‘ fore, and (*b*) approach'd the very Empire of ‘ *Gallienus*, now is not, for he never was: But *Gal-* ‘ *lienus*, as he was Emperor ‘ before, so he now conti- ‘ nues to be. And the Em- ‘ pire itself, having deposited ‘ its old age as it were, and ‘ being cleansed from the ‘ Dregs of its former Impro- ‘ bity, now flourisheth with ‘ greater vividness; is seen ‘ and heard of at a larger distance, and spreads its ‘ fame in all places.” He afterwards declares the time when he wrote these things, in these words; ‘ It now again comes into my mind to contem- ‘ plate the Years of our Emperor: For I see how ‘ those most impious Persons who had so great a ‘ name, are in a short time become most obscure. ‘ But our most Pious and Religious Emperor, ‘ having pass'd his seventh, is now in the ninth ‘ year of his Empire, in which we are about to ‘ solemnize the Festivals.

(*a*) Tho' we find here barely ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, *he therefore*; yet we must understand *Macrianus*: For by his treachery it was that *Valerian* was delivered into the hands of the *Persians*. Other Historians assert that he was delivered to them by his own Captains; so *Aurel. Vict. Syncel.* and others. These words of *Dionysius* are to be joyn'd with those in Chap. 10. of this Book; for they are Fragments of one and the same Epistle to *Hermammon*; we also find a piece of it in Chap. 1. of this Seventh Book. *Vales.*

* He means *Macrianus*, and his two Sons: See Chap. 1. of this Book, at the Close of the Chapter.

† Esai. 42. 9.

(*b*) *Dionysius* here speaks of *Macrianus*'s Empire, because he was owned, and received as Emperor by *Egypt*, and the Eastern Provinces: Which his Coins declare; for on the fore-side there is this Inscription, ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΦΟΥΛ. ΜΑΚΡΙΑΝΟΣ; And on the Reverse this; ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Nepos, *and his Schism.*

BEsides, *Dionysius* wrote two Books *concerning the Promises.* The occasion of his writing these Books was *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Bishop, who taught that the Promises, which were made to the Saints in the Sacred Scriptures, should be perform'd in the * Jewish sence, and affirmed that there was to come a thousand year's State upon Earth, which should be spent in bodily pleasures. Now he supposing he could confirm his own Opinion out of *John*'s Revelation, wrote a Book upon this Question, and intitled it, *A Confutation of the Allegorical Expositors*; which Piece *Dionysius* confutes in his Books *concerning the Promises.* In the first Book of which he proposeth his own Opnion concerning the Question. In the second he discourseth concerning the *Revelation of John*, where in the very beginning he makes mention of this *Nepos*, and writes thus concerning him: ‘ But because they produce a ‘ Book of *Nepos*'s, on which they rely very much, ‘ as if it did (*a*) infallibly ‘ demonstrate that the King- ‘ dom of Christ should be ‘ [set up] [on Earth: In- ‘ deed for several other ‘ things I commend and ‘ love *Nepos*, for his Faith, ‘ his industry and study in ‘ the Scriptures, and also for ‘ the many (*b*) Psalms and ‘ Hymns he composed, with ‘ which many of the Bre- ‘ thren are even at this time ‘ much delighted. And I re- ‘ verence the Man for this ‘ reason chiefly, because he ‘ is (*c*) dead. But I judge ‘ Truth most to be beloved, ‘ and to be the most precious ‘ of all things. It is our ‘ duty to praise, and freely ‘ to commend whatever is ‘ truly said: But we are al- ‘ so to examine and correct ‘ whatever unsound opinion ‘ appears to have been com- ‘ mitted to writing. Now ‘ could he be present, and ‘ discuss his Opinion by ‘ word of mouth, then a bare ‘ discourse by Questions and ‘ Answers, without any wri- ‘ ting might suffice to con- ‘ vince and reduce the ad- ‘ verse Party to an agree- ‘ ment. But since there is ‘ a Book published (and as ‘ to some it seems) a most ‘ perswasive one; since some Teachers look upon ‘ the Law and the Prophets to be of no value; ‘ neglect to follow the Gospels; have small e- ‘ steem for the Epistles of the Apostles; and ‘ (*d*) promise great things concerning the Doctrine ‘ of this Book, as containing some great and hid- ‘ den Mystery; since they ‘ will not suffer the more ig- ‘ norant of our Brethren to ‘ think of any thing that is ‘ sublime and great, neither ‘ of the glorious and truly ‘ divine *Advent* of our Lord, ‘ nor of our Resurrection ‘ from the Dead; our ga- ‘ thering together to him, ‘ and our being made like ‘ him: (*e*) But perswade 'em ‘ to think that Men hope for ‘ nothing in the Kingdom ‘ of God, but abject and mortal things, such as ‘ they now hope for: It is necessary we enter ‘ into a dispute against our Brother *Nepos*, as if ‘ he himself were present.” After some words he continues saying; ‘ When I was in the Province ‘ of the (*f*) *Arsionitæ* (where, ‘ as you know, this Opinion ‘ was long since propagated ‘ so far, that there were ‘ Schisms and Revoltings of whole Churches ‘ together;) having convened the Presbyters and Teachers

Gallienus.

(*a*) We have here sufficient evidence that this Book *concerning the Promises* was written in answer to *Nepos*. I wonder that *Hieronymus in his Preface before the eighteenth Book of his Comments upon Esaias*, should affirm that this Book was written against *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lions*. Indeed *Irenæus* was one of them who believed that Christ should come and reign on the Earth 1000 years, which Opinion was grounded on *Papias*'s Authority, as *Hieronymus* himself affirms, and also our Author *Eusebius* in the end of the third Book. But as well from this place, as also from *Hieronymus* himself, in his Book *De Script. Eccles.* we may gather that this Book was not written against *Irenæus*, but against *Nepos*. Vales.

(*b*) Ψαλμῳδίας, we have here translated, the *Composition of Psalms and Hymns*; according to the custom of the Christians, who used to compose Psalms and Hymns in honour of Christ, as *Eusebius* in the end of the fifth Book attesteth. We also find mention of these Hymns in the Epistle of the Council of *Antioch* against *Paul* of *Samosata*, and in the last Canon but one of the Council of *Laodicea*, where there is an expres prohibition, that no Psalms which in Greek are called ἰδιωτικοὶ, that is, *composed* by private or ignorant Persons, should be sang in Churches. *Vales.*

(*c*) *Pliny* in his 28 Book, Chap. 2. asketh, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. *Vales.*

(*d*) This word καλλεπτύνω γέλλω signifies properly *to promise a great while before any performance*; it is a Metaphor taken from the Mysteries of the *Grecians*, who promised strange and great things to them who are initiated, and tormented them with a long expectation; that by keeping their thoughts thus in suspence, they might beget in them an Opinion, and a Fear and Reverence. *Vales.*

(*e*) The true reading of this place in the *Greek*, we owe to the Maz. MS. according to which reading we have here translated it. *Vales.*

(*f*) This Province was so called from *Arsinoe*, who was Queen of it, before it was a *Roman* Province. *Vales.*

* That is, that the Promises were to be literally understood.

Gallienus. ‘Teachers of the Brethren in every particular ‘Village, (ſuch Brethren alſo as had a mind to ‘come being preſent,) I adviſed them that there ‘might be Reſearches made into this Doctrine, ‘in the preſence of a publick Aſſembly. And ‘when they produced this Book as a defence, and ‘an impregnable Bulwark, ſitting with them three ‘whole Days together from Morning till Eve‘ning, I endeavour'd to diſcuſs the Contents ‘thereof. In all which time I did extraordinarily ‘admire the Conſtancy of the Brethren, their ‘love to Truth, and the ‘(g) great quickneſs and ‘readineſs of their Under‘ſtanding, with ſo much or‘der, modeſty and modera‘tion did we propoſe Que‘ſtions, propound Doubts, ‘and yield our aſſents. For we took ſpecial care ‘never pertinaciouſly to defend our former Opi‘nions, when once they were found to be erro‘neous: Neither did we ſhun the *Objections* of o‘thers; but to the utmoſt of our *power*, we endea‘voured to (h) keep cloſe ‘to the Points of the preſent ‘Queſtion, and confirm 'em ‘as well as we could: Nei‘ther, if we were convinc'd, ‘were we aſham'd to be per‘ſwaded out of our Opini‘on, and conſent with others: But with a good ‘Conſcience, unfeignedly, and with (i) Hearts ‘diſplay'd to God, we received whatever was ‘grounded upon the Demonſtrations and Decla‘rations of the Sacred Scripture. In the conclu‘ſion, the chief Maintainer and Champion of this ‘Doctrine, by name *Coracio*, confeſſed and made ‘a Proteſtation to us, in the audience of all the ‘Brethren there aſſembled, that he would no lon‘ger adhere to this Opinion, nor diſpute concer‘ning it, nor mention it, nor preach it, ſo power‘fully was he convinc'd by the Arguments which ‘had been brought againſt it. And the reſt of ‘the Brethren, which were preſent, rejoyced at ‘this Conference, and at the (k) Reconciliation ‘and Unanimity which was amongſt all Men."

(g) Εὐπαρακολούθητον, is the term in the Original; I have rendred it *docilitatem, aptneſs to be taught.* For Auditors are properly ſaid παρακολουθεῖν, *when they apprehend the ſence of words.* Valeſ.

(h) The Greek Phraſe is ἐπιβατεύειν τῶν προκειμένων, which *Valeſius* renders, *ad ea de quibus inſtituta erat diſputatio eniti*; and we, *to keep cloſe to the Points of the Queſtion in hand*, or *the preſent Queſtion.*

(i) This phraſe ἡ-πλωμέναις ταῖς καρδίαις, is truly tranſlated thus, *expanſis cordibus, & patefactis, with hearts unfolded, and,* as it were *ſpread abroad*: But ſome tranſlate it *puris & ſimplicibus cordibus, with pure and ſingle hearts*: Which ſence tho' the words may bear, yet it is not ſo good in this place, as the other Verſion. *Valeſ.*

(k) Συγκατάβασις, is not put in this place *for Diſpenſation*, but for the ſame as συμβίβασις, (i. e.) *an Union, and Reconciliation*: And ſo *Dionyſius* uſes the word a little before: St. *Paul* alſo in his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, Chap. 2. Ver. 2. and 19. uſeth συμβιβάζειν, and συμβιβασμὸς, in this ſence. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Revelation *of* John.

HAving interpoſed ſome words, he afterwards ſays thus concerning the *Revelation of John*: ‘Indeed ſome of our Anceſtors diſown'd, and ‘wholly rejected this Book; confuting every ‘Chapter, and demonſtrating it to be an un‘known and ſenſeleſs Work, and that the Title is ‘forged; for they ſay it is not *John*'s: Neither ‘is it a *Revelation*, becauſe it is covered over with ‘ſo thick and dark a Veil of Ignorance; And ‘that not only no Apoſtle, but alſo no Holy or ‘Eccleſiaſtick Perſon, could have been the Com‘piler of this Work: But that it was * *Cerinthus*, ‘the Founder of the Hereſie, called from him the ‘*Cerinthian Hereſie*, who was deſirous to have ‘a creditable name prefix'd before his Forgery: Gallienus. ‘For this, they ſay, was *Cerinthus*'s Opinion and ‘Doctrine; that Chriſt's Kingdom ſhould be ter‘reſtrial: And whatſoever he, being a carnal ‘and voluptuous Man, moſt luſted after, in theſe ‘he dream'd the Kingdom of Chriſt conſiſted; ‘as in indulging the Belly, and the Parts beneath ‘the Belly; I mean, in eating, drinking, and ‘marrying; and alſo in Feſtivals, Sacrifices, and ‘killing of Victims, by which theſe might with ‘more ſpecious pretences be acquired. I dare ‘not indeed reject this Book, ſince many of the ‘Brethren have it in great eſteem. But this is ‘the Opinion I have of it, I think the Sence or ‘Subject thereof ſurpaſſeth my apprehenſion, and ‘that there is a myſterious and admirable mea‘ning covertly contain'd in every part of it; ‘for though I do not underſtand it, yet I ſup‘poſe there is a more profound meaning com‘prehended in the words. I do not judge of, ‘nor fathom theſe things by the Line of my ‘own Reaſon; but attributing much more to ‘Faith, I eſteem them more ſublime than to be ‘comprehended by me. I do not condemn thoſe ‘things I could not underſtand, but I the rather ‘admire them becauſe I cannot ſee through ‘them." After theſe words, having carefully look'd into the whole Book of the *Revelation*, and demonſtrated that it was impoſſible to be underſtood according to the obvious ſence of the words, he goes on, ſaying, ‘But having fini‘ſhed his Prophecy, (as I may call it,) the ‘Prophet pronounceth bleſſing upon all them ‘who keep it, and moreover on himſelf too; ‘for he ſaith, * *Bleſſed is he that keepeth the words* * Revel. c. 22. v. 7, 8. ‘*of the Prophecy of this Book: And I am John* ‘*which ſaw and heard theſe things.* I do not in‘deed deny that his name was *John*, and that ‘this was *John*'s Book: [For I grant that it was ‘written by ſome Holy and Divinely inſpired ‘Perſon:] But I cannot eaſily be brought to ‘give my conſent that this was *John* the Apoſtle, ‘the Son of *Zebedee*, the Brother of *James*, the ‘Author *of the Goſpel according to John*, and of the ‘Catholick Epiſtle. For I conjecture by the ‘Genius and Nature of them both, by the form ‘of the Stile, and the Me‘thod and (a) Diſpoſition ‘(as they call it) of the ‘*Book*, that it is not the ſame ‘Writer. For the *Evange‘liſt* does no-where inſert ‘his name; neither does ‘he make himſelf known ‘either in his Epiſtle, or ‘Goſpel." Afterwards he thus proceeds again: ‘*John* no where [ſpeaks] ‘either as concerning him‘ſelf, or as concerning ano‘ther. But he that wrote ‘the *Revelation* prefixeth his name at the very ‘beginning; [where he ſays,] † *The Revelation* † Revelat. c. 1. v. 1, 2. ‘*of Jeſus Chriſt which he gave unto him to ſhew to his ſervants quickly, and he ſent and ſignified it by his Angel unto his ſervant* John, *who bare record of the word of God, and of the teſtimony* [*of Je‘ſus Chriſt, and*] *of all things which he ſaw.* ‘Afterwards he writes an Epiſtle: * *John un‘to the ſeven Churches in Aſia; Grace be unto you, and peace.* ‘Now the Evangeliſt has not pre‘fix'd his name, no not before his Catholick E‘piſtle: But, without any Circumlocution, has ‘made his beginning from the Myſtery of the ‘Divine

(a) Διεξαγωγὴ is a term proper to the *Rhetoricians*, as plainly appears by the following word λεγομένη: I think that διεξαγωγὴ has the ſame import with *Diſpoſitio*, or διοικονομία; for διεξαγαγεῖν, in *Suidas* is the ſame as διοικεῖν, *to diſpoſe*, or *handle.* Or we may render it *the form and manner of writing*: For firſt he proves the *Revelation* not to be *John*'s the Apoſtle, by the τὸ ἦθος, *the Genius*, or *Nature* of the Writer: Then by the *Stile* and *Mode of writing*, that is, *by the Phraſe and the Sentences.* Valeſ.

* See B. 3. Chap. 28, Pag. 44. *Note c. & d.*

Gallienus. ‘ Divine Revelation. * *That which was from the*
‘ *beginning, which we have heard, which we have*
* 1 John, c. 1. v. 1. ‘ *seen with our eyes.* For upon account of this
‘ kind of Revelation the Lord hath pronounced
† Matth. c. 16. v. 17. ‘ *Peter* bleſſed in theſe words, † *Bleſſed art thou*
‘ *Simon Bar-jona: for fleſh and blood hath not revealed*
‘ *it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.*
‘ But neither before the ſecond, nor third E-
‘ piſtle of *John* which are extant, although
‘ they are very ſhort, is *John*'s name expreſly
‘ prefix'd; but he is nameleſly intituled, *the El-*
‘ *der.* But the other [*John*] thought it not enough
‘ to name himſelf once and ſo to proceed in his
* Rev. c. 1. v. 9. ‘ relation, but he again repeateth his name. * *I*
‘ *John, even your brother and companion in tribula-*
† Rev. c. 22. v. 7, 8. ‘ *tion, and in the kingdom and patience of Jeſus,*
‘ *was in the Iſle that is called Patmos, for the word of*
‘ *God, and for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.* And
‘ at the cloſe of this Book he ſaith; † *Bleſſed is*
‘ *he that keepeth the ſayings of the prophecy of this*
‘ *book. And I John ſaw theſe things and heard*
‘ *them.* Therefore that it was *John* who wrote
‘ theſe things, we ought to believe, becauſe he
‘ affirms it. But what *John* it was 'tis uncertain;
‘ for he has not ſaid that he himſelf was that *John*,
‘ who in ſeveral places of the Goſpel is called
‘ *the beloved diſciple of the Lord*; or that he was he
‘ who lay in the Boſom of the Lord; or that
‘ he was the Brother of *James*; or that he was
‘ the perſon who with his own Eyes and
‘ Ears ſaw and heard the Lord. For certainly
‘ he would have mentioned ſome of theſe fore-
‘ mentioned [Deſcriptions,] if he were deſi-
‘ rous to have made himſelf apparently known.
‘ But he has recorded none of theſe Paſſages in
‘ his Writings, but ſtiles himſelf our Brother
‘ and Companion and Witneſs of Jeſus, and calls
‘ himſelf Bleſſed, becauſe he ſaw and heard theſe
‘ Revelations. I ſuppoſe there were many of
‘ the ſame name with *John* the Apoſtle, who thro'
‘ their love to, admiration and zealous emula-
‘ tion of him, and becauſe they were deſirous
‘ to be beloved of the Lord as he was, had a
‘ great love for his name:
‘ (*b*) As we ſee many
‘ Children of the Faithful
‘ called by the name of *Paul*
‘ and *Peter*. Moreover there
‘ is another *John* mention'd
‘ in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*,
‘ ſirnamed * *Mark*, *whom*
‘ *Barnabas and Paul took to be*
‘ *their Companion.* Concer-
‘ ning whom it is again
‘ ſaid, * *They had John to be*
‘ *their Miniſter.* Whether it
‘ were he that was the Au-
‘ thor of this Revelation or
‘ not, I dare not affirm. For
‘ 'tis no-where written that
‘ he came with them into
‘ *Aſia*, but 'tis ſaid that when
‘ *Paul* and his Company
‘ *looſed from Paphos, they came*
‘ *to Perga in Pamphilia:*
‘ *and John departing from*
‘ *them, returned to Jeruſalem.*
‘ Therefore I think it was
‘ ſome other *John*, one of
‘ them who lived in *Aſia.*
‘ For 'tis ſaid there are two Tombs at *Epheſus*,
‘ and both called by the name of *John*'s Tomb.
(*c*) This is *Dionyſius*'s ſecond Argument; by which he proves that the *Goſpel* and *Revelation* were not written by one and the ſame *John*; for he had urged his firſt Argument begun at Note (*a*) to this place: Now here he begins a ſecond, (*viz.*) to prove by the Words and Sentences, and by the placing of the Words or method, that they were two diſtinct perſons: For I render this word σύνταξις, *the placing or modelling of words*, according to *Cicero*; though σύνταξις in this place may as well comprehend *the ordering and modelling of ſentences*, as of *words*. But here we may take notice what an excellent Critick *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* was. For it is the property of a Critick to judge of the Writings of the Ancients, and to diſcern what is true and genuine, and what ſpurious and ſuppoſititious. *Valeſ.*

‘ (*c*) Alſo from the Sentences, the Words, and
‘ the diſpoſition or placing of them, this *John* who
‘ wrote the *Revelation*, may with good reaſon be
‘ ſuſpected to be a diſtinct perſon from the other
‘ *John*; for there is a mutual agreement betwixt
‘ *the Goſpel* and *the Epiſtle*, and they both begin a-
‘ like. The Goſpel begins thus; *In the beginning*
‘ *was the Word.* The Epiſtle thus; *That which*
‘ *was from the beginning.* The Goſpel ſays; *And*
‘ *the Word was made fleſh and dwelt amongſt us*;
‘ *And we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-*
‘ *begotten Son of the Father.* The Epiſtle ſays the
‘ ſame with a very little variation: *That which*
‘ *we have heard, which we have ſeen with our eyes,*
‘ *which we have looked upon, and our hands have*
‘ *handled of the word of life*; *for the life was mani-*
‘ *feſted.* For theſe are his *Preludiums*, directing
‘ his words (as in the following Paſſages he has
‘ declared) againſt thoſe who denied that *Chriſt*
‘ came in the Fleſh: Wherefore on ſet purpoſe
‘ he ſubjoyneth this, *And what we have ſeen we*
‘ *bear witneſs to, and ſhew unto you that eternal life*
‘ *which was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto*
‘ *us. That which we have ſeen and heard, declare we*
‘ *unto you.* He is conſtant to himſelf, and does
‘ not in the leaſt wander from his Subject pro-
‘ poſed, but in the ſame
‘ (*d*) Periods and Words he
‘ does proſecute all Points,
‘ ſome of which expreſſions
‘ we will briefly recount.
‘ He who does carefully
‘ read them, will both in his
‘ Goſpel and Epiſtle, very frequently meet with
‘ *life*; very often with *light, an avoiding of dark-*
‘ *neſs*; very frequently with *truth, grace, joy, the*
‘ *fleſh and blood of our Lord, judgment, forgiveneſs*
‘ *of ſins, the love of God towards us, the command-*
‘ *ment of mutual love one towards another*, and that
‘ *we ought to keep all the Commandments.* There
‘ is alſo contained in them
‘ *the* (*e*) *condemnation of the*
‘ *World, of the Devil*, and
‘ of *Antichriſt*; *the promiſe*
‘ *of the Holy Ghoſt*; *the A-*
‘ *doption of the ſons of God*;
‘ *a faith univerſally required*
‘ *of us*; mention *of the Father and the Son in eve-*
‘ *ry place.* In ſum, they who note the Phraſe
‘ in all things throughly, may eaſily diſcern, that
‘ the *Genius* and Stile, both in the Goſpel and the
‘ Epiſtle, appears to be one and the ſame. But
‘ the *Revelation* is altogether different from, and
‘ unlike to theſe; it has no alliance to, nor (as
‘ I may ſo ſay) familiarity with either of theſe:
‘ Nor has the *Revelation* ſo much as one ſyllable
‘ in it which is common to theſe: Neither does
‘ the Epiſtle (for I omit the Goſpel) make the
‘ leaſt mention of the *Revelation*; nor the *Reve-*
‘ *lation* of the Epiſtle: And yet *Paul* in his Epi-
‘ ſtles mentions ſomething concerning his *Reve-*
‘ *lations*, which he did not digeſt into a Volume
‘ by themſelves. Furthermore by the Phraſe,
‘ the difference betwixt the Epiſtle and Goſpel
‘ and the *Revelation*, may be eaſily conjectured:
‘ For thoſe are not only written moſt † correct-
‘ ly

(*b*) We ought to take ſpecial notice of this Paſſage concerning the Primitive Chriſtians cuſtom of calling their Children, by the names of *Peter* and *Paul*, which they did both for the reverence and love they bare to thoſe Saints, and alſo that their Children might be beloved and no leſs dear in the ſight of God than thoſe Saints were. *Chryſoſtom* in his *Oration* concerning St. *Meletius* faith, that the *Antiochians* had ſuch a reverence and eſteem for him, that the Parents called their Children after his name, that they might have their Houſes in a manner adorned with his preſence. The ſame Father alſo in his 21 *Homily upon Geneſis*, adviſeth his Auditors that they ſhould not careleſly call their Children by their Grandfather's or Great-Grandfathers, or ſome noble Heroes names, but that they ſhould rather give them the names of ſome Men who were famous for Virtue and and Piety; that the Children, by their Example, might be excited to an imitation of them. *Valeſ.*

* Acts 11. 25. and 13. 5.

(*d*) κεφάλαια in this place ſignifies *Periods* or *Sentences, by which an entire ſenſe is concluded. Chapters* alſo they may be called, the Greeks alſo call them κεφαλαὶς, the Latines *Capitula.* Valeſ.

(*e*) Ἔλεγχος τῶ κόσμυ, muſt I think be rendred here rather *the condemnation of the World*, than *the reproving of the World.* In the *old Gloſſary* we find ἔλεγχος to ſignifie *judicium.* Valeſ.

Gallienus.

ly * and agreeable to the *purity* of the *Greek Tongue*, but they are alſo compoſed with great elegancy in the words, in the *Argumentations* and whole *Contexture* of the Diſcourſe: So impoſſible is it for one to find any Barbariſm or Solœciſm, or laſtly, any Idiotiſm in them. For [the Evangeliſt] ('tis apparent) had (*f*) both Faculties; the Lord had endow'd him with both, that is, the gift of knowledge, and the gift of ſpeaking. As touching this other *John* I do not indeed deny that he ſaw the *Revelation*, and that he received the [gift of] knowledge and of prophecy. But I take notice that his Dialect and Stile is not pure *Greek*, but he makes uſe of ſome barbarous words, yea and in ſome places he has Solœciſms, which it is not now neceſſary to give a Catalogue of. For I would have no one ſuppoſe that I have ſaid theſe things in a way of deriſion; but only on this account, that I might explain the Diſſimilitude of theſe Books.

*See Jude verſ. 24. ἀπταίστως, *without any error, or miſtake.*

(*f*) By both faculties he means that which the Greeks call λόγος προφορικὸς, and ἐνδιάθετος, (i. e.) *externus* and *internus ſermo*, which is afterwards mentioned, πνεῦμα τῆς γνώσεως, πνεῦμα τῆς φρονήσεως λόγον, *the gift of knowledge and the gift of ſpeaking*; by which ſubſequent words the preceding are explain'd. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Dionyſius's *Epiſtles.*

(*a*) Hence we may gather that the two Books *concerning the Promiſes*, out of which *Euſebius* has the fragments afore-quoted, were Epiſtles. We may alſo confirm this by a paſſage in Chap. 22. where *Dionyſius* uſes ὡς εἶπας which is *an Epiſtolary phraſe*.

THere are extant many more of *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtles (*a*) beſides theſe. As for example, his Epiſtles to *Ammon* Biſhop of *Berenice* againſt *Sabellius*; and an Epiſtle to *Teleſphorus*; alſo one to *Euphranor*; and again, another to *Ammon* and *Euporus*. He alſo wrote (*b*) four more Books upon the ſame Subject, and dedicated them to his Nameſake *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*. There are alſo more of his Epiſtles beſides theſe extant amongſt us: And moreover ſome Books of his, which are ſomething verboſe and prolix, and are written in an Epiſtolary form: As for example, his Books *concerning* (*c*) *Nature*, which are dedicated to *Timotheus* a Child, *concerning Temptations*, which he dedicated to *Euphranor*: Beſides theſe Books, in his Epiſtle to *Baſilides* Biſhop of *Pentapolis*, he ſays he wrote *a Comment upon the beginning of Eccleſiaſtes*. He has alſo left us ſeveral Epiſtles which he wrote to this (*d*) *Baſilides*. Thus many are *Dionyſius*'s Works. But now after an Hiſtorical Relation of thoſe things, we will deliver to the knowledge of Poſterity an Account of our own Age.

But becauſe theſe Epiſtles were ſomething prolix, they were therefore called Books. *Ruſinus* truly calls *Dionyſius*'s Epiſtles *concerning Baptiſm*, Books, and the four Books againſt *Sabellius* here mentioned are nothing elſe but a longer ſort of Epiſtles, which *Euſebius* teſtifies: For he ſaith that all the reſt of *Dionyſius*'s Books were written in an Epiſtolary form and ſtyle. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Dionyſius Alexand.* in his Epiſtles againſt *Sabellius* ſeemed not to be Orthodox, as touching the *Divinity of Chriſt*, and he was accuſed of it before *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, by ſome of the Biſhops of *Pentapolis*, who went to *Rome*. *Dionyſius Roman* called a Synod, heard the Accuſers, and having examined ſome ſelect Opinions in *Dionyſ.* Epiſtles, he wrote to *Dionyſ. Alexand.* deſiring him that he would more diſtinctly declare his Faith and Opinion concerning thoſe matters. Upon this account *Dionyſ. Alexand.* wrote four Epiſtles to *Dionyſ. Roman.* which he intitled, περὶ ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀπολογίας, (that is,) *concerning the confutation of his Adverſaries*, and *concerning his own Apology*, or *defence of himſelf*. Valeſ.

(*c*) *Euſebius*, in his 14th Book *De Præparat.* produces an excellent piece of this Book *De Naturâ*. It was dedicated, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδὶ; this word being dubiouſly taken to ſignifie either a *Son*, or any other *Child* or *Servant*, 'tis ſome difficulty to determine who the Perſon was, to whom it was dedicated, ſome ſay to his *Son*: I have here rendred it *to a Child*. For I cannot think that *Dionyſ.* was ever married. The like difficulty occurs in Book 6. Chap. 40. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) Of theſe many Epiſtles written by *Dionyſius* to this *Baſilides*, only one is now extant, which *Theodorus Balſamo* has preſerved for us. *Valeſ.*

Gallienus.

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Paul *of* Samoſata, *and the Hereſie founded by him at* Antioch.

DIonyſius, Nameſake to *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, ſucceeds *Xyſtus*, after he had preſided over the Church of *Rome* (*a*) eleven years. About the ſame time alſo died *Demetrianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, whom *Paul* of *Samoſata* ſucceeded in his Biſhoprick. This *Paul* had an abject and low Opinion of Chriſt, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, as if he had been by nature no more than a meer Man; *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was intreated to come to the Synod: He having complained of his Age, and alſo of his Infirmity of Body deferr'd his coming: But he openly declared by Letter what was his ſence and opinion concerning the matter in debate. But the reſt of the Paſtors of the Churches from all Parts haſtned to *Antioch*, and were convened there, as againſt the Corrupter of Chriſt's Flock.

(*a*) Here *Euſebius* is in a groſs miſtake, for *Xyſtus* was not Biſhop of *Rome* 11 Years, but only 2 Years and Eleven Months, as we may ſee in the Book *De Pontificibus Romanis*, which account of *Cuſpinianus* firſt publiſhed, and that Book is moſt exact in its account of the times of the Popes from *Calliſtus* to *Liberius*: The ſame alſo ſays, *Xyſtus* ſuffered Martyrdom *on the eighth of the Ides of Auguſt*: But our Author neither here, in *his Hiſtory*, nor in *his Chronicle* mentions any thing of *Xyſtus*'s Martyrdom, which I really admire, and ſhould more admire, did not I certainly know that *Euſebius* is not over-ſollicitous and curious in his Hiſtory concerning what things were done in the Weſtern parts. Moreover *Euſebius* in his *Chronicle* aſcribes Eight Years to *Xyſtus*, and he ſays that *Dionyſius* ſucceeded *Xyſtus* in the 12th Year of *Gallienus*, and that *Maximus* ſucceeded *Dionyſ. Alexandrin.* in the 11th Year of the ſaid *Gallienus* the Emperor. Which is moſt abſurd, whenas 'tis evident that *Dionyſ. Alexand.* dedicated his four Books againſt *Sabellius* to *Dionyſ. Roman.* as our Author tells us in Chap. 26. of this 7th Book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Eminent Biſhops of thoſe Times.

THE moſt Eminent of theſe aſſembled were *Firmilianus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* both Brothers, Biſhops of the Churches of *Pontus*: Beſides theſe there were *Helenus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, and (*a*) *Nichomas* Biſhop of *Iconium*: Alſo *Hymenæus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Theotecnus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* upon the Confines of *Jeruſalem*: Beſides theſe, *Maximus*, who with great commendation governed the Brethren of *Boſtra*. And a great many more may be reckon'd: who, together with Presbyters and Deacons, were convened in the aforeſaid City at the time aforeſaid, and upon the ſame account. But theſe were the moſt eminent of them. All theſe therefore being aſſembled in the ſame place together; (*b*) divers times and often, Diſputations and Queſtions were rais'd in every Synod. On the one ſide *Paul* of *Samoſata* endeavoured to conceal and hide his Heterodox Opinions; on the other, theſe Perſons ſtriving with all diligence to denudate and make apparent his Hereſie and Blaſphemy againſt Chriſt. In the

(*a*) This name *Nichomas* ſeems to be abbreviated, & ſhould rather be *Nichomedes* or *Nicomachus*. In the old MS. *in the Abbey of Corbie* which contains *a Collection of the Canons*; amongſt the Biſhops which ſubſcribed to the *Council of Nice*, *Nicomas* Biſhop of *Boſtra* is named the firſt of the Biſhops of the Province of *Arabia*: But the common MSS. read *Nichomachus*, and ſo we find it in the MS. of *C. Juſtellus*, which is of no leſs antiquity than the other. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) We here tranſlate it, *divers times*, though ſome Greek Copies read only χρὸν διαφόρως· But all our MSS. read χρὰς διαφόρους. There were ſeveral Synods called againſt this *Paul* of *Samoſata*: Hence follows the word [πολλάκις] which we muſt in no wiſe ſuppoſe to be ſuperfluous here. *Euſebius* ſays, *There were many Synods aſſembled at ſeveral times, and in every Synod there were many Seſſions* or *Actions*. The firſt Synod againſt *Paul* was at *Antioch* in the twelfth year of *Gallienus*; of which Synod *Firmilianus* was Preſident: Concerning which ſee *Bartnius*, *Anno Chriſti* 265, and 266. *Valeſ.*

interim

Gallienus. interim *Dionysius* † dies in the twelfth year of *Gallienus*'s Empire, after he had presided in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* seventeen years. *Maximus* succeedeth him. But *Gallienus*, having held the Empire fifteen years compleat, *Claudius* was constituted his Successor. He, having reigned two years, left the Government to *Aurelianus*.

† Anno Christ. 265.

CHAP. XXIX.

How Paul *being confuted by* Malchion *a Presbyter, (who formerly had been one of the* † Sophistæ*) was deposed.*

† See B. 4. Chap. 16. Note (*f.*)

Aurelianus. (*a*) IN this Emperor's time was the last Synod convened, which consisted of a very great number of Bishops: The Author of that Heresie at *Antioch* being now convicted, and by all manifestly condemned of false Doctrine, was Excommunicated out of the Catholick Church, which is under Heaven. But one (*b*) *Malchion* most especially confuted and convinced him, being desirous to keep himself concealed: He was a most eloquent Man, and Master of the *Grecian Philosophy-School* at *Antioch*. And moreover, for his surpassing sincerity in the Faith of Christ, he was honour'd with a Presbytership of the Church there. Now this Man having undertaken to dispute against *Paul*, (the Notaries having written down all the Passages of that Disputation, which is at this day extant) was the only person that was able to detect and convince that crafty and deceitful Fellow.

(*a*) Hence it may be gathered, that the *Synod of Antioch* was assembled in the beginning of *Aurelianus*'s Reign. But I cannot assent to *Baronius*, who says this *Synod* was called in the second year of *Aurelianus*. The *Council* of *Ephesus*, in pag. 228. utterly destroys this Opinion of *Baronius*: For it says that *Paul* of *Samosata* was excommunicated 160 years before that time; and if we reckon backwards we shall find, that the year of *Claudius* and *Paternus*'s Consulship, that is, the year of Christ 270. is the 160 year backwards from the time that Book was written, which was, *Theodosius* 13th, and *Valentinianus* 3d being Consuls. Moreover, if *Baronius* reckon these things done in the 2d year of *Aurelianus*, he must of necessity make *Dionysius* to continue Bishop of *Rome* till that Year; but that is contrary to the Authority of the *Lib. Pontifical.* Farther, in the second year of *Aurelianus* his Reign, there was a War waged against *Zenobia*, when *Antioch* and other Cities were taken, so that 'tis impossible there should be a *Synod* of Bishops that year there. *Vales.*

(*b*) *Leontius* in his first Book against *Nestorius*, has a Fragment of this Disputation. In *Theodoret*, this *Malchion* is called *Malachion*; but falsly: This Man gained such Honour in this Confutation of *Paul*, that he was thought worthy to be Canoniz'd in the *Greek Menology*, at the 28th day of *October*. Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the Epistle of the Bishops against Paul.

THE Prelates therefore, being assembled together, by common consent writ an Epistle to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: And then sent it over all the Provinces; both manifesting their diligence to all Men; the perverse Heterodoxy of *Paul*, the Confutations and Disputes which were held against them; and also giving in a Narration of the whole Life and Morals of the Man, whose words in which Epistle, that Posterity may remember them, it will be convenient here to relate.

The EPISTLE.

To Dionysius *and* Maximus, *and to all our Fellow-Ministers over the whole World, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; and to the whole Catholick Church under Heaven;* Helenus, Hymenæus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas, (*a*) Ælianus, Paul, Bolanus, Protogenes, Hierax, Eutychius, Theodorus, Malchion, *and* Lucius; *and all the rest of the Bishops of the neighbouring Cities and Provinces which are with us, the* (*b*) *Presbyters and Deacons, and the Churches of God, To the beloved Brethren in the Lord, health.* After some words interposed, they add these following. *We have written to, and intreated many of the Bishops far remote, that they would come and assist in the Curing of this Pestiferous Doctrine: For we wrote to* Dionysius *Bishop of* Alexandria, *and to* Firmilianus *Bishop of* Cappadocia, *Men of blessed Memory. The first of them wrote to* Antioch, *but did not so much as vouchsafe the Author of the Heresie a Salutation;* (*c*) *neither did he write to him by name, but to the whole Church: A Copy of which Letter we have here inserted. The other,* Firmilianus *came twice, and condemn'd* Paul's *Novelties, as we who were then present do attest, and many others do also know as well as we. But when he promised to recant,* Firmilianus *believing him, and hoping that the business might be composed* (*d*) *without any reproach to our Religion, deferr'd his Sentence; being deceived by him who denied his God and Lord, and who kept not the Faith which he formerly profess'd. But* Firmilianus *was now about coming to* Antioch: *And he came as far as* Tarsus; *for he had had experience of his malicious wickedness who denied his God. But in the interim of our assembling, and whilst we were sending for him, and expecting his coming, he died.* After some other Passages they describe his Morals, and what course of Life he led, in these words: *But since he turn'd to forged and spurious Opinions, departing from the* (*e*) *true Rule, it is not our concern to examine the Actions of one who is out of the Church: Neither how he, who was formerly poor and indigent, (having had no Estate from his Parents, nor got any thing by any Trade or Profession) is now become incredibly rich, by his unlawful and sacrilegious dealings,* (*f*) *by extortion, and vexatiousness used towards the Brethren, and by* (*g*) *taking Bribes from*

Aurelianus.

(*a*) In the *Maz. Fuk. Med.* and *Sav.* MSS. 'tis writ thus, ἀιλιανὸς Ælianus; but in some printed Editions, 'tis ἀμιλιανὸς, *Amilianus.* Also *Rufinus*, and *Nicephorus* call him *Ælianus.* *Athanasius* says there were Seventy Fathers in this *Synod*, who divested *Paul* of *Samosata.* Vales.

(*b*) We ought to take notice of the inscription of this Epistle: For we find here not the Names of *Bishops* only, but also of *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, and of the *Laity* also. The same we may see in the *Acts of the Council of Carthage*, in which *Cyprian* was President, and in the *Council* of *Eliberis.* Vales.

(*c*) Hence we may gather, the Epistle of *Dionys. Alexand.* to *Paul* of *Samosata*, which is inserted in the 11th Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is suppositious, together with the ten Propositions of *Paul*, and *Dionysius*'s Answers to them. For the Fathers of *the Council of Antioch* do here affirm, that *Dionys.* did not write to *Paul*, but to the whole Church of *Antioch.* In that Epistle which goes under the name of *Dionysius*, we find that he wrote to *Paul* twice. But the stile of the Epistle and Answer is not at all like *Dionysius*'s Works. So that I am fully perswaded, although *Baronius* takes that Work to be true and Genuine, it is false, and adulterate. *Vales.*

(*d*) The Greek words [ἄνευ πάνυ τοῦ καὶ τὸν λόγον λαιδορίας] must be translated, *Sine ullâ Religionis nostræ contumeliâ*, and we have rendred them in *English* accordingly: But *Christophorson* scorned to follow that excellent Version of *Rufinus*, which agrees with us. *Vales.*

(*e*) The Fathers called the Rule of Faith τὸν κανόνα, *the true Rule.* See the 4th Book of our Author *Eusebius* and Chap. 23. where we find the same use of κανὼν exactly with this here. *Vales.*

(*f*) *Extortion* is twofold; and is committed either by *the Terror of Authority*, as when a Soldier, or Magistrate demands any thing; or else *by Deceit and Cunning*, when under pretence of favouring, or succouring and helping a Man we get something from him, And this latter is that which the Fathers of *the Council of Antioch* here mean: The Greeks call it σείειν; so here, σείειν τὰς ἀδελφὰς; to which the Latin word *concussio*, and *concutere* does exactly answer; in which sense they were used among the *old Lawyers.* We also find the word in the Gospel, where *John* gives this command to the Soldiers: (*viz.*) Μηδένα διασείσητε, *Luke* Chap. 3. 14. And amongst the *Grecians*, the ancient use of the word σείειν is in the same sense as *calumniari.* So *Aristophanes* and *Teleclides*, use the word. *Vales.*

(*g*) Καταβραβεύειν is by *Langus* very well translated *præmia accipere, to take Bribes*: St. *Paul* uses that term, *Colos.* 2. 18. *Vales.*

Aurelianus.

thoſe that were injured, promiſing to help them to their Right, for a Reward; but he deceived them too, (h) *getting Money for doing nothing through their willingneſs, who were entangled in Suits, to give any thing for a delivery from thoſe Troubles: He* (i) *ſuppoſed* godlineſs to be gain. *Neither need we declare how proud and inſolent he was, being inveſted with ſecular Dignities; and deſiring to be ſtiled a* (k) Ducenarius, *rather than a Biſhop: And how he walked in ſtate through the* * Forum, *reading and dictating Letters as he walked in publick, with a numerous Guard about him, ſome going before and ſome following him: In ſo much that were was an ill Opinion and an* Odium *brought upon the Faith through his Pride and Haughtineſs. Neither* [*does it concern us to examine*] *his vain-glorious Ambition in the Eccleſiaſtick Conventions, which he greedily purſues, being deſirous of Glory, and affected with an imaginary Pomp: With ſuch Devices as theſe terrifying the Minds of the Faithful and Ignorant. Beſides, he erected for himſelf a* (l) *Tribunal, and a lofty Throne, not like one of Chriſt's Diſciples, but had a place called his* (m) *Secretum, like as the ſecular Magiſtrates have. He alſo uſed to clap his Hand upon his Thigh, and ſtamp'd upon the Throne with his Feet. And ſuch as did not commend him, and ſhake their* (n) Oraria, *as they uſually did in* the Theaters, *and did not make loud Exclamations, nor leap'd up and down in the ſame manner as his Favourites (which were a company of ſilly Men and Women that during their hearkning to him uſed ſuch Indecencies) did; but were attentive to him with ſuch a ſeemly reverence and decency as befits the Houſe of God: Thoſe Perſons he rebuked and reproach'd. In his publick Diſcourſes he reflected upon thoſe Doctors of our Religion that were dead, with all imaginable ſcorn and petulancy; but he magnified himſelf not as became a Biſhop, but rather like a Counterfeit, and an Impoſtor. He aboliſhed the Pſalms, which were uſually ſung in honour of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as novel, and the Compoſures of modern Men. On the great Feaſt of* Eaſter, *he appointed Women to ſing Pſalms in his commendation in the Body of the Church, which whoſoever heard might juſtly tremble at: He alſo privately ſent the* (o) *Biſhops of the neighbouring Villages and Towns, and the Preſbyters who were his Flatterers to make Diſcourſes to the People in commendation of him. For he will not joyn in a Confeſſion with us, that the Son of God came down from Heaven, that we may now premiſe ſome things of what we ſhall hereafter more at large declare in writing: Neither ſhall this be affirmed on our bare word, but it is evident in many places up and down his* (p) *Acts which we have ſent you; And moſt eſpecially there where he ſays that Jeſus Chriſt is of the* * *Earth: But thoſe who chaunt out his Praiſes, and ſing his* Encomiums *amongſt the People, do ſay, that this their impious Maſter is an Angel come down from Heaven: Nor does that haughty Fellow prohibit theſe Expreſſions, but is himſelf preſent when they are ſpoken. What need we here mention his and his Presbyters and Deacons* (q) ſub-introduced Women (*as the* Antiochians *term them?*) *in whom he conceals not only this, but many other damnable Crimes, (which he is conſcious of, and of which he has been convict they are guilty) that by this means he may keep them ſo obnoxious, as not to adventure, through a fear of their own guilt, to accuſe him for his impious words and practices. Moreover, he has enrich'd them. And this is the reaſon he is beloved and admired by them who covet ſuch things. But why do we write theſe things? We know (Beloved) that it is the duty of a Biſhop, and of the whole Clergy, to be Examples of good Works to the People: Neither are we ignorant, that by* introducing Women *into their Society, ſome have wholly fell away from Goodneſs, and others have been ſuſpected. Although therefore it be granted he committed nothing that was unchaſte, yet the very ſuſpicion which ariſes from ſuch a thing, ought carefully to be avoided, leſt it ſhould be offenſive to any one, and induce others to imitate it: For how can he reprove, or admoniſh another not to frequent the company of Women, and* to take heed leſt he fall, (*as it is wrieten,*) *who has now indeed ſent away one, but keeps two that are young and beautiful with him? And where-ever he goes, he carries them along with him; and therefore indulges, and* (r) *ſtuffs himſelf with Delicacies. Theſe are the Reaſons that all People ſigh and lament privately: But they ſo dread his Tyranny, and Authority, that they dare not accuſe him; now, (as we have before ſaid) any would call a Man, who profeſſes the Catholick Doctrine, and is reckon'd of our Communion, to an account for theſe things. But from one, who has abjured the Myſtery* [*of our Religion*,] *and has boaſted in that curſed Hereſie of* Artemas, (*for why may we not manifeſt to you his Father:*) *We judge it needleſs to require an account of theſe things.* Afterwards in the Cloſe of the Epiſtle they adjoyn theſe words. *Having therefore excommunicated this contumacious Enemy of God; we were neceſſitated to Ordain another Biſhop in his ſtead over the Catholick Church, (as we are perſwaded, not without the Providence of God)* [to wit,] Domnus (*the Son of* Demetrianus *of bleſſed Memory, who before him was the Eminent Governour of that See*) *a Man adorn'd with all Accompliſhments requiſite to a Biſhop. Which we have therefore ſignified to you, that you may write to*

(h) Altho' μάτην be joyn'd with καταπέμψω in the *Greek*, and we have ſo tranſlated it: (*viz.*) *getting Money for doing nothing*, making it to be referred to *Paul*; yet it ſhould rather be referred to the *Litigants*, or *People in ſuit*, who gave their Money to *Paul*, for his help and favour in their cauſe, and ſo loſt it: He never helping them. *Valeſ.*

(i) This is a Scripture-Phraſe, taken out of 1 *Timothy* chap. 6. v. 6.

(k) Theſe *Ducenarii* were *procurators*; called *ducenarii*, becauſe they were ſuch *Receivers*, or *Collectors of the Revenues*, as had 200 ſeſterces paid them from the Emperor, as a yearly ſallary. See *Dio*, *Lib.* 53. p. 506. *Valeſ.*

* See Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (*c.*)

(l) The Fathers do not here condemn *Paul*, becauſe he had a Throne; for that was cuſtomary amongſt Biſhops, even from the times of the Apoſtles, as we may ſee in Chap. 19. Book 7. concerning the Throne of *James* the Brother of the Lord. But for this they condemn him, becauſe he erected a *Tribunal* for himſelf in the Church, and built a *high Throne*, as *Ruſinus* well tranſlates the place, higher than it was before. Biſhops did ſit higher than the People; but they had not a *Tribunal*. Valeſ.

(m) This *Secretum* was only proper to Magiſtrates, and the *Judices Majores*, or *Judges of Life and Death*. It was the inner-part of the Court of Judgment, and was compaſſed about with Rails, and Curtains were drawn about it; in it the Judges ſate, when they heard the Tryals of Criminals. See my Notes on *Amm. Marcell.* p. 87. *Valeſ.*

(n) Καταθείειν ταῖς ὠθόναις, ſignifies *to ſhake a Linnen-Cloth*, or *Handkerchief in token of applauſe*; as the Spectators uſed to do in the *Theater*. *Vopiſcus* ſays that *Aurelianus* was the firſt who gave theſe ὠθόνας, *oraria*, in Engliſh, *Handkerchiefs*, to the People of *Rome*, that *concutiendo, by ſhaking them*, they might ſignifie their conſent in Elections. But *Aurelianus* borrowed this cuſtom from the *Eaſtern People*, who long before his time uſed theſe *Oraria* after the ſame manner. *Valeſ.*

(o) *Euſebius* ſeems here to mean the *Chorepiſcopi*, which ſome term *Vicarios Epiſcopi*, and *Vicarios, Epiſcopos*, i. e. *Deputies of the Biſhop*, and *Vicar-Biſhops*. They here make a diſtinction betwixt the *Epiſcopi Civitatum*, and *Epiſcopi Pagorum*. And theſe latter, the Fathers here ſay, ſang, or repeated theſe Songs or Hymns in their Sermons, and Congregations. See *Damaſi Epiſt.* concerning theſe.

(p) Ὑπομνήματα are here *Geſta*, or *Acta*, *Publick Acts*; ſuch are commonly Regiſtred; but ſome falſly tranſlate them *Commentaries*. Now the *Acts* of *this Synod of Antioch* were nothing but the Diſputations of *Malchion* againſt *Paul* of *Samoſata*; which were Regiſtred by the *Notaries*. Valeſ.

* See *Joh.* 8. 23.

(q) Theſe *Subintroduced women* were neither *Wives*, nor *Concubines*, but a third ſort of Women; which the Presbyters, &c. kept, not to have Children by, nor upon account of luſt, but as 'twas pretended out of a deſire of Piety. See *John Langus*'s Notes on Book 6. *Niceph. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Chap. 30. Theſe ſort of Women, *Valeſius* ſays, were called *Siſters*; which he was informed of from the third *Canon. Concil. Nicen.* They were alſo termed *Commanentes*. See *Jerom's* Epiſtle to *Euſtochius*, where he inveys againſt theſe ſort of Women.

(r) Here the Fathers accuſe *Paul* becauſe he kept theſe fair Women with him; and becauſe [ὑπὸ ἐμπιπλάμενος] *he glutted himſelf with all ſenſual delights*, as, Feaſts, Drinking, and the like, which are the common incentives of Luſt. *Valeſ.*

Aurelianus.

to him, and receive from him (*f*) Communicatory Letters: *But as for this* [Paul] *let him write to* Artemas, *if he pleases, and let the followers of* Artemas, *hold Communion with him.*

(*f*) Τὰ κοινωνικὰ γράμματα. The *Latines* call them, *Literas communicatorias, communicatory Letters*; the use whereof is very ancient in the Church. They were also called *Formatæ*, as *Augustine, in Epist.* 163. attests. There were two sorts of these Letters. One sort was given to the Clergy and Laity that were going to travel, that they might be admitted to Communion by foreign Bishops. Another sort were those, which Bishops sent to other Bishops, and received from them mutually, to attest and declare their mutual Communion: Concerning this latter sort the *Synod* speaks here. They were usually sent by the new Bishops a little after their Ordination. See *August.* 162 Epist. and *Cyprian*'s Epistle to *Cornelius*, p. 92. *Vales.*

(*t*) *Baronius* at the year of *Christ* 272. (in which year he has placed this Synod of *Antioch*) accuses *Eusebius* of Fraud, or rather of Connivence; because he on set purpose (as he says) omitted that *Creed* which the Fathers made in this Council of *Antioch*, which utterly destroy'd Arianism. But *Baronius*, as in other places, so here also, causelessly accuseth *Eusebius*. For that *Creed* which he there produceth out of the *Acts* of the Synod of *Ephesus*, was not the Creed which was composed by the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch*, but by them of the *Nicene* Council. For the more certain demonstration of this, See the 3d Tome *of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, pag. 378; where this Creed, which *Baronius* mentions as composed by the Fathers of this Council of *Antioch*, is expresly assign'd to the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*. Wherefore that Creed which *Baronius*, and *Binius*, following his example, have placed in the Acts of this Council of *Antioch*, must be razed out. There is also extant an Epistle of this 2d Synod of *Antioch* to *Paul* of *Samosata* in the 11th Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, which Epistle was written about the beginning of the Session of this 2d Synod; but *Baronius* ascribes that Epistle to the first Synod, which cannot possibly be, because of the title, and the Persons mentioned in it, and other Circumstances. *Vales.*

(*t*) And let these things be here by us inserted. * *Paul* therefore having been devested of his Bishoprick, and being also fallen from the Orthodox Faith, *Domnus* (as is aforesaid) succeeded in the Government of the Church of *Antioch*: But (*u*) *Paul* being by no means willing to quit the Possession of the * Church; an Address was made to *Aurelianus* the Emperor, who most justly determined concerning this business; giving command that the Palace should be resign'd, to whom the Bishops of the Christian Religion in *Italy* and *Rome* should assign it by their Letters. Thus therefore the aforemention'd *Paul*, was with the greatest disgrace thrust out of the Church by the secular Power. Thus indeed was *Aurelian* affected towards us at that time; but in the following part of his Empire, his Mind towards us being alter'd, he was induced by the advice of some Men to raise a Persecution against us. Much discourse there was every-where concerning it: But the Divine Vengeance assaulted him, (being now ready, and, as I may say, almost subscribing the Edicts against us, [repressing] his design, and binding him (as it were) by the Arms; making it evidently apparent to all Men that the readiness of the Princes of this World [to persecute us] can never prevail against the Churches of Christ, unless the invincible Hand of God in his Divine and Celestial Judgment, permits it to be done for our chastisement and amendment, at those times in which he judgeth it most seasonable. Moreover, *Probus* succeeds *Aurelian*, having Reigned six years. And after he had held the Empire the like number of years, *Carus* together with his Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, succeed him. Again, these having not lived three full years, the Empire falls to *Diocletian* and those who were adopted with him. In whose times the Persecution against us was accomplish'd, and at the same time with it was the demolishing of the Churches: But a little before this died *Dionysius*, after he had govern'd the See of *Rome* nine years, and *Felix* succeeded him.

(*u*) After the Sentence of being deposed was passed against *Paul*, he kept his Church for some years; and would not obey the decree of the Bishops; relying on the power of *Zenobia* an Eastern Queen. *Theodoret* says, in his 2d Book *Hæretic. Fabul.* that *Paul* did flatter her, and used all means possible to get her favour. When *Zenobia* was conquered, the Christian Prelates petition'd *Aurelianus*, that this *Paul*, who had conspired with *Zenobia* against the *Romans*, might be removed from the See of *Antioch*, which was done in the third year of *Aurelianus*. Vales.

* Τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἶκος· the import of which words, being literally rendred, is *the House of the Church*: Perhaps they mean *the Bishop's Palace*; a little after they call it τὸν οἶκον; which we have rendred *the Palace*. *Valesius* renders the first Phrase *Ecclesiæ Domus*, and the second *Domus*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning the Heterodox and Corrupt Opinion of the Manichees, *which sprang up at this time.*

Diocletian.

AT the same time that Mad-man, (truly called (*a*) *Manes*) who gave denomination to that furious Heresie, was arm'd with madness; Satan himself that Adversary of God, having produced him for the destruction of many Men. This person was barbarous in his whole course of life, in his very Discourse and Manners, he was as to his Disposition devilish and mad: He undertook what was agreeable hereto, and attempted to feign himself to be *Christ*. Sometimes he declared himself to be the * *Paraclete*, and the very *Holy Spirit*, being also, besides his Madness, puft up with Pride: At other times, as if he were Christ, he elected twelve Disciples to be Colleagues of his new-form'd Opinion. Moreover, when he had patch'd up a Collection of false and atheistical Opinions, gather'd out of various Heresies which were long since extinct, he pour'd them, like some deadly Poison, out of *Persia* into (*b*) our Country. Hence came that impious name of the (*c*) *Manichees*, which at this time abounds in many places: Such therefore was the Original of this (*d*) forged Doctrine which sprang up in the times before mention'd.

(*a*) *Eusebius*, as we here see, derives the name of this Heretick from the Greek word μανεὶς, *a Mad-man*: *The Learned Bishop Pearson on the Creed*, supposes *Manes* to be a *Title* rather than a *name*, and to be derived from the Hebrew מָנָא, or מְנָא, signifying *an Heretick*: See his Reasons for this derivation, in his marginal Notes at p. 64. *of his Exposition on the Creed*; Edit. *Lond.* 1669.

* See the Note on Chap. 14. B. 5.

(*b*) The Phrase in the original is ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην; which *Valesius* renders in *Orbem Romanum, into the Roman Empire.*

(*c*) *Manes* was not the first Author of this Heresie, though his followers were from him called *Manicheans*. Indeed *Manes* disseminated this Heresie in the days of *Aurelianus*, or *Probus* the Emperor: But he had a Predecessor, though not a Master, called first *Terebinthus*, afterwards *Buddas*: Which *Buddas* had a former Master, by name *Scythianus*, who was the first Author of this Heresie, and lived about the Apostolick times. See the Pedigree of this Heresie drawn at large by *Epiphanius*, *Adversf. Manichæos*; pag. 176, &c. *Edit. Petav.*

(*d*) Ψευδωνύμε γνώσεως, *knowledge falsely so called.* 1. Tim. 6. 20.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning those Ecclesiastick Men who were famous even in our Age, and which of them lived till the demolishing of the Churches.

AT this time *Eutychianus* succeeded *Felix*, who had been Bishop of the Church of *Rome* five years. And (*a*) he, having not lived not full ten months, leaves the dignity to *Caius*, who lived in our Age: When he had presided there about fifteen years, *Marcellinus* was ordain'd his Successor; whom the Persecution overtook: At this time *Timæus* succeeded *Domnus* in the Government of the Church of *Antioch*: After him *Cyril* succeeded in our memory. In his time we knew one (*b*) *Dorotheus*, who then had the dignity of Pres-

(*a*) This *Eutychianus*, sate Bishop of *Rome* 8 years and 11 months as is evident from *the old book of the Popes*; in which the years of all the *Popes* from *Callistus* are very well digested by the Consuls, under whom they began their Presidencies, and under whom they died. *Eusebius* here takes away 8 years from *Eutychianus*, and ascribeth them to *Xystus*. See Chap. 27. Note (*a.*) *Vales.*

(*b*) This *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, *Baronius* (in his Notes *on the Roman Martyrology*) takes to be the same with that *Dorotheus*, who was a Presbyter of *Tyre*: But this is a Mistake in him; which Error *Blondellus* undertakes to correct; but in the interim committeth one far worse. For he confounds this *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, with *Dorotheus*

Dorotheus, Diocleſian's Groom of the Chamber; whoſe Martyrdom our Author in the 8th Book giveth us an account of: I do not in the leaſt doubt but there were two of this name, *(viz.) Dorotheus*'s, one was Presbyter of *Antioch*, and the other was Eunuch, Groom of the Chamber to *Diocleſian*. And this may be proved by ſufficient Arguments. (1.) This *Dorotheus*, the Presbyter, was not a Martyr; for we find no mention of him as ſuch in *Euſebius*, and certainly had he been ſo, *Euſebius* would not have omitted him amongſt the Eccleſiaſticks he reckons up Book 8. Chap. 13. who ſuffered Martyrdom, ſeeing alſo he was his Maſter. (2.) This *Dorotheus* the Presbyter was a Man nobly deſcended, and he bore Office before he was a Presbyter; but the other *Dorotheus* was a Man of a ſervile condition, an Eunuch, and Groom of the Chamber to *Diocleſian*. Beſides, 'tis impoſſible that the ſame Man ſhould be a Groom of the Chamber, and a Presbyter; for that was inconſiſtent with the Eccleſiaſtick Canon, and with reaſon; only Youths of great beauty were choſen to ſerve in the Emperor's Bed-Chamber. Laſtly, we read in *Euſebius*, and others, that *Dorotheus* the Groom of the Chamber ſuffered Martyrdom while he had that Office. Hence aroſe this Confuſion; both theſe *Dorotheus*'s were *Eunuchs*, and both the Emperor's Favourites. *Valeſ.*

Diocleſian. byter in the Church of *Antioch*, a very learned Man: He was very ſtudious in the Sacred Scriptures, and uſed ſo great ſedulity in attaining the *Hebrew* Tongue, that he could read the Scriptures in *Hebrew* with great skilfulneſs. He was a perſon that had been (*c*) excellently well educated, and was not unexperienc'd in the *Grecian* Literature: But he was by nature an Eunuch, having been ſo from his very birth. The Emperor for this reaſon, (it being for example a thing which was wonderful,) took him into his favour, and advanced him to the Office of over-ſeeing the *Purple Dye-houſe* at *Tyre*: We have heard this perſon expo und the Holy Scriptures in the Church indifferently well: But after *Cyrillus*, *Tyrannus* ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of the Church of *Antioch*; in whoſe time the deſtroying of the Churches was very violent: After *Socrates*, *Euſebius* govern'd the See of *Laodicea*, who was born at the City of *Alexandria*; the Cauſe of his removal [out of his own Country] was the Controverſie about *Paul*: Upon which account coming into *Syria*, he was detained from returning home by thoſe Perſons who in that place diligently buſied themſelves about Celeſtial matters; he was in our memory a moſt amiable Ornament of Religion, as we may eaſily underſtand from the words of *Dionyſius* before-quoted: (*d*) *Anatolius* was ordain'd his Succeſſor, a good Man (as the ſaying is) ſucceeding a good Man. He alſo was an *Alexandrian* by birth; for Eloquence, *Grecian* Literature and Philoſophy, he was acknowledg'd the chiefeſt of the moſt eminent Men in our Age; for he had arrived to a perfection in Arithmetick, Geometry, Aſtronomy, Logick, Phyſical Contemplations, and Rhetorick. Upon which account (as report ſays) he was intreated by the Citizens of *Alexandria* to ſet up a School there of the (*e*) *Ariſtotelick* Order [of Philoſophers:] They relate indeed many other famous Acts of his in the Siege of the (*f*) *Bruchium* at *Alexandria*: For by an univerſal conſent he was dignified with the chiefeſt place of pre-eminence and authority amongſt the Magiſtracy of that City. But for inſtance I will here mention only this Act of his. There being (as they ſay) a great ſcarcity of Corn amongſt the Beſieged, (in ſo much that the Famine was more intolerable to them than the Enemies without;) this afore-mention'd *Anatolius* being there, made this proviſion [for their relief:] the one (*g*) part of the City being Confederates with The *Roman* Army, and upon that account not beſieg'd; *Anatolius* ſendeth to *Euſebius* (for as yet he was there, this happening before his removal into *Syria*,) who was amongſt them that were not beſieged, (and had gotten great repute, and a famous name even with the *Roman* General,) to inform him of [the number] of thoſe that died by the Famine in the Siege. *Euſebius* underſtanding this, petition'd the *Roman General* as for the higheſt favour, that ſafety might be granted to thoſe who would deſert the *Enemy*: Having obtain'd his requeſt, he made it known to *Anatolius*; who, having forthwith receiv'd the [General's] promiſe, called together the Senate of *Alexandria*, and at firſt entreated them all to enter into an amicable friendſhip with the *Romans*. But when he perceived them to be exaſperated at that his propoſal; but (ſays he) I ſuppoſe you would not contradict me in this, ſhould I counſel you to ſend out of the Gates all perſons which are ſuperfluous, and of whom we have no uſe at all, *to wit*, old Women, Children, and old Men, and let them go whither they will: For why ſhould we to no purpoſe retain them with us, who are even dying? Why do we deſtroy them with Famine, who are diſabled and maimed in their Bodies? We ought to feed only Men, and thoſe that are young and ſtrong, and to (*h*) diſtribute neceſſary Corn to ſuch as are fit to defend the City. When by ſuch Arguments as theſe he had prevailed with the Senate, riſing up he gave his Vote firſt: That all thoſe who were not fit for ſervice, of what Sex ſoever, whether Men, or Women, ſhould quit the City; for ſhould they continue with them, and being wholly uſeleſs tarry in the City, there could be no hopes of ſafety, but they would be deſtroy'd by the Famine. All the reſt of the Senate having approved of his Propoſal, he ſaved almoſt all the Beſieged. Firſt, he provided that thoſe of our Religion, then that others of all Ages throughout the City, (not thoſe

Diocleſian.

(*c*) The reading in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. is ἐλευθέρων, *liberaliter educatus, he was very well educated.* Valeſ.

(*d*) This is the ſame *Anatolius* (if I miſtake not) that *Eunapius* mentions in the Life of *Iamblichus*; where he ſays that *Iamblichus* was at firſt the Scholar of *Anatolius*, who at that time was eſteem'd the beſt Philoſopher next to *Porphyrius*. This *Anatolius*, here ſpoken of by *Euſebius*, lived in the ſame Times *Porphyrius* did, and according to *Euſebius*'s Character, he was a Man well-verſed in all ſorts of Learning. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) The Phraſe in the Original is Ἀριστοτέλους διαδοχῆς, *Ariſtotelicæ ſucceſſionis*, of the *Ariſtotelick Order*. *Anatolius* being an excellent Philoſopher was requeſted by the Citizens of *Alexandria* to ſet up an *Ariſtotelick* School, in imitation of the *Platonick* School long ſince erected at *Athens*. The Maſters of *Plato*'s School were called διδάσκοι, and were promoted to that place by a publick Decree. This School had great annual Revenues, raiſed out of Eſtates, which Learned Men left as Legacies to this School, which were hence called διαδοχικά. In imitation of this School at *Athens*, there was afterwards founded a Philoſophical School at *Alexandria*, of which that moſt excellent Philoſopher *Hierocles* was Maſter. See *Damaſcius, in vitâ Iſidor.* pag. 1058, &c. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) This Siege of the *Bruchium* was in *Aurelianus*'s Time, as we find aſſerted in the end of B. 22. of *Amm. Marcell.* *Euſebius* in *his Chronicle* ſays it hapned on the 2d. Year of *Claudius*: For which *Scaliger* reproves and corrects *Euſebius*, relying on the authority of *Marcell.* But I had rather follow our Author's Opinion here: For that *Euſebius* mention'd in this Chap. and *Anatolius* were ſtill at *Alexandria*, and could not poſſibly travel to *Antioch* till the Siege was raiſed. But *Euſebius*, we ſee, went to the Synod of *Antioch*, which, as before we proved, was in the ſecond Year of *Claudius*. [And intending to return from *Antioch*, he was detained by the *Laodiceans*, and made Biſhop of that place. But if we ſay that the *Bruchium* was not taken till *Aurelianus*'s Reign; how could *Euſebius*, who was at the Siege go towards that Synod, and be made Biſhop of *Laodicea*. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) Whilſt *Claudius* warr'd againſt the *Barbarians*, *Zenobia* ſent *Zabda* her Captain, who, by the aſſiſtance of *Timogenes* an *Egyptian*, ſeized upon *Egypt*, and put a Garriſon into *Alexandria*: But *Probus* the *Roman*-General, with ſome aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, who did not affect the *Syrians* of *Palmyra* who kept the Garriſon, forced them out thence; as *Pollio* in the Life of *Claudius*, and *Zoſimus* record. And this, I think, was the time when the *Bruchium* was beſieged by the *Romans*. *Valeſ.* *Martinius* thinks that this *Bruchium*, here mention'd as a part of *Alexandria*, and in the *Greek* called πυρρίχειον, was in that which the *Romans* called the *Forum frumentarium*, or *Corn-Market*; it being derived from πυρὸς ἔχω, *Annonæ præfectus*; and that compounded of πυρὸς and ἔχω, *tritici curam habeo, to have the charge of the Wheat*: See *Martin. Lexicon. Philolog.* in the word *Bruchion.*

(*h*) *Chriſtoph.* renders the word ταμιεύεσθαι, here uſed, *Congerere, to lay up Corn*; but it muſt here be rendred quite contrary, *to give out*, or *meaſure out Corn ſparingly*; which was cuſtomary in Famines and in Sieges.

Diocletian

those only to whom the Senate had given licence; but a great many others under pretence hereof) should make their escape secretly; who being disguised in Women's habit, went in the night out of the Gates by his procurement, and fled to the *Roman* Army; where *Eusebius*, receiving them all, like a Father and Physician, refreshed them, who had been afflicted with a (*i*) tedious Siege, with all imaginable care, and methods of cure. The Church of *Laodicea* was honoured with two such Pastors as these by the Divine Providence, one succeeding the other, [for] after the War aforesaid was ended, they both removed from *Alexandria* into [*Syria.*] Indeed *Anatolius* did not write many Books: But so many [Works of his] came to our hands, that from them we may perceive both his Eloquence and his great Learning; especially from those [Canons] of his in which he gives us his Opinion concerning *Easter*: Out of which it may be requisite to make mention of these words in this place.

(i) *Hieronymus*, in his *Chronicle*, says, that this Siege of the *Bruchium* lasted several years. *Vales.*

(k) These Words ought to be separated from the Text of *Eusebius*, as we have here done in the Translation. For they are a Title as it were, which noteth that the Fragment following is out of another Author. *Vales.*

(*k*) *Excerptions out of* Anatolius's Canons concerning Easter.

(*l*) Ἔχεις τοίνυν. These words being imperfect, and unintelligible; there must of necessity be something understood. *Christoph.* conjectures that τὸ πάσχα, *Easter*, is to be understood; but that is absurd, for the feast of *Easter* does never fall on the *New-Moon* of the first Month. I rather think we ought to read ἔχεις, *you have*, or ἔχε in the *imperative*, *reckon the New-Moon*, &c. *Vales.*

'(*l*) You have therefore in the first year the 'New-moon of the first month, (which is the 'beginning of the Circle of nineteen years;) according to the *Egygtian* account on the 26 day of the month *Phamenoth*; but according to the 'Macedonian Computation of months, on the 22 day 'of the month *Dystrus*; and 'as the *Romans* phrase it, 'before the 11 of the Calends of *April*: On the aforesaid 26 day of the 'month *Phamenoth*, the Sun 'is found not only to have 'entred the first Segment '[of the *Zodiack*,] but is 'then going the fourth day 'in it: They usually call this Segment, the first '*Dodecatemorion*, the *Æquinox*, *the beginning of* '*months*, *the head of the Cycle*, and *the* (*m*) *origi*'*nal of the course of the Planets.* The Segment 'next before this they commonly call *the end of* '*the months*, *and the twelfth segment*, *the last Dode*'*catemorion*, and *the term of the circuit of the Planets.* 'Wherefore we affirm that they who place the 'first month in this Segment, and take the 14 s day (*n*) from it to be the Feast of *Easter*, are, 'as it happens, in no small mistake. Neither is 'this our Opinion, but it was known to the ancient *Jews* even before Christ's [coming;] 'and it was also in an especial manner observ'd by them; which may be understood from the 'words of *Philo*, *Josephus*, and *Musæus*. And not 'from the words of these persons only, but from 'them who were ancienter than they; *to wit*, 'from the two (*o*) *Agathobulus*'s, who were sir'named *the Masters*: And also from the (*p*) Famous '*Aristobulus*, who was one of the seventy, that at 'the request of *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* and his Father, translated the Sacred and Divine Scriptures 'of the *Hebrews*, and dedicated *his Expositions on* '*Moses's Law* to the same Kings. These Authors '*in their Solutions of the Que*'*stions upon Exodus*, say that 'all ought to sacrifice the 'Passover together after 'the vernal Æquinox, in 'the middle of the first 'month. Now this happens when the Sun goes 'through the first part of 'the *Solar Circle*, or (as 'some of them term it) 'the *Zodiack*: But *Aristo*'*bulus* addeth, that not only 'the Sun, but the Moon also must of necessity pass 'through the Æquinoctial Segment on the Feast of 'the Passover: For whereas there are two Æquinoctial Segments, the one 'called the *Vernal*, the other 'the *Autumnal*; and they 'diametrically opposite the 'one to the other; and whereas the Feast of the '*Passover* is granted to be on the 14 day at evening, the Moon shall be diametrically opposite 'to the Sun, as we may see it is in full Moons. 'Wherefore the Sun will be in the vernal Æquinoctial Segment; and the Moon will necessarily be in the Autumnal Æquinoctial Segment. I 'know they have said a great deal more; (part 'whereof is probable, and part concluded from 'most certain Demonstrations;) by which they 'endeavour to make it evident, that the Feast of 'the *Passover*, and that of *Unleavened Bread* must 'always be celebrated after the Æquinox. But I 'omit the requiring such abundance of Demon'strations from them, off whom *the Veil* of the '*Mosaick Law is taken*: And by whom (the face 'being now uncover'd) may be seen as in a 'Glass for the future, both Christ himself, 'Christ's Doctrines, and his Sufferings. Now, 'that the first month amongst the *Hebrews* does 'begin about the Æquinox, the Precepts in the '(*q*) Book of *Enoch* are a sufficient evidences."

(*m*) Ἄφεσις (the term which occurs here) does properly signifie *Carceres*, *the place whence the horse-races were begun. Anatolius* therefore calls the first *Dodecatemorium*, ἄφεσις, because from that, as it were from the Original and Source thereof the course of the Planets should begin. *Vales.* The Translation of this *Canon* of *Anatolius*'s will be scarce understood by the unlearned Reader, because so many terms of Art occur in it. The Learned Reader, that is desirous of farther satisfaction herein, may consult *Petavius*'s Notes on *Epiphan.* p. 188, &c. and *Ægydius Bucherius*, *De Doctrinâ Temporum*, pag. 440. Edit. *Antverp.* 1634.

(*n*) That is, *from that segment*: For although the reading in the Greek Text be καθ' αὐτὴν, yet it is to be corrected thus, καθ' αὐτὸ; understand τμῆμα, *segment*: So *Petavius* corrected it in his Notes upon *Epiphanius*, pag. 190. *Vales.*

(*o*) *Anatolius* here affirms that there were two *Agathobulus*'s, sirnamed the *Doctors*, or *Masters*. But I fear he mistakes in affirming them to be ancienter than *Philo* and *Josephus*. For *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* says, that *Agathobulus* the Philosopher flourished in the times of *Hadrianus*. Vales.

Diocletian

(*p*) *Rufinus* renders Ἀριστόβουλος τὸν παῖδα. *Aristobulus of Pancas*; but he is in a gross error. I wonder that *Scaliger*, (in *his Animadversions* upon *Eusebius*, p. 130.) should think, these words of *Anatolius* ought to be corrected according to *Rufinus*'s Translation of them. *Bede* also follows this corrupt Version of *Rufinus*, and takes *Paniada* to be the name of a *Jewish* Writer. *Scaliger* in the place afore-quoted largely proves that what *Anatolius* says of *Aristobulus* (*viz.* he was one of the 72 Translators) is false. This *Aristobulus* was also sirnamed the *Master*, or *the Doctor*; as we may see 2 *Maccabees*, Chap 1. because he was Tutor to King *Ptolomy*. For I cannot assent to *Scaliger*, who makes a distinction betwixt that *Aristobulus* mentioned in the History of the *Maccabees*, and *Aristobulus* the *Peripatetick*, who dedicated his Expositions upon *Moses*'s Law to *Ptolomy Philometor*. Vales.

(*q*) This Book of *Enoch* is quoted by *Jude* in his *Canonical Epistle*. It was an Apocryphal Book, and not received amongst the Authentick Scriptures of the *Jews*. But the Apostles, and the ancient Fathers in imitation of them, have not been afraid to quote Apocryphal Books which seemed to confirm the truth. *Georgius Syncel.* in his *Chronicle*, quotes an excellent Fragment out of this Book of *Enoch*'s. *Vales.*

The same *Anatolius* has left us *Institutions of* * *Arithmetick* in ten entire Books, as also several other evidences of his diligence about, and great experience in, the Holy Scriptures: *Theotecnus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* first Ordain'd him Bishop by Imposition of Hands, providing him to be his Successor in his own Church. And indeed for some small time they both (*r*) presided over that Church together. But the Synod against *Paul* being convened at *Antioch*,

* Some Excerptions out of *Anatolius*'s *Arithmetick* are yet extant. *Vales.*

(*r*) We have the like Example in Chap. 11. Book 6. Where *Alexander* ruled the Church of *Jerusalem* jointly with *Narcissus*. These two are the most ancient Instances of *Assistant* Bishops (as they are now called.) These sort of *Assistants* were first instituted for the ease of Aged Bishops; but afterwards they grew customary; and were chosen not out of necessity, but ambition and pride: But the Fathers of the Council of *Sardis* put a stop hereto. *Vales.*

Diocletian

(ſ) *Euſebius* relates the ſamething concerning *Euſebius Alexandrinus* in the beginning of this Chapter: (*viz.*) that he went to the Synod of *Antioch*, which was called upon *Paul*'s account, and in his return was ſtopped by the *Laodiceans*, and made Biſhop of that place. Now again we find the ſame concerning *Anatolius*: Which cannot poſſibly be defended, except we ſhould ſay that *Euſebius* died ſome few Days after his Ordination: But in oppoſition to that we will produce *Hieronymus*'s authority, who in the ſecond year of *Aurelianus* writes thus; *Euſebius is now famous at Laodicea.* Valeſ.

(ſ) he going through the City of *Laodicea* [towards that Synod] was there detained by the Brethren, *Euſebius* being then dead: After the death of *Anatolius*, *Stephen* is ordained Biſhop of that Church, being the laſt before the Perſecution. He was indeed admired by many for his Eloquence, Philoſophy, and his other *Grecian* Learning: But he was not (*t*) ſo well affected towards the true Faith [of Chriſt,] as the time of the following Perſecution afterwards demonſtrated; which manifeſtly declared him to be a diſſembler, fearful and cowardous, rather than a true Philoſopher. But after this the affairs of that Church did not forthwith run to decay; for *Theodotus* (*u*) ordained Biſhop of that Church by God himſelf the preſerver of all things, immediately reſtor'd all things to their former ſplendour. He was a perſon who in deeds verifi'd his own name, and made a true repreſentation of the Epiſcopal Office; he was of all men the moſt eminent for his skill in Phyſick and in curing of the Body. And there was no Man his equal for healing of Souls; for Humanity, ſincerity of Mind, Commiſeration, and Diligence in helping thoſe who wanted his aſſiſtance: He was alſo incomparably well exerciſed in divine learning. Such a perſon was this *Theodotus*. *Agapius* ſucceeded *Theotecnus*, who had governed the Biſhoprick of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* with great care. Who, we know, was very laborious, and moſt ſincerely ſollicitous for the good of the People over whom he preſided; and with a liberal hand relieved all, moſt eſpecially the Indigent: In this Man's times we knew *Pamphilus* (a moſt Eloquent Man, and a true Philoſopher in the Practices of his Life) honoured with a Presbyterſhip of that Church. To declare what a Perſon this Man was, and whence deſcended, would be a copious Subject. But all things relating to his life, the † School he founded; the Conflicts which during the time of Perſecution he underwent in ſeveral Confeſſions, and laſtly the Crown of Martyrdom with which he was encircled, we have fully declared in a (*x*) peculiar Work. Indeed this *Pamphilus* was the moſt admirable perſon of all that lived here. (*y*) Amongſt thoſe Men who lived neareſt to our Times, we knew theſe to be moſt eminent, *Pierius* one of the Presbyters of *Alexandria*; and (*z*) *Meletius* Biſhop of the Churches in *Pontus*: *Pierius* was egregiouſly eſteem'd for his [*voluntary*] Poverty, and his Philoſophick Literature: He was alſo a Man ſingularly exerciſed in Contemplations upon the Scriptures, Expoſitions, and publick Diſcourſes in the Church: and *Meletius* (whom the Learned called the (*a*) *Honey of Attica*) was ſuch a Man as one would deſcribe to be moſt accompliſh'd with all ſorts of Learning. The powerfulneſs of his Eloquence can't worthily be admired. But, ſhould any one ſay that he had this Faculty by nature, [we anſwer,] who could excel him in his knowledge in many other Arts and Sciences, and in his various ſorts of Literature? Certainly, ſhould any perſon have made tryal of him, he would have affirm'd that he was a Man moſt acute in all Sciences which have a dependance on reaſon; and alſo moſt eloquent: The Virtue and Piety of his Life was alſo correſpondent to theſe his Accompliſhments. In the time of the Perſecution we knew this Man, when he abſconded for the ſpace of ſeven years compleat in the Regions of *Paleſtine*. After *Hymenæus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, a little before mention'd, *Zambdas* entred upon the Government of that Church; who dying not long after, *Hermon*, the laſt of the Biſhops before the Perſecution in our Age, ſucceeded in the Apoſtolick Chair, (*b*) which is preſerved there even to this day. *Theonas* ſucceeded *Maximus* in the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*, who had been Biſhop there eighteen years, ſince *Dionyſius*'s Death. In his days *Achillas*, who at the ſame time with *Pierius* was honour'd with a Presbyterſhip, was very famous [at *Alexandria*] who was intruſted with the care of the * *Catechetick* School. He in his Actions exhibited a moſt excellent Example (inferior to none) of a more ſublime Philoſophy, and a genuine Pattern of an Evangelick Converſe. After *Theonas* had born the Epiſcopal Office nineteen years, *Peter* ſucceeded in the Epiſcopate of *Alexandria*. He alſo was eſteemed a perſon very eminent in his Function, which he bore twelve years compleat. Having preſided over the Church almoſt three of thoſe twelve years before the Perſecution, he paſt the reſt of his time in a more ſtrict and (*c*) Aſcetick courſe of life: but

Diocletian

(*t*) That is, he was not ſo well affected to the Chriſtian Faith, as he was to Philoſophy and *Grecian* Learning: Some will have the Greek Phraſe [οὐχ ὁμοίως] to have reference to ſomething elſe; but thus I underſtand it. *Valeſ.*

(*u*) *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon*, becauſe of the falſe punctation of this place, tranſlate it otherwiſe than we have done. They miſtook ἀνορθῶται, for a paſſive, and thus point it, ἀνορθῶται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, &c. *all things were reſtored to their former ſtate by God the preſerver*, &c. But after a diligent inſpection into this place, I think the Words [ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ] ought to be referred to ἀναδειχθείς, and then the ſenſe will be agreeable to our tranſlation; to wit, *Theodotus*, who was elected Biſhop by God himſelf the preſerver of all things, reſtored the affairs of the Church to their former ſplendour. *Valeſ.*

† Ἧς σωεσήσαλο διαλειβῆς. Some tranſlate theſe words thus, *concerning the School in which he was educated*: But I underſtand them ſpoken of the School which *Pamphilus* founded at *Cæſarea*: Concerning the Library which he erected at *Cæſarea*, ſee *Hieronymus*'s *Catalogue*; where he ſpeaks concerning *Matthew*; ſee alſo his Epiſtle to *Marcella*. Valeſ.

(*x*) *Chriſtoph.* takes theſe words, ἐν ἰδίᾳ συντάξει to ſignifie *one Book only*: But *Euſebius* wrote three Books of the Life of *Pamphilus*. Which *Hieronymus* atteſteth in his Book *De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*; and in his *Apology againſt Ruſinus*. Valeſ.

(*y*) Ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς, &c. (that is,) as we have tranſlated it, *amongſt thoſe Men who lived neareſt to our times*, &c. Some will have μάλιστα to be referred to σπανιοσάτους, *moſt eminent Men*; but that I cannot approve of. *Pierius*, and *Meletius*, of whom *Euſebius* afterwards ſpeaks, lived even till *Conſtantine*'s time; concerning *Pierius*, ſee *Photius* and *Hieronymus*. *Ruſinus* does not call him *Pierius*, but *Hierius*. So does the old *Roman Martyrology*, at the fourth day of *November*. But this *Martyrology*, I think, is neither the old one, nor the *Roman*. For had it been the *Roman Martyrology*, we ſhould have had mention of none but *Roman* Martyrs. But in it we have a Catalogue of the Martyrs of all Countrys. That I think (if any deſire to know which it is) is the old *Roman Martyrology*, which *Bucherius* publiſhed with the Canon of *Victorius Aquitanus*, although that looks more like a *Calendar*, than a *Martyrology*. There is indeed none which is properly the *Roman* Martyrology: For that which *Gregory the Great* mentions in his Epiſtle to *Eulogius*, is St. *Hierom*'s *Martyrology*, which the *Weſtern Church* then uſed, as we ſhall hereafter at another place demonſtrate. *Valeſ.*

(*z*) This is the man whom *Athanaſius*, in his *Speech againſt the Arians* calls *Meletius the Great*, pag. 291. Where in his Catalogue of the Orthodox Biſhops, he reckons *Meletius* Biſhop of *Pontus* for one. *Philoſtorgius* in his firſt Book calls him Biſhop of *Sebaſtopolis* in *Pontus*. He ſays he was at the Council of *Nice* with *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Amaſia*, and that he ſided with the *Arians*: But *Athanaſius* in the place above-quoted, proves that to be falſe. *Valeſ.*

(*a*) Therefore the name of *Meletius* is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος, *from Honey*. *Gregory Nazianz.* in his *Iambicks* calls *Meletius* the Biſhop of *Antioch*, μέλι καὶ ἐπώνυμον. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) By theſe words [εἰ ἔστι νῦν ἐκεῖσε παρυλαγμένον] he means, that the Throne of *James* the Brother of our Lord, was preſerved at *Jeruſalem* till that time, as 'tis recorded, Chap. 29. Book 7. So alſo at *Alexandria*, the Chair, or Throne of Saint *Mark* the Evangeliſt who firſt founded the Church of *Alexandria*, was preſerved there for a long time. *Valeſ.*

* Τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως τὸ διδασκαλεῖον; literally, *the School of the Divine Faith.*

(*c*) There is nothing more frequent in *Euſebius* than the uſe of theſe Words, ἄσκησις, and Φιλοσοφία; which terms the *Chriſtians* borrowed from the Philoſophers, as I noted Chap. 17. Book 2. Note (*a.*) The Philoſophers called

called those ἀσκήτας *who professed a stricter kind of life.* Hence it is that *Artemidorus* in his fourth Book, Chap. 35. calls *Alexander* the Philosopher ἀνδρὰ ἀσκήτην. *Ascetick Philosophy* is opposed to Philosophy which consists in *bare words.* When the *Christians* first made use of this name *Ascetæ*, they bestow'd it on the Clergy: A long time after that, the *Monks* laid claim to this name. But at the first it was used as was before shown: See Chap. 17. Book 2. Note *(a.)* Which may be proved by the instance here of *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Pierius* the Presbyter; both whom *Eusebius* in this Chapter calls *Ascetas. Eusebius* also, Chap. 11. concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, calls *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, *Ascetа.* Vales.

Diocletian. continued to be apparently solicitous for the publick Utility of the Churches. Upon which account being beheaded in the ninth year of the Persecution, he was adorned with a Crown of Martyrdom. But having here terminated the History of the Succession of Bishops from our Saviours's Nativity, to the demolishing of the Churches; which [History] comprehendeth the space of (*d*) three hundred and five years; in the subsequent [Books] we will record the Conflicts of those, who in our Age couragiously fought for Religion, how many and how great they were, and leave them for the information of succeeding Ages.

Diocletian.

(*d*) This place ought particularly to be taken notice of, in regard *Eusebius* here sums up the time which he hath comprehended in his *Ecclesiastick History.* He saith that from our Saviour's Birth to the demolishing of the Churches, which was in the nineteenth year of *Diocletian*, there were 305 years. Also in *Eusebius's Chronicle* the 305 year of Christ is set opposite to the 19 year of *Diocletian.* But in *Scaliger*'s Edition, the year in which the Persecution under *Diocletian* began, is reckon'd the 304 year of Christ. Hence arises this difference; *Scaliger* in his Edition of *Eusebius's Chronicle*, reckons not that to be the first year of Christ in which he was born, but the year following. But *Eusebius* reckons that to be the first of Christ in which he was born, as I before noted Chap. 5. Book 1. Note *(a.)* For *Eusebius* places his birth on the 8th of the Ides of *January.* Indeed, in all the MSS. of *Eusebius's Chronicle* (which have the Years of Christ annex'd, particularly in that of *Millain*, which is ancienter than any other) that is noted for the first year of Christ in which he was born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea.* Vales.

THE EIGHTH BOOK Of the Ecclesiastical History OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

The PREFACE.

HAving comprized the Successions of the Apostles in Seven entire Books, in this Eighth we have though it requisite to set forth the Affairs of our own Age, (which deserve no trivial Description,) being a matter most necessary to be derived down to the knowledge of Posterity. And our Relation shall take its beginning from hence.

CHAP. I.

Concerning those things which preceded the Persecution in our days.

(*a*) HOW great, and what manner of Glory and Freedom the Doctrine concerning the Adoration of the Supream God, declared unto Mankind by Christ, was dignified with amongst all Men, *Grecians* as well as *Barbarians*, before the Persecution in our Times; 'tis beyond our abilities deservedly to declare: But the Favours of the Emperors towards those of our Religion may be an evidence hereof; whom they entrusted with the Governments of Provinces, freeing them from their fears of (*b*) sacrificing, out of the abundant kindness they reserv'd for our Religion. What need we mention those who were conversant in the Imperial Palaces? Or the Emperors themselves? Who permitted their Domesticks, together with their (*c*) Wives, Children and Servants, freely and openly to make profession of their Religion by their words and practices, even before their own faces, and in a manner suffer'd them to boast of their fearlessness and freedom in professing their Faith: Whom also they had an high esteem for, and accounted them more acceptable than the rest of their Attendants. Such a one was that (*d*) *Dorotheus*, a person who of all Men declar'd the heartiest affection to, and fidelity in, their Service, upon which account he was more highly valued by them than the Magistrates and most Honourable Governours of the Provinces: To whom we will add the most renowned *Gorgonius*; and as many others as arrived to the same degree of Honour with them upon account of the Word of God. The same Affection, Observancy, and eminent Favour you might see vouchsafed to the Prelates of every Church, as well by all private

(*a*) In the most ancient Maz. MS. and in the Editions of *Rufinus*, the first Chap. is begun at these words, *How great, &c. Vales.*

(*b*) The Maz. and Med. MSS. retain the true reading of this place; which is [περὶ τὸ θύειν, *of sacrificing:*] the same reading *Gruter* found in his Copies. The Governours of Provinces were obliged to sacrifice to the Gods, and to the Emperors, and to be present at Sacrifices. Upon which account the Christians abstained from the Magistracy, and refused the Government of Provinces, offer'd them by the Emperors. *Vales.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* Edit. is [περὶ τὸ θεῖον.]

(*c*) Our Author means not *the Empresses*, as *Christophorson* supposed; but the Wives of the Emperor's Domesticks. *Vales.*

(*d*) This *Dorotheus* was of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor *Diocletian*, or *Galerius Cæsar:* So *Metaphrastes* affirms, in the *Acts of the Martyrs, Indes*, and *Domna*, chap. 23. *Vales.*

Diocletian

(e) In the *Med. Fuk.* *Savil* and *Maz.* MSS the reading here is [πρὸ πᾶσιν ὀπιτρόποις, &c.] *amongſt the procurators*, &c. which MSS. have not theſe words [καὶ ἐπιτροπείας καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἐκ τῆς τυχούσης, *obſervancy and eminent favour.*] But in the King's MS. and *Rob. Stephens*'s Edit. the reading is [παρὰ πᾶσιν ἰδιώταις, *by all private Men*;] in which Copies alſo we have thoſe words, which we ſaid were wanting in the other MSS. *Valeſ.*

(f) The term in the original is [Ἐπισυναγωγάς.] Which word St. *Paul* uſes 2 *Theſſal.* 2. 1. where our Tranſlators render it, *our gathering together.* ὁπισυνάγειν does properly ſignifie, to *collect Perſons diſperſt in divers places into one place.* In this ſenſe *Dionyſ. Alexandrin.* uſes it B. 4. Chap. 23. of this Hiſtory; where he ſpeaks of *Quadratus* Biſhop of the *Athenians.* Valeſ.

(e) Private Perſons as Governours of Provinces. But now, how ſhould any one be able to deſcribe thoſe numerous (f) *Congregations*; and the *Multitudes* of *Aſſemblies* thro'out every City which flock'd [to embrace the Faith of *Chriſt*;] and thoſe famous Concourſes of the People] in the Churches? For which reaſon they were no longer contented with the old Edifices, but erected ſpacious Churches from the very Foundations throughout all the Cities. Theſe [proſperous ſucceſſes] increaſing in proceſs of time, and being daily augmented with a growth and greatneſs, no envy could put a ſtop to; neither was any Evil Spirit able to bewitch them; nor could the treacheries of Men prohibit them, as long as the Divine and Celeſtial Hand [of God] cover'd and guarded his People, continuing to be worthy of its [protection.] But, after the affairs of our Age were through too much liberty changed into looſeneſs and ſloth; when ſome began to envy and revile others, and we were in a manner at wars amongſt ourſelves, [wounding] one another with Words as it were with Arms and Spears; when Prelates daſh'd againſt Prelates, and the People raiſed Factions againſt the People; and when unſpeakable Hypocriſie and Diſſimulation had arrived to the height of miſchief; then did the Divine Vengeance, as it takes delight to do, gently begin to viſit us (the Multitudes [of the Faithful] as yet meeting in their Aſſemblies) by degrees and with moderation; the Perſecution being firſt begun with thoſe Brethren who bore Arms. But when we became inſenſible, and entertain'd not the leaſt thought of propitiating and appeaſing the Deity: But, like ſome atheiſtical Perſons ſuppoſing our Affairs to be managed regardleſly and without any inſpection, we added Impieties to Impieties: When they, who ſeem'd our Paſtors, rejecting the Sanctions of Religion, were inflam'd with mutual Contentions, ſtudying nothing elſe but the augmenting of Strifes, Menaces, Emulation, Envy, and mutual Hatred, and (g) greedily challenging to themſelves the preeminence, as if it were a Dominion: Then forthwith (according to the expreſſions utter'd by *Jeremiah*) * *The Lord covered the Daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and caſt down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Iſrael, and remembred not his footſtool in the day of his anger: The Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Iſrael, and thrown down all his ſtrong-holds.* And, as it is predicted in the Pſalms, † *He hath made void the covenant of his ſervant, and prophaned his ſanctity in the earth*, to wit, by the deſtruction of the Churches. *He hath broken down all his hedges; he hath made his ſtrong-holds fear. All the multitudes of the people that paſs by the way ſpoil him*; and further, *he is a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his enemies, and hath turned away the edge of his ſword, and hath not aſſiſted him in the war. But he hath put an end to his purification, and hath broken his throne by caſting it to the ground. The days of his life hath he ſhortned, and* laſtly *cover'd him with ignominy.*

(g) That is, whilſt the Biſhops were at variance amongſt themſelves concerning preeminence, or about the bounds of their Dioceſſes. *Valeſ.*

*Lament. 2. 1, 2.

† Pſal. 89. 39, &c.

The words of *Euſebius* in the original here do not agree with that Copy of the Septuagint, printed according to the *Vatican* MS. at *Rome*, (which is the common Septuagint we now uſe,) nor with the original Hebrew; the Learned Reader, upon comparing the Texts, will ſee the difference; we tranſlated our Author's Words as we found them in the Greek Copy.

Diocletian

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Ruin of the Churches.

ALL theſe [Predictions] were (a) fully compleated in our Times, when with our own Eyes we ſaw both the Houſes of Prayer thrown down to the Ground, even to their very Foundations, and alſo the Divine and Sacred Scriptures committed to the fire in the midſt of the *Forum.* [When we beheld] ſome Paſtors of the Churches baſely hiding themſelves, ſome in one place, ſome in another; others of them ignominiouſly apprehended and expoſed to the ſcorn of their Enemies. When alſo, according to another prophetick expreſſion * *contempt was poured upon Princes, and he cauſed them to wander in the wilderneſs where there was no way.* But 'tis not our [deſign] to deſcribe thoſe ſad Calamities which in concluſion befel them: For it is unfit for us to record their mutual Diſſenſions and Folly before the Perſecution. Wherefore we will relate no more concerning them, than whereby we may juſtifie the Divine Vengeance. We will not proceed therefore to mention thoſe who were (b) try'd by the Perſecution, nor thoſe who wholly made ſhipwreck of their Salvation, and were voluntarily precipitated into the Gulfs of the deep: but we will in general inſert ſuch paſſages only into this our Hiſtory, as may in the firſt place be profitable to our own ſelves, and in the next to poſterity. From hence then we will begin briefly to deſcribe the ſacred Combats of thoſe who were Martyrs for the Divine Religion. (c) It was the nineteenth

(a) In the *Maz.* MS. the reading is, ὅλα, *omnino, wholly* or *fully.* In the King's MS. and *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. 'tis ὅλη πᾶ. The former is the better reading. At theſe Words Chap. 2. begins in all our MSS. and in *Ruſinus*'s old Copy. *Valeſ.*

* Pſal. 107. 40. this quotation ſeems impertinent, *Valeſ.*

(b) Πεπειρασμένων, *tryed, experienced*; For this term is uſed inſtead of πεπειρασμένων. St. *Paul* uſes the word, *Heb.* 4. 15. where our Tranſlation renders it *tempted.* 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Ships, ſet upon by *Pirates* at Sea; as the following Words declare: Theſe *Marine Thieves* are called *Pirates* ἀπὸ τῆ πειρᾶζειν.

(c) So ſays our *Euſebius in his Chronicon*; and ſo alſo the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: with whom agrees *Idatius (in faſtis)* whoſe Words are theſe; *Diocletiano* VIII. & *Maximiano* VII. *his Coſſ. perſecutio Chriſtianorum*: i. e. *When Diocletian was the eighth time Conſul, and Maximianus the ſeventh, the Perſecution of the Chriſtians began.* The ſame may be concluded from the *Acts* of *Munatius Felix (in Geſt. apud Zenophilum Conſularem Numidiæ.)* According to *Euſebius*'s account this was the 305 Year from our Bleſſed Saviour's Nativity; but according to the *Dionyſian Æra*, which we now make uſe of, it was the 303. But *Baronius* (in *Annal.*) and *Petavius* (*in the ſecond part of his Rationar. Tempor.*) affirms that the beginning of this Perſecution muſt be placed on the 302 Year of *Chriſt*; when *Conſtantius* IV. and *Maximianus* IV. *Coſſ.* Their Opinion is grounded on one only Argument, *to wit*, the *Acts* of the *Council* of *Cirta* (a City in *Numidia*, afterwards called *Conſtantina*,) which *Council Auguſtine (in Breviculo Collat.)* affirms was convened the Year after the Perſecution began, and after the Paſſion of the Martyrs. Now the *Acts* of that *Council* (which *Auguſtine* relates in the B. 3. againſt *Creſconius*) do ſhew, that it was convened *Diocletian* VIII, and *Maximianus* VII, *Coſſ.* But this Argument is eaſily anſwered. For there is a miſtake in thoſe *Acts* of the *Council* of *Cirta*; the true reading is, P. C. *Diocletiani* IX. and *Maximiani* VIII. This appears evidently *ex Breviculo Collat. Diei* 3. cap. 17. where we meet with theſe words; *Nam Geſta Martyrum quibus oſtendebatur tempus perſecutionis, Coſſ. geſta ſunt Diocletiano* IX. & *Maximiano* VIII. *pridie Idus Februarias: Geſta autem Epiſcopalia decreti Cirtenſis, poſt eorundem conſulatum, 3. Nonas Martias*, &c. This paſſage cannot be ſuppoſed to be falſe. For *Auguſtine* adds there, that the Officers being commanded by the Judge to ſee what diſtance of time there was between the Paſſion of the Martyrs and the *Council* of *Cirta*, were deceived, and through their Ignorance told him what was falſe. For whereas *the Acts* of the Martyrs were thus inſcribed [*Diocletiano* IX. *and Maximiano* VIII. *pridie Idus Febr.*] and the *Acts* of the *Council* of *Cirta*, thus] *Poſt conſulatum Diocletiani novies, & Maximiani octies, 3. Nonas Martias,*] the Officers taking [*poſt conſulatus*] for [*conſulatus*] made anſwer, That there was only one Month between the *Acts*, both of the Martyrs, and of the *Council.* But there really was 13 Months ſpace between them, as *Auguſtinus* truly affirms.——There is another Argument to evince, that the *Council* of *Cirta* was not convened in the *eighth Conſulate of Diocletian.*

Diocleſian. For whereas that Council was aſſembled to Ordain a Biſhop over the Church of *Cirta*, (as *Auguſtinus* affirms) I deſire to know who was Ordained Biſhop of that Church by thoſe Biſhops convened in that Council? *Silvanus* was not. For he in this very year was ſtill *Subdeacon* to *Paul* Biſhop of *Cirta*, as 'tis apparent from *the Acts* of *Munatius Felix*. Anſwer perhaps will be made (as *Baronius* does) that *Paul* was made Biſhop of *Cirta*. But this cannot be true, for the Perſecution began under *Paul*, as 'tis evident from the *Acts*, *apud Zenophilum Conſularem Numidiæ*, *which are related in Auguſtine*'s third Book againſt *Creſconius*. See the place; and alſo *Auguſtine*'s 165 *Epiſtle*. Thus much I have ſaid (and could have ſaid a great deal more) to evince that the Council of *Cirta* was convened 13 Months after thoſe *Acts* of the Martyrs of *Africa*; and therefore it could not be aſſembled in the eighth *Conſulate* of *Diocleſian*, and the ſeventh of *Maximian*; in which year the Perſecution began. *Valeſ.*

Diocleſian. year of *Diocleſian*'s Empire, in the month (*d*) *Dyſtrus*, (which the *Romans* call *March*,) when (the Feſtival of the Saluteferous Paſſion (*e*) approaching) the Imperial Edicts were propoſed in all places, giving command that the Churches ſhould be totally deſtroyed, and the Scriptures conſumed by fire; and declaring that thoſe who were elevated to any degree of honour ſhould be rendred infamous; and (*f*) thoſe that were private perſons, if they perſiſted in a Reſolution of retaining the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, ſhould be deprived of their Liberty: Such was was the firſt Edict againſt us. But not long after, other Reſcripts arriv'd; by which command was given, that all the Prelates of the Churches every-where ſhould firſt be put into Bonds, and afterwards compelled to ſacrifice by all ways imaginable.

(*d*) The *Alexandrian Chronicle* places the beginning of this Perſecution in the ſame Month. But our *Euſebius* (in his B. *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, which is put as an *Appendix* to this 8th Book of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*) ſays it began in the Month *Xanthicus*, which the *Romans* call *April*. Valeſ.

(*e*) *Theodoret* (in Book 5. Chap. 38. of his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*) affirms, that the Edict for the demoliſhing of the Churches was propoſed on the Day of our Lord's Paſſion (*i. e. Good-Friday*:) The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* ſays it came forth on *Eaſter-day*; which was on the 25th of *March*: But *Eaſter-day* could not fall on the 25th of *March* in the 19th year of *Diocleſian*, as *Scaliger* and *Petavius* have obſerved. *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*, ſays it came forth in *March*, *diebus paſchæ*. The Greek Phraſe here imports only, that *Eaſter was near at hand*, when the Edicts were propoſed: Ἐισπλαωώσης; *Ruſinus* renders it, *dies ſolennis paſchæ imminebat*, *the ſolemn day of Eaſter was at hand*. In the year of Chriſt 303 (according to the *Dionyſian Æra*) *Eaſter* fell on the 18th day of *April*, amongſt the Eaſtern Churches. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) Τὰς ἐν οἰκέσεως· *Ruſinus* and *Nicephorus* ſuppoſed the Servants of the Chriſtians were hereby meant. But that cannot be the meaning of this place. For then the Imperial Edict would have been imperfect, providing only for the apprehenſion of thoſe who were honoured with any degree of preferment, and of Servants, and leaving out the Ruſticks and ordinary ſort of People. Beſides, how can Servants be ſaid to be deprived of their liberty? *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it *privatos*, private *Perſons*. I think he means the *Actores* and *Procuratores*, *who were Servants to the richer ſort of Men*. *Zonaras* expounds this place very well, thus, τὰς δὲ τύχης ἰδιώτας, *Perſons of a private condition*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the various ſorts of Combats which [the Martyrs] underwent in the time of the Perſecution.

FOrthwith therefore many Prelates of *Churches* having endured moſt ſevere Torments with great alacrity of Mind, exhibited Spectacles of moſt illuſtrious Combats. Many others being prepoſſeſs'd with a faintneſs of Mind by reaſon of their Fear, were immediately diſcouraged at the firſt attack made againſt them. Every one of the reſidue had their courſes in various kinds of Tortures. One was ſcourged all over his Body with Whips; another was rack'd with Tortures, and had his Fleſh ſcraped off with Tormenting-irons that were intolerable. Under which [Torments] ſome made a lamentable Concluſion of their lives; but others accompliſh'd their Combat after another manner. One being forcibly thruſt forward by others, and conſtrain'd to approach their impure and moſt nefarious Sacrifices, was let go as if he had ſacrificed, altho' he really he did not. Another (when he had neither approach'd [the Altar,] not touch'd any thing that was execrable, yet becauſe others ſaid he had ſacrificed) ſilently bore that Calumny, and went his way. A third was taken up on their Shoulders half-dead, and caſt forth as if he had been really ſo: A fourth lying upon the ground, was drawn a great way by the Feet, and then accounted amongſt them who had done ſacrifice. One cried out, and with a loud voice atteſted, that he denied to ſacrifice: Another exclaim'd that he was a Chriſtian, adorning himſelf with the confeſſion of that ſalutary Apellation. A third affirm'd that he neither had, nor ever would ſacrifice. But theſe being ſtruck on the Mouth by the Soldiers with their Fiſts, (a great company of whom were placed there as a Guard) ſilenc'd, and (*a*) beaten on the Face and Cheeks, were by force thruſt out. So highly did theſe Enemies of Piety every way eſteem their being thought to have perfected what they deſired! But theſe [Proceedings] againſt the Holy Martyrs did in no wiſe prove ſucceſsful to them: Whoſe [admirable courage] ſhould we undertake accurately to ſet forth, what Expreſſions would be ſufficient to compoſe ſuch a Narrative?

Diocleſian.

(*a*) I ſuppoſe he means the *plumbatæ* (i. e. *Inſtruments of torture made with lead*) with which they beat the Martyrs on the Face and Cheeks. There is frequent mention of this ſort of torture in the ſufferings of the Martyrs. Our Author had ſaid before, that the Martyrs were beaten with the Fiſts of the Soldiers. Here therefore he muſt mean theſe *Plumbatæ*: Otherwiſe, what he ſays is a *Tautology*. Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning God's Illuſtrious Martyrs; how they filled the World with their Fame, having been adorned with divers Crowns [of Martyrdom] for Religion.

FOR who ſhould be able to make a Relation of thoſe infinite numbers [of Martyrs,] who demonſtrated an admirable alacrity of mind for the Worſhip of the Supream God; not only from that time the Perſecution was raiſed againſt all the [Chriſtians,] but long before, when the times were calm and ſerene? For ſome time ſince, when the [Devil,] (*a*) who hath received power over this World, was firſt rouzed as it were out of a profound ſleep, and as yet made his attempts againſt the Churches in a ſecret and occult manner, after that interval which followed the Perſecution under *Decius* and *Valerian*: (For he would not ſet upon us cloſely and with an open War; but as yet made tryal only of thoſe that were engaged in the Milice; for he ſuppoſed the reſt would be eaſily vanquiſh'd, could he firſt overcome them:) Then [I ſay] you might have ſeen very many of thoſe who were Soldiers, moſt willingly embracing a private life, rather than they would renounce the Worſhip of the Creator of all things. For when the [*Roman*] (*b*) General (who he was it matters not) firſt ſet upon perſecuting the Chriſtian Soldiers, and began * to take a ſtrict view of, and purge thoſe that belonged to the Army; permitting them freely

(*a*) He means the Devil, who is ſaid in the Goſpel to be *the Prince of this world*. Valeſ.

(*b*) His name was *Veturius*; he was *Magiſter Militum*, *the Maſter of the Camp*, or *Lieutenant-General of the Army*: Concerning whom *Euſebius* in *his Chronicon*, at the 17th year of *Diocleſian* ſays thus, *Veturius Maſter of the Camp perſecutes the Chriſtian Soldiers*; *the perſecution againſt us being from that time begun by degrees*. Valeſ.

* Φυλοκεινᾶν· It imports *his doing of the Office of a Judge amongſt his Soldiers*, examining the place and order of each of them. The ſame term occurs Book 10. Chap. 4. where ſee Note (*u*.)

to

Dioclesian. to chooſe, whether by obeying they would enjoy that degree of Honour they were arrived to, or on the contrary be deprived of it, if they refuſed to comply with the [Emperor's] commands: Innumerable Soldiers of the Kingdom of Chriſt, without all delay or heſitancy, preferred their Confeſſion of him, before the apparent Glory and Proſperity they were poſſeſt of. Some few of which (one or two) procured not only the loſs of their Preferment, but Death alſo for their pious and reſolute Stedfaſtneſs: * The Framer of the Conſpiracy [againſt our Religion] being at that time moderate, preſumed to proceed to ſhed the Blood but of very few: The multitude of Believers ('tis likely) terrified him, and made him afraid as yet to enter into an open War againſt them all. But when he prepared himſelf more manifeſtly for an Engagement, it is impoſſible to relate how many and eminent Martyrs of Chriſt were viſible to the Inhabitants of all Cities and Countries.

* He means the *Devil*, not the *Roman General*, as *Chriſtoph.* ſuppoſed. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning what was done at Nicomedia.

IMmediately therefore, upon the publiſhing of the Edict at *Nicomedia* againſt the Churches, (*a*) one who was no obſcure perſon, but eminently illuſtrious for ſecular Honour and Eſteem, moved with a Divine Zeal, and incited by an ardent Faith, took down [the Edict,] which was fixed up in the moſt open and publick place [of the City,] and (*b*) tore it, as being impious and moſt deteſtable: [Which he did] whilſt two of the Emperors made their abode in that City; one of which was ſeniour to the reſt, and the other held the fourth place in the Empire. But this Perſon who was the firſt of the Inhabitants of that City which appear'd thus eminent and zealous, having ſuffer'd ſuch Puniſhments, as were thought meet to be inflicted on him for ſuch a bold act, perſevered in an undiſturbedneſs and tranquillity of Mind to his very laſt gaſp.

(*a*) This perſon is called *John* in the *Martyrology of Uſuardus, Ado, Notker*, and in the *old Roman Martyrology*, at *September* 7. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) The *Edicts* and *Reſcripts* of the Emperors were written in paper. Therefore *Nilus*, in his 264 Epiſtle, ſays it was barely called *Charta*; but after it had been ſubſcribed by the Emperor, it was called *Sacra*; which appears alſo from the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, and from *Juſtinian's Novels*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning thoſe who were converſant in the Imperial Palaces.

BUT that time produced theſe Divine and Glorious Martyrs (which excelled all that ever were celebrated as admirable and famous for their Courage, both among *Grecians* and *Barbarians*,) *Dorotheus*, and the other Boys that were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors: Who although they were accounted worthy of the higheſt ſtation of Honour by their Maſters, and were no leſs beloved by them than if they had been their own Sons; yet they ſuppoſed the Reproaches and Tortures for Religion, and thoſe various ſorts of Deaths deviſed for them, to be really of greater value than the Glory and Pleaſure of this life. We will here relate what an *exit* one of them made, and leave the Readers to conjecture from him what befel the reſt. In the foremention'd City, one of 'em was publickly brought forth before the foreſaid Emperors; and commanded to ſacrifice, which when he refuſed to do, *Dioclesian.* 'twas order'd he ſhould be ſtrip'd and hoiſted up on high, and that his whole Body ſhould be lacerated with ſtripes, until he ſhould yield, tho' againſt his will, to do what he was commanded: But when he continued immoveable after his ſuffering ſuch tortures as theſe, they mix'd Salt and Vinegar together, and pour'd it (his Bones being now laid bare) upon the putrified parts of his Body. When he had undergone theſe tortures alſo, then Fire and a Gridiron was brought forth; and the remains of his Body were laid on [and broiled,] like Fleſh dreſs'd to be eaten; not all at one time, but by little and little, that he might not end his life too ſoon: Neither were thoſe perſons who laid him on the fire, permitted to leave him, till after ſo great [tortures,] he ſhould give his conſent to perform what he was commanded. But, having conſtantly perſevered in his Reſolution, and gotten the Victory, he expired under his very tortures. Such was the Martyrdom of one of thoſe Boys who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors; being truly worthy of his name: For he was called (*a*) *Peter*.

(*a*) Concerning this *Peter*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, and the others that were martyr'd; ſee *the Acts of the Suffering* of *Indes* and *Domna*, at the 26. of *December*. Valeſ.

The [Martyrdom] of the reſt, although not at all inferior to this, yet ſhall be omitted, leſt our Diſcourſe ſhould be too tedious. Thus much only we will relate, that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* (together with many others that were Attendants at the Imperial Palace) after various Combats, having finiſh'd their lives by being ſtrangled, obtain'd the rewards of Divine Victory. At the ſame time *Anthimus*, the then Biſhop of the Church of *Nicomedia*, was beheaded for the Teſtimony of Chriſt. With whom was joyn'd a great multitude of Martyrs. For in thoſe days, by what accident I know not, there happen'd a (*b*) Fire in the Imperial Palace at *Nicomedia*: Which being laid to our charge as the Authors thereof, by a Report grounded on a falſe ſuſpicion; all ſorts of perſons that were the Worſhippers of God in that [City] were deſtroy'd by heaps, ſome with the Sword, and others by Fire. At which time, report ſays, both Men and Women, excited by a divine and unſpeakable alacrity, leapt into the fiery Pile. The Executioners alſo having bound another great company in Boats, caſt 'em into the Abyſſes of the Sea. Moreover, the Bodies of thoſe who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors, having been interr'd with decent Funeral-Obſequies, they who were accounted their Maſters, ſuppoſed it requiſite to dig up again, and caſt them into the Sea; leſt ſome (as they thought) ſhould look upon them as Gods, and worſhip them [in After-Ages,] ſhould they be let alone to reſt in their Graves. Such were the Exploits performed at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of the Perſecution. But not long after, when ſome attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the Empire in the Region called (*c*) *Melitina*, and others in (*d*) *Syria*:

(*b*) There is an illuſtrious evidence of this Fire, which hapned at *Nicomedia* in the firſt year of the Perſecution, in the 25. Chap. of the Emperor *Conſtantine's Oration, ad Cœtum Sanctorum*. Valeſ.

(*c*) See B. 5. Chap. 5.

Note (*b.*) concerning *Melitina*. There was a City, and a Country called by this name in *Armenia the Leſs*. But I never met with any thing concerning this Tyrant, who ſeized the Empire in that Region. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) He means *Eugenius*, who for ſome little time tyrannized in *Syria*. *Libanius* (in *his Oration* to *Theodoſius*. pag. 411. and in his *Antioch*. pag. 363.) tells the whole Story. Whereto may be annex'd a Paſſage of the ſame *Libanius*'s, out of *his Oration* to *Theodoſius, concerning the Sedition at Antioch*, pag. 399. There was a *Tribune* of *Seleucia*, by name *Eugenius*, who had the command of 500 Soldiers. Theſe Soldiers were order'd to open the Mouth and Paſſage of the Haven.

Haven. When they had laboured day and night without any intermission; being much displeased at their task, they force their Commander (*Eugenius*) to take the Empire upon him; threatning him with Death unless he would give his assent. The *Tribune* being after this manner compelled, took the Purple off the Image of one of the Gods, and was saluted Emperor. He goes forthwith to *Antioch*, (which then had no Garrison in it) supposing that if he could possess himself of that City, it would much advance his Designs: He makes himself Master of that place about Sun-setting. But his Soldiers, agreeable to their usual Irregularities, destroyed the Country as they marched, and stuft themselves with Wine, and good Cheer. Which being perceived by the *Antiochians*, they, despising the Paucity and Drunkenness of the Soldiers, killed them all with Stones and Weapons of all sorts, (the very Women giving their assistance) and their Leader also, as he was going towards the Palace: So that about the first Watch none of them were left alive. But the Emperor, who ought to have expres'd his thankfulness to the *Antiochians*, ordered the Princes of the *Antiochensian* and *Seleucensian Order* should be slain, when as neither of them deserved any punishment. Amongst them the Grandfather of *Libanius* (a proper comely old Man) was killed. All this I met with pag. 411 & 363. Moreover, *Libanus* (*in Orat. ad Theodosium de seditione*) tells us, the name of this *Tribune* of the *Seleucensian* Soldiers was *Eugenius*; and the name of the Emperor was *Diocletian*, whom he calls, by his true name, *Diocles*. Thus I have given you the Name and History of the Tyrant; and the time when this *Eugenius* made his attempts on the Empire, *Eusebius* here declares, *to wit*, when *Diocletian* was the eighth, and *Maximian* the seventh time *Coss.* Vales.

Diocletian. an Imperial Edict arrived, [commanding] that all the Governours of Churches every-where should be bound and imprison'd. The sight of what was done after that, no expressions are sufficient to describe: When infinite Multitudes were every-where committed to custody; and the Prisons in all places, which in former times had been provided for Murderers and Robbers of the Dead, were then filled with Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers and Exorcists: Insomuch that there was now no place left therein for those who had been condemn'd for their Crimes. Again, when (*e*) another Edict follow'd the former, wherein it was commanded that those who were imprison'd, if they would offer Sacrifice, should have their liberty to go whither they pleased: But if they refused should be cruciated with a thousand tortures: The multitudes of Martyrs in every Province cannot possibly be reckon'd up, especially those [who suffer'd] in *Africa*, *Mauritania*, *Thebais*, and *Egypt*. Out of *Egypt* some went into other Cities, and Provinces, and were there adorn'd with glorious Martyrdoms.

(*e*) This was the third Edict of the Emperors against the *Christians*. By the first it was ordered, the Churches should be ruin'd and the Scriptures burnt; and those who were honoured with any preferment (if they refused to sacrifice) should be deprived of their Dignity; the meaner sort were to lose their liberty; See Chap. 2. Another Edict soon followed this, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons should be imprisoned, and by all ways compelled to sacrifice. The third Edict comprehended all sorts of Christians, as well those of the Laity, as the Clergy; which Edict was proposed (says *Eusebius in the* Chap. 3. *of his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*) in the second year of the Persecution. But this seems rather to have been the fourth Edict: For the second and third concern'd the Presbyters only; by the second 'twas ordered they should be imprisoned, and by the third it was enjoyned, they should by tortures be compelled to sacrifice. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning those Egyptians [*who suffered*] *in* Phœnicia.

SOme of them, we knew, were famous [for their Martyrdoms] in *Palestine*; and others in *Tyre* a City of *Phœnicia*. Whom any one that had seen, could not but have been astonish'd at their innumerable Stripes; at the Courage and Constancy of those truly (*a*) admirable Champions of Piety in suffering them; at their Combat with Wild Beasts, accustom'd to devour the Blood of Mankind, which immediately follow'd their Tortures with Scourges; at their Encounters in that Combat with Leopards, * huge wild Bears, fierce wild Boars, and Bulls, which were incited against them with Fire and red-hot Iron; and *lastly*, at the admirable patience of those courageous [Martyrs] in enduring [the assaults] of each of those wild Beasts. We ourselves were present at the performance of these things, when we saw the Divine Power of our Saviour Jesus Christ (whom the Martyrs then bore witness of) present, and evidently manifesting itself to the Martyrs: [for] those ravenous Beasts for a long time dared not to touch or approach the Bodies of these [Martyrs] beloved by God. But they turn'd their Fury upon others, to wit, those that were (*b*) Infidels, who instigated and provoked 'em: But the sacred Champions only, who stood naked, and by the motions of their Hands irritated them against themselves, (for this they were enjoyned to do,) they did not so much as touch. Sometimes indeed they assailed them; but, as it were by some Divine Power, they were stop'd, and retired back again: Which hapning for a long time together, gave occasion of no small admiration to the Spectators; so that because the first Beast perform'd not its assault, a second and a third were let loose upon one and the same Martyr: You would have admired the intrepid Stedfastness of those sacred persons at the sight of all this, and that firm and immoveable fortitude of Mind, which was in young and tender Bodies: For you might have seen a Youth, who had not yet compleated the twentieth year of his age, standing still without being bound; and (having stretch'd forth his Hands, in form of a Cross) in an undisturb'd and fearless temper of Mind, contending with the greatest earnestness in Prayers to the Divine Majesty, in no wise receding or removing from the place he stood on; when the Bears and the Leopards, breathing forth rage and death, almost touch'd his very Flesh with their Jaws. But their Mouths were (after what manner I know not) bound fast as it were by Divine and unspeakable Power, and they ran backward again. After such a manner as this, did this person behave himself. Again, you might have seen others (for they were in all five in number) cast to an enrag'd Bull, who tore some of the Infidels that approach'd him, tossing them into the air with his Horns, and leaving them to be taken up half-dead. But when he should have assail'd the sacred Martyrs only with rage and menaces, he could not approach them; but stamping on the Ground with his Feet, tossing his Horns this way and that way, and breathing forth rage and menaces by reason of his being irritated with red-hot Irons, he was notwithstanding drawn backward by the assistance of Divine Providence. When therefore none of them was at all hurt by him, they let loose other wild Beasts upon them. In fine, after these various and horrid assaults of the wild Beasts;

Diocletian.

(*a*) Τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς παραδόξων, is the reading of the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. accordingly we have rendered it *of those truly admirable Champions*, &c. Those Champions were termed *paradoxi*, *who had gained many Victories*. See *Peter Faber* (*in Agonistico*) B. 3. pag. 603. *Vales.*

* Διαφόρων ἀγρίων; *ursorum immanium*; so *Valesius* renders it; and we have translated it *huge*, i.e. *terrible*, *outragious wild-bears*.

(*b*) By [ἔξωθεν] the term which here occurs, *Nicephorus* (B. 7. Chap. 7.) thought those were meant, who stood without the *Arena* of the *Amphitheatre*, and incited the wild-beasts by their Clamours. But *Rufinus* supposed that the *Arenarii* were here spoken of, *whose business it was to provoke the Beasts*: Thus he renders the place, *Verùm bestiæ illos ipsos qui ad instigandum mittuntur, incredibili velocitate discerpunt: But the Beasts tare in pieces those with an incredible swiftness, who are sent in to provoke them*. *Christophorson* thought that as well the *Infidels*, as those who stood without the *arena*, were here meant. The same term occurs again in this Chapter; we have rendred it in both places *Infidels*. Vales.

Dioclesian. Beaſts; they were all (*e*) killed with the Sword, and, in ſtead of being buried in the Earth, were committed to the Surges of the Sea.

(*e*) It was the cuſtom, that the *Confectors* (concerning whom ſee B. 4. Chap. 15. Note *n*.) were ſent in to ſlay, or cut the Throats of Offenders, in the *Arena*. We muſt not think theſe Martyrs were beheaded. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning thoſe who [*ſuffer'd*] *in* Egypt.

SUch was the Combat of thoſe *Egyptians*, who glorioufly fought for Religion at *Tyre*: Thoſe [*Egyptians*] alſo may be deſervedly accounted admirable, who ſuffered Martyrdom in their own Country. Where infinite numbers of Men (together with Women and Children) contemning this temporal life in reſpect of our Saviour's Doctrine, underwent various ſorts of death. Some of whom, after their Fleſh had been torn off with torturing Irons, after they had been rack'd, moſt cruelly ſcourged, and [undergone] infinite other tortures, of different ſorts and horrible to be heard, were committed to the fire: Others were drown'd in the Sea. Otherſome cheerfully offer'd their Heads to be cut off by the Executioners. Some died under their tortures: Others were deſtroy'd by Famine. Again, others were Crucified; ſome of them according to the uſual manner of crucifying Malefactors, but others after a more cruel manner, being nailed to the Croſs with their Heads downwards, and kept alive, until they died by Famine on the very Croſſes.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning thoſe [*who ſuffer'd*] *at* Thebais.

BUT the Pains and Tortures, which the Martyrs underwent at *Thebais*, ſurmount all relation; who were torn all over their Bodies, until they expired, with [ſharp] Shells in ſtead of torturing Irons. Women were tied by one of their Feet, and drawn up on high into the Air, with their Heads downward, by certain Machines, and their Bodies being naked and wholly uncovered, were made a moſt deteſtable, moſt cruel, and inhumane Spectacle to all that look'd upon them. Again, others being bound to Trees and Boughs, were killed: For by certain Engines they drew together the [two] ſtrongeſt Boughs, and having faſtned the Martyrs Legs to each of them, they ſuffer'd the Boughs to return into their natural ſite, deſigning [thereby] to pull aſunder their Members, againſt whom they had invented theſe [ways of death:] And all theſe things were performed, not for a few days, or during ſome ſhort time, but continued for the ſpace of whole years: Sometimes no more than ten, at other times above twenty in number, were deſtroyed: Sometimes no leſs than thirty; at other, near ſixty; and again, at another time, an hundred Men, together with very ſmall Children and Women, were killed in one day, being condemned to various and interchangeable ſorts of puniſhments. We alſo ourſelves, being (*a*) converſant in thoſe places, ſaw very many [deſtroy'd] together in one day; whereof ſome were beheaded; and others underwent the puniſhment of Fire. Inſomuch that the Executioner's Sword became blunt, and being rendred unfit for uſe, was broken; and the Executioners themſelves being tired, ſucceeded one another by turns. At which time alſo we beheld a moſt admirable ardour of Mind, and a truly divine ſtrength and alacrity in thoſe who believed in the Chriſt of God. For no ſooner was Sentence pronounced againſt the firſt, but others ran haſtily from ſome other place before the Judges Tribunal, and confeſs'd themſelves to be Chriſtians. They regarded not dangers, nor thoſe various ſorts of Tortures; but with an undiſturb'd fearleſneſs made a bold confeſſion of the Worſhip of the Supream God; and with joy, laughter, and delight received their laſt ſentence of death; in ſuch ſort that they ſang, and to the very time of their expiration ſhouted forth Hymns and Thankſgivings in praiſe of God the Maker of all things: Such admirable perſons were theſe. But theſe in a moſt eſpecial manner deſerved the greateſt admiration, who [altho'] eminent for Riches, Nobility, Glory, Eloquence and Philoſophy; yet preferr'd the true Religion, and the Faith in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt before all theſe. Of this ſort was *Philoromus*; a perſon that bore no ordinary Office, was the Emperor's (*b*) *Rationaliſt* at *Alexandria*; who together with his Dignity and *Roman* Honour, being attended with a Guard of Soldiers, did daily exerciſe a Judiciary Power. *Phileas* alſo, Biſhop of the Church of the *Thmuitæ*; a perſon eminent for his diſcharge of the publick Offices and Places of Magiſtracy in his own Country, and famous for his Philoſophick Studies. Theſe two perſons (altho' they were intreated by very many of their Relations and Friends, and moreover by (*c*) Perſonages of Honour, *yea notwithſtanding* the (*d*) Judge himſelf beſought them to take pity on themſelves, and have compaſſion on their Wives and Children, *yet* could in no wiſe be induced by ſuch perſons as theſe, that (out of a deſire to preſerve their own Lives) they ſhould contemn the Laws [made] concerning the Confeſſion and Renunciation of our Saviour. But having ſtoutly bore up againſt all the Menaces and Contumelies of the Judge, with a manly and philoſophick Mind, or rather with a pious and religious Heart, they were both beheaded.

Dioclesian.

(*a*) Hence it may be collected, that *Euſebius* lived in *Egypt*; which is alſo atteſted by *Theodorus Metochita*, (*in Collectan.*) Where he ſays, that not only the *Egyptians*, but alſo all thoſe who lived in that Country, uſed an intricate and obſcure Stile in their Writing; amongſt which he reckons our *Euſebius*. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) That is, the *Procurator*, or *Receiver-General* of the Emperor's Revenues in *Egypt*. For that Office is meant by theſe words, [τῆς βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως.] *Valeſ.*

(*c*) The phraſe is [οἱ ἐπ' ἀξίας ἀρχόντων, i. e. *the honourable Magiſtrates.*] But [ἀρχόντων] ſhould be expunged: For, as I think, 'tis a *Scholion* added to explain what went before, οἱ ἐπ' ἀξίας, does not ſignifie *Magiſtrates*, but *Perſonages of Honour*. Beſides, no body was ſtiled Ἄρχων, but the *Judge* himſelf. *Valeſ.* See *Valeſius*'s Note on B. 14. of *Amm. Marcellinus*.

(*d*) In *the Acts of the Paſſion of Phileas* this Preſident is called *Culcianus*: He was Preſident of *Thebais*, ſays *Epiphanius*. Therefore *Phileas* ſuffer'd at *Thebais*, not at *Alexandria*, as ſome think. That which induced them to be of that mind, was a place in *Euſebius*'s following Chapter, where he quotes *Phileas* his Epiſtle, which he wrote to the *Thmuitæ* from *Alexandria*, a little before his ſuffering Martyrdom. But being (as I ſaid) condemned by *Culcianus* Preſident of *Thebais*, 'tis manifeſt that he ſuffer'd there. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

(*a*) *The written Informations of* Phileas *the Martyr concerning what was done at* Alexandria.

(*a*) In the *Med.* and *Maz.* MSS. the Title of this Chap. is thus, [*The written Informations concerning what was done at Alexandria.*] The Title of the foregoing Chapter is thus written [*Phileas the Martyrs relation concerning thoſe who ſuffered at Thebais.*] I doubt not but thoſe words [*Phileas the Martyr*] belong to the Title of this Chap. 10. For here *Euſebius* (out of *Phileas*'s Epiſtle to the *Thmuitæ*) relates the Martyrdoms of the *Alexandrians*. Valeſ.

BUT becauſe we have ſaid that *Phileas* was a perſon worthy of great eſteem for his *Græcian* Literature, let him be produced as a Witneſs for

Diocleſian. for himſelf; both to demonſtrate what a perſon he was, and alſo to relate the Martyrdoms which in his time happened at *Alexandria*, which he will [declare] more accurately than we can, in theſe words:

(b) OUT OF PHILEAS'S EPISTLE TO THE THMUITÆ.

(b) These words ſhould be printed in Capital Letters, In the King's MS. they are disjovn'd from the Text: In the *Med.* MS. they are placed in the Margin: But in the *Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. they are omitted. *Valeſ.*

'All theſe Examples, Preſcripts, and good Documents being depoſited for us in the Divine and ſacred Scriptures, the bleſſed Martyrs, who were converſant amongſt us, without any delay manifeſtly fix'd the eye of their Mind upon the Supream God, and willingly embracing death upon account of Piety, they ſtedfaſtly adhered to their calling: For they found that our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* had been incarnate for us, that he might aboliſh all manner of Sin, and provide us with aſſiſtances for our entrance into life eternal. For* *he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himſelf of no reputation, and took the form of a ſervant: And being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf unto death, even the death of the Croſs.*" Wherefore the Martyrs (who were (c) full of Chriſt) zealouſly affecting the beſt Gifts, endured all manner of ſorrow, and all ſorts of tortures that could be invented, not only once, but ſome of them a ſecond time alſo. And when the Soldiers that were of the Guard endeavoured with much earneſtneſs [to ſtrike a terror] into them, not only by all manner of menaces in words, but by deeds, they were in no wiſe diſcourag'd in mind, becauſe* *perfect love caſteth out fear.* Whoſe fortitude and courage under each torture what words would be ſufficient to relate? For, free leave being granted to all perſons that would be injurious towards them; ſome beat them with Clubs, others with Rods; otherſome with Scourges: Again, ſome ſcourged 'em with Thongs of Leather; others with Ropes: And the ſpectacle of theſe Tortures was variouſly interchanged, and full of malicious cruelty. For ſome [of the Martyrs] having their Hands bound behind them, were hung at an (d) Engine of wood, and every Member of their Bodies was diſtended by certain Machines. After that the Tormentors, by command [of the Judge,] made uſe of (e) Iron-nails to torture them with all over their Bodies, which were apply'd not only to their ſides, as Murderers are uſually tormented, but alſo to their Bellies, their Legs, and to their Cheeks. Others, being lifted up, were hung by one Hand at a* Gallery, the ſtretching of whoſe Joints and Members was a ſharper pain to them than all ſorts of tortures. Others were bound face to face to Pillars, their Feet not touching the ground; that ſo their Bonds being ſtrain'd by the heavineſs of their Bodies, might with ſtretching be cloſer drawn together: And this they endur'd not only as long as the Governour talk'd with them, and was at leiſure to hear them; but almoſt a whole day together: For when he went away [to hear] others, he left (f) Officers, that were impower'd by him, to be watchful over the former [Martyrs,] whether any one of them, being overcome by the ſharpneſs of his tortures, would ſeem to abandon his reſolution. He alſo commanded they ſhould be (g) ſtrained with Bonds without any commiſeration, and afterwards when they were dead, that they ſhould be thrown on the ground, and dragg'd up and down. For they ought not [he ſaid] to take the leaſt care of us; but that all perſons ſhould ſo think of, and behave themſelves towards us, as if we were not Men. This (h) ſecond torture (after they had beaten us with ſtripes) our Adverſaries invented. There were ſome alſo, who after they had been ſcourged, lay in the (i) *Stocks*, both their Feet being ſtretch'd to the fourth hole; in ſo much that they were forced to lie in the *Stocks* with their Bellies upwards, being unable to ſtand becauſe of their freſh wounds, cauſed by the ſtripes, which they had all over their Bodies. Others threw themſelves upon the ground, where they lay by reaſon of the innumerable wounds made by their tortures; yielding a more miſerable ſpectacle to thoſe that look'd on them, than in the very time of their being tortured; and bearing in their Bodies the various and different ſorts of tortures invented for them. Theſe things being thus perform'd, ſome [of the Martyrs] expired under their tortures, having made the *Adverſary* aſhamed by their perſevering conſtancy. Others, being half dead, were ſhut up in priſon, where having been ſorely afflicted with the ſmart of their wounds, they ended their lives not many days after. The reſidue having been refreſhed with methods of cure, became more ſtout and confident by time, and their abode in priſon. Therefore, when afterwards command was given, that they ſhould chooſe, whether by touching the deteſtable Sacrifices they would free themſelves from all moleſtation, and obtain from them an execrable liberty; or whether, refuſing to ſacrifice, they would receive the ſentence of death: Without any delay they cheerfully proceeded forth to death. For they well knew what was before preſcribed to us by the ſacred Scriptures: For* *he* (ſays the Word of God) *that ſacrificeth to other Gods*, ſhall be utterly *deſtroyed.* And again, † *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods, but me.*" Such were the expreſſions of [*Phileas*] the Martyr, (a true Philoſopher, and alſo a ſincere lover of God,) which he ſent to the Brethren of his Church, before his laſt ſentence of condemnation, being yet in priſon: Whereby he inform'd them both in what condition he was; and alſo exhorted them ſtifly to retain their piety in *Chriſt* after his death, which was now approaching. (k) But what need we ſpend many words in relating

(c) Χειστοφόροι μάρτυρες, i. e. *Martyrs full of Chriſt:* So *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, was called θεοφόρος, i. e. *full of God.* Valeſ.

(d) Περὶ τὸ ξύλον. I ſuppoſe he means the *Eculeus*; on which Offenders were hung, and had their Sides torn with Iron-nails. *Valeſ.*

(e) Ἀμυντήια (the term here) ſeems to ſignifie ſomething more than *Iron-nails.* For *Heſychius* interprets ἀμυντήιον by ξίφος δίστομον, *a two-edged Sword.* Note here the Cruelty of the Judges; who were not contented with Iron-nails only, but uſed Knives alſo, or Razors, with which they cut the Sides of the Martyrs. *Valeſ.*

* Ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς· στοὰ ſignifies a *Porch, Gallery, or Walking-place under-propp'd* with *Pillars*; in ſuch Philoſophers taught and diſputed: The *Stoicks* had their name from hence; ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι.

(f) He means the *Apparitors* or *Officers*, who were under the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; concerning whom *Phileas* ſpeaks in this Epiſtle, and calls him ἡγεμόνα, *the Governour.* The name of the *Præfectus Auguſtalis* at that time was *Hierocles*, as *Epiph.* ſays, in *Hæreſ. Melitian. Valeſ.*

(g) The phraſe in the Original is τοῖς δεσμοῖς προσιέναι; which me ſeems a new and uncouth Expreſſion. *Valeſ.*

(h) That is, *the dragging of the Bodies up and down:* The firſt ſort of torture was by Stripes and Scourges; the ſecond was, that they were laid on the ground, dragg'd about, and ſo drawn into priſon. *Valeſ.*

(i) See B. 4. Chap. 16. Note (c.)

(k) After theſe *words Chriſtophorſon* has inſerted many Chapters out of that *Appendix*, which *Robert Stephens* has publiſhed at the latter end of this Eighth Book. But that *Appendix* is an entire Book, and ſeparated from this Work, *to wit, the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; in which *Euſebius* deſcribes the ſufferings of the *Paleſtine* Martyrs, and eſpecially the Paſſion of his Friend

Pamphilus. Some ſtudious perſon added this Book to the eighth Book of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, becauſe their Subjects were very like; whoſe Copy the Tranſcribers afterwards following, placed it in their Copies. In all the MSS. which I could ever yet ſee, this Book is extant after the end of B. 8. in ſuch manner as *Robert Stephens* publiſh'd it. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore did ill, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies, to put this Book in here, as if it had been part of the Eighth Book of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. *Muſculus* was more prudent, who (following *Stephen*'s Edition in his Verſion) tranſlated the Eighth Book as he found it in the *Greek*, and wholly omitted this *Appendix*: Which neither *Ruſinus*, nor *Nicephorus* ſeem to have found in their Copies. Beſides, the Titles of the Chapters of Book 8. (which, as uſually, are prefix'd before it) were ſufficient to have put *Chriſtophorſon* in mind, that this *Appendix* did in no wiſe belong to the Eighth Book. *Valeſ.*

Dioclesian. the Conflicts of the Divine Martyrs over the whole World (whoſe new Combats were ſucceeded by other Conflicts that were as new;) and eſpecially when as they were aſſaulted not in an ordinary way, but in an hoſtile manner?

CHAP. XI.

Concerning what was done in Phrygia.

FOR at that time ſome arm'd Soldiers inveſted a whole City of Chriſtians, that was very populous, in (*a*) *Phrygia*, and, having ſet it on fire, burnt the Men (together with the Women and Children) whilſt they called upon Chriſt the Supream God. The reaſon hereof was this, the whole Body of Inhabitants of that City, the (*b*) *Curator*, the (*c*) *Duumvir*, together with all the reſt who were of the Magiſtracy, and all the common People, profeſſing themſelves to be Chriſtians, would in no wiſe obey thoſe that commanded them to ſacrifice to Idols. Another perſon alſo, by name (*d*) *Adauctus*, (a man deſcended from a Noble Family in *Italy*, that had obtain'd a *Roman* Dignity, a perſon that had paſſed through all degrees of Honour in the Palace of the Emperors, in ſo much that he had faithfully diſcharged the Office of (*e*) *Receiver-General*, which amongſt them is called, *The* (*f*) *Maſter of the Private Revenue*, and that of *Rationaliſt*: Beſides all this, he was famous for his virtuous Performances in Religion, and for his Confeſſions of the Chriſt of God,) was adorned with the Crown of Martyrdom, having undergone the Conflict upon account of Religion, whilſt he bore the Office of *Rationaliſt*.

(*a*) *Lactantius* tells the ſame Story, in his B. 5. *Inſtitut. Divinar.* Chap. 11. where he treats concerning the injuſtice of the Judges, or Rulers of Provinces who puniſhed the *Chriſtians*: *Alii* (ſays he) *ad occidendum præcipites extiterunt ſicut unus in Phrygia, qui univerſum populum cum ipſo pariter conventiculo concremavit*; i. e. *others were very haſty to murther* [the Chriſtians] *as was one in Phrygia, who burnt all the Inhabitants, together with the place they dwelt in, at one and the ſame time.* Valeſ.

(*b*) The *Curator* of the City was he who look'd after the Treaſure, and what-ever elſe in general belonged to the Revenue of the City; this is manifeſt from the *Pandects of the Law*: He is alſo called *Logiſta* (from the *Greek* word λογιστὴς, which is the term here in the Original,) *in Lege* 3. *Cod. de modo multandi.* Hence [λογισεύειν] was uſed to ſignifie *the performance of the Curator's Office, or Place.* See *Valeſius*'s Notes on *Ammian. Marcellinus*, pag. 36.

(*c*) Στρατηγὸς, is the term in the Original; which the *Latines* called *Magiſtratus*, or *Duumvir*: 'Tis taken in this ſenſe throughout the *whole Title Cod. Theod. de Decurionibus*: *Et in Optatus, Lib.* 1, &c. in which places (and in many others) *Magiſtratus* and *Duumvir* are promiſcuouſly uſed. The chief Magiſtrate amongſt the *Corinthians, Rhodians, Tarſenſes, Epheſians*, and *Philippians, was called* στρατηγὸς; and alſo amongſt the *Athenians* the στρατηγοὶ got the precedency and chief place, the name of ἄρχοντες being ſuppreſſed: See *Cicero* in Book 5. Epiſt. 11. *ad Atticum.* Laſtly, in all *Grecian* Cities it was at length cuſtomary to call the chief Magiſtrates *Strategi*; as 'tis manifeſt from the *old Coins* and Marbles. See *Valeſius* his Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, B. 31. pag. 423, 424.

(*d*) In the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. this perſon's name is Ἀδαυκτος, *Adauctus*: So *Ruſinus* and *Cedrenus* wrote his name alſo. This perſon is mentioned in the *Greek Menæum*, on the third of *October*. There was at the ſame time another *Adauctus*, who ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, and is mentioned at the ſeventh of *February*. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) He means the *Procurator*, or *Steward* of the Revenue. *Ruſinus* renders this place thus; *rationes ſummarum partium adminiſtrans*; which is truly tranſlated. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) Concerning theſe *Magiſtri rei privatæ*, ſee *Leg.* 2. and 4. *Cod. Theod. de jure fiſci.* Theſe Officers are uſually joyned with the *Rationaliſts* in the *Cod. Theod.* See *Valeſius*'s Notes on *Ammian. Marcellin.* Book 15. pag. 78.

Dioclesian.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning many other Men and Women, who ſuffered Martyrdom in a various and different manner.

WHat need is there now of mentioning the reſt by name, or of recounting the multitude of men, or delineating the various ſorts of tortures [endured by] the admirable Martyrs of Chriſt? Part whereof were beheaded, as it happened to thoſe in *Arabia*; and part were [killed] by having their Legs broken, as it befel thoſe in *Cappadocia*. Some, being hung up on high by the Feet with their Heads downwards, (a (*a*) ſlow Fire having been kindled under them,) were ſuffocated with the Smoke that aſcended from the combuſtible matter ſet on fire; ſo it befel thoſe in *Meſopotamia*: Others had their *Noſes*, the tips of their *Ears*, and their *Hands* cut off, and the other *Members* and *Parts* of their *Bodies* were mangled, as it happen'd at *Alexandria*. What need is there of renewing the remembrance of what was done at *Antioch*? where ſome were broil'd on (*b*) Grid-irons ſet over the Fire, not till they were killed, but that their puniſhment might be prolonged: Others were more ready to thruſt their *Right Hand*, into the Fire, than to touch the impious Sacrifices. Whereof, ſome avoiding the being put to the teſt [whether they would Sacrifice,] before they would be apprehended and fall into the hands of thoſe that laid wait for them, threw themſelves headlong from the tops of high Houſes, having accounted *death* to be a gain, becauſe of the maliciouſneſs of the *Impious*. Alſo, a certain holy *Woman* (admirable for her virtuous Soul, and [her comely] Body, eminently famous, beyond all at *Antioch*, for *Riches*, *Deſcent*, and *Reputation*,) had educated two Daughters (Virgins that were eminent for beauty, and in the flower of their Age) in the Precepts of Religion: When many, moved thereto by envy, uſed all manner of induſtry in inquiring out the place where they abſconded; and it being at length underſtood they lived in a foreign Country, they were with much diligence ſummon'd to *Antioch*: After the Woman knew, that ſhe and her Daughters were now encompaſs'd with the Soldier's Nets, perceiving herſelf and Daughters reduc'd to an inextricable ſtate of peril, ſhe exhorted the Virgins, expreſly declaring to 'em the miſchiefs that would befal them from the Soldiers, and that of all evils, *Raviſhment* was the moſt intolerable, the menaces whereof it was unlawful for them to endure, even to hear: moreover, having ſaid, that to yield up their Souls to the ſervice of Devils, was worſe than all ſorts of death, and all manner of deſtruction; there was but one way (ſhe declared) to avoid all theſe evils, which was to fly to the Lord for refuge. Immediately after theſe words, having all agreed to embrace the ſame advice, they adorn'd their Bodies

(*a*) Such a Fire is that, which is made of Straw and ſmall Sprigs of Trees. It is called a *ſlow*, or *ſlack Fire*, to difference it from the ἄσβεστον πῦρ, *the unquenchable Fire*, which we took notice of before. This Fire was kindled at ſome diſtance, that ſo the Martyrs might be choak'd with the Smoak, rather than burn'd. *Pionius* the Martyr ſeems to have been killed by ſuch a Fire, as his *Acts* do atteſt. *Seneca* (in his Third Book *De Irâ*) ſeems to mention this ſort of puniſhment, in theſe words, *Et circundati defixis corporibus ignes.* Valeſ.

(*b*) *Ruſinus* tranſlates ἐσχάραις which is the term here, *Grid-irons*: So alſo the *Old Gloſs* renders this term. *Valeſ.*

Diocleſian. Bodies with a decent dreſs: When they had gone (c) half their journey, having intreated their Guard for a ſhort receſs out of the way, and that being granted them, they threw themſelves into a River which ran hard by: Thus theſe perſons [drown'd] themſelves. At the ſame City of *Antioch*, another pair of Virgins, in all points divine, and truly ſiſters, eminent for deſcent, ſplendid as to eſtate, in the flower of their age, beautiful in Body, chaſt of Mind, pious in their converſations, admirable for their induſtry, (as if the earth were unable to bear ſo great [an ornament,]) were, by the command of the worſhippers of *Dæmons*, caſt into the Sea. Theſe things were done amongſt thoſe [at *Antioch.*] But 'tis horrid to hear the relation of what others ſuffer'd in *Pontus:* Some had ſharp Reeds thruſt up the Fingers of both their Hands from the very tops of their Nails: Others had melted Lead poured upon their Backs, even whilſt the melted metal boiled, [which ran down and] burnt the moſt (d) neceſſary parts of their Bodies: Again, others without any commiſeration endured obſcene tortures (which are unfit to be related) in their Privy-Members, and Bowels, which thoſe * couragious and juſt Judges invented with much earneſtneſs and labour, demonſtrating thereby the acuteneſs of their Wit, as if the very power and ſtrength of Wiſdom [conſiſted in ſuch cruel Inventions:] and ſtriving continually (as if it had been for rewards in a Combat) to outdo one another in finding out new ſorts of Tortures. Theſe calamities therefore were not ended, till ſuch time as [the Judges,] deſpairing of making any further addition to theſe miſeries, wearied with ſlaughters, filled and ſatiated with the effuſion of Blood, betook themſelves to the thoughts of clemency and humanity, that in future they might ſeem to invent no further cruelty againſt us. For it was unfit (they ſaid) to pollute the Cities with the Blood of their Inhabitants, and to defame the Government of the Emperors (which was benign and gentle towards all perſons) by ſo (e) Superlative a Cruelty: But that rather it was fit, that the humanity and beneficence of the Imperial Authority ſhould be extended to all perſons, and that [the Chriſtians] ſhould not any longer be puniſhed with death, in regard thoſe of our Religion were exempted from ſuch puniſhment by the indulgence of the Emperors. At that time therefore (f) command was given to pluck out the Eyes [of the *Chriſtians,*] and that they ſhould have one of their Legs lamed. For ſuch was their civility towards us, and this ſeem'd to them the moſt gentle puniſhment [that could be inflicted] on us. In ſo much that, upon account of this lenity uſed by theſe impious Wretches [towards us,] it is impoſſible to give any further account of the Multitudes (which indeed are altogether innumerable) both of them who had their right Eyes firſt thruſt out with a Sword, and after they had been thus prick'd out, their [Eye-holes] were ſeared with a red-hot Iron; and alſo of thoſe, who had their Left-legs (as far as the bending of their Knees) made uſeleſs by being ſeared with hot Irons: After which they were condemned to the Brazen-Mines which were in the Province, not ſo much for the ſervice they could do, as upon account of the Affliction and Miſery they ſhould [endure there.] Beſides all theſe, there were many others, who were aſſaulted with ſeveral ſorts of Combats, which 'tis not poſſible to give a Catalogue of; for their couragious Exploits do ſurpaſs all relation. Therefore, the noble Martyrs of Chriſt, having obtain'd great renown over the whole world in theſe [(g) Combats,] did both deſervedly amaze every-where the Spectators of their Courage; and alſo exhibit in themſelves manifeſt tokens of the truly Divine and (h) Inexplicable Power of our Saviour. Indeed, the mention of every particular perſon of them by name, would be very tedious, if not a thing impoſſible.

Diocleſian.

(c) There may be a double meaning given of theſe words. For we may either underſtand that theſe Women had gone one half of their journey, in which ſenſe *Nicephorus* took the words; or that they ſtood on a Bank which was in the middle of the High-way. Concerning the Martyrdom of theſe ſort of Chriſtian Women (who drowned themſelves for the preſervation of their Chaſtity and Religion,) See St. *Auguſt. De Civitat. Dei*, Book 1. Chap. 26. There is extant an *Encomium* of theſe Women in the *firſt Tome* of *Chryſoſtome*, where the Mother is called *Domnina*, and the Daughters *Bernice* and *Proſdoce*. The *Antiochians*, celebrated their Martyrdom on the 20 day after the *Feaſt of the Holy Croſs*; the *Greeks* placed their *Birth-day* on *Oct.* 4. Valeſ.

(d) Τὰ ἀναίσχυντα τῶν σώματος; which *Ruſinus* tranſlates elegantly, *Uſque ad loca pudenda quibus naturalis egeſtio procurari ſolet.* The *Grecians* call [ἀναίσχυντον] that part of the Body, which Modeſty forbids to be named. *Valeſ.*

* Ironically ſpoken.

(e) The *Med. Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. read [τὴν ἀγωτάτω,] *Superlative.* Valeſ.

(f) *Ruſinus* ſays an Edict of the Emperor was ſet forth, whereby ſuch a ſort of puniſhment was commanded thenceforth to be inflicted on the Chriſtians: But I think this not to be true. For the Magiſtrates themſelves, being overcome by the conſtancy of the Chriſtians, at length betook themſelves to this ſort of puniſhment on their own accord. *Valeſ.*

(g) You muſt underſtand [ἀγώνων, *Combats;*] for he had ſpoken concerning theſe juſt before. *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlated theſe words ill, thus [*at this time*;] and from them began a new Chapter. *Valeſ.*

(h) The term here is [ἀπορρήτε, *ſecret.*] It ſeems to be uſed for [ἀρρήτε, *inexplicable*;] in which ſenſe *Euſebius* does frequently uſe it. But if any one will tranſlate it [*ſecret,*] I ſhall not withſtand it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning thoſe Prelates of the Church who demonſtrated the Sincerity of the Religion they aſſerted by [the Effuſion] of their own Blood.

NOW, of thoſe *Eccleſiaſtick Prelates*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the moſt eminent Cities, the firſt that muſt be commemorated in the Monuments of the Pious, may be *Anthimus*, a Witneſs of Chriſt's Kingdom, Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, who was beheaded in that City. But, of the (a) *Antiochian* Martyrs [we will mention] *Lucianus* a Presbyter of that Church, a perſon moſt eminent [for ſanctity] throughout his whole life: He at firſt made a Declaration of the Celeſtial Kingdom of *Chriſt* in words, and by an *Apologetick Oration* at *Nicomedia*, in the preſence of the Emperor; and afterwards he [aſſerted it] in deeds and real performances. But the moſt eminent Martyrs in *Phænice* (which were moſt acceptable to *God* and Paſtors of Chriſt's Flock) were *Tyrannio* Biſhop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Zenobius* a Preſbyter at *Sidon*; alſo *Silvanus* Biſhop of the *Churches* at *Emiſa*. This [Prelate laſt named] being together with ſome others, caſt as food to the Wild-Beaſts at the very City of *Emeſa*, was received into the number of the Martyrs. Both the other rendred the Doctrine of the Divine Faith famous at *Antioch*, by their moſt patient ſuffering [of Tortures] until their Deaths: [*Tyrannio*] the Biſhop was drown'd in the Depths of the Sea; and *Zenobius* (a moſt incomparable Phyſician) died couragiouſly under the Tortures, which were applied to his ſides. Amongſt the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, *Silvanus* Biſhop of the Churches at *Gaza*,

(a) In ſtead of [ἐπ' ἀντιοχείας, *the Martyrs at* Antioch] in *Nicephorus* the Reading is [ἀπ' ἀντιοχείας, *the Martyrs of* Antioch,] which doubleſs is trueſt. For *Lucianus* ſuffer'd not at *Antioch*, but at *Nicomedia*, as *Euſebius* atteſts in this place; to whom agree *Jerome* [*in Catalog.*] *Ruſinus*, and *Nicephorus*. The ſame is confirmed by *Lucianus* himſelf in the Epiſtle he wrote to the *Antiochians*, when he was (together with ſome other Martyrs) in priſon at *Nicomedia*. The laſt words of this Epiſtle are extant in *the Alexandrian Chronicle*, *at the firſt year of the Perſecution.* Valeſ.

Dioclesian.

was, together with nine and thirty others, beheaded at the Mines of Braſs, which are in *Phæno*. Alſo *Peleus* and *Nilus*, *Egyptian* Biſhops, together with ſome others, were burnt to death at the ſame place. Amongſt which number we muſt in no wiſe omit the mention of *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, the moſt admirable perſon in our Age, and the greateſt Ornament of the Church at *Cæſarea*: Whoſe Fortitude and couragious Exploits we (*b*) will declare at a fit and convenient opportunity. [Moreover,] of thoſe who were perfected by a glorious Martyrdom at *Alexandria*, throughout all *Egypt* and *Thebais*, the firſt to be mention'd is *Peter*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, a moſt divine Teacher of the Chriſtian Religion; alſo, *Fauſtus*, (*c*) *Dius*, and *Ammonius* (perfect Martyrs of Chriſt) who were his Presbyters. Beſides, *Phileas*, *Heſychius*, *Pachumius*, and *Theodorus*, Biſhops of Churches in *Egypt*. Moreover, there were many other eminent [Martyrs] who have an honourable mention among the Churches that are in thoſe places and Countries. But our [deſign] is not to commit to writing the Conflicts of all thoſe who ſuffered for the Worſhip of God over the whole World, nor yet to give in an accurate relation of every accident that befel them; but of thoſe rather, who with their own eyes beheld what was done. Moreover, thoſe [Conflicts] ourſelves were preſent at, we will commit to the knowledge of Poſterity in (*d*) another Work: But in this preſent Book I will annex to what has been declared, a Revocation of what had been practiſed againſt us, and the accidents that hapned from the very beginning of the Perſecution, which will be moſt uſeful to the Readers. Therefore, before the War [was denounced] againſt us, (during the time that the Emperors were friendly and peaceable towards us,) (*e*) how great a felicity and plenty of all that is good, the

(*b*) *To wit*, in the Book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, which is placed after this eighth Book. For in that *Euſebius* at large declares the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus*, as may there be ſeen. Moreover, from this place it appears, that that Book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, was written by *Euſebius* after his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, and after his Books *concerning the Life of Pamphilus the Martyr*. *Chriſtophorſon* (who had inſerted that whole Appendix before this Chapter) was forced to omit theſe words of *Euſebius* here, leſt *Euſebius* ſhould ſeem to have forgot himſelf. I muſt indeed confeſs, that in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil.* MSS. the Reading is [ἀνεγεφάμεν, *we have declared*;] but if that Reading be true, *Euſebius* muſt mean his Books *concerning the Life of Pamphilus the Martyr*; which (as before we obſerved) he wrote before *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. Valeſ.

(*c*) In the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. this perſon is called *Dius*; in *Robert Stephens* he is named *Didius*. Valeſ.

(*d*) He means doubtleſs his Book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*. For no other Book but that can be found, wherein *Euſebius* relates the Conflicts of the Martyrs which he himſelf had ſeen. The Opinion of *Chriſtophorſon* is from this paſſage further diſproved, who ſuppoſed the Book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine* was part of this eighth Book: Upon which account, after theſe words [*in another Work*] he omitted ſome words, and inſerted others, againſt the authority of all Copies. *Turnebus* was ſenſible hereof, and therefore at the Margin of his Copy, he put this *Greek Scholion* at theſe words, [Σημείωσον ὅτι ταύτην ἔχεις τὴν γραφὴν εὐθὺς μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον, i. e. *Note, that you will meet with this writing immediately after this eighth Book*. Valeſ.

(*e*) How great the felicity of the *Roman* Empire was, in the Reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, *Mamertinus* atteſts in his *Genethliacum*, about the latter end. Neither did the *Romans* ever ſucceed more proſperouſly in their Wars againſt the *Barbarians*, than at that time. The *Barbarians* were in every Engagement ſlain, and the Limits of the *Roman* Empire enlarged. If we read the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, we ſhall find that the Affairs of the Empire were never in a better poſture; when four Princes, *to wit*, two *Auguſti*, and as many *Cæſars*, did each of them ſeverally repel the *Barbarians*. But although *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* obtain'd ſo many Victories over the Enemies of the *Roman* Empire; yet they Triumph'd but once, a little before they reſign'd the Empire, as *Eutropius* and *Zonaras* do atteſt. The words of *Eutropius* are theſe; *Uterque una die privato habitu imperii inſigne mutavit*; *Nicomediæ Dioclesianus*, *Herculius Mediolani*, *poſt triumphum inclytum*, *quem Romæ ex numeroſis gentibus egerant*, *pompa ſerculorum illuſtri*, &c. *Hieronymus* (in his *Chronicon*) has placed this Triumph of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* on the eighteenth Year of *Dioclesian*. At which place *Scaliger* (*in his Animadverſions*) remarks, that *Hieronymus* has committed an *Anachroniſm*. For he ſays, this Triumph was performed on the twentieth Year of *Dioclesian*, ſome Months before he put off his Purple. But *Scaliger* himſelf is miſtaken rather than *Hieronymus*. For if *Dioclesian* triumph'd in the twentieth Year of his Empire, that is, ſome few Months before he reſigned it, it muſt be ſaid he triumph'd about *January*, in the year of Chriſt 304. and put off his Purple on the *Kalends* of *April* of the ſame year; which time of his reſignation *Idatius* declares (in *Faſtis.*) Whence it follows, that he trinmph'd in Winter-time, and in the depth of Winter travell'd from *Rome* to *Nicomedia*; neither of which is probable. For neither did the *Roman* Emperors uſually triumph in Winter; nor was *Dioclesian* (by reaſon of his Age and Infirmity of Body) able to endure the trouble of ſo tedious a Journey. Beſides, in the nineteenth year of his Empire, in *March* and *April*, *Dioclesian* was at *Nicomedia*; at which time the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians began, as our *Euſebius* atteſts in Chap. 5. Book. 8. He was at *Nicomedia* alſo, when the Palace there was burn'd; (as *Conſtantine* witneſſeth in *his Oration ad ſanctorum cœtum*, Chap. 25.) which Fire happen'd ſome Months after the Perſecution was began. Let us therefore ſuppoſe, that that happen'd in *May*, is it credible that *Dioclesian* could go from *Nicomedia* to *Rome*, triumph there, return from thence to *Nicomedia*, put off his Purple there, and retire into *Dalmatia* to lead the reſt of his life in retirement there: Is it (I ſay) credible he could do all this within ten Months ſpace? Beſides, the Diſeaſe, by which *Dioclesian* was for ſome time put out of his Wits, ſeized him firſt at *Nicomedia*, a little after he raiſed the Perſecution, as *Conſtantine* relates. Wherefore, 'tis very improbable, that *Dioclesian*, troubled with ſuch a Diſtemper, undertook ſuch a long Journey. Further, *the Author of the Panegyrick ſpoken to Maximian* and *Conſtantine*, does expreſly affirm, that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* triumph'd at *Rome* ſome years before the twentieth of *Dioclesian*'s Empire; ſee his words. *Scaliger* therefore is much miſtaken, in ſaying *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* triumph'd in the twentieth year of *Dioclesian*'s Empire; *Hieronymus*, more truly, placed it on the eighteenth of *Dioclesian*. In which year *Idatius* (*in Faſtis*) obſerves, that the Emperors gave command by their Edict that Corn ſhould be ſold cheap; which ſeems to have been order'd by them after the Triumph, to pleaſe the People of *Rome*. But *Cedrenus* places this Triumph on the ſeventeenth year of *Dioclesian*. Valeſ.

Dioclesian.

Roman Empire was dignified with, what words can be ſufficient to declare? At which time thoſe, in whoſe hands the Supream Power was, having compleated the tenth and twentieth year of their Empire, led their lives in a firm and continued Peace, [ſpending the time] with Feſtivities, publick Shows, moſt ſplendid Banquets, and Delights. When their Empire was after this ſort enlarged without any manner of impediment, and daily augmented with an increaſe of greatneſs, on a ſudden they revoked the peace with us, and raiſed a perfidious War [againſt us.] The (*f*) ſecond year of this War was not compleated, when a new and unexpected accident ſubverted the State of Affairs almoſt throughout the whole [*Roman*] Empire. For, (*g*) he that had the precedency amongſt the foreſaid Emperors, (having been viſited by an unfortunate Diſeaſe, which drove him into a diſorder'd and mad temper of mind,) betook himſelf to a private and Country life, together with that [Emperor] who was the next in dignity to him. Theſe affairs were no ſooner tranſacted after this manner, but the whole *Roman* Empire was (*h*) divided into two parts, which, as it has been re-

(*f*) *Euſeb.* had better have ſaid, *the firſt year was ſcarce compleated.* For this Reſignation of the Empire, made by *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* happen'd about the beginning of the ſecond year of the Perſecution, on the *Kalends* of *April*, in the year of Chriſt 304. the Perſecution having been begun in the month of *March* of the foregoing year. Whereas therefore *Euſebius* ſays [*the ſecond year of this War was not compleated*,] his meaning muſt be this [*it was the ſecond year current of the Perſecution*:] In this ſenſe that other place of *Euſebius* (*which occurs in* Chap 3. *of his* Book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, *about the end of the Chapter*) is to be taken. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates theſe words [τῷ πρωτοστάτῃ τῶν ἐμῶν μόχθων] thus, *primus noſtrarum ærumnarum auctor*, *the firſt Author of our ſorrows*; which Verſion is not good: But he ſeems to have followed *Nicephorus* herein; who (in B. 7. Chap. 16.) writes out this Paſſage of *Euſebius*; and in ſtead of his words here ſet down, uſes theſe [τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς κακίας, *the Author of our miſchief*.] Valeſ.

(*h*) For *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* parted the Empire between themſelves: Which was the firſt diviſion of the Empire, as *Euſebius* here aſſerts. For although there had been more than one *Auguſtus* at the ſame time, yet they govern'd the *Roman* Empire together, without making any diviſion of it; thus it was in the Reign of *Marcus* and *Verus*. Neither was there any diviſion made of the Empire in the Reign of *Diocletianus* and *Herculius Maximianus*; when thoſe two *Auguſti* parted neither the Provinces, nor the Legions. See *Eutropius*, B. 10. *Oroſius* B. 7. Concerning this Diviſion of the Empire (which *Rome* was much diſpleaſed at) *Porphyrius* (in *his Panegyrick* to *Conſtantine*, written by him in the 15th year of *Conſtantine*'s Reign,) ſpeaks theſe words,

——— ——— ——— *Lacerata cruentis*
Imperiis pars feſſa poli, *diviſa gemebat*
Sceptra, *& Auſoniæ mœrebat perdita jura*. Valeſ.

corded,

Diocleſian. corded, was an accident that never happen'd before. Within ſome ſmall interval of time, the Emperor *Conſtantius* (a perſon of extraordinary mildneſs throughout his whole life, moſt favourable to his Subjects, and one that had a ſingular affection for the Divine Doctrine [of our Religion,] ended his life according to the common Sanction of Nature, leaving his own Son *Conſtantine* Emperor and *Auguſtus* in his ſtead. And he was the (*i*) firſt that was Deified amongſt the [*Romans,*] being after his death vouchſafed all Honours due to an Emperor. He was the mildeſt and moſt benign of all the Emperors: And moreover, the only perſon of thoſe *Princes* in our days, that paſſed over the whole time of his Government ſuitably to his Imperial Majeſty: He behav'd himſelf with the greateſt *graciouſneſs* and *candour* imaginable towards all perſons, both in other Matters; and alſo was in no wiſe a Confederate in the War raiſed againſt us, but preſerved thoſe Worſhippers of God, that lived under his Government, free from harm and and injuries: and having neither demoliſh'd the fabricks of the Churches, nor attempted any other new deſign againſt us, he obtain'd an (*k*) honourable and thrice-happy concluſion of his life: Being the only perſon [of all the four Emperors] that ended his life in his Imperial Government fortunately and gloriouſly, [leaving] his own Son (a moſt prudent and pious Prince) his Succeſſor. *Conſtantinus,* Son to this Man, being immediately from the very time [of his Father's death] proclaim'd ſupream Emperor and *Auguſtus* by the Soldiers, (but long before that by the ſupream God) exhibited himſelf an Emulator of his Father's Piety towards our Religion. Such a perſon was he: Afterwards *Licinius,* by the common ſuffrage of the Emperors was declared Emperor and *Auguſtus:* At which *Maximinus* was ſorely diſpleaſed, who until that time had been honour'd only with the title of *Cæſar* (*l*) by all Men. He therefore, being a perſon of a moſt tyrannical Diſpoſition, by violence poſſeſs'd himſelf of that dignity, and was by himſelf declared *Auguſtus.* About that time [*Maximianus,*] (*m*) whom we before manifeſted to have re-aſſumed the Empire after his reſignation of it, being found to have contrived *Machinations* in order to the death of *Conſtantine,* ended his life by a moſt infamous death: he being the (*n*) firſt, whoſe *Monuments, Statues,* and whatever elſe of that nature has been uſually erected in honour of the *Emperors,* were aboliſh'd, upon account of his being a prophane and moſt impious perſon.

(*f*) The meaning of this paſſage is not, that *Conſtantius* was the firſt Emperor that had the honour to be Deified after his death: (For many Emperors, before *Conſtantius,* were by the Senate accounted amongſt the number of the *Divi:*) But that, of the four Emperors who governed the Empire together (to wit, *Dioclesianus, Maximianus, Conſtantius* and *Galerius,*) *Conſtantius* was the firſt that obtained this honour; becauſe he was the firſt of them four, that died. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) In the *King*'s MS the Reading is [τελος εὐδαιμον, *a fortunate end of his life.*] But in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Sav.* MSS. the words here are [τέλος εὐδοκιμον καὶ τετιμημενον, *an honourable and thrice happy concluſion of his life.*] *Valeſ.*

(*l*) In the *Maz. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. the reading is [μόνον Καίσαρα ἀφ' ἁπάντων ὅσοι πώποτε χρηματίσαντα, *honoured with the title of* Cæſar *only, before* (or, *otherwiſe than*) *all the reſt:*] Which Reading is truer *than* [ἀφ' ἁπάντων *by all men.*] For, four *Auguſti* at that time govern'd the Affairs of the *Roman* Empire; to wit, *Galerius, Conſtantinus, Maxentius,* and *Licinius.* But *Maximinus* was long before made *Cæſar* by *Galerius,* and continued in that dignity until *Galerius*'s death. Wherefore, 'tis moſt true (what *Euſebius* here ſaith) that *Maximinus* was much diſpleaſed, becauſe, there being then ſo many *Auguſti,* he alone had no other title than that of *Cæſar,* when-as notwithſtanding he had received that title of *Cæſar* before the other three Princes now mentioned. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) Theſe words [*whom we before manifeſted to have re-aſſumed the Empire, after his reſignation of it,*] are wanting in the *Maz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. They are in the King's MS. and in the *Med.* MS. they are written at the Margin here, in the ſame hand in which that MS. is written. Moreover, altho' *Euſebius* here ſays, he before related, that *Maximianus Herculius* re-aſſumed the Imperial Dignity; yet hitherto I cannot find the place where *Euſebius* has ſaid this. *Valeſ.*

(*n*) Πρώτε δὲ τότε (the expreſſion here) is to be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe with that we explain'd a little before in this Chapter, [πρῶτός τε ἐν θεοῖς, *the firſt that was Deified.*] See Note (*i.*) in this thirteenth Chapter. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

Galerius.

Concerning the Morals of thoſe that were the Enemies of Religion.

MAxentius (Son to this * Man) who had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Government of *Rome,* at firſt hypocritically pretended [himſelf a Profeſſor of] our Faith, that he might thereby pleaſe and flatter the People of *Rome.* Upon this account he commanded his Subjects to forbear perſecuting the Chriſtians, making a ſhew of piety, and [being deſirous] to ſeem benign, and much more mild than the former Governours. But in his Practices he manifeſted himſelf not to be ſuch a manner of perſon, as 'twas hoped he would have prov'd. But, having applied himſelf to [the commiſſion of] all ſorts of *impious facts,* he omitted no manner of action that was impure and libidinous. He committed Adulteries and Rapes of all ſorts. He parted the Husbands [by divorce] from their lawful Wives, whom (when he had by uncleanneſs abuſed) he moſt diſhonourably ſent back again to their Husbands. Nor did he make it his buſineſs to be thus injurious towards obſcure perſons, and thoſe of mean Quality, but towards them eſpecially, who were advanced to the higheſt place of Honour in the *Senate* of *Rome*; inſulting over the moſt eminent Perſonages. All perſons therefore, both the Vulgar and the Magiſtrates, as well the honourable as the obſcure, ſtanding in great fear of him, were ſorely afflicted with his intolerable *Tyranny.* And altho' they were quiet, and patiently bore the auſtere Servitude [they were oppreſt with;] yet none could ſo avoid the *bloody Cruelty* of the Tyrant. For, one time, upon a very trivial pretence, he delivered the People of *Rome* to be *ſlain* by his (*a*) own Guards. And ſo innnumerable multitudes of the *Roman* people (not *Scythians,* nor *Barbarians,* but his own Citizens) were killed with Spears and all ſorts of Weapons in the midſt of the *City.* Moreover, 'tis impoſſible to enumerate how many *ſlaughters* were made of thoſe that were Senators, to the end their *eſtates* might be ſeiz'd; infinite numbers of 'em being put to death at ſeveral times for various crimes framed [againſt them.] At length, as the Complement of his Impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [exerciſe] the Deluſions of Magick Art: Sometimes ripping up Women great with child; otherwhiles ſearching into the *Bowels* of new-born Infants; he alſo killed Lions, and [performed] ſome other horrible Rites, to call forth the *Dæmons,* and repel the approaching War. For he moſt undoubtedly preſumed, that by theſe Performances he ſhould obtain the Victory. Whilſt this perſon therefore tyranniz'd at *Rome,* 'tis impoſſible to relate what miſchievous Acts he perpetrated, and [how miſerably] he enſlaved his Subjects: inſomuch that they were reduced to ſuch extream Penury and want of neceſſary Suſtenance, as ('tis recorded by thoſe of our Times)

*To Maximianus.

(*a*) *Aurelius Victor* (*in the Life of Maxentius*) ſays the ſame; *Adeo ſævus, uti Prætorianis cædem vulgi quondam annuerit*; *He was ſo cruel, that one time he connived at his Guards for killing the common People. Conſtantine* having vanquiſh'd *Maxentius,* did quite put down the *Prætorian Cohorts*; (i. e. *thoſe Soldiers whoſe Office it was to Guard the Emperor's Body,*) upon pretence of this Slaughter (here mentioned) they made among the common People; but in reality, that they ſhould not attempt any Alterations in the Government, nor make Emperors, as they had done *Maxentius* whom they proclaimed *Auguſtus.* Moreover, *Zoſimus* tells the ſame Story, (here mentioned by our *Euſebius*) but a little otherwiſe. For he relates, That when the Temple of the God *Genius* at *Rome* was accidentally fired, and the People flock'd together to quench the Fire; a Soldier who derided this God of the *Gentiles,* was killed by the common People; upon which there immediately happened ſo great an uproar amongſt the Soldiers, that the whole City had been deſtroy'd, had not *Maxentius* intervened. *Valeſ.*

Galerius. never hapned at *Rome*, nor any-where elſe. But *Maximinus* the Tyrant in the Eaſtern parts, having ſecretly made a League with *Maxentius* [the Tyrant] at *Rome*, as being his Brother in wickedneſs, endeavour'd to keep himſelf concealed for a long time. But being at laſt detected, he ſuffer'd condign puniſhment. It was wonderful [to obſerve] how near a relation and Brother-like affinity in Wickedneſs this Man expreſs'd towards the Tyrant at *Rome*; or rather, how far he exceeded and ſurpaſſed him in the perpetration of nefarious Facts. For Inchanters and Magicians were by him promoted to the chiefeſt places of *Honour*: He was exceeding timerous and ſuperſtitious, and a mighty favourer of the Impoſtures about *Idols* and *Dæmons*: Without Divinations and Reſponſes of Oracles he preſumed not to move any thing a Nail's breadth (as the ſaying is.) Upon which account he impoſed a more cruel and ſharper Perſecution upon us, than the former Emperors had done; commanding that Temples [to the Gods] ſhould be erected in every City, and that thoſe places dedicated to their Worſhip, which by length of time were decay'd, ſhould with all diligence be repair'd. He [conſtituted] Prieſts for the Idols in every place and City; and over them he appointed a (*b*) Chief-Prieſt of every Province, any one of thoſe who had moſt worthily diſcharged all the publick Offices in the Court [or Senate] of the City; and appointed him a military Guard [conſiſting of] a ſet number of Troops. [In fine,] he freely beſtowed the Governments of Provinces, and chiefeſt places of pre-eminence, on all thoſe that were impudent Soothſayers, as being Religious Perſons, and moſt acceptable to the Gods. After this, he proceeded to vex and oppreſs, not one City only, or Country, but all the Provinces in general that were under his Government, with exactions of Gold, Silver, and vaſt Summs of Money, with moſt *burthenſome* (*c*) *Impoſts*, and with various ſorts of forfeitures ſucceeding one another. Moreover, depriving the *Rich* of their *Eſtates* laid up for them by their Anceſtors, he beſtow'd a vaſt Treaſure and Heaps of Money on thoſe about him that were his Flatterers. Beſides, he was given to Ebriety and Drunkenneſs in ſuch an high degree, that in his Cups he would rave, and be out of his Wits; and in his Drunkenneſs he would command ſuch things to be done, as the next day when ſober he would repent of. In Sottiſhneſs and Luxury no Man was his Equal, exhibiting himſelf the Maſter of Debauchery both to his Princes and to his [inferiour] Subjects. He permitted his Soldiers to live effeminate lives, in all manner of *Deliciouſneſs* and *Intemperance*: But he perſwaded his Preſidents and chief Commanders (who in a manner were his Colleagues in his Tyranny,) to break forth into Extortion and Covetouſneſs towards thoſe under their Juriſdiction. What need we relate thoſe libidinous Courſes, in which this Man indulged himſelf? Or recount their Multitudes, which he vitiated by *Adultery*? For he paſſed through no City [in his Journey,] without committing *Whoredom* with Women, and *Raviſhing* of Virgins. Moreover, theſe [his practices] ſucceeded according to his deſire againſt all perſons, the Chriſtians only excepted; who, having contemned death, deſpiſed that his outragious Tyranny. (*d*) For the men (having endur'd the Fire, the Sword, the being * faſtned [to Wooden Engines] with Nails, the Wild Beaſts, the being drown'd in the depths of the Sea, the cutting off their Members, the Searings with hot Irons, the pricking and digging out of their Eyes, and the being maimed all over their Bodies; and, beſides all this, Famine, the Mines, and Bonds;) would rather demonſtrate their patient ſufferance under all [theſe Tortures] for Religion, than they would forſake the Adoration of God, and worſhip Idols. Again, the Women were not leſs corroborated by the Doctrine of the Divine Word than the Men: Some of whom underwent the ſame Combats with the Men, and obtain'd Rewards of their Fortitude equal to them: Others, haled away to be raviſh'd, were more ready to part with their Lives, than expoſe their Bodies to be defiled. Indeed, one only Chriſtian Woman, the moſt eminent and famous of the *Alexandrian* Women, (when the others had been vitiated by the Tyrant,) vanquiſh'd the diſſolute and incontinent Mind of *Maximinus* by her moſt valiant courage of Mind. She was a Woman eminent for Riches, Deſcent and Learning; but ſhe preferr'd Chaſtity before all theſe. When [the Tyrant] had often ſolicited this Woman [to commit Adultery with him,] he was indeed unable to kill her (who was prepared to die,) becauſe his Luſt was Maſter of his Cruelty: But he puniſh'd her with Exile, and deprived her of her whole Eſtate. Infinite other Women, being unable to endure the hearing of the Menaces of Raviſhment, which the Governours of Provinces threatned them with, underwent all ſorts of tortures, torments and capital puniſhments. But the moſt admirable perſon above all theſe was that Woman at *Rome*, the moſt noble and truly chaſteſt Woman of all thoſe, whom *Maxentius* (the Tyrant there, whoſe practices were like *Maximinus*'s) attempted to vitiate. For, as ſoon as ſhe underſtood that the Miniſters, which the Tyrant made uſe of for the performance of ſuch [Villanies,] had aſſaulted her Houſe, (now ſhe alſo was a *Chriſtian*) and that her Husband, who was Prefect of the City at *Rome*, had by reaſon of his fear permitted them to take her and carry her away with them: (*e*) having requeſted that a ſhort [time] might be allow'd her, as if ſhe would have adorn'd her body, ſhe went into her Chamber; and, being alone, (*f*) ſheath'd a Sword in her own Breaſt. Expiring immediately here-

(*b*) Ἐπὶ πάσης ἐπαρχίας ἀρχιερέα; So our Author words it in the *Greek*. They were called *Sacerdotes* [i. e. *Chief Prieſts*] by the *Gentiles*, who had the Temples of a whole Province under their care: But the *Flamines* [the *Prieſts*] were thoſe, who in every Town and City took care of the performance of their Religious Rites. (See *Valeſius*'s Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 28. pag. 375. Moreover, *Maximinus* muſt not be ſuppoſed to have been the firſt that inſtituted *theſe Chief-Prieſts of the Provinces*: For there were ſuch Prieſts long before his time. But *Maximinus* increaſed their Honour, and allow'd them a Guard, *i. e. Lictors* and *Apparitors*. Theſe *Chief-Prieſts of the Provinces* were made out of the Body of the *Curiales*, (i. e. *thoſe that were of the Court*, or *Senate in every City*; ſee *Valeſius*'s *Notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* B. 28. P. 374.) who had before born all publick Offices, and diſcharged them worthily. This place [of High-Prieſt of a Province] was accounted ſo honourable, that he that bore it took place of the *Magiſtrates*, or *Duumviri*. See the *Geſta purgat. Cæciliani*, B. 9. Chap. 4. Theſe *High-Prieſts* had the power of entring into the *Secretum* of the Judges, and of being Aſſeſſors with them, as appears from *the Acts* of *Theodorus the Martyr* at *November* 9.

(*c*) Ἐπισκήψεσι. *Muſculus* tranſlates it *Statutis, Laws*: *Chriſtophorſon, mandatis, commands*: *Valeſius, Indictionibus, Impoſts* or *Taxes*. Our *Euſebius* uſes the ſame term at Chap. 8. B. 10. Where, ſpeaking of *Licinius*, he ſays, ἐπισκήψεις τε μυείας καὶ πᾶν ὑποχειρίων ἐθνῶν ἐπενόει; i. e. *He invented ſeveral ſorts of Taxes againſt his Subjects*. See Book 10. Chap. 8. Note (*d*.)

Galerius.

(*d*) See *Euſebius*'s *Oration concerning the praiſes of Conſtantine*, c. 7. where this paſſage is repeated almoſt in the ſame words. *Valeſ.*

* Περοπηλώσεις is the term in the *Greek*: *Valeſius* renders it *Clavorum ſuffixiones, the being faſtned with Nails*; perhaps our Author means *Crucifixion*.

(*e*) Ἐς βραχὺν ἀποχώρησιν χρόνου βραχὺν ὑποπαραιτησαμένη, is the expreſſion in the *Greek*. Some words ſeem to be wanting, which may be thus ſupplied [ἐς ἀποχώρησιν χρόνου βραχὺν ὑποπαραιτησαμένη, *having requeſted a ſhort ſpace of time for a receſs*.] *Euſebius* uſed the ſame phraſe before, when he ſpake of the *Antiochian* Woman, who with the two Virgins leapt into the River. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) At the Margin of the *Maz.* and *Savil* MSS. I found this *Scholion* written, for the Explication of theſe words: [πῶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτος ἀποδέχεται τὰς ἑαυτῶν διαχρησαμένας; καὶ τί γενῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κείσης, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς ἑαυτὰς τὰ τῆς δημίων ἀποδειξαμένας ἐν μάρτυσιν ἀναγράφει.

γράφει· δειλίας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείας, φόβῳ κολάσεως τὸν θάνατον προαρπάζειν· ἀλλὰ τὰς μηδὲν φοβερὸν ἔνεκα τῆς εἰς χεῖρον ὁμολογίας ἡγεμόνας, ἀλλὰ πάντα προθύμως πάσχειν, ἅπερ ἂν ἡ τύραννος καὶ δαιμονιώδης ὄπλοισι κολαστήρια ἐπάγει· i. e. *How does this man admire those women, who were the authors of their own deaths? And yet the judgment of the Church is, not to record them amongst the number of the Martyrs, who have been their own Executioners. For 'tis* [an argument] *of fear, rather than courage, by death to prevent the dread of punishment:* [But the Church looks upon those as Martyrs,] *who suppose nothing to be dreadful upon account of the confession of Christ; but with alacrity suffer all* [tortures,] *that a tyrannick and deviliſh ſubtilty can produce* [againſt them.] The Author of this *Scholion* has made a true remark, *to wit*, that the Church approves not of *Self-murder*; when Men out of a fear of death, or through deſperation, lay violent hands on themſelves. But as often as they are driven to do that by the inſtinct of the Divine Spirit, which rarely happens; then the Church approves and admires that act: But propoſes it not for imitation. See what St. *Auguſtine* thought concerning this matter, in his firſt Book, *De civitate Dei*, chap. 26. *Valeſ.*

Galerius. upon, ſhe left indeed her Corps to thoſe that came to conduct her [to the Tyrant;] but by this Act of hers (which reſounds more than any voice) ſhe has manifeſted to all Men that now are, and ſhall be in future Ages, that the Courage of the *Chriſtians* is the only thing that is inexpugnable, and which cannot be extirpated by death. Such indeed and ſo great was the fertility of *wickedneſs* produced at one and the ſame time; the Authors of which were two Tyrants, who had divided the Eaſt and Weſt between themſelves. And now, what Man is he, that, making his Reſearches into the cauſe of theſe ſo great [*Calamities*,] will be dubious in affirming the *Perſecution* [raiſed againſt us] to have been [the *Original* of all theſe *Miſeries*?] Eſpecially, [when he conſiders] that theſe mighty Diſturbances [in the Empire] were not terminated, before the Chriſtians had the free and open profeſſion of their Religion reſtored to them.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning what happen'd to the Gentiles.

(a) The Perſecution began in the year of Chriſt 303; when *Diocleſian* was in his 8th, and *Maximian* in his 7th, Conſulate. It ended in the year of *Chriſt* 312; then, *when Conſtantine*, having conquer'd *Maxentius*, ſent Letters to *Maximinus* Emperor of the *Eaſt*, to procure Liberty for the *Chriſtians*; as our *Euſebius* relates in B. 9. Therefore the Perſecution laſted ten years, as 'tis here affirmed. And ſo the years are noted in the MS. Copies of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, as *Pontacus* has obſerved. *Epiphanius* therefore is miſtaken; who (in his Book *De Ponder. & Menſur.*) ſays this Perſecution laſted twelve years: See the following Chapter, where our Author relates, that the Perſecution ceaſed *on the tenth year*. Valeſ.

INdeed, throughout the whole (*a*) ten year's ſpace of the Perſecution, there was no intermiſſion of mutual Conſpiracies and inteſtine Wars amongſt them: The Sea was unpaſſable to thoſe that made Voyages over it. Neither could any perſons arrive at any Haven whatſoever, but they muſt endure all ſorts of Scourges, be tormented, have their Sides torn with Nails, and be interrogated, by their undergoing all ſorts of tortures, whether they came from the Enemy's Country: And at laſt they underwent the puniſhment of Crucifixion, or were burnt to death. Furthermore, they provided Shields, Breaſt-plates, Darts, Spears, and other ſuch-like military Inſtruments: Alſo, Galleys, and Weapons for a Sea-fight were everywhere prepared. Neither did any perſon expect any thing elſe but an Incurſion of the Enemy. After all theſe [Calamities] follow'd a Famine and a Peſtilence; of which we will give a relation at an opportune place and time.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Change of Affairs to a better poſture.

(b) At theſe *words* we began the 16th

(*a*) SUch were the *Preparations* during the whole time of the *Perſecution*; which by the Grace of God wholly ceaſed in the tenth year; beginning to be ſomewhat remiſs, after the eighth year. For, after the Divine and Celeſtial Grace demonſtrated [itſelf] in a benign and propitious inſpection over us, then the Governours in our times, even thoſe very Princes who had formerly waged Wars againſt thoſe of our Religion, having moſt miraculouſly alter'd their minds, ſounded a retreat; and extinguiſh'd the moſt ardent Flame of the *Perſecution* by Reſcripts favourable towards us, and by moſt mild Edicts. But, neither was any human cauſe, nor (which ſome one might conjecture) was the Clemency or Humanity of the Emperors, the occaſion hereof; no, 'twas far from that. For, from the beginning of the Perſecution unto that very time, they daily invented more and more grievous Cruelties againſt us, renewing the tortures [uſed] towards us by divers Machines [made uſe of] ſucceſſively, and in a various manner. But the apparent inſpection of the Divine Providence itſelf, which was now reconciled to its people, purſued the Author of theſe Miſeries, and was angry at the (*b*) Ring-leader of the Wickedneſs [committed] during the whole Perſecution. For altho' theſe things ought to have come to paſs, agreeable to the Judgment of the Divine [Will,] yet * *Wo* (ſays the Scripture) to that Man *by whom the offence cometh*. Therefore, a puniſhment ſent from God ſeiz'd him; which having made its beginning at his very Fleſh, proceeded even to his Soul. For on a ſudden an Impoſtume aroſe upon him (*c*) about the midſt of the Privy Parts of his Body; after that, a (*d*) *Fiſtula in ano*; both theſe Diſeaſes ſpread incurably, and did eat into his inmoſt Bowels. From them bred an unſpeakable multitude of Worms, and a moſt noiſome Stench proceeded therefrom; [for,] before this Diſeaſe, the whole Maſs of Fleſh upon his Body was (by reaſon of the abundance of Food he devour'd) grown to an immenſe fatneſs: Which being then putrified, became an intolerable and moſt horrid Spectacle to thoſe that approach'd him. Wherefore ſome of his Phyſicians, being altogether unable to endure the exceeding noiſomeneſs of the Stink [that came from him,] were killed: Others of them, when they could adminiſter no Remedy, (the whole Fabrick of his Body being ſwell'd, and paſt all hopes of a Recovery,) were cruelly ſlain.

Galerius. Chapter, agreeable to the *Max.* and and *Fuk.* MSS. But in the *Med.* MS. (which *Rob. Stephens* followed, in the diſtinction of the Chapters) there is no *new* Chapter began here. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) He means *Maximianus Galerius*, as 'tis apparent from the following words: for he was the Author of the perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians. *Ruſinus* in the 15th Chap. of this Book ſpeaks thus concerning *Galerius*; *Ille verò, qui eiſ ecundus in honore, poſtmodum etiam in primis ſucceſſor fuit, qui & incentor ac ſignifer noſtræ perſecutionis extiterat, &c. i. e. But he, who was the next in honour to him, afterwards ſucceeded him in the firſt and chiefeſt place; who alſo was the Incendiary and firſt Beginner of our Perſecution, &c. Cedrenus* atteſts the ſame. *Valeſ.* * Matth. 18. 7.

(*c*) Περὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ἀπορρήτων· He means *his Genitals*; which *Victor (in his Epitome)* does confirm: *Galerius Maximianus* (ſays he) *conſumptis Genitalibus defecit.*

(*d*) The phraſe in the *Greek* is, ἕλκος ἐν βάθει συριγγῶδες; which, being literally rendred, imports thus much; *an Ulcer in the Fundament full of holes like a Spunge.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Retractation of the Emperors.

MOreover, whilſt he was ſtruggling with theſe many and great Miſeries, he began to be ſenſible of the villainous Acts he had perform'd towards the *Worſhippers* of God: * Having therefore ſeriouſly recollected himſelf, firſt he made his Confeſſion to the Supream God. Then, having cal-

* Συναγαγὼν δ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν διάνοιαν· This expreſſion *Muſculus* renders thus; *ad ſemetipſum reverſus, being come to himſelf: Chriſtophorſon* thus, *mentem igitur recolligens, & tanquam rediens ad ſe, recollecting therefore his mind, and returning as it were to himſelf: Valeſius* thus, *Tota mentis acie in ſemetipſum converſâ, the whole ſharpneſs of his mind being turned upon himſelf.*

Galerius.

led together the (a) Chief Officers of his Palace, he order'd them without any delay to inhibit the Persecution of the Christians, and by his Decree and Imperial Edict commanded that their Churches should with all expedition be built, wherein they might perform their usual [Solemnities,] and make Supplications [to God] for the *Emperor. Therefore, what he had given order for in words, being immediately follow'd by an actual performance, the Imperial Edicts were set forth in every City, containing a Revocation of the [Persecution] against us, according to this Form following.

(a) Τὰς ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ, which words *Rufinus* renders very well thus: *Convocatis his qui in officio publico parebant; having called together those who served in any publick Office.* *Eusebius* usually means, by this phrase, *the Grandees of the Palace, whom Amm. Marcellinus* does commonly term *aulæ summates, & Imperatoris proximos, the Chief Court-Officers, and those neareſt to the Emperor.* Valeſ.

*In the original 'tis ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον, *for the Imperial Palace:* But *Nicephorus* reads βασιλέως, *for the Emperor.* Valeſ.

EMPEROR CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, GERMANICUS MAXIMUS, ÆGYPTIACUS MAXIMUS, THEBAICUS MAXIMUS, SARMATICUS MAXIMUS the Fifth time; (b) PERSICUS MAXIMUS, CARPICUS MAXIMUS the Second time, ARMENICUS MAXIMUS the Sixth time, MEDICUS MAXIMUS, ADIABENICUS MAXIMUS, (c) TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE XX. (d) EMPEROR XIX. CONSUL VIII. FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROR CÆSAR FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, (e) TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE V. EMPEROR V. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, (f) PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROR CÆSAR VALERIUS LICINIANUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS; PONTIFEX MAXIMUS; TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE IV. EMPEROR III. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.

(b) We find that the *Persians* were but once conquered by *Galerius*, which was in the Year of *Christ* 297; as 'tis affirm'd *in Fastis Idatii*, and in *the Alexandrian Chronicle.* The same is confirmed by *Libanius, in his Oration* intitled Βασιλικὸς; where he relates that the *Persians*, after that great Defeat they received from the *Romans* under the conduct of *Galerius*, spent forty years in Preparations to make amends for that Overthrow; and that, a little before the death of *Constantine the Great*, they entred upon a War with the *Romans.* Indeed from that Year of Christ we mentioned (*i. e. Anno* 297.) to the Year wherein *Constantine* died, there are forty years. Therefore, *Eusebius*'s *Chronicle* must be corrected, in which this *Persian* Victory is placed on the seventeenth Year of *Diocleſian*; whereas it should be placed on his thirteenth Year; as it is in the Edition of *Arnaldus Pontacus.* Seeing therefore we can find no other Victory that *Maximianus* obtained over the *Persians*, this place ought to be pointed (as it is in *Nicephorus*, and as we have done in our Translation) after this manner: σαρματικὸς μέγιστος πεμπάκις· περσῶν μέγιστος. *Sarmaticus Maximus* the fifth time; *Persicus Maximus.* In *Rufinus*'s old Copy, there is at this place no distinction by Points; but 'tis thus, *Sarmaticus quinquies Persicus bis Carpicus Sexies Armenicus Medorum & Adiabenorum Victor.*

(c) *Rufinus* renders this Passage thus, *Tribuniciæ poteſtatis vicies, having been Tribune of the People twenty times.* This is the Reading in the MSS. From this place we may perceive, that *Galerius* was made *Cæsar*, and Colleague in the *Tribunician Power* (or, *Tribune of the People*) at the same time; since in this Edict he accounts the years of his *Tribunician Power* from that time when he was proclaimed *Cæsar.* Now, he was made *Cæsar* in the Year of Christ 291, *on the Calends of March.* Moreover, he put forth this Edict in favour of the Christians, in the Year of Christ 311, in his eighth Consulate, as the Inscription of the Edict declares: Whence it follows, that this Edict was written before *the Calends of March.* For from that time *Galerius* began his *Tribunician Power.* Valeſ.

(d) Αὐτοκράτωρ ἐννεακαιδέκατον; i. e. *Emperor the nineteenth time:* For that's the Reading in the most ancient Copy of *Rufinus.* *Christophorson* translated this term ill, thus, *Dictator.* He knew not what was the import of the word *Imperator.* *Imperator* signifies one thing in the Titles of the Emperors, when 'tis put in the first place like a *Pronoun*; but it imports another thing, when 'tis subjoyn'd to the rest of the Titles. For the word [Emperor] put in the second place, denotes the Victory of the Emperors, and shews how often they were stiled Emperors by the Army, after they had obtained a Victory; so *Dio* informs us. *Valeſ.*

(e) In all Copies, there is an omission of the number of times that *Constantine* had born the Office of *Tribune of the People*, when this Edict came forth. I have added the Figure [V] which denotes the *fifth time of his bearing the Tribuneship:* Which addition is grounded upon a most certain conjecture. *Valeſ.*

(f) After this word [Proconsul,] (in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*) there are these following words; [And, *Emperor Cæsar Valerius Licinianus, Pius, Fælix, Invictus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus; Tribune of the People* IV. *Emperor* III. *Consul, Father of his Country, Proconsul:* To the Subjects of their own Provinces Greeting.] Which Passage, although it occurs not in *Rufinus*, yet is of good authority. And first, as to *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power*, the same must be thought of that which was of *Galerius*'s, to wit, that it is to be begun from the time of his being made *Cæsar.* Now, *Licinius* was made *Cæsar* in the Year of Christ 308, *on the third of the Ides of November*, as it appears in the *Fasti* of *Idatius.* Therefore the 4th year of *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power* began in the Year of *Christ* 311, *on the 3d of the Ides of November.* But this disagrees with what we noted before, when we treated concerning the *Tribunician Power* of *Galerius.* Wherefore one of these places must necessarily be false. For if it were then the fourth Year of *Licinius*'s *Tribunician Power*, it was the twenty-first of *Galerius*'s. On the contrary, if this were the twentieth year of *Galerius*'s being *Tribune of the People*, it was but the third year of *Licinius*'s bearing that Dignity. As to the Consulate of *Licinius*, there is mention thereof in the *Fasti* of *Prosperus, Cassiodorus*, and *Victorius*; where he is placed Consul with *Maximianus Augustus* Cos. VIII. In my *Notes* on *Amm. Marcellinus*, I had remarked, that *Licinius* was made *Augustus* by *Galerius*, a little before *Galerius*'s death; which I collected from hence, because in this Edict we now speak of, *Galerius* had made no mention of *Licinius*'s being his Colleague: But since in our MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, *Licinius* is stiled *Augustus* in this Edict of *Galerius*, that Conjecture of ours is wholly destroy'd. *Valeſ.*

Galerius.

Amongst other things which we have constituted for the Profit and Utility of the Republick, it was our desire in the first place, that all things should be redress'd according to the Ancient Laws, and Publick Ordinances of the Romans. *And we earnestly endeavour'd to effect this, that the* Christians, *who had relinquished the Rites and Usages of their Parents, should be reduced to a good Mind and Intention. For, so great an* (g) *Arrogancy and Unadvisedness has (by a Considerateness as it were) possess'd and invaded them, that they would not follow those Sanctions of their Ancestors, which even their Parents 'tis likely had before Ratified: But according to their own Arbitrement, and as each Person had a desire, so they would make Laws, and observe them, and assemble various Multitudes, of different Factions and Dissenting about their Opinions. Therefore, when we had published such an Edict, as should* [oblige] *them to return to the Rites and Ordinances of their Ancestors; many of them having been exposed to imminent Dangers, and many having been terrified* [*with the Menaces of Punishment,*] *underwent various sorts of Death. But, when many persisted in this Madness, and we perceived they did neither exhibit a due Worship to the Immortal God's, nor yet to the God of the* Christians; *having a respect to our Humanity, and that continued usage by which we have been accustom'd to bestow Pardon on all sorts of Men: We have thought good that our Indulgence should most readily be extended in this matter also; that the* Christians *should again be* [*tolerated,*] *and that they may* [*have licence*] *to rebuild the Houses wherein they used to assemble themselves, that*

(g) In the *Fuk. Savil, Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. the Reading is [πλεονεξία καὶ ἐφήκει, καὶ ἄνοια καὶ ἐπιλήφει, *So great an arrogancy and unadvisedness---- has possessed and invaded them.*] Valeſ.

Πλεονεξία (which *Valesius* here renders *arrogantia, arrogancy*) is by *Democrates* (in his Γνωμ.) defined to be *speaking all, and not enduring to hear any Body else.* Dr. *Hammond* has given a large Account of the Significations of this Word, in his Note on *Rom.* 1. Ver. 29.

Galerius. *that so [in future they may be forced] to do nothing contrary to their Discipline. In a particular Rescript we will signifie to our Judges what it shall behove them to observe. Wherefore, upon account of this our Indulgence they are obliged to supplicate their God for our safety, that of the Republick, and their own; that so both the Publick State of Affairs may in all respects be continued in an entire and safe posture, and they themselves live undisturbed in their own Habitations.* These words (which we have, according to our ability, translated out of the *Roman* into the *Greek* Language,) are thus: Now therefore it is an opportune time to take a prospect of what follow'd hereupon. Galerius.

The END of the Eighth Book of the *Ecclesiastical History.*

Diocletianus.

In some COPIES this occurs as a SUPPLEMENT *to the EIGHTH BOOK.*

BUT the * Author of this Edict, after this Confession, was forthwith released from his Pains, and ended his Life. Report says, that this Man was the first beginner of that Calamitous Persecution: For, long before the rest of the Emperors were instigated [to it,] he endeavour'd by force to withdraw the *Christians* that bore Arms [from their Religion,] especially those that were his Domesticks; some of whom he removed from their Military Dignities, most dishonourably abused others; and moreover, punish'd othersome with death: And at length he moved his Colleagues in the Empire to a General Persecution against the Christians. The manner how these Emperors ended their Lives, we judge unfit to be buried in silence: Of the (*a*) four therefore who had divided the *Roman* Empire between them, those (*b*) two, that had the precedency in Age and Honour, resign'd their Empire, before two years were compleated after the beginning of the Persecution, as we have (*c*) before manifested. And, having spent the remaining part of their time in a private and retired condition, they concluded their Lives after this manner: The (*d*) one, who in respect of his Age and Honour took place of all the rest, was consumed by a lasting and most painful Distemper of Body: The (*e*) other, who was the next to him in Honour, put an end to his Life by Hanging of himself; undergoing this [Punishment] which was agreeable to a certain Diabolical Prediction concerning him, upon account of those many Villanies he had most audaciously perpetrated. Of the remaining two, the (*f*) last, (who, as we (*g*) have said, was the Author of the whole Persecution,) underwent those [Miseries,] which we (*b*) have related before. But he who in Dignity preceded this Man, [I mean] that most favourable and merciful Emperor *Constantius*, who during the whole time of his Government behaved himself in such sort as befitted an Emperor; who both in other matters represented himself to be most courteous and beneficent, and also was unconcerned in the Persecution raised against us; who preserved the Worshippers of God living under his Government from all manner of Injuries and Molestations, who neither demolished the Edifices of the Churches, nor attempted any other new Design against us: This Emperor [*Constantius* I say] obtain'd a (*i*) fortunate and truly thrice happy Conclusion of his Life: Being the only person that ended his Life peaceably and gloriously during his swaying the Imperial Sceptre, and left his own Son (in all respects a most sober and pious Prince,) his Successor in the Empire. (*k*) He, being from the very beginning forthwith proclaimed Supream Emperor and *Augustus* by the Soldiers, declared himself to be an Emulator of his Fahters reverend regard towards our Religion. Such was the Conclusion of their Lives, which happened to the forementioned four Emperors, at different times. (*l*) Moreover, of them *he only (whom we mentioned a little before) (*m*) made the foresaid Confession, and (together with (*n*) those who were afterwards taken in to be Collegues with him in the Empire) made it publickly known to all Men by an Edict proposed in writing.

* *Id est, Galerius.* See the Edict, Ch. 17. B. 8.

(*a*) Those four were *Diocletianus*, *Maximianus*, *Constantius*, and *Galerius*. See Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (*e.*)

(*b*) That is, *Diocletianus* and *Maximianus*. See Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (*e.*)

(*c*) In Ch. 13. Book 8.

(*d*) *Diocletianus.*

(*e*) *Maximianus.*

(*f*) *Galerius.*

(*g*) See Chap. 16. Book 8. Note (*b.*)

(*b*) See Chap. 16. Book 8.

(*i*) These following words are taken out of Chap. 13. B. 8. *Valef.*

(*k*) *Constantine the Great.*

(*l*) *Ετι λοιπὸν · So *Rob. Stephens*: *Valesius*, Ἔτι λοιπόν. **Galerius.*

(*m*) Chap. 17. B. 8.

(*n*) Who were *Constantinus*, and *Licinius* or *Licinianus*: See Chap. 17. Book 8.

EUSEBIUS

Diocleſian. # *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S* BOOK Diocleſian.

Concerning the

MARTYRS of *PALESTINE.*

(a) *In one Copy, we alſo found theſe following Chapters at the End of the Eighth Book.*

(a) Before I had looked into any of the MSS. I thought theſe words were added by *Rob. Stephens*, who in ſome *Copies* had found theſe two Supplements of the 8th Book. But when I had perceived, that the ſame *words* occurr'd in all the MSS. I was eaſily induc'd to believe, that all thoſe MSS. were tranſcribed from one and the ſame Copy. Moreover, this Second Supplement is nothing elſe but *Euſebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*; which appears from the words at the end of this Supplement. For in the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. theſe words occur there; Ευσεβίς τῦ Παμφίλς περὶ τῶν ἐν παλαιστίνῃ μαρτυρησάντων τέλος · *i. e.* the End of *Euſebius Pamphilus's* [Book] *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine.* Valeſ.

IT was the Nineteenth Year of *Diocleſian's* Empire, the Month *Xanthicus*, which the *Romans* call *April*; (*Flavianus* being Governour of the Province of *Paleſtine*;) in which Year, [to wit, when the Feaſt of the Salutary Paſſion was at hand, the Edicts on a ſudden were everywhere ſet forth, commanding the Churches to be pulled down to the Ground, and the Scriptures to be conſumed with Fire; and ordering, that ſuch as were promoted to Honours ſhould be Degraded; and that the ordinary ſort of People, if they perſiſted in a Reſolution of retaining the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, ſhould be deprived of their Liberty. Such was the Vehemency of the firſt Edict againſt us. But not long after, other Reſcripts were brought, wherein order was given, that all Prelates of the Churches every-where, ſhould firſt be put into Bonds; and afterwards compelled by all ways imaginable to offer Sacrifice.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Procopius, Alphæus, *and* Zacchæus, *Martyrs.*

(a) The ſame Relation is in *the Acts of the Paſſion of* Procopius *the Martyr*, which begin thus, *The firſt of the Martyrs that appeared in* Paleſtine *was* Procopius, &c. From whence 'tis evident, that thoſe Acts were tranſlated out of the *Greek* Copy of *Euſebius* into *Latin*. To make this more manifeſtly apparent, it will in no wiſe be unuſeful, to inſert here the entire *Acts*. For many things worth our knowledge are contained in them, which neither *Baronius* nor *Molanus* happened to have a ſight of. We have tranſcribed them from a moſt ancient MS. belonging *to the Muſciacenſian Monaſtery*, which is now in the Hands of that Learned Perſon *Claudius Joly*, *Canon of the Church at Paris*. Their Contents are theſe:

(a) PRocopius therefore, the firſt of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, (b) before he had experienc'd a Confinement in Priſon, was (c) immediately upon his very firſt arrival brought before the Preſident's Seat of Judicature: And being commanded to offer Sacrifice to thoſe [by the *Gentiles*,] ſtiled Gods, he ſaid that he knew but one only God, to whom Sacrifice was to be offer'd, according to that manner which he himſelf had appointed. But when he was bidden to Sacrifice to the four Emperors, having utter'd a Sentence which was in no wiſe pleaſing to them (that which he ſaid, was theſe words of the Poet [*Homer*;] *It is not good* [to have] *many Lords, let there be one Lord, one King*) he was

The Paſſion of S. Procopius *the Martyr, who ſuffered under* Fabianus *the Preſident, on the fourth of the Nones of* Auguſt.

The firſt of the Martyrs that appeared in Paleſtine *was* Procopius: *A Perſon* [*full*] *of Celeſtial Grace, who before his Martyrdom ordered his Life ſo, as that from his very Childhood he applied his Mind to Chaſtity, and a Virtuous Converſe. He ſo macerated his Body, that 'twas, judg'd to be almoſt dead. But he comforted his Mind with ſuch Divine Words, that he infuſed Strength and Courage into his Body, by this Refection of his Mind. Bread and Water was his Food and Drink: He fed only on theſe; which he would forſake for two, or three, ſometimes for ſeven days together, and then return to that his Food again. Alſo, a Meditation on Divine Expreſſions had bound up his Mind ſo faſt, that he continued indefatigable in it Night and Day. He made himſelf an high Example of Courteſie and Meekneſs, looking on himſelf to be inferiour to others, ſo great was his Studiouſneſs in Divine Matters: He had alſo attained to competency in external Accompliſhments. His original Extract he had at* Ælia [*i. e.* Jeruſalem;] *But by Converſe and Habitation he was a* Scythopolitan. *He ſerved in three Offices in that Church; one was that of a Reader, another conſiſted in his Interpretation of the* Syrian *Tongue; and the third was an Impoſition of Hands, to caſt out Devils. And when he (together with his Companions) was ſent from* Scythopolis *to* Cæſarea, *he was led from the very Gates to the Preſident; and before he had experienced the Miſeries of Impriſonment and Bonds, he was upon his very firſt arrival commanded by* Flavianus *the Preſident, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods. But with a loud voice he atteſted that there was not a Multiplicity of Gods, but One Maker and Framer of all things. The Preſident, ſmitten with that Expreſſion of his, and being wounded in his own Conſcience, aſſented to what he ſaid. And, betaking himſelf to other Arguments,* [*perſwaded him*] *to Sacrifice at leaſt but to the Emperors. But the Holy Martyr of God, deſpiſing what he ſaid, repeated that Paſſage of* Homer ——— It is not good [*to have*] many Lords, let there be one Lord, one King. *Which words being heard, it being ſuppoſed that he ſpoke ſomething that was of ill conſequence to the Emperors, by the Preſident's command he was led to Execution; and being Beheaded, had an entrance into a Celeſtial Life, or found a compendious way into Heaven, on the ſeventh day of* Deſius, *that, is the Month* July, *which amongſt the* Romans *is called the* Nones *of* July, *in the firſt Year of the Perſecution againſt us. This was the firſt Martyrdom that was conſummated in* Cæſarea, *our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *Reigning, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever,* Amen. Theſe *Acts* are alſo extant in two MSS. belonging to the Library of *St. Germans.* Valeſ.

(b) The foregoing *Acts* of the Paſſion of St. *Procopius* renders this Paſſage almoſt word for word, thus; *Priuſquam carceris vel vinculorum experiretur anguſtias, before he had experienced the miſeries of Impriſonment and Bonds:* By which words the Cruelty of the Judge is ſignified. For the *Roman* Preſidents were wont firſt to impriſon thoſe Offenders that were apprehended and brought before them, and to interrogate them afterwards at their leiſure. *Valeſ.*

(c) The foregoing *Acts* word this Paſſage thus; *In ipſo ingreſſu ſuo à Judice Flaviano ut Diis ſacrificaret impellitur*; i. e. *He was upon his very firſt arrival, commanded by Flavianus the Preſident, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods.* Many things are here omitted in the *Greek* Text of *Euſebius*, which muſt be made perfect by thoſe *Acts in Latin* (the Tranſlation whereof we have before inſerted.) For when *Euſebius* had here ſaid expreſly, that *Procopius* upon his firſt arrival was brought before the Judge, he adds nothing concerning the place from whence he came, where he was apprehended, or to what place he was brought: Nothing of which ought to have been omitted. Beſides, *Euſebius* does accurately relate the Deſcent and Country of other Martyrs mentioned in this Book; and if any of them had attained any degree of Eccleſiaſtick Honour, he does uſually take notice of that alſo. But of this Perſon (who was the Chief, and Leader of all the *Paleſtine* Martyrs) we ſee no ſuch Remarks made. This, 'tis probable, was not the fault of *Euſebius*, but of his *Exſcribers*. For, *in the Latin Acts*, which, as we before evidenced, were tranſlated out of *Euſebius*, all theſe Circumſtances are manifeſtly declared. See *the Tranſlation of the Latin Acts*, in Note *(a.)* in this Chapter. *Valeſ.*

Dioclesian. was forthwith beheaded,(*d*) on the eighth day of the month (*e*) *Deſius*, that is (as the *Romans* ſtile it) before the ſeventh of the Ides of *June*, on the (*f*) fourth Day of the Week. This was the * firſt Martyrdom that was conſummated at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*: But after him, very many Prelates of Churches in that Province, having at the ſame City chearfully undergone moſt grievous tortures, exhibited to the Spectators a relation of illuſtrious Combats. But others, diſpirited by reaſon of their fear, were immediately diſcouraged at the very firſt attack made againſt them. Every one of the reſt underwent various and interchangeable ſorts of tortures: One was ſcourged with innumeraule ſtripes, another was rack'd, had the Fleſh of his Sides ſcrap'd off with Iron Nails, and was loaded with an inſupportable burthen of

(*d*) The Latin Copies of theſe *Acts* do vary a little here: In *Claudius Joly*'s Copy (the Tranſlation of which you have in Note (*a.*) in this Chapter,) the words are, *Deſii Septima Julii menſis, quæ nonas Julias dicitur apud Latinos*; i. e. *on the ſeventh day of Deſius*, [that is the] *month July, which amongſt the* Romans *is called the Nones of July*: In the two MS. Copies belonging to the Library of St. *Germans*, the Reading is thus, *Dies erat Septima Julii menſis, quæ 7. Idus Julii dicitur apud Latinos*; i. e. *It was the ſeventh day of the Month July, which amongſt the Romans is called the ſeventh of the Ides of July.* In the *Greek* Text of our *Euſebius* here; the words are theſe, Δεσίε μηνὸς ὀγδόη, πρὸ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν ἰουνίων λέγεται ἀν παρὰ ῥωμαίοις, *on the eighth day of the mouth Deſius, that is (as the Romans ſtile it) before the ſeventh of the Ides of June.* By theſe words in the Latin Copies of the MSS. in St. *German*'s Library, the Title before *Claudius Joly*'s Copy of theſe *Acts* is to be amended, where 'tis ſaid *Procopius* ſuffer'd on the fourth of the *Nones* of *Auguſt*. Notwithſtanding, in all the *Martyrologies*, the Martyrdom of *Procopius* is ſet on the eighth of the *Ides* of *July*. The *Greeks* alſo celebrate the Memory of the Great Martyr *Procopius* on the ſame day, as may be ſeen in their *Menæum*. But that *Procopius* is a different perſon from ours, although he was born at *Jeruſalem*, and ſuffer'd at the ſame time almoſt; and in the ſame City, that our *Procopius* did. For our *Procopius* was a Reader, and an Exorciſt, as *Euſebius* atteſts: But the other was a Captain of *Egypt*. The firſt *Procopius* was a Chriſtian from his Childhood; the ſecond was at firſt a Worſhipper of *Dæmons*. Our *Procopius* was beheaded, having ſuffered no Tortures, and ſo obtained the Crown of Martyrdom by a moſt compendious and eaſie kind of death. The other *Procopius* ſuffer'd a tedious and moſt cruel Martyrdom, having undergone moſt horrid tortures under two Preſidents of *Paleſtine*, *Juſtus* and *Flavianus*. Upon which account he is reckon'd by the *Greeks* amongſt the Μεγαλομάρτυρες, *Great-Martyrs*: See Book 6. Chap. 32. Note (*b.*) Laſtly, our *Procopius* was taken at *Scythopolis*, brought to *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, and there beheaded. The other was apprehended in *Egypt*, and Martyr'd in *Cæſarea*, a City of *Phœnicia* (which was alſo called *Paneas*) if we may believe *Simeon Metaphraſtes*. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) It is, I perceive, taken for granted amongſt all Men, that the Months of the *Syro-Macedonians* were wholly the ſame with the *Julian* Months, from that time when *Julius Cæſar* publiſh'd his Year. For *Scaliger* and our *Petavius* do in many places affirm this; and the only difference (as they ſay) was, that the *Syro-Macedonians* began their Year from *October*. But there are many things which make me diſſent from their Opinion. For firſt, *Bede*, (in his *Ephemeris*, and in his Book *De ratione Temporum*) ſays, that the Months of the *Greeks* began from *Apellæus*, which anſwers to *December*. But *Marcus* (in *his Life of Porphyrius Biſhop of Gaza*) atteſts, that thoſe of *Gaza* began thier Year from the Month *Dius*. For theſe are his words at pag. 1390. *Primo menſe qui ab eis vocatur* Dios, *deinde etiam ſecundo, qui dicitur* Apellæos, i. e. *In the firſt month which they call* Dius, *then alſo in the ſecond which is termed* Apellæus. The Emperor *Julianus* (in *Antiochico*) confirms this, where he expreſly ſays that *Lous* was the *tenth month* amongſt the *Syrians*. Now, if they began their Year from *October*, then *Lous* (which anſwers to *Auguſt*) would not have been the *tenth*, but the *eleventh month*. The ſame is manifeſted by *Julianus* (in *Miſopogone*, pag. 70.) in theſe words, ἡ σύρων ἥκει νεομηνία, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὖθις εἰς φιλίᾳ δίυς· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτὴ, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος· ὑπερχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα, πάλιν ἐς φιλίᾳ τὰς ἐυχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ τὰ πάτρια· i. e. *The Calends of the* Syrians *were come, and* Cæſar *goes to the Temple of* Jupiter Philius *again. Then came the* Calends of *January.* (For, in my Notes on Book 23. of *Ammian. Marcellinus*, pag. 253, I have ſhown that the πάγκοινος ἑορτὴ was the ſame with the *Calends of January*,) *and* Cæſar *goes to the Temple of the God* Genius. (Concerning the Temple of this God *Genius* at *Antioch*, ſee *Evagrius*'s Hiſt. Book 1. Chap. 16.) *Then paſſing by the ominous day, he renews his vows in the Temple of* Jupiter Philius *according to the cuſtom of his Anceſtors.* Seeing therefore *Julianus* atteſts, that the *New-Moon* of the *Syrians* Year did a little precede the *Calends of January*; it is manifeſt that the beginning of the *Roman* and *Syrian* Year was not the ſame. But, it may be plainly collected from the ſame place of *Julian*, that *Dius* was the firſt Month of the Year amongſt the *Antiochians*: For *Julian* ſays, that on the Calends of the firſt Month of the *Syrians*, he went to the Temple of *Jupiter*, to ſacrifice, becauſe their firſt Month was ſacred to *Jupiter*, and received its name from him. For it was called *Dius* ἀπὸ τῦ Διὸς, from *Jupiter*: And the firſt Month was rightly called after his name, who was thought to be the principal cauſe, and origine of all things. Now if *October* were the firſt Month of the *Syrian* Year, that paſſage in *Julian* would have been impertinent. For, when the *Antiochians* would deride *Julian*, for his aſſiduity in worſhipping the Gods, they produce this example thereof; [The Calends of the *Syrians* were come, and *Cæſar* goes to the Temple of *Jupiter Philius* again: Then came the Calends of *January*, and *Cæſar* goes to the *Temple* of the God *Genius*.] There muſt therefore neceſſarily be ſome little ſpace of time between the *Calends* of the *Syrians*, and the *Romans*, that ſo *Julian* might deſervedly be derided by the *Antiochians* for his too frequent offering of Sacrifice. It is therefore neceſſary, that either *Apellæus* muſt have been the firſt Month amongſt the *Syrians*, (which is *Bede*'s Opinion,) or elſe *Dius*. Thus far concerning the beginning of the *Syro-Macedonian* Year; which we have demonſtrated to be different from the beginning of the *Julian* Year. We will now enquire into the *Syro-Macedonian* Months, and ſee whether they began and ended at the ſame time that the *Roman* Months did. Indeed, this place in *Euſebius* does plainly ſhew, that the beginning of the Months amongſt the *Syrians* and *Romans* was not the ſame: For it makes the eighth Day of the Month *Deſius* to be the ſame with the ſeventh of the Month *June*. Therefore the *Syrian* Month *Deſius* began one Day before the *Roman* Month *June*. Moreover, *Marcus* (in the Life of *Porphyrius*) affirms, that the Months of the Inhabitants of *Gaza* preceded the *Roman* Months five Days. His words are theſe, *Pluit autem Dominus, &c. Our Lord ſent a continued Rain from the eighth day of the Month* Audynæus *to the tenth. Now* Audynæus *amongſt the* Romans *is* January. *For their Months precede the* Roman *Months five Days. But on the eleventh day we celebrated the Feaſt of the* Epiphany, *praiſing God.* From which words 'tis apparent, that the beginning of the Months amongſt thoſe of *Gaza* was almoſt the ſame with the beginning of them amongſt the *Egyptians*. Further, *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De Ponderib.* Chap. 20.) makes the ſixteenth day of *May* the ſame with the twenty-third of the *Grecian* Month *Artemiſius*. The Form of the Months amongſt the *Tyrians* was different from this; they made uſe of the *Macedonian* Account of the Months. For, in the *Acts* at *Tyre* (which are related in the *Ninth Action* of the *Council of Chalcedon*) the tenth Day of the Month *Peritius* is confounded with the twenty-fifth of *February*: And in the *fifth Action Concil. Conſtantinop. ſub. Mena*, the twenty-eighth Day of the *Tyrian* Month *Lous* is ſaid to have been the ſixteenth Day of the *Roman* Month *September*. From all this it may be concluded, that the Account of the whole Year, and of the Months, was not of one and the ſame form amongſt the *Syrians*. For thoſe of *Gaza* computed them after one way, thoſe of *Tyre* after another, and thoſe of *Cæſarea* after a third manner. But, I am fully perſwaded, that the *Cæſareans* uſed Months, wholly compoſed according to the *Julian* Form. For, in all places of this Book of *Euſebius*'s *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, wherever mention is made of the *Macedonian* Months amongſt the *Cæſareans*, (the mention whereof does frequently occur in it;) the Days of thoſe Months do always agree with the Days of the *Roman* Months; excepting this only place in this firſt Chapter. Therefore, I think, that the Reading in the Text of *Euſebius* here ſhould be thus, Δεσίε μηνὸς ἑβδόμη, *on the ſeventh Day of the Month* Deſius. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) Ἡμέρᾳ τε[ρ]ᾳδὶ σαββάτῳ; that is, on the *fourth feria*, or, (to render it word for word) *on the 4th day of the Sabbath*, or, *of the Week.* For the ancient Chriſtians having received a ſet Account of the ſeven Days of the Week from the *Jews*, named them as they did. Therefore they called them the *firſt of the Sabbath*, the *ſecond of the Sabbath*, &c. See *Tertullian* in his Book *De jejuniis*. Sometimes they called them *Feriæ*: *Feria* is the ſame with *Sabbath*. Therefore, as the *Jews* termed the Week-days the *firſt*, the *ſecond*, the *third of the Sabbath*; and ſo on to the *Seventh-day*, which they called *the Sabbath*; ſo the ancient Chriſtians termed them the *firſt*, *ſecond*, and *third Feria*, &c. making an alteration only in this, that they did not keep *the Sabbath-day* holy, as did the *Jews*; but obſerv'd *their Sabbath on the firſt day of the Sabbath*, which they alſo called *Sunday*, or *the Lord's-Day*. So *Iſidorus* in his Book, *De Natura Rerum*, Chap. 3. *Bede* (in his Book *De Ratione Temporum*) ſays the *Week-days* were called *Feriæ*, becauſe the Clergymen, by the Decree of Pope *Sylveſter*, were ordered to keep every day holy. But this Opinion cannot be true; for the Days of the Week were called *Feriæ* long before Pope *Sylveſter*'s time, as *Tertullian* informs us. Moreover, not only the Chriſtians, but the Gentiles alſo received the Computation of the Week from the *Jews*, as *Joſephus* informs us, in the Cloſe of *his ſecond Book againſt Apion*. But the *Gentiles* called the Days of the Week by the names of the ſeven Planets; which names continue ſtill in uſe amongſt moſt Nations, being as it were certain Reliques of the ancient Error of the *Gentiles*: See *Tertullian* in *his Book Ad Nationes*. Valeſ. The Eccleſiaſtical Year of old began at *Eaſter*, the firſt Week whereof was all Holyday, the Days being diſtinguiſhed by *prima*, *ſecunda*, *tertia*, &c. added unto *Feria*. From thence the Days of any other Week began to be called *Feria prima*, *ſecunda*, &c. See Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, in his Tract *De Æris & Epochis*, Chap. 5. The Original of the Names, which we in *England* give to the Days of the Week, may be ſeen in *Verſtegan's Antiquities*, pag. 68, &c. *Edit.* Antwerp. 1605.

* Πρῶτον σημεῖον, we render *primum Martyrium*, *the firſt Martyrdom*: So the *Latin Acts* render it; whence it appears, the Tranſlator thereof did read μαρτύριον. *Valeſ.*

Bonds,

Diocleſian. Bonds, by reaſon of which ſome happen'd to have [the Sinews] of their Hands weakened and made feeble. Nevertheleſs they all endured whatever befel them agreeable to the ſecret Judgment of God. For one being taken by the Hand by ſome others, who led him to the Altar, and thruſt the impure and deteſtable Sacrifice into his Right Hand, was diſmiſs'd, as if he had Sacrificed. Another, who had not in any wiſe touch'd [the Sacrifice,] yet when others affirmed that he had ſacrificed, went ſilently away. A third, taken up half-dead, was caſt forth as if he had been ſo really; and being looſed from his Bonds, was computed amongſt their number who had offer'd Sacrifice. A fourth, crying out, and making proteſtation that he would not perform what he was enjoyn'd by them to do, was ſtricken on the Mouth, and being ſilenc'd by a great company of perſons purpoſely appointed upon that account, was forcibly thruſt out, altho' he had not ſacrificed. * So highly did they every way eſteem their being thought to have perfected what they deſired! Of all theſe therefore, who were ſo numerous, only *Alphæus* and (g) *Zacchæus* obtain'd the Crown of Holy Martyrdom: Who, after they were ſcourged, and had their Fleſh ſcraped off with Torturing-Irons, when they had endured moſt grievous Bonds and cruciating Pains therein, after various other tortures they were put into the Stocks, where for four and twenty hours ſpace their feet were diſtended to the fourth hole, and having confeſt that there was but one only God, and one King Jeſus Chriſt, as if they had utter'd ſomething that was blaſphemous and impious, they underwent the ſame ſort of puniſhment with the firſt Martyr [*Procopius*,] and were beheaded on the ſeventeenth day of the Month *Dius*, which day amongſt the *Romans* is before the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *December*.

* See B. 8. Chap. 3.

(g) He was a Deacon of the Church of *Gadara*; Concerning whom we have this paſſage in the *Menology* at the 18*th* of *November*: *The commemoration of the Holy Martyrs* Michæus, Zacchæus, *Deacon of* Gadara, *and* Alphæus. *The Bleſſed* Zacchæus *was led before the Tribunal, having an heavy Iron-Chain about his Neck.* Valeſ.

(c) Exorciſt in the Church of *Cæſarea*: Coming to *Antioch* at that very time when the Churches were demoliſhed; and having ſeen many (d) Men, Women, and Children flocking in Crowds to the Temples of the Idols, and offering Sacrifice, he judged the ſight thereof to be a thing intolerable, and being incited by a Zeal for the Divine Worſhip, he drew near; and crying out with a loud voice, [began] to rebuke them. Being forthwith apprehended upon account of this his boldneſs, he demonſtrated himſelf (if ever any other perſon did) to be a moſt couragious Witneſs of the Truth. For, when the Judge had condemn'd him to be burnt to death, having gladly received his ſentence of Condemnation with a cheerful Countenance and a Mind moſt couragiouſly diſpoſed, he was led to execution. Then being bound to the Stake, and the combuſtible matter being laid together, whilſt the Officers, that were about to kindle the Fire, waited for the Determination of the (e) Emperor who was then preſent, he cried out, *where is the Fire* [*provided*] *for me?* When he had ſaid this, he was by command brought before the Emperor, in order to his being puniſhed with a new ſort of Puniſhment, [to wit,] the cutting out of his Tongue. Having moſt couragiouſly endured this puniſhment, he gave a real Demonſtration to all Men, that the Divine Power is always preſent with thoſe who undergo any ſort of Torture whatſoever for Religion, which does mitigate their Pains, and corroborate them with an alacrity of Mind. This couragious perſon therefore being ſenſible of the newneſs of his puniſhment, was in no wiſe terrified, but willingly put forth his Tongue, and with a moſt ready alacrity produced it to thoſe who cut it out. After which puniſhment he was put into Bonds, and being for a long time afflicted in priſon, in concluſion (when the (f) twentieth year

Diocleſian.

(c) There was in former times a twofold uſe of the *Exorciſts* in the Church. For their buſineſs was to cleanſe both thoſe poſſeſſed with Devils, and alſo the *Catechumens*, who were exorciz'd more than once. For after every Examination in their *Catechiſm*, they were brought to the *Exorciſt* ungirt, and with their Shoes off, that they might be purged by him. See *Cyril. Hieroſolymit. in procatecheſi ad Illuminandos*; and *Chryſoſtom in his firſt Homily ad Illuminandos, in his firſt Tome.* Valeſ.

(d) Many of thoſe perſons had renounced Chriſt, as *Euſebius* declares *in his ſecond Sermon concerning the Reſurrection*; where he ſpeaks of the Tortures inflicted on *Romanus*, which he mentions not here. *Valeſ.*

(e) I ſuppoſe he means *Galerius Cæſar*; For *Diocleſian* made his abode then at *Nicomedia*. The *Cæſars*, like *Apparitors* and *Officers*, went all over the Bounds of their own Diſtrict. Indeed, in that Year when the Perſecution begun, *Diocleſian* lived (together with *Galerius*) at *Nicomedia*, in *April*, as *Euſebius* atteſts *in his eighth Book*. Alſo, a little after the Perſecution began, when the Imperial Palace at *Nicomedia* was burnt by Lightning, *Diocleſian* was at that City, as *Conſtantine* informs us *in his Oration Ad Cætum Sanctorum*. Wherefore he could not be at *Antioch*, when *Romanus* was condemned to be burnt; which happened about the beginning of the Perſecution. For *Romanus* was ſtrangled on the 15th of the *Calends* of *December*, after he had lain in priſon ſome Months, as *Euſebius* here atteſts. *Valeſ.*

(f) This place is in an eſpecial manner to be taken notice of, becauſe it moſt evidently declares the Year wherein *Diocleſian*'s Perſecution began. For *Euſebius* ſays, that in the firſt year of the Perſecution the Emperor's *Vicennalia* (i. e. the Feſtivals for his having arrived to the twentieth year of his Reign) were kept; which can only fall on that year, wherein *Diocleſian* was the eighth time Conſul, and *Maximian* the ſeventh. For, in this year (which was the year of Chriſt 303.) *Diocleſian*'s twentieth year was begun at the fifteenth of the *Calends* of *October*; that being the firſt of *Diocleſian*'s Reign, *Carinus* II. and *Numerianus* Coſſ. in the year of Chriſt 284; as 'tis ſet forth in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But, there ariſes no ſmall difficulty from what *Euſebius* here ſays, to wit, that *Romanus* ſuffered Martyrdom on the ſeventeenth day of *November*, when *Diocleſian*'s *Vicennalia* were kept. Whence it ſeems to follow, that the firſt day of *Diocleſian*'s Reign muſt have been in the month of *November*, and not in *September*, as the *Alexandrian Chronicle* atteſts. Wherefore, 'tis neceſſary, that either in our *Euſebius*, or elſe in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, the name of the month ſhould be miſtaken. Unleſs we ſay, that *Diocleſian*'s *Vicennalia* were kept at *Antioch* not on the ſame day which was the firſt of his Empire, but a little later. *Euſebius* indeed ſays (in his *Chronicon*) that *Conſtantine*'s *Vicennalia* were kept at *Nicomedia*, and in the following year celebrated at *Rome*.

of

CHAP. II.

Concerning Romanus *the Martyr.*

(a) The *Greeks*, in their *Menæum*, make mention of two *Romanus*'s both Martyrs; the one, they ſay, was condemned by *Aſclepiades* the *Præfect* at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Galerius*: The other was a Deacon of *Cæſarea* (concerning whom *Euſebius* here ſpeaks) who, as they affirm, ſuffered under *Diocleſian*. But, in as much as they confeſs, that both of them ſuffered on one and the ſame day, (for they affirm that both of them had their Tongues cut out, that they both ſpoke after they were cut out, and that both of them were afterwards ſtrangled in priſon,) 'tis plain, that the *Greeks* miſtake in their making of them two diſtinct Martyrs. I wonder that this Opinion of theirs ſhould pleaſe *Baronius* in *his Notes on the Martyrology*. If there were two Martyrs called by the ſame name, to wit, *Romanus*, and if they both ſuffered Martyrdom on the ſame day at *Antioch*, why does *Euſebius* mention but one here? It will perhaps be anſwered, that *Euſebius* was reſolved to ſpeak of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine* only in this Book, and therefore that he only mentioned *Romanus* the Deacon, becauſe he was a *Paleſtinian*. But *Euſebius* has made mention of this Martyr in another place, to wit, in *his ſecond Book concerning the Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of Chriſt*, where he acknowledges but one *Romanus* who was Martyr'd at *Antioch*. *Valeſ.*

MOreover, what was done about (a) *Romanus* on the very ſame day at *Antioch*, does worthily deſerve to be commemorated: For he, being born in *Paleſtine*, was a (b) Deacon and

(b) Amongſt the Primitive Chriſtians, eſpecially in the ſmaller Towns, becauſe the Clergy were few in number, one and the ſame Clergy-man performed two or three Offices. Hence 'tis, that in the *Acts* of *Procopius* the Martyr, (which we related before) *Procopius* is ſaid to have born three Offices at the ſame time in the Church of *Scythopolis*, to wit, the Office of a *Reader*, of an *Interpreter*, and of an *Exorciſt*. After the ſame manner therefore *Romanus* was both a *Deacon*, and alſo an *Exorciſt* in the Church of *Cæſarea*. See *Vetus Author Queſtion. Veter. & Novi Teſtamenti*, Chap. 101. *Valeſ.*

Diocleſian. of the Emperor's Reign was come, wherein, (g) according to the uſual indulgence, liberty was publickly proclaim'd to all perſons in all places that were in bonds,) he only, lying in the Stocks, and having both his Feet diſtended to the diſtance of five holes, was ſtrangled, and (according to his deſire) was adorn'd with [the Crown of] Martyrdom. This perſon being a *Paleſtinian*, altho' he ſuffered [Martyrdom] without the limits of his own Country, yet deſerves to be reckon'd amongſt the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*. Theſe things were after this manner performed in the firſt year of the Perſecution, when it raged againſt the Prelates only of the Church.

(g) It was uſual amongſt the *Romans*, that on the 5th and 10th years of their Emperors Reigns, Offenders who were guilty of leſs notorious Crimes ſhould be diſcharged from their impriſonment; the Emperor's Edict being ſet forth for that purpoſe, which they called an *Indulgence*. See the *Cod. Theodoſ. tit. de indulgentiis criminum.* Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Timotheus, Agapius, Thecla, *and Eight other Martyrs.*

AFterwards, in the ſecond Year, when the rage of the Perſecution againſt us was become more violent and ſharp, *Urbanus* being at that time Governour of the Province, the Imperial Edicts having been then firſt brought, wherein it was by a general command order'd, that all perſons in all places and Cities whatſoever ſhould publickly offer Sacrifice and Incenſe to the Idols; *Timotheus* underwent innumerable tortures at *Gaza*, a City of *Paleſtine*: After all which he was conſumed by a remiſs and ſlow Fire, and having exhibited a moſt genuine proof of his ſincere Piety towards God, by a patient ſufferance under all his torments, he obtain'd the Crown belonging to the ſacred and victorious Champions of Religion. *Agapius* alſo, and that *Thecla* (a) who lived in our times, having (together with the foreſaid *Timotheus*) given a demonſtration of their moſt undaunted Courage and Stedfaſtneſs of Mind, were condemn'd to be devoured by Wild-Beaſts. Who is he that would not have wondred at the ſight of what follow'd hereupon, or that would not have been aſtoniſh'd at the hearing a relation thereof? For when the Heathens celebrated their publick Feſtivals, and [exhibited] their uſual Shows; there was a great report, that (b) together with thoſe others whom they had a mighty eſteem for, the [Chriſtians] alſo, lately condemn'd, were to be expoſed to a Combat with the Wild-Beaſts [in the Amphitheatre.] This report therefore being increaſed and ſpread every-where, ſix Youths, whereof one was born in *Pontus*, by name *Timolaus*, another born at *Tripolis* a City of *Phœnicia*, whoſe name was *Dionyſius*, the third was Sub-Deacon of the *Dioſpolitane* Church, his name *Romulus*; beſides the two *Egyptians*, (c) *Pauſis* and *Alexander*; and another *Alexander*, Nameſake to the former, born at *Gaza*: [theſe ſix young Men, I ſay,] having firſt bound their Hands together, that they might thereby manifeſt their great readineſs and alacrity to [undergo] Martyrdom, ran in great haſte to *Urbanus*, as he was going to the *Amphitheatre*, and confeſs'd themſelves to be Chriſtians: And, by their being prepared to [endure] all ſorts of tortures, they demonſtrated, that they who make their boaſt in the Worſhip of the ſupream God, can in no wiſe be terrified at the furious aſſaults of the Wild-Beaſts. The Preſident himſelf, and thoſe who ſtood round him, having been forthwith ſtruck with no ſmall amazement, [theſe Confeſſors] were [order'd to be] ſhut up in priſon. Not many days after two others being added to their number, (one whereof, by name *Agapius*, having before them undergone horrid and various ſorts of tortures, had formerly been [ſignalized] for ſeveral Confeſſions: The other miniſtred bodily neceſſaries to them, his name *Dionyſius*) all theſe, being now made up eight in number, were beheaded on one and the ſame day at *Cæſarea*, [to wit,] on the twenty fourth Day of the Month *Dyſtrus*, which precedes the ninth of the *Calends* of *April*. At the ſame time happen'd a change of the Emperors, he that had the precedency of all the reſt and the next to him in place, [having left off their Imperial attire] put themſelves into a private habit: And the Affairs of the Empire began to be in an ill poſture. The *Roman* Empire being ſoon after divided, there brake out an implacable War between [the *Romans*] themſelves: Neither could the Diviſions, and (which were the Conſequences thereof) the tumults be made up and appeaſed, before the *Chriſtians* throughout the whole *Roman* Empire had a Peace ratified and firmed to them. For, as ſoon as that Peace (like Light after a cloudy and moſt darkſome Night,) darted forth its Rays upon all Men, the publick Affairs of the *Roman* Empire were again reſtored to their priſtine Stability, Amity, and Peaceableneſs; all perſons recovering that mutual Friendlineſs which had been derived down to 'em from their Anceſtors. But we will give an exacter account of theſe matters at a more opportune place and time. Now we are to proſecute the ſubſequent Series of our Narration.

Diocleſian.

(c) In the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS his name is *Paëſis*. In the *Greek Menology*, (which *Caniſius* publiſh'd) at the 5th of *March*, inſtead of *Paëſis*, he is called *Publius*. Valeſ.

(a) These words [ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς, *who lived in our times*] are, not without reaſon, added by *Euſebius*. For by them it was his intent to manifeſt, that this *Thecla* ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the other *Thecla*, who was Companion to St. *Paul* the Apoſtle. In the *Menæum*, at the 19th of *Auguſt*, this *Thecla* is called, ἡ Βυζιῆτις, *Byzietis*; the meaning whereof I know not. For this *Thecla* here ſpoken of was a *Paleſtinian*, not born at *Byzua* a City of *Thrace*. Yet, it may be, this *Thecla* was a *Thracian*: for neither were all thoſe, whoſe Martyrdoms *Euſebius* here relates, *Paleſtinians*; nor does he in this Book, treat of the Martyrs of *Paleſtine*, but of thoſe who ſuffered Martyrdom in *Paleſtine*. Valeſ.

(b) The reading here is, ᾧ τῆς ἄλλως αὐτοῖς συναζουσῶν; our Rendition whereof is, *together with thoſe others whom they had a great eſteem for.* *Chriſtophorſon* read τῆς ἄλλων, but took it in the *neuter* gender; for thus he has rendred it; *inter aliâ quæ magnopere ipſis in optatis erant ad contemplandum, amongſt other things, which they had a great deſire to be ſpectators of.* I ſuppoſe it to be ſpoken in the *maſculine* gender; and that he means thoſe more eminent *Beſtiarii*, who amongſt the *Grecians* were termed θρασύβολοι, i.e. *the ſtouteſt and ſtrongeſt ſort of Men, who let themſelves out to combat with the Wild Beaſts before the People in the Amphitheatre.* Such a one was he, whom the People in the *Amphitheatre* at *Conſtantinople* called for, in theſe Words, δὸς τὸν ἕνα θρασύβολον μάχεσθαι; which Words *Caſſiodorus* (*Hiſtor. Tripart.* Lib. 2.) thus renders, *crudeli beſtiæ artifex parabolus componatur.* Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning Apphianus *the Martyr.*

MAximinus Cæſar, (a) from the very time of his coming to the Empire, (as if he would demonſtrate to all Men the tokens of his innate hatred againſt God, and of his own Impiety,) attempted a more violent *Perſecution* againſt thoſe of our Religion, than the preceding Emperors

Maximinus.

(a) *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place ill; thus he tranſlates it, *Maximinus Cæſar, who by his own power and ſtrength had poſſeſt himſelf of the Empire:* As if αὐτόθεν, which is the Greek term here, ſignified, *by his own power and ſtrength.* Indeed, *Maximinus* proclaimed himſelf *Auguſtus*, as our *Euſebius* relates in Chap. 13. Book 8. But he was made *Cæſar* by *Galerius Maximianus*. Moreover, *Euſebius* ſpeaks here of *Maximinus*, whilſt he was only *Cæſar*, and of the time when he had that title firſt conferred on him, *to wit*, in the ſecond year current of the perſecution, immediately after the reſignation of *Diocletianus*, and *Herculius*. The import therefore of *Euſebius*'s words

words is this, that *Maximinus*, as soon as he was made *Cæsar*, shewed a proof of his impiety, by a most cruel Persecution of the Christians. Wherefore [ἀνόθεν] must be rendred [*from the very time.*] Now, *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar* in the year of Christ 304, on the *Calends* of *April*, as *Idatius* (*in fastis*) declares: Which agrees very well with the account here given by our *Eusebius*. For he relates that *Maximinus* (after the Relignation of *Diocletian*) was created *Cæsar* in the second year of the Persecution; immediately after which promotion (that he might shew his Power) he renewed the Persecution against the Christians. But this must not be understood of that very year, wherein *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar*: For during that year (Affairs being then in Confusion, and *Galerius* scarce well setled in the Empire) *Maximinus* was quiet. Therefore *Eusebius* mentions no Martyrdoms in *Palestine* during that year. But in the year following, which was the third of the Persecution, *Maximinus* set forth his Edicts against the Christians, and renewed the Persecution, as *Eusebius* expresly relates in this Chapter. *Vales.*

[had done.] When therefore no small Inquietude was impendent on all persons, and they were dispersed some in one place some in another, every one making it his chief business to avoid the danger, and all the Provinces were involved in a most terrible commotion, what expressions can be sufficient for us deservedly to set forth the divine love, and the bold and free confession of God, made by that blessed and truly innocent Lamb, *Apphianus* the Martyr, who exhibited an admirable example of Piety towards the only God, in the sight of all the Inhabitants of *Cæsarea*, (*b*) before the Gates of that City, when he had not fully compleated the twentieth year of his age? Indeed, whilst he resided at *Berytus*, where he had formerly spent much time upon account of [furnishing himself with] (*c*) secular Literature, (for he had his descent from very rich Parents:) 'Tis wonderful to relate how, during his continuance in that City, he subdued youthful Lusts: And having in no wise been debauch'd in his Morals, either by the vigour and youthfulness of his Body, or the society of his young Companions, he became a lover of temperance; leading an orderly, chaste, and religious life, according to the (*d* Prescripts of Christianity, and framing his Converse [agreeable thereto.] If it be [supposed] convenient that we should mention his Country, and commend it, because it produced so couragious a Champion of Piety; we will most readily do it. If any one therefore knows (*e*) *Pagæ*, a City of no mean note in *Lycia*; there this young man was born. After his return from his Studies at *Berytus*, (his Father being promoted to the chiefest place of Honour in his own Country,) he was unable to endure the converse of his Father, and those that were his Relations, because they refused to live according to the Sanctions of Religion: But having been inspired as it were by a Divine Spirit, and (by reason of his innate desire after Philosophy, or rather after the divine and true Wisdom) making small account of the reputed Glory of this Life, and contemning the Delights of the Body, he secretly withdrew himself from his Relations: And being not at all sollicitous about a daily provision for his subsistance, because of his hope and faith in God, he was led by the Hand [as it were] to the City of *Cæsarea*, by the Divine Spirit, where the *Crown* of *Martyrdom* for Religion awaited him. Being (*f*) conversant there with us, having in a short time made a great proficiency by reading the sacred Scriptures, and furnish'd himself with courage of Mind by congruous exercises of a strict and severe abstinence; at length he made such a glorious conclusion of his life, as who ever saw could not but be astonish'd thereat; and he that shall hear the bare relation of it, cannot but deservedly admire his confidence, his fearlessness, his continued earnestness and constancy of Mind, and above all the boldness of his attempt, which (*g*) contains most evident signs of a zeal for Religion, and of a Spirit more than human. For when *Maximinus* renew'd the Insolencies practised towards us, in the third year of our Persecution [under *Diocletian*,] and when the Tyrant's Edicts were first sent abroad over all the Provinces, [ordering] the Governours to make it their chief care and business, that all the Inhabitants in every City should publickly offer sacrifice; and when the Criers had made proclamation over all the City *Cæsarea*, that the Men, together with the Women and Children, should by the Governour's order go to the Temples of the Idols; and moreover when the *Tribunes* of the Soldiers had summon'd every particular person by name out of a written Roll; (all the [Christians] every-where being put into confusion by this unspeakable storm of Afflictions) this foresaid person, (having communicated to no body what he was about to do, it being unknown to us who lived in the same House with him, and even to the whole military Guard that stood round the Governour,) fearlesly approach'd *Urbanus*, as he was offering Sacrifice; and having with an intrepid Mind catch'd hold on his right Hand, stop'd him immediately from sacrificing. Then, with a divine gravity and confidence of Mind he prudently advised and exhorted him to desist from that erroneous way [of worship.] For 'tis absurd [said he] to relinquish [the Worship] of the one and only true God, and offer sacrifice to *Idols* and *Dæmons*. This the young Man attempted, induced thereto ('tis very probable) by a Divine power, which openly proclaimed

Maximinus.

(*b*) It is sufficiently apparent that the Greek Text is here corrupted; ἧ ἀφοπύλων being put instead of περὶ τὴν πύλην; wherefore we have rendred it *before the gates*, &c. *Eusebius* confirms this correction hereafter in this Chapter, where he says, that the dead body of *Apphianus*, which had been cast into the Sea, swam to the *Cæsarian* shore, hard by the Gates of the City. *Vales.*

(*c*) He means the *Civil Law*, and the *Latin Tongue*, the knowledge whereof was necessary for those that bore Offices in the Magistracy. At *Bertyus* there was a School for Civil Law, as many have taken notice from *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Eunapius*, *Nonnus*, and others. Hence 'tis, that *Eusebius* adds the term κοσμικῆς, that is, *secular*, or *mundane literature*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* (*in carm. Nicobuli ad filium*) calls *Berytus* Φοινίκης πόλιν ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ, νόμων ἕδος ἠμονίδων, *A famous City of Phœnicia, the seat of the Ausonian Laws.* In the *Menologies* of the *Greeks*, at the second of *April*, *Amphianus*, with his Brother *Ædesius*, is mentioned to have been instructed in the Christian Religion by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, at *Berytus*. Vales.

(*d*) Κατὰ τὸν ἁρμόττοντα χριστιανισμῷ λόγον; which we have rendred, *according to the prescripts of Christianity*: ἁρμόττω seems to be put for πρέποντα, *congruous*, or εὐσχήμονα, *agreeable*: Which way of expression is frequently used by *Eusebius*. Vales.

(*e*) In the *Med.* MS. this City is called *Arpagis*; in the *Maz.* MS. *Arapagis*; in the *Fisk.* MS. *Harpagis*; but in the Margin notice is given that it should be ἁρπαγὰς, with an *aspirate*. I never met with any thing concerning *Aragis*, a City of *Lycia*; *Araxa*, a City of *Lycia* is mentioned by *Ptolemæus* and *Stephanus*. And, in the *Constantinopolitan Council*, amongst the Bishops of the Province of *Lycia*, who subscribed to that Synod, the last that is recounted is *Theanthinus*, *Araxenus*: Also in the Synod of *Chalcedon* there is mention of *Leontius* Bishop of the *Araxi*. In the *Menæum* of the *Greeks*, *Amphianus* is said to have been born in *Lydia*. *Vales.*

(*f*) *Symeon Metaphrastes*, who professes he transcribed the Martyrdom of *Apphianus* (or, as he calls him, *Amphianus*) out of *Eusebius*, has altered this passage, thus, *And having been conversant with us in divine Studies, and instructed in the sacred Scriptures by the great Martyr* Pamphilus, *he obtained no mean habit of virtue; by which he opened a passage for himself, whereby he procured the Crown of Martyrdom.* But *Eusebius* attests here, that *Apphianus* was not instructed in the sacred Scriptures by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, but by himself: Which, as I judge, is the truest account. For our *Eusebius* was a Person much learneder than *Pamphilus*. But the *Menæa* of the *Greeks*, and the *Menology* set forth by *Canisius*, agree with *Symeon Metaphrastes*: Excepting only in this, which *Metaphrastes* relates, that *Apphianus* (after he was returned from his studies at *Berytus*,) when he came to *Cæsarea*, was there instructed by *Pamphilus*. But in the *Menæa*, and in the *Menology*, *Apphianus* (with his Brother *Ædesius*) is said to have been instructed by *Pamphilus* at *Berytus*; no mention being made of *Eusebius*. So careful were the latter *Grecians*, that the blessed Martyr should not be said to have been instructed by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who, as they perswaded themselves, was an Heretick. *Vales.*

(*g*) The reading I judge, should be [περέχον τὸ τεκμήρια, *which contains most evident signs*: For it refers to the foregoing Word [ἐγχείρημα, *attempt.*] Vales.

Maximinus. claim'd as it were by this fact, that the *Chriſtians* (to wit, thoſe that are truly ſuch) are ſo far from being withdrawn from the *worſhip* of the ſupream God, which they have once imbib'd, that they are not only above menaces and (which are the conſequences thereof) tortures, but alſo become more confident and fearleſs in their Confeſſions, with a couragious and intrepid voice freely ſet forth the truth, and (if it were poſſible) perſwade their *Perſecutors* to relinquiſh their ignorance, and acknowledge him who is the only true God. After this, the young man, of whom we ſpeak, was immediately (as it was likely [to happen]) torn by the *Preſident*'s Guards, in ſuch ſort as if they had been ſavage Beaſts, becauſe of the audacious fact he had committed; and having moſt couragiouſly endured an infinite number of ſtripes all over his body, was forthwith committed to priſon. Where after he had lain a night and a day with both his feet diſtended in the Stocks, on the day following he was brought before the Judge. Then being compelled to offer ſacrifice, he demonſtrated an invincible conſtancy of Mind in undergoing all ſorts of pains and horrid tortures; his ſides being not once nor twice, but many times furrow'd to his very bones and entrails: And he received ſo many blows in his face and neck, that they who before had been very well acquainted with him, did not now know him, becauſe his face was ſo much ſwell'd. But, when he yielded not at [the ſuffering of] ſo many and great tortures, the *Tormentors* by the [*Preſidents*] order wrapt up his feet in Flax wetted in Oyl, and kindled a fire under them. The pains which the bleſſed [*Martyr*] was put to thereby, are in my judgment inexpreſſible. For the fire, having conſumed his fleſh, penetrated to his very bones: In ſo much that the whole moiſture of his body being melted like Wax, was diſtill'd, and deſcended by drops. But being not overcome even by theſe tortures, (altho' the *Adverſaries* were vanquiſh'd, and in a manner wearied out, becauſe of his miraculous fortitude,) he was again put into bonds. On the third day after he was brought before the Judge, and having profeſſed [that he continued in] the ſame *Reſolution* of Mind, altho' he was already half dead, yet he was drown'd in the depths of the Sea. What happen'd immediately hereupon, if we relate it, will by thoſe that ſaw it not, be diſbelieved as incredible. But although we know aſſuredly this will ſo fall out, yet we can in no wiſe forbear to deliver a full narration hereof to poſterity, becauſe all the Inhabitants of *Cæſarea* in a manner were witneſſes of what came to paſs. Indeed there there was no perſon [of *Cæſarea*] of what age ſoever, that was not preſent at this ſtupendious Spectacle. After therefore they had caſt this truly ſacred and thrice bleſſed perſon into the moſt unfathomable Abyſſes (as they ſuppoſed) which were in the midſt of the Sea, on a ſudden there happened an unuſual noiſe and ſhaking, which made the Sea and (*h*) Air about the Earth tremble in ſuch a manner, that the very Earth and City were ſhaken by that motion. And at that very moment wherein this wonderful and ſudden Earthquake happen'd, the dead body of the Divine Martyr was caſt up by the Sea (as being unable to contain it) before the Gates of the City. Such was the *Exit*, which the admirable *Apphianus* made on *Friday* the ſecond day of the month *Xanthicus*, which is before the fourth of the *Nones* of *April*.

(*h*) Τὸ περιέχον ἅπαν is the phraſe in the original; *Metaphraſtes* thought the ſhore was meant by theſe words; and therefore renders it *circumſtans littus*. But the *Greeks* by this expreſſion do uſually mean *the Air that ſurrounds the Earth*. Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Ulpianus *and* Ædeſius, *Martyrs.*

Maximinus.

AT the ſame time, and almoſt on the ſame days, a young man in the City of *Tyre*, by name *Ulpianus*, after he had been cruelly ſcourged and endured moſt grievous ſtripes, * was ſewn up in the raw Hide of an Ox, together with a Dog and a venomous Serpent, and caſt into the Sea: (*a*) Wherefore we thought it agreeable to make mention of this perſon at [this place wherein we have related] the Martyrdom of *Apphianus*. Some ſmall time after this, *Ædeſius*, Brother (not only in reſpect of God, but by a bodily affinity alſo,) by the (*b*) Father's ſide to *Apphianus*, after [he had made] very many Confeſſions, and for a long time had been cruciated in Bonds; after he had been condemned to the Mines in *Paleſtine* by the Preſident's ſentence; and after he had, under all theſe [tortures,] led a life continually like a Philoſopher, in a Philoſophick habit; (for he had acquired far more learning than his Brother, in that he had applied his mind wholly to Philoſophick Literature.) At length, when, at the City of *Alexandria*, he ſaw the Judge (who was then examining the Chriſtians) moſt extravagantly inſulting over, and enraged againſt them; one while putting various and moſt reproachful abuſes upon grave Men; at another, delivering Women moſt eminent for their chaſtity, and (*c*) Virgins that had devoted themſelves to God, to Panders, that they might be defiled with all ſorts of obſcenity: He attempted the ſame fact that his Brother had done. For, becauſe what was thus performed ſeem'd to him intolerable, with a valiant boldneſs he approach'd the (*d*) Judge, and having by his words and deeds ſurrounded him with ſhame and ignominy, and after that,

* This was the puniſhment, which the *Romans* inflicted on *Parricides*. In *Seneca*'s age (ſee his 5th Book, *Controver.* 4. at the latterend) only Serpents were put into the leathern ſack (which they termed *Culeus*) with the Malefactor; afterwards they ſewed up an Ape and a Cock with him, and at laſt a Dog. The Offender was firſt whipp'd with rods till the blood came, then ſewn up after this manner. See *Cæl. Rhod.* B. 11. Chap. 21. The *Grecians* had a way of putting Criminals to death, by drowning them in the Sea, which they termed καταπονησμὸν; but they made uſe of a leaden Veſſel only, into which they put the Malefactor; as appears from *Athenæus*, B. 14. his words are theſe, Πατροκλῆς οὖν ὁ τοῦ πολεμαίου τραπηζοποιὸς ἐν καύνῳ τῇ νήσῳ, λαβὼν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰς μολυβδίνην κεραμίδα ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ ἀναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος κατεπόντισε, *Patroclus therefore, Ptolemie's Governour in the Iſle Caunus, took him, and put him into a Leaden Veſſel, and carried him to the Sea, and drowned him.* Neither was this accounted amongſt the heavieſt ſorts of puniſhment by the *Grecians*, as appears from *Polybius*, B. 2.

(*a*) Διό μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τοῖς, &c. that is, *Although Ulpianus ſuffered not in Paleſtine, but in Phœnicia, yet becauſe he ſuffered Martyrdom at the ſame time, and died by the ſame ſort of puniſhment that Apphianus had inflicted on him, we judged it not unfit to make mention of him here,* It is therefore apparent from theſe words, that *Euſebius* in this Book deſign'd to give an account of the Martyrs of the Province of *Paleſtine* only. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) In the *Greek Menæum*, at the ſecond day of *April*, *Ædeſius* is ſtiled *Apphianus*'s Brother *by the Mother's ſide*. Valeſ.

(*c*) In the *Med. Fuk.* and *Maz.* MSS. the term is αὐτοπαρθένους, one entire word; which, in in my judgment is the better reading. *Euſebius* does uſually call thoſe Chriſtian Virgins by this name, *who ſpontaneouſly had devoted their Virginity to God.* Such Perſons the *Latins* called *devotæ*. For ſo *Auſonius* and others term them. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) The explication of this place is to be had from the *Menæum* of the *Greeks*; where *Ædeſius* is ſaid to have ſtruck *Hierocles* Præfect of *Egypt* (in the interim of his raging againſt the Chriſtians) with his Fiſt. The words there are theſe; Ὁ δὲ αἰδέσιος, ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ πρὸς αἰγύπτου· τοὺς τῷ χαλκῷ μεταλλοις παραπορεύων, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἱεροκλέα τιμωρούμενον τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ἐθεάσατο, ἐπαίσε ἀνελόντας, ἀυθοχειρίᾳ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπταισεν; i.e. *But Ædeſius, who was* [*condemned*] *to work in the mines of Braſs, having ſeen* (*at* Alexandria *in* Egypt) *Hierocles the Preſident puniſhing the Chriſtians, he accounted him a deſpicable Perſon, and ſtruck the Preſident with his own hand.* Wherefore, in this place of *Euſebius*, the term ἀτιμία denotes the blows given to the Preſident; and αἰσχύνη imports the reproachful language which *Ædeſius* gave him. Both which are intimated by *Euſebius* in theſe words, λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις, *by his words and deeds*. *Epiphanius* and *Lactantius* mention this *Hierocles*, Præfect of *Egypt*, who was famous for the great ſlaughter he made amongſt the Chriſtians. This was the *Hierocles*, againſt whom our *Euſebius* wrote a Book. *Valeſ.*

Maximinus. most couragiously endured various sorts of tortures, he was thrown into the Sea, and ended his life after the same manner that his Brother did. These things happened thus to *Ædesius*, altho' (as I said before) some small time after.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Martyr Agapius.

MOreover, in the fourth year of the Persecution against us, on the twentieth day of the month *Dius*, (which is before the twelfth of the *Calends* of *December*,) being *Friday*, such [a Martyrdom] was performed in the same City of *Cæsarea*, as worthily deserves to be recorded in writing, *Maximinus* the Tyrant being himself present, and exhibiting publick Shows to the People because of his Birth-day. Whereas it was an ancient custom, that (if at any time) in the presence of the Emperors, splendid Shows and such as were more pleasing to the Mind should be exhibited to the Spectators, (new and strange Spectacles, such as were different from the usual Sights, [being at such a time procured, which consisted] partly of Beasts brought out of *India*, *Æthiopia*, or some other place; and partly of Men, who, having before accustomed themselves to certain (*a*) artificial Exercises of their Bodies, entertain'd the Spectators with sights that created in them a wonderful delight and pleasure;) then also, because the Emperor himself [was at the charge of] exhibiting those Shows, something that was magnificent, and more wonderful than usual, must necessarily be made use of in those Sights. What therefore was this? A Martyr of our Religion was brought forth, to combat for the only true Worship of God. His name was *Agapius*, the (*b*) second of that name: The first (as we manifested a little before) was, together with *Thecla*, condemn'd to be devoured by the Wild-Beasts. He therefore (having before that time been (*c*) thrice [brought] out of Prison, [wherein he had been confined now three years,] and often times (*d*) led in pomp about the *Stadium* with those that were Malefactors; the Judge, after various *menaces*, putting him off to other *Combats*, either out of compassion to him, or because he had hopes that he would alter his resolution,) was then produced, (the Emperor himself being there present,) being reserved as it were on set purpose for that opportunity, that that saying of our Saviour's (which by his Divine knowledge he foretold his Disciples) might be accomplished in him, *that they should be brought before Kings for their testimony of him.* He is therefore brought into the midst of the *Stadium*, together with a certain Criminal; who was said to be guilty of murthering his Master. After this, he who had killed his Master, being exposed to the Wild-Beasts, obtain'd mercy and compassion [from the Emperor,] almost after the same manner that *Barabbas* did in our Saviour's time. At this, the whole *Amphitheatre* resounded with shouts and acclamations of joy, because the Emperor had out of his compassion saved a bloody Murtherer, and vouchsafed him Honour and Liberty. But this Champion of Religion is first called for by the Tyrant; after which, having, with the promise of Liberty, desired him to renounce the profession [of Christianity,] he professed with a loud voice, That (not for any crime, but) upon account of the Worship of the Framer of all things, with alacrity and pleasure, he would couragiously undergo what [Punishments] soever should be inflicted on him. And, having said thus, he annexed Deeds to his Words, ran to meet a Bear which was let loose against him, and most willingly offer'd himself to be devoured by that Beast. After the Beast had torn him, having some Breath left in him, he was carried back to Prison; where, after he had lived one day, on that following, Stones were hang'd at his Feet, and he was drown'd in the midst of the Sea. Such was the Martyrdom of *Agapius*.

Maximinus.

(*a*) He means the *Pantomimi*, *Mimicks that used antick, filthy, and obscence gestures*; *the Pegmatarii*, those that managed the Machines and Images in their Plays; the *Contigeri*, *Pole-carriers*; and *Funambuli*, *Rope-dancers*; and such other Artists, which were made use of by those that were at the charge to exhibit shews to the People. See *Claudianus* in his Book, *De Consulatu Theodori*. Vales.

(*b*) At first I thought the reading here should be δευτέρῳ ἔτει, *in the second year*: For so *Eusebius* had said above in Chap. 3. But the vulgar reading [to wit, ὁ δεύτερος, *the second of that name*) is best, for he is called *Agapius the Second*, to distinguish him from the former *Agapius*, who had suffered two years before; concerning whom *Eusebius* speaks in the said third Chapter. *Vales.*

(*c*) This place is corrupted, and imperfect. *Christophorson* reads, [δεσμωτηρίου ἐξαχθεὶς, *brought out of Prison*,] which reading is not amiss. But I think there is a whole line omitted here; which I thus make up, δεσμωτηρίου [ἐξαχθεὶς, ἐν ᾧ καθείχετο ἤδη τὸ τρίτον,] [*Brought*] *out of Prison* [*wherein he had been confined now three years.*] *Agapius* was cast into Prison at the beginning of the second year of the Persecution. Therefore, this was the third year of his confinement. *Vales.*

(*d*) Concerning this custom of leading the Criminals about the *Stadium*, see Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (z.)

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Virgin Theodosia, *and concerning* Domninus, *and* Auxentius, *Martyrs.*

MOreover, the fifth year of the Persecution being now current on the second day of the month *Xanthicus*, which is before the fourth of the *Nones* of *April*, (*a*) on the very *Lord's-day*, the day of our *Saviour's Resurrection*, and also at *Cæsarea*, *Theodosia* a Virgin born at *Tyre*, one that was a Believer and a most modest Maid, not eighteen years old compleat, approach'd some Prisoners, (who were *Confessors* of the Kingdom of *Christ*, and sat before the (*b*) *Prætorium*,) both to salute them amicably, and also (as 'tis probable) to request them that they would be mindful of her when they came to the Lord. Having done this, as if she had committed some nefarious and impious fact, the Soldiers lay hold of her, and carry her before the President. He, in regard he was a furious person, and one of a most cruel temper of Mind, [ordered] that she should be cruciated with sharp and most horrid tortures, and that her Sides and Breasts [should be furrow'd] to her very Bones; [after this] Breath being still left in her, having with a pleasant and chearful countenance undergone all these tortures, by the President's command she was drown'd in the Sea. After he had done with her, he went upon [the Examination of] the other *Confessors*, all whom he condemn'd to the Brazen Mines at *Phenos* in *Palestine*. Furthermore, on the fifth day of the month *Dius*, that is (according to the *Roman* account) on the *Nones* of *November*, in the same City, *to wit*, *Cæsarea*, the said President condemned *Silvanus* (who then was a Presbyter and a Confessor, but some small time after was

(*a*) In the MS. *Acts of the passion of Theodosia*, she is said to have suffered not on *Easter-day*, but only, on a Sunday. *Vales.*

(*b*) πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων; so the Greek words it. *Christophorson* renders it, *Ante tribunal considentibus*, *sate before the tribunal*: Which Version I do not approve of. I have rendred it, *before the Prætorium*; i. e. *before the palace of the President*. For those Prisoners stood before his Palace, waiting, until the President (before whom they were to be brought) came forth to the Tribunal. This rendition is confirmed by the following Words. *Vales.*

Maximinus.

was honour'd with a Biſhoprick, and happen'd to finiſh his life by Martyrdom) and ſome others that were his Companions (after they had given demonſtration of a moſt reſolute courage and conſtancy in behalf of Religion) to labour in the ſame Mines of Braſs; having firſt given order, that the *Flexures* of their Feet † ſhould be ſear'd with a red-hot Iron, and ſo rendred infirm and uſeleſs. At the ſame time that this ſentence was pronounced againſt 'em, he condemn'd *Domninus* (a Man very famous for innumerable other Confeſſions, who for his ſingular freedom [in ſpeaking was much taken notice of by all perſons throughout *Paleſtine*) to be burnt alive. After he [had been thus puniſhed,] the ſame Judge, (a crafty Inventer of miſchief, and one that ſtudied new Devices and Deſigns [to extirpate] the Doctrine of Chriſt,) found out ſuch ſorts of puniſhments for the Worſhippers of God, as were never heard of before. He condemned three [and compelled them] to (*c*) fight with one another in ſuch a ſort as the Champions uſually did: *Auxentius*, a venerable and holy old Man, was by him condemn'd to be devoured by the Wild-Beaſts. Again, he [gave order] that ſome, who were arrived to the compleat age and ſtature of Men, ſhould be cut and made Eunuchs, and then condemn'd them to the ſame Mines. He ſhut up others in priſon, after they had undergone the ſharpeſt Tortures. Amongſt which number was *Pamphilus*, my deareſt *Companion*, a perſon that was the moſt eminent of all the Martyrs in our age for his ſingular *Virtue* and *Piety*: *Urbanus* firſt made tryal of his skill in Rhetorick and Philoſophick Literature, after that he compelled him to offer ſacrifice; which when the Martyr refuſed to do, and [*Urbanus*] perceived that he deſpiſed his menaces, he was exceedingly exaſperated, and gave order that he ſhould be tormented with the acuteſt ſorts of * torture. Moreover, this moſt enraged * Man, (being in a manner ſatiated with the fleſh of the Martyrs ſides, which he [had cauſed to be torn off] with torturing-irons, whereof he made a continued and reiterated uſe, pertinaciouſly deſiring thereby to get the Victory [over the Martyr] having after all theſe tortures, procured nothing but ſhame and ignominy for himſelf,) at length order'd him to be caſt into priſon amongſt the other Confeſſors therein confined. But, what ſort of puniſhment this perſon (who after ſo fierce a manner inſulted over the Martyrs of Chriſt,) was to expect, would be inflicted on him at the Divine Tribunal, for his cruelty towards the *Saints*, is eaſily known from thoſe beginnings [thereof which he underwent] in this life. Immediately after thoſe audacious Cruelties which he had practiſed towards *Pamphilus*, the Divine Vengeance forthwith ſeiz'd him, whilſt he was as yet poſſeſs'd of the Government. Which on a ſudden, in one night's ſpace, ſtrip'd him (who but the day before ſat as Judge upon a lofty Tribunal, was attended with a military Guard, govern'd the whole Province of *Paleſtine*; who alſo was Companion to the Tyrant himſelf, for he was his chief Favourite, and did uſually eat at the ſame Table with him) of all theſe great places and preferments, and reduc'd him to a diſconſolate and helpleſs condition; clouded him with ignominy and ſhame in the ſight of thoſe very perſons, who had formerly admired him as their Governour; propos'd him to the whole Nation, over which he had been Ruler, as a miſerable and diſpirited Wretch, pouring forth effeminate Intreaties and Supplications; and laſtly, conſtituted *Maximinus* himſelf (of whoſe favour he had in former times bragg'd and boaſted, having been dearly beloved by him by reaſon of the Cruelties he practiſed towards us *Chriſtians*) his inexorable and moſt ſevere Judge in the very City of *Cæſarea*. For, after many reproaches, which he ſuffer'd upon account of thoſe crimes, of which he was convict, the Emperor himſelf pronounc'd ſentence of death againſt him. But thus much we have ſaid by the by. There may happen a ſeaſonable opportunity, wherein we ſhall be more at leiſure to relate the Exits and calamitous Deaths, by which thoſe impious *Wretches* (eſpecially *Maximinus* and thoſe about him who were his adviſers) that were the greateſt Sticklers in the Perſecution againſt us, finiſh'd their lives.

Maximinus.

† Τῶν ποδῶν τὰς ἀγκύλας, *flexures of their feet*; that's the import of the *Greek*: *Valeſius* renders it, *pedum junctura*, *the joynts of their feet.*

(*c*) See the following Chapter; from whence we are informed, that thoſe who were condemned to ſuch Combats, were delivered to the *Procurators* of *Cæſar*, who cauſed them to practiſe and exerciſe daily, that ſo at laſt they might be fit to engage in a Combat. *Valeſ.*

* *Urbanus.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning other Confeſſors, and concerning the Martyrdom of Valentina *and* Paul.

WHen the Storm [of Perſecution] had now without any intermiſſion raged againſt us until the ſixth year, [there was] a very great number that were Confeſſors of the Divine Religion, who (*a*) heretofore had liv'd in *Thebais*, at *Porphyrites*, a place that had its appellation from the name of the Marble dug out there: Of which [company] an hundred Men, (wanting three,) together with their Wives and very ſmall Children, were ſent to the Preſident of *Paleſtine*. Concerning all which perſons, after they had made their confeſſion of God [the Framer] of all things, and of Chriſt, *Firmillanus* the Preſident (who was ſent thither as Succeſſor to *Urbanus*,) gave order, agreeable to the Emperors command, that they ſhould have thoſe very Sinews of their left Legs, by which they bent their Knees, ſear'd in two with red-hot Irons; and that their right Eyes, together with the Membranes and Balls thereof ſhould be firſt cut out with Swords, and after that [their Eye-holes] ſeared even to the very bottom with red-hot Irons: After which, he order'd they ſhould be ſent to work in the Mines that were in the Province, that they might be worn out there with labours and miſeries. Nor did we behold theſe perſons only undergoing ſuch puniſhments, but thoſe *Paleſtinians* alſo; (who, as we manifeſted a little before, were condemned to practiſe the Champions exerciſes, in order to their being made fit to engage in the *Gladiators* Combats;) becauſe they would not endure, either to receive thoſe Proviſions which were allow'd them out of the Imperial *Treaſury*, or to practiſe ſuch exerciſes as were neceſſary to render them accompliſh'd Combatants. For which reaſon they were brought not only before the (*b*) Procurators, but *Maximinus* himſelf: And, having given a demonſtration of their invincible

(*a*) πρὸ τούτου, *heretofore*, muſt be referred to the Verb ᾤκει, *lived*; not to the term [κλήθρου, *had its Appellation*] as *Chriſtophorſon* thought; who renders this place thus; *in loco* Porphyrite *appellato, qui jam antea ex venâ lapidis quæ ibi naſcitur, nomen duxerat*; i. e. *in a place called* Porphyrites, *which had before, gotten its name from a vein of ſtone, which is there dug out.* Valeſ.

(*b*) He means, as I judge, *the Procurators of the company of the Gladiators, and of the Morning Exerciſes*; of whom there is frequent mention in the old Inſcriptions. For the *Gladiators*, that were maintained by ſtipends paid out of the Imperial Exchequer, were committed to their care, and they gave them their allowances out of the Treaſury. *Valeſ.*

Maximinus. invincible constancy in the confession [of Christ,] and of their couragiousness in enduring Famine and Scourges, they suffer'd the same punishments with the foremention'd persons; some other Confessors in the City of *Cæsarea* being added to their number. Soon after these, others were taken at the City *Gaza*, (*c*) who were assembled to hear the sacred Scriptures read, some of whom suffer'd the same tortures in their Feet and Eyes with the forementioned persons; but others of them underwent more acute and horrid torments in the sides of their Bodies. One of which number, as to her Sex a Woman, but a person of a masculine and couragious temper of Mind, unable to endure the menaces of Ravishment; having utter'd some expressions against the Tyrant, (because he committed the Government [of Provinces] to such cruel Judges,) was first scourged: Then, being hung up a great heighth on [an Engine of] Wood, she was tortured in the sides of her Body. But when the Officers, appointed for that purpose, did, by the Judges order, apply their tortures to her with a most continued and exquisite vehemency, another Woman, who (like the former) had taken upon her the vow of Virginity, (as to the composure of her Body she was indeed no very taking object, and her aspect was despicable, but she was endow'd with a couragious temper of Mind, and was corroborated with a valour above her Sex, and far excell'd those Championesses amongst the *Grecians*, so much famed for their freedom in speaking;) being unable to endure the sight of those mercileſs, cruel, and inhuman practises, cried out with a loud voice to the Judge, out of the midst of the crowd, *How long will you thus unmercifully torture my Sister?* The Judge, highly exasperated by that expression, forthwith gave command the Woman should be laid hold on. She was then haled forth before him; and * having assumed to herself our Saviour's venerable appellation, first she was sollicited by kind words to offer sacrifice: Which when she refused to do, they drew her by force before the Altar: But she, behaving herself like herself, retain'd her former alacrity of Mind, with an intrepid and undaunted Foot trampled upon the Altar, and overturn'd that, together with (*d*) what lay upon it. Upon which account the Judge, enraged like a Savage Beast, first gave order, that she should suffer more and greater tortures in her sides, than any one had before undergone: [For] he seem'd in a manner desirous to gorge himself with her raw flesh. But when his rage was satiated, he order'd they should both (namely this last with her whom she called Sister) be fastned together, and condemned them to be burn'd to death; the (*e*) former of these persons, 'tis said, was born in the Country of the *Gazites*: You must understand that the other, well known to most Men by the name of *Valentina*, had her original extract at *Cæsarea*. But with what expressions can I deservedly set forth that Martyrdom (which follow'd immediately hereupon,) wherewith the thrice-blessed *Paul* was adorned? This person, having had sentence of death pronounced against him at that very interim these Virgins were condemn'd, when he was to be put to death, entreated the Executioner (who stood ready to cut off his Head) to allow him a short space of time. Having obtain'd his request, with a clear and audible voice he first pray'd for all those who were Professors of the Christian Religion, beseeching God, that he would be reconciled to them, and quickly bestow on them liberty and security: Then he supplicated for the *Jews* access to God by [the Faith of] Christ:] After this, he proceeded in an orderly method, putting up the same petitions even for the *Samaritans*; and besought God for the Heathens, that they, now entangled in error and an ignorance of *God*, might arrive to an acknowledgment of him, and undertake the [profession of] the true Religion; neither did he [in his petitions] omit to mention the promiscuous crowd that surrounded him. After all these (O the great and ineffable patience and mildness of his Mind!) He besought the Supream God for the very Judge by whom he had been condemned to die, for the Emperors, and also for the Executioner (who stood ready to strike off his Head,) both in the hearing of him himself, and of all those also that were present, beseeching [God] that the sin they committed [by taking away his life] might not be imputed to them. Having with a loud voice made these petitions, and melted almost all that were present into compassion and tears, because he was unjustly put to death; (*f*) nevertheless he made himself ready, and, yielding his naked Neck to be cut asunder by the Sword, he was crown'd with Divine Martyrdom, on the twenty fifth day of the Month *Panemus*, that is, before the eighth of the *Calends* of *August*. Such was the Exit of these [Martyrs]. Not long after, an hundred and thirty Champions, of the same Country, *to wit*, *Egypt*, admirable for the confession of *Christ*, having by *Maximinus*'s order undergone the same calamitous [tortures] in their Eyes and Feet, with those formerly mention'd who suffered in *Egypt*, were condemned and sent away, part of them to the forementioned Mines in *Palestine*, and part to those in the Province of *Cilicia*.

Maximinus.

(*c*) *Christophorson* supposed these persons to be Priests and Deacons, who had convened the People to hear the sacred Scriptures read: Which at that time they were compelled to do in private Houses. For, their Churches and Oratories being then demolished, the Christians had only Private-houses to assemble themselves in. *Vales.*

* That is, having acknowledged herself to be a Christian.

(*d*) He means the *Frankincense*, &c. *Vales.*

(*e*) This Virgin's name is wanting here: But we will supply this defect, from the *Grecian Menology*; where this passage occurs, at the 15th of *July*: *On the same day, the Holy Martyrs*, Valentina *and* Thea, *which were* Egyptians, *being brought to the City* Dio Cæsarea *before* Firmilianus *the Judge, made confession of Christ's Name, who is our God; after which, their left feet being burnt, and their right eyes pulled out, they were killed with a sword, and their bodies burnt.* But this account disagrees with our *Eusebius*'s relation here. For he says, the one was born at *Gaza*, the other at *Cæsarea*: Aud he makes no mention of the burning of their feet, or of the pulling out their Eyes. *Vales.*

(*f*) In the *Fuk.* & *Savil* MSS. in stead of [ὅμως αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἡτοίμασεν *nevertheless he made himself ready*] the reading is [ἦν νόμος, &c. *as the usual manner was*, &c.] which reading, in my judgment, is not to be despised. Mention is made of this *Paul*'s Martyrdom, in the *Menology*, at the 15th of *July*. Vales.

CHAP. IX.

That the Persecution was afresh renewed: And concerning Antoninus, Zebina, Germanus, *and other Martyrs.*

NOW, after such valiant Exploits as these, perform'd by Christ's Noble Martyrs; when the Flame of Persecution was somewhat abated, and, as it were, extinguish'd by their sacred Blood; when those in *Thebais* (condemn'd for [their Confession of] Christ to labour in the Mines there,) were permitted to enjoy rest and liberty; and when we hoped to see some few calm and serene days; then did * He (who had gotten the power of persecuting) re-assume his Rage against the Christians, upon what account, or by what impulse, I know not. For, on a sudden, *Maximinus*'s Edicts against us were sent to all places throughout every Province:

* The Devil.

Maximinus.

Province: And the Preſidents and (a) *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* by Injunctions, Letters, and publick Orders excited the * *Curators* in every City, the *Magiſtrates* and (b) *Tabularii* to put in execution the Imperial Edict, (c) which contained an Order, That the decay'd Idol-Temple ſhould with all diligence be repaired; that all perſons, Men, Women, Servants, and young Children ſhould be compell'd to do Sacrifice, and by all means imaginable forced to eat part of the Fleſh which had been offer'd; that the Proviſions expoſed to ſale in the Markets ſhould be defiled with ſuch things as had been ſacrificed; and that ſome ſhould be order'd to ſit and watch before the [publick] Baths, to the end they might pollute ſuch as came to cleanſe themſelves therein, with the execrable Sacrifices. Whilſt theſe things were after this manner put in execution, the Anxieties of the Chriſtians, as it was likely, were renew'd and increaſed: Yea, the *Gentiles* that were Unbelievers [look'd upon] what was done to be intollerable, and condemned theſe Barbarities, as abſurd and too outragious: For, even to them ſuch Actions ſeem'd abominable and odious. When [therefore] ſuch a fierce Storm [of Perſecution] was impendent on all perſons every-where, the Divine Power of our Saviour did again infuſe ſo great a courage and confidence into his Champions, that, when no body induced or urged them to it, they contemned theſe high Menaces of their Adverſaries. Wherefore, three Believers with a joynt conſent ruſh in upon the Preſident then offering Sacrifice to Idols, and call out to him to deſiſt from his error: For there is [ſaid they] no other God, but he that is the Framer and Maker of all things. Being hereupon ask'd who they were, they boldly profeſs'd themſelves to be Chriſtians: At which *Firmilianus* was highly exaſperated, and paſſed ſentence of death upon them, (d) without inflicting on them any previous tortures. One of theſe was a Presbyter, by name (e) *Antoninus*; the name of the ſecond was *Zebinas*, by Country an *Eleutheropolitan*; the third was called *Germanus*. On the thirteenth day of the Month *Dius*, that is on the *Ides* of *November*, all this was done to theſe perſons. On the ſame day they had a Fellow-traveller added to their number, a Woman of *Scythopolis*, by name (f) *Ennathas*, who was adorn'd with the (g) Badge of Virginity. She had not indeed done what the former [three] did, but was carried by force and ſet before the Judge. Therefore, after ſhe had been ſcourged and moſt groſly abuſed; (all which injurious uſages were audaciouſly perpetrated, without any order from the ſuperior Magiſtracy, by one of the *Tribunes* in the neighbourhood, called *Maxys*, a Man worſe than his name, one indeed that was ſtout and of an undaunted courage, but as to his Morals, in all reſpects very impious, of a cruel diſpoſition, and odious to all his Acquaintance. This Fellow ſtripp'd the Bleſſed Virgin ſtark naked, (in ſuch a manner that ſhe was cover'd only from her Loins down to her Feet, but the reſt of her Body was bare;) led her round the City *Cæſarea*, and look'd upon it as a piece of Gallantry to dragg her through all the Market-places in the City, and ſcourge her;) after [I ſay] ſhe had endured ſo many ſtripes, having given a demonſtration of her moſt undaunted courage and conſtancy of Mind before the Preſidents Tribunal, the Judge commanded ſhe ſhould be burnt alive. This * Man improved his Inhumanity and Rage, ſhown towards God's Worſhippers, to the heighth, and tranſgreſt even the Laws of nature; for he was not aſhamed of denying burial to the dead Bodies of thoſe ſacred perſons. Upon which account he gave order, that the dead bodies (which were expoſed in the open Air, to be devoured by Wild-Beaſts,) ſhould be carefully guarded Night and Day: And you might have ſeen for many days together no ſmall number of Men, buſily obeying this beaſtly and barbarous order: Some of whom (as if this had been a matter of high concern and moment) watch'd on a Tower, that the Dead might not be ſtoln away. Alſo, the Wild-Beaſts, Dogs, and Fowls that prey'd on fleſh, ſcatter'd here and there pieces of Men's Bodies: And the whole City was ſtrew'd all over with Men's Bowels and Bones. So that, nothing did ever ſeem more cruel and horrid, even to thoſe who before had been our Enemies; all perſons bewailing not ſo much their calamitous condition towards whom theſe things were done, as the abuſe that was put upon themſelves, and on Mankind in general. For, even to the very Gates [of the City] ſuch a Spectacle was propoſed to publick view, as ſurpaſs'd all the bounds of expreſſion, and exceeded any the moſt tragical relation; [to wit] the fleſh of Men's Bodies, which were devour'd not in one place, but lay ſcatter'd everywhere. Yea, ſome affirm'd they ſaw Limbs of Men, whole Bodies, and pieces of Bowels even within the City. After theſe [horrid Butcheries] had been practiſed for many days together, there happen'd this Miracle. The Weather was fair, the Air clear, and the whole Face of Heaven moſt ſerene and bright; when, on a ſudden, from all the Columns which under-propp'd the publick Galleries throughout the City, there fell many drops, in the form of Tears: And the Market-place and Streets, (no moiſture having faln from the Air,) were wet and beſprinkled with Water which came from an unknown place. In ſo much that a report was immediately ſpread

Maximinus.

* The Preſident.

(a) I judge he means the *Præfect of the Prætorium*: For at that time they took care of Military matters. Indeed, *Euſebius*'s following words are a ſufficient evidence, that the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* is meant here: For he ſpeaks of *the injunctions, and publick orders* given to the *Curators, Magiſtrates,* and *Tabularii* of every City: which Orders were iſſued out by the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* only; as might be made appear from ſeveral places. See Book 9. Chap. 1. & 9. where *Euſebius* ſpeaks of *Sabinus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin.*

* See Book. Chap. 11. Note (b.)

(b) Theſe Officers had in their cuſtody the *publick Tables*, or *Rolls* of the Cities, and look'd after the accounts of the Tribute. They were firſt call'd *Numerarii*: Afterwards *Valens* made a Law, that they ſhould be called *Tabularii*. See *Valeſius*'s Notes on *Amm. Marcell.* Book 28. pag. 348.

(c) In ſtead of [προσταγμα κελευονλες,] as it is in *Robert Stephens*'s Copy; in the *Maz. Med. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. the reading is [κελευον ὡς ἀν, *which contained an Order that*, &c.] which is the better reading: For *Euſebius* here relates the Contents of *Maximin*'s Edict. *Valeſ.*

(d) *Euſebius* notes this, as a thing new, and unuſual; not that he deſign'd to praiſe *Firmilianus* the Preſident's Clemency, becauſe he did not torture the Martyrs; but he would hereby ſhew the Precipitancy and Rage of the Man; in regard he commanded, the Martyrs (who had provoked and confuted him) ſhould be immediately led away to be put to death, without ſuffering any tortures before their execution; as the common uſage was. For the *Roman* Judges did uſually torture the Chriſtian Martyrs before they diſpatch'd them, to the end thoſe valiant Champions might not finiſh their lives by too eaſie a death. Nor was this uſually done to the Martyrs only; but generally as often as any heinous Offenders were brought to examination, they were firſt tortured. And although the guilty Perſon confeſs'd the fact, yet did not the Judge preſently order him to be releas'd from his tortures; but continued to inquire out the Conſequences: For example, how often he had done the fact, with what weapons, and in what places: Then he queſtioned him about his Companions and Accomplices. See *Tertullian*, in his Book *Ad Nationes*; and in his *Apologetick*, Chap. 2. *Valeſ.*

(e) In the *Greeks Menology*, this Man is called *Antonius*, where (beſides *Zebinas* and *Germanus*) there is a fourth Companion of theirs named, to wit, *Nicephorus*. For the 12th day of *November* this paſſage *occurs*: *The birth-day of the holy Martyrs* Antonius *and his fellows, who were* [put to death] *in the times of* Maximinus. Antonius *was an old Man*; Nicephorus, Zebinas, *and* Germanus *were in the flower of their age. They were taken at* Cæſarea, *and after they had boldly confeſſed Chriſt, were ſlain.* Here you ſee, the *Author* of the *Menology* has rendred πρεσβύτες *an old Man*, not *a Presbyter*. Valeſ.

(f) In the *Greek Menology* ſhe is called *Manatho*. Valeſ.

(g) *Euſebius* means *a little Mitre of purple-coloured-wool*; which was the badge of profeſs'd Virginity, as *Optatus* informs us, in *his ſixth Book*. Valeſ.

Maximinus. amongst all people, that the Earth, unable to bear the horrid Impieties then committed, did shed Tears in an inexplicable manner; and that the Stones and senseless matter wept at what was done, to reprove the barbarous and unmerciful Dispositions of Men. This thing will, I doubt not, be look'd upon as fabulous and a ridiculous story by succeeding Generations: But they did not account it such, who had the certainty thereof confirmed to them by the authority of those times in which it happened.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Peter *the* Ascetа, Asclepius *the* Marcionite, *and other Martyrs.*

ON the fourteenth Day of the following Month, called *Appellæus*, which is before the nineteenth of the *Calends* of *January*, some other *Egyptians*, (going to minister to the Confessors in *Cilicia*) were apprehended by those persons, that were set at the Gates [of the City] to examine such as passed by: Part of whom received the same sentence with those they were going to minister to, having their Eyes and Feet rendred useless. But three of them were put into bonds at the City *Ascalon*, where after they had given an admirable demonstration of their Courage, they finish'd their lives by a different sort of Martyrdom. One af them, by name *Ares*, was burnt to death: The other two, whose names were (*a*) *Probus* and *Elias*, were beheaded. On the eleventh day of the month *Audynæus*, which is before the third of the *Ides* of *January*, (*b*) *Peter* the *Ascetа*, called also *Apselamus*, (who came from *Aneas* a Village that lies near to *Eleutheropolis*,) being refined by Fire like the purest Gold, exhibited an illustrious proof of his Faith in God's Christ, at the City *Cæsarea*. For when the Judge and those about him intreated him earnestly to be compassionate towards himself, and take pity upon his own youthfulness and vigour; he contemned [their Exhortations,] and preferred his confidence in the supream God before all things, yea, even Life itself. Together with this person [suffered] one *Asclepius*, (reported to have been a Bishop of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, out of a zeal to Piety, (as he thought,) but such an one as was *not according to knowledge*,) and finished his life in the same fiery Pile. These things were performed after this manner.

(*a*) In the *Greek* this Man's name is *Promus*: But, I suppose, it should be *Probus*. For I never met with such a proper name as *Promus*. This mistake arose from hence; in ancient MSS. *Beta* is usually written like *My*. In the *Fuk.* and *Sav.* MSS. 'tis *Probus*. Vales.

(*b*) Mention is made of this Person in the *Greek Menea*, at the 14th of *October*; although *Eusebius* says he suffered on the 3d of the *Ides* of *January*. In the *Meneum* he is called *Auselamus*: But, in the *Menology* *Anselamus* is, by a mistake, put for *Auselamus*, or *Abselamus*: The import of the passage there is this; *On the same day is the Commemoration of the holy Martyr* Petrus Anselamus *of* Eleutheropolis, *who being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous mind, behaved himself most admirably in the conflicts he underwent for Religion; and, having despised earthly things, was by fire offered up as a victim well-pleasing to God, in the sixth year of* Diocletian's *and* Maximian's *Empire*. In which passage, this is observable, that the sixth year of *Diocletian*'s Empire is put for the sixth year of the Persecution. *Vales.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Pamphilus, *and twelve other Martyrs.*

(*a*) *Symeon Metaphrastes* has transcribed this whole Relation of the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus* and his Companions, out of our *Eusebius*; adding some things, and altering others, as he usually does. But he seems to have been furnished with more perfect Copies of *Eusebius*, than those we now have, which will manifestly appear to the Reader; who may meet with *Metaphrastes*'s account hereof in that Latin Version of him, which *Lipomanus* and *Surius* put forth; *Tome* the third, *at the first of* June; pag. 139. Edit. Venet. Anno 1581. *Vales.*

(*a*) THE time now calls upon me to record that great and famous Spectacle, which they [exhibited] who were perfected by *Martyrdom* together with *Pamphilus*, [a person] whose name and memory I have a great honour and high esteem for. They were in all twelve, being vouchsafed a (*b*) Prophetick, or rather Apostolick Grace, and equal to 'em in number; *Pamphilus* was their Principal, the only person amongst them that was adorn'd with the honour of a Presbytership in the Church at *Cæsarea*: (*c*) A man eminent for all manner of Virtue, even throughout his whole life; [whether we consider] his renunciation and contempt of the World, or the liberal contributions [he made] of his Goods to those that were necessitous; or his disregard of worldly preferments and expectations; or, lastly, his Philosophick, severe, and *Ascetick* course of life. But, he was most especially eminent, even beyond all men in our times, for his earnest and unwearied studies in the sacred Scriptures, for his indefatigable assiduity about those things he proposed to himself to do, and for the good offices he did to his Relations and all other persons that made their addresses to him. This person's other virtues and egregious performances, which require a larger relation, we have already comprized in *three Books*, being a peculiar Work which we wrote *concerning his life*. If therefore any are desirous of knowing these things more fully, we remit them thither; at present (*d*) let us prosecute our subsequent Narration concerning the Martyrs. The second person, after *Pamphilus*, that entred the combat, was *Valens*, a (*e*) a Deacon of *Ælia*, honourable for his holy gray Hairs, and as to his aspect a venerable old Man; better skill'd in the sacred Scriptures than any of the rest. For he had imprinted them in his memory so perfectly, (*f*) that no difference could be discerned between his reading out of a Book, and repeating by heart, whole pages of any part of sacred Writ. The third person, famous amongst them, was *Paul*, born at the City *Jamnia*, a man very fervent and zealous in acting, and filled with a warmth and ardour of Spirit. Before his Martyrdom he had been engaged in the Combat of Confession, having endured the searing [of his flesh] with red-hot Irons. After these persons had spent two years time in prison, the arrival of some other *Egyptians* Brethren was

(*b*) He means the *Minor Prophets*, who were twelve in number: This passage is more clearly expresst in *Metaphrastes*, thus: *It is worth our while to admire the number of the Men, which represents a certain Prophetick and Apostolick Grace. For, it happened that they were in all twelve; of the same number with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, as we are informed.* Vales.

(*c*) This passage also is more perfect in *Metaphrastes*, after this manner: *He was* Pamphilus, *a Man truly pious, loving and friendly towards all Men, really demonstrating the truth of his name*; [the import of *Pamphilus*, is, *friend to all men:*] *the ornament of the Church at* Cæsarea, &c. See *Lipomanus* and *Surius*'s Version of *Metaphrastes* at the fore-cited place. *Vales.*

(*d*) In the *Maz.Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. 'tis [ἐχώμεθα, *let us prosecute*] in the *Imperative Mood.* Moreover hence we may make this manifest collection, to wit, that this Book *concerning the Martyrs of Palestine* was *Eusebius*'s own *work*, written by him after his Books *Concerning Pamphilus*'s Life, and after *his Ecclesiastick Hist.* Vales.

(*e*) There may be a double meaning given of these Words. For the import of them may be, either that *Ælia* was *Valen*'s Country, or that he was a Deacon of the Church of *Ælia*. *Symeon Metaphrastes* followed this latter sence, as appears from his Words. The like ambiguity I took notice of before, Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (*o*) where we spoke concerning *Sanctus* a *Deacon* of *Vienna*. Vales.

(*f*) 'Tis easily discernable, that the Greek Text is here corrupted; I suppose it may be thus amended; ὡς μὴ ἐνδεῖν τῆς ἀπὸ γραμμάτων ἐντεύξεως, τὸ πῆς ποτε ἂν λάβοι γραφῆς διασαφῆν αὐτὸν ἀπομνημονεῦσαι ῥᾳδίως· which reading we have followed in our Version; and it agrees with *Symeon Metaphrastes*'s interpretation, as 'tis evident from *Gentianus Hervetus*'s Translation in *Lipomanus*'s Edition at the month of *February*; see Note (*a*) in this Chapter. But *Hervetus* has rendred ἀπομνημονεῦσαι, *to get by heart*; whereas that term signifies, *to recite by heart*, as we observed before. *Vales.*

the

Maximinus. the occaſion of their Martyrdom, who alſo ſuffer'd with them. Theſe *Egyptians* had accompanied the *Confeſſors* ſent into *Cilicia*, to the *Mines* there. As they were returning to their own Country, at the entrance of the *Gates* of *Cæſarea* they were examin'd (in the ſame manner with thoſe before-mention'd) by the *Guard* (men of a barbarous diſpoſition) who they were, and whence they came; and, having concealed nothing of the *truth*, as if they had been *Malefactors* taken in the very act, they were put into bonds. They were five in number; and when they were brought before the *Tyrant*, and had ſpoken boldly and freely in his preſence, they were forthwith committed to priſon. The next day (which was the 19th of the month *Peritius*, according to the *Roman* account before the 14th of the *Calends* of *March*,) order was given, that they, together with *Pamphilus* and his foremention'd *Companions*, ſhould be brought before the Judge. In the firſt place, he made tryal of the *Egyptians* invincible conſtancy, by all ſorts of torments, and various and new-invented Engines [of torture.] When (*g*) he had made uſe of theſe *cruelties* towards the chief of theſe perſons, firſt he ask'd him who he was. After he had heard him give himſelf the name of ſome Prophet inſtead of his proper name; (for they made it their buſineſs to call themſelves by names different from thoſe given them by their Parents, which were perhaps the names of Idols; therefore you might have heard them name themſelves *Elias*, *Jeremiah*, *Iſaiah*, *Samuel*, or *Daniel*, repreſenting not only by their actions, but by their proper names alſo, the true and genuine *Iſrael* (*h*) of God, which [conſiſts] of thoſe that *are* (*i*) *inwardly Jews.*) After, [I ſay,] *Firmilianus* had heard the *Martyr* give himſelf ſuch a name, being wholly unacquainted with the powerful import thereof, in the ſecond place he enquir'd, what *Countryman* he was: The *Martyr* expreſs'd himſelf in this his ſecond reply agreeable to his former anſwer, and ſaid, *Jeruſalem* was his *Country*; meaning that *Jeruſalem*, of which *Paul* ſpeaks--- **But Jeruſalem which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all:* And [in another place,] †*Ye are come to mount Sion, and unto the City of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem:* The *Martyr* meant this [*Jeruſalem.*] But the Judge, having his mind depreſſed with low and terrene thoughts, was extraordinarily inquiſitive what City this was, and in what *Country* it lay. Then he applied tortures, that he might [force him thereby to] confeſs the truth. But he, having both his hands wreſted behind his back, and his Feet broken with certain new Engines [of torture,] ſtiffly affirm'd, that he ſpoke true. Again, being after this often asked, what City that he ſpoke of was, and where it lay, he replied, that that was their *Country* only, who were God's *Worſhippers*: For none but they ſhould enter it; and it was ſcituate *Eaſtward*, and towards the riſing Sun. After this manner did the *Martyr Philoſophize* again, agreeable to his own ſentiments, wholly diſregarding thoſe that on all ſides were tormenting of him: But, as if he had had neither Fleſh nor Body, ſeem'd to be altogether inſenſible of his tortures. But the Judge, doubtful and perplexed in his Mind, was in a great rage, ſuppoſing that the *Chriſtians* were about erecting a City that would be an Enemy, and in an hoſtile manner oppoſe the *Romans*. Upon which account he was very diligent in his enquiries about it, and in ſearching out that Country in the Eaſt ſpoken of [by the *Martyr.*] But when he perceived that the young man (after he had torn him with innumerable ſtripes, and inflicted on him tortures of all ſorts,) was immutable and firmly perſiſted in what he had ſaid before, he paſs'd ſentence of death upon him. Thus were the tragick [Cruelties,] uſed towards this Martyr, concluded: And when he had practiſed the like Preface of Tortures upon the reſt, he deſtroy'd them by the ſame ſort of death. Being then wearied out, and perceiving that he did in vain inflict tortures upon theſe men, (*k*) when his deſires were ſatiated, he paſs'd to *Pamphilus* and his *Companions*. And [although] he had by experience found, that in defence of their Faith they had before demonſtrated an alacrity of mind not to be vanquiſh'd by tortures; [yet] he again asked them, whether they would now be obedient to the Imperial commands; and when he could get nothing out of any one of them, beſides that laſt confeſſion which is made in Martyrdom, he condemn'd them to undergo the ſame puniſhment with the foremention'd Martyrs. Theſe things being finiſhed, a Youth, (*l*) one that belong'd to *Pamphilus*'s Family, (in regard he had been educated under the genuine diſcipline and converſe of ſo eminent a perſon;) as ſoon as he underſtood that ſentence [was pronounc'd] againſt his Maſter, called aloud out of the midſt of the crowd, and requeſted that their *dead-bodies* might be interr'd. But [the Judge, (who deſerves not to be called a Man] but a wild Beaſt, or any Creature elſe [that can be thought] more fierce than a wild Beaſt) ſhew'd no compaſſion towards his youthful years; and, having found, upon his bare asking the young man that he confeſs'd himſelf a *Chriſtian*; ſwell'd with rage as if he had been wounded by ſome Dart, order'd the *Torturers* to make uſe of their utmoſt force againſt him. But after he ſaw, that he refuſed to be obedient to his commands in offering ſacrifice, he order'd that his fleſh (as if it had not been the body of a Man, but either Stones, or Wood, or ſome ſuch ſenſeleſs thing) ſhould without any intermiſſion be torn even to his very bones and inmoſt receſſes of his Bowels. Which being performed for a long time together, the Judge perceived his attempts were vain; [for although] his Body was mangled all over with the tortures, [yet] he

Maximinus.

(*g*) Ἐγγυμνάσας (the term here uſed) ſeems to be taken *paſſively*, for ἐγγυμνασθείς. For *Euſebius*'s meaning is, that *Firmilianus* the Judge was well verſed in paſſing ſuch ſentences, and in extracting examinations by tortures. But becauſe the ſame term is taken in an *active ſenſe* hereafter in this chapter, it ought alſo to be taken ſo here. By the term [ἄθλα] *Euſebius* means, *the ſcourges and tortures.* Valeſ.

(*h*) These words [τῷ Θεῷ, *of God*] are wanting in the *Med.* MS. *Euſebius*'s meaning is, that thoſe *Egyptians* who gave themſelves the names of *Iſraelites*, or *Jews*, did both by their actions and names repreſent the true and genuine *Iſrael*, and thoſe *Jews*, who were inwardly ſuch. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) *Euſebius* alludes to that paſſage in St. *Paul*, (Rom. 2. 28, 29.) where the Apoſtle makes two ſorts of *Jews*: Some that were *Jews* ἐν φανερῷ, *outwardly*; others that were ſuch ἐν κρυπτῷ, *inwardly*: The former, as he affirms, are not truly *Jews*, becauſe they obſerved the bodily Ceremonies only of the Law: The latter are really *Jews*; *whoſe Circumciſion is that of the Heart in the Spirit, and not in the Letter.* See *Origen*, Chap. 1. *Philocal.* Valeſ.

* Galat. 4. 26. † Heb. 12. 22.

(*k*) *Euſebius* ſeems to mean *Firmilianus*'s deſire of knowing from the *Egyptian* Martyrs, where that *Jeruſalem* was, which they called their Country. Whence we may make this remark by the by, that 'tis ſufficiently evident, (as we obſerved before, Book 4. Chap. 6. Note (*e*)) there was no City upon Earth at that time called *Jeruſalem.* Otherwiſe *Firmilianus* Preſident of *Paleſtine*, would never have been ſo earneſt in his enquiries of the Martyrs, where *Jeruſalem* was ſcituated. But, the Greek term [ἐπιθυμία] cannot, I think, be taken in that ſenſe I have mentioned. Indeed, this place is obſcure, and (if I miſtake not) faulty. Therefore *Symeon Metaphraſtes*, when he tranſcribed this paſſage from *Euſebius*, on ſet purpoſe omitted theſe words. *Valeſ.*

(*l*) At this place *Symeon Metaphraſtes* adds ſome words, which deſerve to be ſet down here. *Nondum autem dictum*, &c. [The Judge] *had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, when a young Man, belonging to* Pamphilus's *family, called out at ſome diſtance; and, coming out of the midſt of the crowd into the preſence of thoſe who ſate round in the place of Judicature, requeſted that their Bodies might be interred. This was the Bleſſed* Porphyrius, *one of* Pamphilus's own breeding, *not full eighteen years old,* [a Youth] *well-skilled in the Art of Writing; but one that concealed theſe praiſes by his modeſt behaviour, in regard he had been educated under ſo eminent a perſon.* Valeſ.

Maximinus.

he continued silent, and was as insensible of pain, as if he had in a manner been lifeless. [Nevertheless] the Judge, still persevering in his merciless and inhuman cruelty, immediately condemned him to be burnt (in the same habit he was in) by (*m*) a slow fire. And thus this person (altho' he was the last that entred the combat, yet (prevented his Master after the flesh, in that he obtain'd his departure out of this life before him; those, who were busied about [vanquishing] the former *Martyrs*, hitherto making some delays. You might therefore have seen *Porphyrius* [for that was his name,] in quality like a valorous Champion who had been Conqueror in all manner of exercises belonging to the sacred Games, proceeding forth to his *death* after he had suffer'd so great tortures, with a Body covered all over with Dust, but with a chearful *Countenance*, and a *Mind* full of joy and confidence: He was most truly filled with the Divine Spirit; and, being clad in a * Philosophick habit,) (having only a Garment wrapt about him, in fashion like unto a (*n*) Cloak,) with a calm and sedate Mind he gave commands to those of his acquaintance, and dispatch'd whatever he had a mind to do; retaining the serenity of his Countenance, even when he was at the very Stake. Moreover, when the Pile, which lay at a sufficient distance, was kindled round about him, with his Mouth he attracted the flame on every side of him: And after this one expression, which he uttered when the flame began to touch him, [to wit,] *invoking Jesus the Son of God to be his helper*, he most couragiously continued silent even to the very last gasp. Such was *Porphyrius*'s combat: Whose Consummation *Seleucus* a Confessor that had formerly been a Soldier, having related to *Pamphilus*; as being the conveyer of such a message, he was immediately vouchsafed to be joyned in the same lot with the Martyrs: For he had no sooner related *Porphyrius*'s death, and saluted one of the Martyrs with a kiss, but some of the Soldiers seize him, and carry him before the President. Who, as if he resolved to hasten *Seleucus*, that he might be *Porphyrius*'s Companion in his journey to Heaven, forthwith order'd he should undergo a capital punishment. This [*Seleucus*] was born in *Cappadocia*, but had attained no mean degree of honour amongst the choicest young men that belong'd to the *Roman Milice*. For he far excell'd his Fellow-soldiers in the (*o*) fitness of his age for military services, in strength and stature of body, and in valour: In so much that his aspect was much discoursed of amongst all men, and the shape of his whole body greatly admired, upon account both of his stature and comelines. About the beginning of the Persecution, he was eminently famous for his enduring stripes in the combat of Confession: But after he had left off his military course of life, he became a zealous Emulator of those that were (*p*) *Ascetæ* in their Studies and Exercises of Piety; and, like a Father, and a Patron, demonstrated himself to be an Overseer as it were, and an helper of desolate Orphans and Widows that were destitute of assistance, and of those that were reduced to poverty and sickness. Wherefore, by God (who is more delighted with such [performances] as these, than with the smoak and blood of Sacrifices) he was deservedly accounted worthy of that admirable and high calling, [to wit,] *Martyrdom*. This was the tenth Champion, who, after the others before-mention'd, ended his life on the very same day; whereon (as it is probable) the great Gate of Heaven was open'd by the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus*, (suitable to the worth of that person) which gave both him, and his Companions, an easie entrance into the Celestial Kingdom. Also, *Theodulus* (a venerable and pious old man, belonging to the President's own Family, for whom *Firmilianus* had a greater esteem than for all his other Domesticks; partly upon account of his age, having seen his Children to the third Generation; and partly in respect of the singular affection and conscionable fidelity, which he had continually retain'd towards him;) having follow'd *Seleucus*'s steps, and performed the same things that he did, was brought before his Master, against whom he was more exasperated than against any of the former [Martyrs;] and being forthwith put upon a Cross, he underwent the same sort of Martyrdom our Saviour suffered. Moreover, one being yet wanting, who might render the number of the foresaid Martyrs compleatly twelve, *Julianus* intervened to make up their number. At that very interim he was coming from a remote Country, and had not entred the City; but, being informed [of the slaughter] of the Martyrs, ran immediately (in the same habit he had on) out of the road, to see that spectacle. When he saw the dead Bodies of those holy persons lying upon the ground, being filled with an extraordinary joy, he embraced every one of them, and kissed them all. Whilst he was doing this, the [Soldiers] that were the Instruments to commit those Murders, apprehend him, and bring him to *Firmilianus*. He, doing herein what was agreeable to his [usual cruelty,] order'd that this person also should be consumed by a slow fire. Thus was *Julianus* also accounted worthy [to receive] the Crown of of Martyrdom, leaping for joy, and being exceeding glad; and with a loud voice giving great thanks to the Lord, who had vouchsafed him so great an honour. This *Julianus* was by Country a *Cappadocian*; as to his Morals, he was eminently pious and circumspect, and famous for his most genuine and sincere Faith: He was very active and diligent in all things, being inspired by the Holy Ghost. Such was the File [of Martyrs,] who were vouchsafed to arrive at Martyrdom in company with *Pamphilus*. The holy, and truly sacred Bodies of these persons were, by the impious President's order, watch'd for the space of four days, and as many nights, and exposed to be devour'd by

Maximinus.

(*p*) *Christophorson* judged amiss, in that he supposed by the term [ἀσκητὰς] *Monks* were meant. For, at that time there were no *Monks*; or, if there were any they differed much from the *Ascetæ*. For *Monks* (as their name, *Monachi*, denotes) affected solitude: But the *Ascetæ* did converse publickly in the Cities. Whosoever therefore lived a more strict and severe course of life according to the Precepts of the Gospel, and left all they had, upon God's account, were termed *Ascetæ*: Thus one *Peter* is called *Asceta*, and a Virgin is termed *Ascetria*, before in this Book of *Eusebius*: Should any one term these *Monks*, doubtless he would be much mistaken. St. *Jerom* says expressly, that there was no *Monk* in *Palestine* before *Hilarion*. But *Peter*, the *Asceta*, lived in *Palestine* long before *Hilarion*'s time. *Vales.*

(*m*) In stead of [μακρῷ πυρὶ, *a fire at a distance*] *Christophorson* seems to have read [μαλθακῷ πυρὶ, *a slow*, or *remiss fire*: See his Translation. *Hervetus* also has rendred it thus, *Pronuntiat sententiam ut tradatur molli & lento igni, he pronounc'd sentence upon him, that he should be set into* [and consumed by] *a soft and gentle fire.* The same is confirmed by *Eusebius*'s following Words: For he says, that *Porphyrius* was fastned to a Stake, and that the Pile, which lay round him, but at some distance, was kindled; that so the Martyr might be consumed by a slack fire. We read of the same sort of punishment in the passion of *Pionius*, and of other Martyrs. *Eusebius* uses [μακρὸν πῦρ] in the same sense hereafter, where he mentions *Julianus*. Further, we must take notice that both *Porphyrius* and *Julianus* were *Catechumens*; as *Metaphrastes* informs us. *Vales.*

* See B. 6. Chap. 19. Note (*p*.)

(*n*) This Garment is in the *Greek* termed Ἔξωμις; see its description in *A. Gellius*, Book 7. Chap. 12.

(*o*) Ἡλικία is the term in the original; it peculiarly imports *that Age, which is fit for warfare*; which *Livy* stiles *militarem ætatem, the military Age*; beginning from the seventeenth year of a Man's age, says *Plutarch* (*in Graccho.*)

Maximinus. by Beaſts that prey on Fleſh. But when (as it miraculouſly happen'd) no Wild-Beaſt, or Fowl, or Dog approach'd them [during that time,] at laſt (Divine Providence ſo ordering the matter,) they were taken away whole and untorn; and, having been allow'd ſuch Funeral Rites as befitted them, received the uſual Interment. Whilſt the diſcourſe concerning the [Preſident's] furious rage againſt theſe perſons was yet rife in all Mens mouths, *Adrianus* and *Eubulus* (arriving, from that Country called *Manganæa*, at *Cæſarea*, to give a viſit to the reſt of the Confeſſors,) were examined alſo at the Gate of the City, for what reaſon they came thither. And, having confeſſed the truth, they were brought before *Firmilianus*: He (as he had uſually done before) was in no wiſe dilatory in his Proceedings towards them alſo; but after he had furrow'd their Sides with many tortures, condemned them to be devour'd by Wild-Beaſts. Therefore, after two days ſpace, on the fifth of the month *Dyſtrus*, (that is, before the third of the *Nones* of *March*,) the day whereon the nativity of the (*q*) *publick Genius* (as the Heathens account it) is celebrated at *Cæſarea*, *Adrianus* was caſt to a Lyon; after which a Sword was thruſt through his Body, and ſo he ended his life. On the next day after ſave one, that is, on the very *Nones* of *March*, which is the ſeventh of the month *Dyſtrus*, *Eubulus* (after the Judge had entreated him with much earneſtneſs, that by offering Sacrifice he would procure for himſelf that which they account liberty,) preferring a glorious Death for his Religion before this tranſitory Life, (when he had been expoſed to the Wild-Beaſts, and been made a Sacrifice after the ſame manner with the former Martyr,) was the laſt that cloſed up the Combats of the Martyrs at *Cæſarea*. Moreover, it will be worthy our recording here, how Divine Providence ſoon after puniſhed theſe impious Preſidents, together with the Tyrants themſelves. For *Firmilianus*, who had been ſo reproachfully outragious againſt Chriſt's Martyrs, having with ſome others been adjudg'd to undergo a capital puniſhment, was beheaded. And theſe were the Martyrdoms, accompliſh'd at *Cæſarea*, during the whole time of the Perſecution.

(*q*) In times paſt all Cities had their *Genius's*, in honour of which Temples were erected, which they called τυχαῖα. *Marcus* (in the life of *Porphyrius*) mentions the *Tycheum* of *Gaza*: And there was a *Tycheum* at *Alexandria*, mentioned in *Cod. Theod.* and in *Libanius*'s *deſcriptions* lately publiſhed by the Learned *Leo Allatius*. Alſo the Temple of the *Genius* at *Antiochia* is mentioned by *Julian* in *Miſopog.* which paſſage we cited before. The *Genius* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* had its Temple; concerning which ſee *Gregor. Naz. in his firſt Invective againſt Julian*, pag. 91. and in his 19th *Oration*, pag. 309. The *Genius* was a tutelar God, that (as the Heathens thought) had undertaken the particular protection of any City, or Town. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Prelates of the Churches.

BUT, what happen'd to be done in relation to the Prelates of Churches (*a*) during this interval of time, and afterwards; how, inſtead of being continued Paſtors of Chriſt's Rational Flock, which they had not rightly and duly governed, Divine Juſtice, judging them as it were

(*a*) Theſe Words are very obſcure. *Chriſtophorſon* thought they were to be underſtood concerning the time of the Perſecution; I am not of his mind. For *Euſebius* ſpeaks concerning what happened, when the fury of the Perſecution was in ſome meaſure abated. Therefore [ὅτι τότοις] ſignifies *poſtea, afterwards*; according to *Euſebius*'s uſual way of expreſſing himſelf, both in other places, and alſo hereafter in this Chapter. The following Words [ἄχρι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ χειμῶνα] denote *the whole interval of time from the beginning of the Perſecution to its ſeventh year*, as *Euſebius* informs us in the following Chapter. *Valeſ.*

Maximinus. fit for ſuch Offices, condemn'd them to be employ'd in looking after (*b*) Camels, a brutiſh ſort of Creatures, whoſe Bodies are naturally crooked and miſ-ſhapen; and how it adjudged them to be Keepers of the Emperor's Horſes; alſo, what and how great Injuries, Diſhonours, and Tortures they ſuffered from ſuch, as during thoſe times were the Emperor's *Procurators*, and Governours of Provinces, upon account of the ſacred Veſſels and Treaſures belonging to the Church; moreover, the ambitious deſires of many, the inconſiderate and illegal Ordinations, and the Schiſms amongſt the (*c*) Confeſſors themſelves; beſides, what thoſe modern raiſers of Diſturbances with much earneſtneſs attempted againſt the remains of the Church, introducing Innovations ſucceſſively one after another, being without intermiſſion Authors of Evils even in the midſt of the Calamities cauſed by the Perſecution, and heaping Miſchiefs upon Miſchiefs: All this [I ſay] I think fit to omit, a relation hereof being in my judgment inconvenient, and which (as I ſaid in the (*d*) beginning of this Book) I do altogether diſlike, and am reſolved to avoid. Suppoſing it therefore to be moſt accommodate for an Hiſtory concerning the admirable Martyrs, to ſpeak, write, and inſtil into the Ears of Believers what ever is of importance to, and commendable in, our Religion, and thoſe paſſages which are virtuous and praiſe-worthy; I thought good to adorn the cloſe of this Book with [a Relation of] that Peace, which afterwards appeared to us from Heaven.

(*b*) It was a ſort of puniſhment amongſt the *Romans*, that *free-men*, (i.e. thoſe that were free of *Rome*) ſhould be condemned to look after the Emperor's Horſes and Camels, and to ſuch like offices. This employment was called *Camelaſia*, and it is reckoned amongſt the *perſonal Offices*, in the *Pandects* (*Tit. de Muner. & Honor.*) Altho' in that place of the *Pandects*, the Emperor's Camels are not ſpoken of, but thoſe Camels are meant belonging to every City, which were uſed to fetch Wood and other burthens; as appears from the 18th *Law*, in the ſaid *Title*. But *Euſebius* does here ſpeak of the Emperor's Horſes and Camels, to the feeding whereof ſome Biſhops were condemned. Now, there is a great difference between theſe two Offices. For the former was a civil Office, to which the *Decurions* of the *white Order* were promoted, as 'tis ſaid in the fore-quoted Law. But the latter was a penal ſervitude, to which Criminals were condemned, as may be collected from *Euſebius*'s words here. Moreover, theſe *Camelarii* (keepers of Camels) were under his care and diſpoſe, that was the *Comes rei privatæ*, (i. e. *the Treaſurer of the Privy-purſe to the Emperor*; ſee *Valeſ. Notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* Book 22. pag. 207.) under whom were the *Maſters of the Flocks, and of the Stables*; as appears from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. See the *Acts* of *Marcellus* the Pope. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) He means the Schiſm between *Meletius Lycopolitanus* and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; concerning which ſee *Athanaſius* and *Epiphanius*. He means alſo *Donatus*'s Schiſm in *Africa*, againſt *Cæcilianus* the Biſhop. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) The place *Euſebius* here ſpeaks of is not to be found in this Book. Whence 'tis apparent, that this Book, *concerning the Martyrs of* Paleſtine, is imperfect. Any body may perceive that the beginning of it is wanting. But this defect may be made up from Chap. 2. Book 8. of the *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, where *Euſebius* ſays that, which he mentions here, as ſpoken of before by himſelf. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Silvanus, John, *and Thirty nine other Martyrs.*

THE ſeventh Year of the Perſecution againſt us was now compleated; and our Affairs, (having by little and little obtain'd ſome thing of a tendency towards a quiet poſture by an abatement of their Heats who had been our malicious Detractors,) proceeded on to the eighth year, when no ſmall number of Confeſſors were gather'd together about the Braſs Mines in *Paleſtine*, and enjoy'd their liberty to ſuch a degree, that they erected Buildings to make Churches of: But] the Governour of the Province (a cruel and wicked perſon, as he manifeſted himſelf to be, upon account of what he did againſt the Martyrs) making a journey thither, and being inform'd of their

Maximinus. their way of living in that place, acquainted the Emperor therewith, writing what he judged ſuitable to calumniate them. Afterwards, the Governour of the Mines came thither, and (as if he had had an Imperial Order ſo to do,) having ſeparated that Company of Confeſſors, allotted *Cyprus* to be the place of habitation for ſome of them, and *Libanus* for others. He diſperſed others of them in ſeveral places throughout *Paleſtine*, and gave order they ſhould all be wearied out with various ſorts of laborious Employments. Then he pick'd out four, which ſeem'd to be the moſt eminent perſons amongſt them, and ſent them to the Commander in Chief of the Military Forces in thoſe parts. Two of theſe were *Egyptian* Biſhops, by name *Peleus* and *Nilus*; the third was a (*a*) Presbyter; and the fourth was *Patermuthius*, a perſon ſignally renown'd amongſt all men upon account of his ſedulity in doing all men good offices. This Commander, having ask'd theſe men to renounce their Religion, and not obtaining his requeſt, order'd they ſhould be burnt to death. Again, there were others at the ſame place, (who were allotted a particular Country to inhabit in by themſelves,) to wit, ſuch of the Confeſſors, as either by reaſon of their age, or the mangling of their Members, or becauſe of other bodily Infirmities, were freed from doing ſervice in thoſe laborious employments. The principal among theſe was *Silvanus*, (*b*) a Biſhop born at *Gaza*, a perſon that demonſtrated himſelf to be a truly religious and moſt genuine Example of the Chriſtian Profeſſion. This man after he had been ſignally eminent in all ſorts of conflicts [undergone upon account] of Confeſſion, from the very firſt day (as I may ſay) of the Perſecution, and during the whole time it laſted, was reſerved for this opportunity, that he might in the laſt place ſeal up (as it were) all the Combats [of the *Martyrs*] in *Paleſtine*. Many *Egyptians* were with him; amongſt whom there was one * *John*, who for ſtrength of Memory far ſurpaſſed all Men of our age. This Man had been deprived of his Eye-ſight before. Nevertheleſs, in the conflicts of Confeſſion (wherein he got great renown) when one of his Feet (after the ſame manner that others were ſerved) was rendred uſeleſs by being ſcared with red-hot Irons; his Eyes alſo (altho' he could not then ſee) were burnt out with Searing-irons: To ſuch an height of cruelty and inhumanity had the mercileſs and incompaſſionate Executioners then arrived in their carriage [towards the Chriſtians!] 'Tis needleſs to extol this Man for his Morals, and the Philoſophick Life he led, eſpecially ſince he was not ſo admirable upon that account, as for his ſtrength of Memory; [for] he had whole Books of the ſacred Scriptures written (not *on Tables of Stone*, as the Divine Apoſtle ſays, nor on Parchments, or Paper, which are devoured by Moths and time, but) on the fleſhly Tables of his Heart, that is, on his bright Soul, [which were legible] to the moſt clear Eye of his Mind. In ſo much that, whenever he pleaſed, he could produce out of his Mouth, as it were out of a Treaſury of Learning, ſometimes the Books of the Law and thoſe of the Prophets, another while the Hiſtorical parts of Scripture, and again at other times the Evangelick and Apoſtolick Writings. I was, I confeſs, amazed, when I firſt ſaw this Man ſtanding in the midſt of a numerous Eccleſiaſtick Congregation, and repeating ſome parts of the Divine Scripture. For as long as I could only hear his voice, I ſuppoſed him to have read what is uſually rehearſed in ſuch Aſſemblies. But when I approach'd very near, and ſaw plainly what was done, to wit, all the reſt [in the Aſſembly] ſtanding round, and having their Eye-ſight clear and perfect, and him making uſe of the Eyes of his Underſtanding only, in reality delivering Oracles like ſome Prophet, and far ſurpaſſing thoſe that were ſound and healthy in body; I could not forbear praiſing and glorifying of God. And I thought that I really beheld a firm and moſt evident inſtance to perſwade me to believe, that he is to be accounted truly a Man, (not who appears ſo to be by the external ſhape of his Body, but) who is ſuch in reſpect of his Mind and Underſtanding. For altho' this perſon had a mangled and deformed Body, yet he demonſtrated the ſtrength of his internal Faculties to be great and moſt powerful. Moreover, God himſelf vouchſafed to allot theſe forementioned perſons (who, living in a place apart by themſelves, ſpent their time according to the uſual manner in Prayers, Faſtings, and in the performance of other ſevere exerciſes of Religion,) a bleſſed and ſalutary death; reaching out to them his propitious Right Hand. * But that malicious Enemy of all Goodneſs, unable to endure them any longer, in regard they were carefully arm'd againſt him with their continual Prayers to God, reſolved to have them killed and removed from off the Earth, as being troubleſome to him. Which God permitted him to attempt and perform; both that he ſhould not be hindred from doing miſchief, agreeable to his own mind and purpoſe; and that they might at length receive the Rewards of their various Combats. Thus therefore nine and thirty perſons were beheaded on one and the ſame day, by an Order from the moſt impious *Maximin.* Theſe were the Martyrdoms perpetrated in *Paleſtine* during the ſpace of ten years, and ſuch was the Perſecution in our days; which having been began from thoſe times wherein the Churches were demoliſhed, was much increaſed in the times ſucceeding by the Governour's Inſolencies. Amidſt which, their various and different Combats who were Religious Champions, made an innumerable company of Martyrs throughout every Province; to wit, in *Libya*, and throughout all *Egypt*, *Syria*, and all thoſe Provinces, which reach from the Eaſt round to the Country of *Illyricum*. For thoſe Regions ſcituate beyond theſe now mentioned, that is, all *Italy*, *Sicily*, *France*, and thoſe which lie towards the Sun-ſetting, *Spain*, *Mauritania*, and *Africa*, having not indured the rage of the Perſecution full out the ſpace of the two firſt years, were vouchſafed a ſudden viſitation from God, and [obtain'd] peace: Divine Providence taking compaſſion on the Simplicity and Faith of thoſe Men. Further, an accident (a parallel to which the Records from the very firſt beginning of the *Roman* Empire cannot ſhew) happened now firſt in

Maximinus.

* The Devil.

(*a*) His name was *Helias*; who together with *Patermuthius*, was burnt to death; as 'tis recorded in the *Greek Manæa*, at the 17th of *September*. *Photius* mentions *Patermuthius*, in *his Biblioth.* Chap. 118; where he ſpeaks of the Books written by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, during his impriſonment, in defence of *Origen*. Valeſ.

(*b*) By theſe Words *Euſebius* ſeems to declare, that this *Silvanus* was not Biſhop of *Gaza*: For *Euſebius* only ſays that *Silvanus* was born at *Gaza*, and made Biſhop over thoſe Chriſtians that wrought in the Mines in *Paleſtine*. The *Greeks* (in their *Menæa*, at the 14th of *October*) ſeem to have taken theſe Words of *Euſebius* in this ſenſe. For they ſay that *Silvanus* was Presbyter of the Church at *Gaza*: And, after he had ſuffered moſt acute tortures at *Cæſarea*, *was condemned to the Mines*, *where the Office of a Biſhop was conferred on him by the Chriſtians*. So the *Menæa*. But *Euſebius* (in Book 8. Chap. 13.) does expreſly call him Biſhop of *Gaza*. Valeſ.

* This *John* is mentioned in the *Menæum*, at the twentieth of *September*. Valeſ.

Maximinus. in theſe our days, contrary to all expectation. For, during the Perſecution in our times, the Empire was divided into two parts. Thoſe Brethren which were Inhabitants of the one part, that juſt now mentioned, enjoy'd peace: But ſuch as dwelt in the other part of the Empire, endured innumerable Conflicts [renew'd againſt them] ſucceſſively. But when Divine Grace gave ſome Indications of its candid and compaſſionate Viſitation of us, then thoſe very Governours of ours (who before had been raiſers of the Wars waged againſt us in our days,) having moſt miraculouſly altered their minds, ſounded a Retreat; extinguiſhing the flame of Perſecution kindled againſt us, by Reſcripts publiſhed in favour to us, and by mild Edicts. (*c*) 'Tis requiſite, that we record their Retraction. *Maximinus.*

(*c*) The concluſion of this Book is wanting; to wit, the Retractation, of the Emperors, or *Galerius Maximianus*'s Edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to the Perſecution. But this defect may be eaſily made up from *the laſt Chapter of the Eighth Book of the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.* Valeſ.

The End of *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s Book concerning the Martyrs of *Paleſtine.*

THE

NINTH BOOK

Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the counterfeited Ceſſation [of the Perſecution.]

THIS Revocation contained in the Imperial Edict (*a*) mentioned before, was publiſhed in all parts of *Aſia*, and (*b*) throughout the adjacent Provinces. After which Publications thus made, *Maximin* the Eaſtern Tyrant, a perſon as impious as ever breathed, and a moſt deadly Enemy to the Worſhip of the ſupream God;) being in no wiſe pleaſed with theſe Reſcripts, inſtead of the foremention'd Edict, iſſues out a verbal Order only to thoſe Governours within his Juriſdiction, that they ſhould ſtop the Perſecution againſt us. For, in regard he durſt not in any wiſe oppoſe the Decree of his Superiors, * having concealed the foremention'd *Edict*, and taken ſuch care, as that it ſhould not be publickly propoſed in the Provinces under his Juriſdiction; he gives order by word of mouth only to thoſe Governours under him, that they ſhould put a ſtop to the Perſecution againſt us; of which Order they inform one another by Letters. For *Sabinus*, who was then honoured with the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium* (the chiefeſt Office (*c*) among them) in a Latin Epiſtle to the Governours of the Provinces declared *the* (*d*) *Emperor's Pleaſure*; (c) Inſtead of [παρ' αὐτοῖς, *with them*] the reading in *Nicephorus* is [παρ' αὐτῶ,] *with him*, ſhewing that *Sabinus* was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin.* But our Copies do all agree in the former reading, that is [*with them,*] in the plural number; which is the trueſt. For, although *Sabinus* bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium* (which we may call the Office of *Lord Chief Juſtice, or of Lieutenant General under the Emperor, to govern Provinces in Civil Cauſes*; See *Pancirol.* in *Notitiam Imper. Orient.* cap. 5.) under *Maximinus Cæſar* in the Eaſt; yet becauſe he was made *Præfect* by *Galerius*, therefore he is ſtiled the *Præfect* of the *Emperors*, meaning *Galerius* and *Maximinus.* For the *Cæſars* had not the power of creating *Præfects*; but they were made by the *Auguſti*, as may be ſhewn from many places in *Amm. Marcellinus.* Hence 'tis, that *Sabinus* in his Edict (which *Euſebius* does here inſert) always ſpeaks of the Emperors in the plural number, to let the Governors of particular Provinces underſtand, that that was the Command of the *Emperors*, to wit, *Galerius*, *Conſtantinus*, *Licinius*, and *Maximinus.* Alſo, by theſe words [παρ' αὐτοῖς] may be meant *the Governors of thoſe Provinces which were under* Maximin's *juriſdiction*: For *Euſebius* ſpeaks of them in the foregoing Sentence. Indeed, this expoſition ſeems moſt natural to me; but then we muſt render [παρ' αὐτοῖς] not *with*, but *amongſt them*; which Rendition the Greek will bear. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *Ruſinus* tranſlates this place thus; *Sed Sabinus*, &c. *But Sabinus, who at that time was chief of the Provinces; and inſerted the foremention'd Imperial Edict, thereby manifeſting to all Men that which* Maximin *had attempted to conceal.* But *Ruſinus* has not expreſſed *Euſebius*'s meaning in this Rendition of his words. For *Sabinus* did not ſet *Galerius* the Emperor's Decree before his own Order, as it was uſual for the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* to do; in regard *Maximin* had made it his buſineſs, that that Imperial Conſtitution ſhould be concealed from thoſe Provinces under his Government. For he was highly diſpleaſed at *Galerius*'s Reſcript; both in regard the Chriſtians (whom he had hitherto moſt barbarouſly perſecuted,) were delivered from his butcheries; and alſo becauſe his name was not prefix'd before the foreſaid Decree. For, after *Galerius*'s and *Conſtantine*'s name, *Licinius*'s was ſet before the Reſcript: But *Maximin*'s name, (he being as yet but *Cæſar* only) was not there. Therefore, partly for ſhame, partly out of indignation, *Maximin* ſuppreſſed that Edict. But *Sabinus*

(*a*) Προστεθεὶς (the term here uſed) muſt be taken for μεταστεθεὶς, as is frequent in our Author. We have this revocation of the Emperor's Decree in the 8th Book of this Hiſtory, at the latter end. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) By theſe words [τὰς ἀμφὶ ταύτην ἐπαρχίας] *Chriſtoph.* underſtands all the Provinces of *Aſia*; but *Ruſinus* thinks *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia* and the reſt of the Provinces bordering on every ſide are meant, which were under the Emperor *Galerius*'s Government; excepting only the *Eaſtern Provinces*, over which *Maximinus Cæſar* was Ruler. *Valeſ.*

* Ἐν ἀποβύστῳ θεῖς, we have tranſlated *having concealed*: The Phraſe is borrowed from the *Attick Lawyers*; ἀπόβυστον with them ſignifies *that Court where Matters of ſmall importance were adjuſted*, to wit, *not exceeding one drachm.* The Judges of this Court were the *Undecemviri*; This Court ſtood in an obſcure place of the City, and hence ἐν ἀποβύστῳ is in *Demoſthenes*, and here alſo in our Author, us'd metaphorically, for *privily.*

(in this Epiſtle of his to the Preſidents of the Provinces) makes very little mention of this Conſtitution, becauſe he would not diſpleaſe *Maximin.* Further, by the word [*Emperor*] *Chriſtophorſon* thought *Maximin* was meant. But I like *Ruſinus*'s Verſion better, who ſuppoſed *Galerius* to be underſtood thereby; and beſides, *Euſebius* uſually calls *Maximin* by the name of *Tyrant*, not *Cæſar*. Valeſ.

Maximinus. the Contents of which Letter we have thus tranſlated:

The Majeſty of our moſt ſacred Lords the Emperors, by their earneſt and moſt devout Care, have long ſince determined to render the Minds of all Men conformable to the true and holy Rule of Living; that by this means they who ſeem to have embraced Uſages different from thoſe of the Romans, *might be induced to exhibit due Worſhip to the Immortal Gods. But the obſtinate and moſt untractable Perverſeneſs of ſome Mens Minds was arrived at ſuch an height, that neither could the Juſtice of the* [*Imperial*] *Decree prevail with them to recede from their own Reſolutions, nor the imminent Puniſhment annexed ſtrike any terror into them. Since therefore it might have happened, that upon this account many would have precipitated themſelves into danger; the Sacred Majeſty of our Lords the moſt Puiſſant Emperors, (according to their innate Clemency) judging it diſagreeable to their own moſt ſacred Intent, that upon this occaſion Men ſhould be ſurrounded with ſuch great danger; enjoyn'd our * Devotion to write to your Prudence: That if evidence be brought againſt any* Chriſtian *for his following that way of Worſhip obſerved amongſt thoſe of his own Religion, you ſhould ſecure him and ſet him free from all danger and moleſtation, and that you ſhould condemn none to be puniſhed upon account of this pretence. For ſince it has been manifeſtly evidenced that during ſo long a tract of time they could by no means be perſwaded to deſiſt from their perverſe Stubborneſs; your Prudence therefore is enjoyn'd to write to the* Curators, *to the Magiſtrates, and to the Preſidents of the Villages* [*belonging to*] *every City, that they may underſtand, that for the future they are not to take any further care concerning* (e) *this affair.*

* I ſuppoſe, theſe are the terms of honour, which theſe great Officers had given to them in all Addreſſes; and which they themſelves alſo made uſe of, when they mentioned themſelves in any Letters they wrote to others: The Words in the Greek are καθοσίωσις, which *Valeſius* renders *devotio*; and ἐγχείνεια, by him tranſlated *Solertia.*

(e) I doubt not but in ſtead of [τὸ γράμμα] Θ, *this decree*] it ought to be [τὸ πράγμα] Θ, *this affair.*] Which amendment *Nicephorus* confirms Book 7. Chap. 24. who has expreſs'd this place thus, *that they ſhould not trouble themſelves any further about the* Chriſtians. *Valeſ.*

Hereupon, all the Governours of Provinces, ſuppoſing that the Letter written to them [by *Sabinus*] contained [*Maximin*'s] true and genuine meaning, did by their Letters communicate the Emperor's pleaſure to the *Curators*, Magiſtrates, and Preſidents of the Villages. Nor did they urge theſe things to them by Letters only, but much more by ſuch deeds, as that the Prince's Command might thereby be put in execution; bringing forth, and ſetting at liberty thoſe Priſoners which they had in hold for Confeſſion of the Faith of God; and alſo releaſing them who had been adjudged to the puniſhment of working in the Mines. For they ſuppoſed that this would in reality be well-pleaſing to the * Emperor, but herein they were miſtaken. Theſe things being thus finiſhed, on a ſudden (like ſome bright-ſhining Light which darts forth its Rays after a thick darkſome Night,) you might have ſeen Churches gathered together throughout every City; full Aſſemblies; and the uſual (f) ſolemn Services performed at theſe Meetings. All the Infidels were not a little aſtoniſhed at theſe things, wondring at ſo great and unexpected an alteration of Affairs; and crying out, that the God of the Chriſtians was the Great and only True God. Alſo, thoſe of our Religion, who had faithfully and manfully ſtrove in the Combat of Perſecution, obtained great confidence and freedom amongſt all Men. But as many as through weakneſs of Faith had made ſhipwreck of their Souls, with much earneſtneſs ran to ſeek for a remedy; begging and praying for an aſſiſting Right Hand from them that were ſtrong, and ſupplicating God to be merciful to them. Moreover, ſoon after this, the Noble Champions of Religion, releaſed from their ſervitude in labouring in the Mines, return'd to their own Countries; and being glad and jocund, travelling through the Cities, were filled with an inexpreſſible Joy, and a Confidence unutterable. Thus did numerous Companies of perſons that were Chriſtians perform their Journies, lauding God with *Hymns* and *Pſalms* in the midſt of the High-ways and Market-places. And you might now have ſeen thoſe, (who but lately had been in Bonds, groaning under moſt ſevere Puniſhments, and driven from their own *Countries*) with joyful and pleaſant *Countenances* poſſeſſing their own *Habitations* again: In ſo much that they, who formerly [threatned to] murther and deſtroy us, when they ſaw this Miracle which did ſo far ſurpaſs all Mens expectation, rejoyc'd with us at what had happened.

* To *Maximin.*

(f) Συνάξεις, *aſſemblies*, is here uſed inſtead of σωνάξεις, *ſolemn ſervices*. *Dionyſius Alexandr.* uſed this term in the ſame ſenſe, as we noted before. There was a twofold *Synaxis*; one of the Prayers; the other of the Sacraments. *Athanaſius* mentions the former, in *his Apology to Conſtantius.* Valeſ.

Maximinus.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Change of Affairs which did afterwards enſue.

BUT the Tyrant (who, as we ſaid before, Ruled in the Eaſtern parts) no longer able to endure theſe things, (he being a profeſſed Enemy to Goodneſs, and one who laid wait to enſnare all good Men) ſuffered not this ſtate of Affairs to continue (a) the ſpace of ſix months complete. But, inventing all the ways imaginable to ſubvert the Peace, firſt he attempted (upon ſome pretence or other) to hinder us from aſſembling in the * *Cœmiteria*. Afterwards (b) he ſends an Embaſſie to himſelf againſt us, having ſollicited the *Antiochians*, by the means of ſome impious perſons, that they ſhould petition to obtain this from him (under the notion of the greateſt favour,) *to wit*, that he would impower them to ſuffer no *Chriſtians* to dwell amongſt them: He alſo excited the Inhabitants of other Cities to do the like. The Chief of all theſe was one *Theotecnus*, an *Antiochian*; a turbulent Perſon, an Impoſtor, and a wicked Man, (whoſe Nature was not anſwerable to his † Name;) he was at that time (c) *Curator* of *Antioch*.

(a) *Maximinus Galerius* did not live long after he had made that Decree for the Peace and Liberty of the Chriſtians, but within a few months after, dy'd of a *wound* which had feſter'd. See the *Appendix* to the eighth Book of this Hiſtory. When *Maximinus Cæſar* heard of his death, he renewed the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and proclaimed himſelf *Auguſtus*; whereas he was only *Cæſar* before, and was compelled to obey the Commands of *Galer. Auguſtus.* Valeſ.

* See Book 7. Chap. 11. Note (f.)

(b) What is meant by this elegant paſſage [αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβεύεται] neither *Chriſtophorſon* nor *Muſculus* underſtood: the meaning of it is this: *Maximin* ſent underhand ſome cunning Men to ſollicit the *Antiochians*, to ſend Embaſſadors to his Court, to requeſt of him, that they might have liberty to drive out all *Chriſtians* from amongſt them. Hence *Maximin*, who did underhand procure this Embaſſy, may well be ſaid to have ſent this Embaſſy to himſelf, and he himſelf to have been the Embaſſador; this tranſpoſition of Words is frequent and familiar in *Euſebius.* Valeſ.

† The import of *Theotecnus* in the *Greek*, is, *a Son of God.*

(c) See Book 8. Chap. 11. Note (b.)

CHAP.

Maximinus.

CHAP. III.

Concerning an Image newly made at Antioch.

WHen this [*Theotecnus*] therefore had several ways made his attacks against us, and had taken all imaginable care to hunt those of our Religion out of their Coverts, (as if they had been Thieves and Malefactors,) and had invented all the ways and methods of calumniating and accusing us, and had been the occasion of putting many Men to death: At last he erects an Image of (*a*) *Jupiter Philius*, and (*b*) consecrates it with Magick Charms. And, having invented and instituted, in honour of it, impure Ceremonies, execrable Initiations, and most detestable Expiations; he gave the Emperor himself a demonstration of the imposture of his Oracles, by which he effected what he had undertaken. Moreover, this Man, to please the Emperor by his Flattery, stirreth up the *Dæmon* against the *Christians*; feigning that God commanded, that the *Christians* (as being his Enemies) should be banished the City, and all the Countries adjoyning to the City.

(*a*) This Temple of *Jupiter Philius* at *Antioch* is mention'd by *Julianus*, in *Misopogone*, and by *Libanus* (if I mistake not) in *Antiochico*. Vales.

(*b*) The Ceremonies of the Gentiles, used in the erection aud consecration of Images to their Gods, were various. For *Jupiter Ctesius* was consecrated with one sort of Rites, *Herceus* with another, and *Philius* with a third sort. *Jupiter Ctesius*, whose Image they kept in their Store-houses, was consecrated with a little Tub. *Anticlides* (in Ξηγλικῷ, that is, in his B. *De Ritubus Sacris, apud Athenæum*, B. 11. Cap. 6.) relates the Ceremonies of Consecration. *Jupiter Herceus* was consecrated with Pots: See *Aristophanes in Danaidibus*. After the same manner were those Images Consecrated, which they erected to *Mercury*, and other Gods: And this they termed, χύτρους ἱδρύειν, *to Consecrate with Pots*. In these Pots they boyled all sorts of pulse, of which they offered sacrifice to those Gods they Consecrated, in memory of the food eaten in old times, and of the frugality of the Ancients. But when they designed to be at greater cost in treating their God, then they killed a sacrifice at the erection of his Image; which they termed ἱδρύειν ἱερείῳ, *to Consecrate with a slain Sacrifice*. See *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) and his *Scholiast*. pag. 693. See *Suidas* also, in the word χανῶν. Besides these Ceremonies, they used sometimes *Magical Consecrations*; So *Theotecnus* did here, in the Dedication of an Image to *Jupiter Philius*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Decrees [*of the Cities*] *against the* Christians.

WHen *Theotecnus*, (the first person that acted against us) had had this desired success, all the other Magistrates, inhabiting the Cities under *Maximin*'s Jurisdiction, hastned to establish the same Decree; also, the Governours of Provinces, perceiving that this was acceptable to the Emperor, prompted those that lived within their District, to do the same thing: Moreover, when the Tyrant had by his Rescript most willingly assented to their Ordinances, the Flame of Persecution was again kindled afresh against us. At length, Priests of the Images were constituted in every City; and moreover, such Men as had been most eminent in State Employments, and had acquitted themselves honourably in the publick Offices they had born, were by (*a*) *Maximin* himself created Chief Priests. These Men were very diligent and earnest about the Worship of their Gods. For, (that I may speak briefly) the great Superstition of this Emperor had such an influence as well upon the Governours, as the Private Persons within the Limits of his Government, that it induced them all to act any thing against us in compliance to him: And they thought, that to murther us, and to invent some new mischievous Stratagems against us, was the most grateful Acknowledgment they could pay for the Favours they expected to receive from him.

Maximinus.

(*a*) By ἀρχιερεῖς are meant *Sacerdotes Provinciarum*. Concerning whom see Book 8. Chap. 14. Note (*b*.) A *Sacerdos Provinciæ* was created by the Votes of the *Decuriones*, i. e. the *Senators*, or *Aldermen* of the City. Now those Men especially were advanced to this Dignity, who had with honour acquitted themselves in the discharge of all Offices belonging to the Court; as we may see in *Cod. Theod. Tit. De Decurionibus*. *Eusebius* here takes notice of it as a thing new and unusual, that *Maximinus* himself should elect the *Sacerdotes Provinciæ*. Vales.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the forged Acts.

HAving therefore forged some (*a*) Acts of *Pilate* concerning *our Saviour*, which were stuffed with all manner of Blasphemy against Christ; by [*Maximin*] the Emperor's Order they send them throughout all his Dominions; commanding by their Letters that these Records should be posted up in all places, both in the Country and in the Cities; and that such as were School-masters should give them to their Scholars in stead of their Lessons, and make them study them, that so they might have them imprinted on their Memories. Whilst these things were done after this manner, the Chief Commander in the Army at *Damascus*, a City of *Phœnicia* (whom the *Romans* call a *Captain*) having haled some infamous Women out of the Marketplace, compelled them by threatning them with tortures, to (*b*) testifie, by subscribing the said publick Records, that they were formerly *Christians*; and that they were conscious to their prophane practices; and that in their very *Churches* they perform'd obscene and lascivious actions; and what-ever else he would have them say, that might bring a scandal upon our Religion. The Testimonies of these Women he inserted into the said Acts, and sent them to the Emperor: By whose order these very Records were published in every City, and in all other places.

(*a*) Concerning the falseness of these *Acts*, see what *Eusebius* has remark'd B. 1. Chap. 9. These *Acts* are mention'd in *Act. Præsidial. Tarachi, Probi, & Andronici*, cap. 9. where *Maximus* the President says these words, *Wretch, knowest thou not, that that* Christ, *whom thou callest upon, was a Man committed to custody by* Pontius Pilate, *and punished by him*; *the Acts of whose passion are extant?* Moreover, these *Acta Præsidialia Tarachi*, &c. were performed when *Diocletian* was Consul the fourth time, and *Maximian* the third, as the inscription of the first interrogatory sheweth. Whence 'tis plain, that these *Acts* of *Pilate* were forged long before the Persecution; the contrary to which *Eusebius* affirms in this place. But, that I may freely speak my sense, the inscription of these *Acta præsidialia* is in my judgment false; and it should be corrected thus, *when* Diocletian *was Consul the ninth time, and* Maximian *the eighth:* For (1) there is, in those *Acts*, mention of the Imperial Command, whereby 'twas ordered that all Men should sacrifice to the Gods. Now this command was issued out on the nineteenth year of *Diocletian*'s Empire. (2) In *the ninth Chapter* these Words occur. *The President said, you curse the Princes, who have secured a lasting and continual Peace. Andronicus said, I have cursed the Plague, and the Blood-thirsty, which destroy the World.* That expression [*concerning the securing a lasting and continual Peace*] cannot agree with the fourth Consulate of *Diocletian*; for at that time the *Barbarians* attacked the *Roman* Empire on every side. Besides, I can't see how *Diocletian* and *Maximian* can be termed, *Blood-thirsty*, till after the 19th year of *Diocletian*, when the Persecution began. Lastly, which is another Argument, *Eusebius* affirms, that these Acts of *Pilate* were forged in the time of this Persecution. *Vales.*

(*b*) *Rufinus* has rendred the Greek Phrase here (which is λέγειν ἐγγράφως) thus, *Actis profiteri, to attest the truth of the said Acts by signing of them:* For an evidence may be given both by word of mouth, and in writing also. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning them that suffered Martyrdom in those Times.

BUT not long after, this Captain was his own Executioner, suffering a condign Punishment for his malicious Wickedness. And now

Maximinus.

Baniſhments and moſt horrid Perſecutions were a freſh raiſed againſt us; the Preſidents in every Province renewing their cruel Inſurrections againſt us: In ſo much that ſome of the moſt eminent Aſſerters of the Divine Faith were apprehended, and without any Commiſeration had the ſentence of Death pronounced againſt them. Three of them having profeſſed themſelves *Chriſtians*, were caſt to the Wild-Beaſts and devour'd by them at *Emeſa*, a City of *Phœnicia*: Amongſt them there was a Biſhop, one (*a*) *Silvanus*, a very old man, who had born that Office forty years compleat. At the ſame time alſo, (*b*) *Peter*, that moſt eminent Prelate of the *Alexandrian* Church, (the chiefeſt Ornament and Glory of the Biſhops, both for his virtuous Life, and his Study and Knowledge in the ſacred Scriptures) being apprehended for no crime at all, was beheaded contrary to every bodies expectation) by *Maximin*'s order on a ſudden, and without any ſpecious pretence. Likewiſe many other *Egyptian* Biſhops ſuffered the ſame death that he did. (*c*) *Lucianus* alſo, Presbyter of the Church at *Antioch*, a very pious Man, much famed for his Continency, and his Knowledge in the ſacred Scriptures, was brought to the City of *Nicomedia*, (*d*) where the Emperor then kept his Court; and after he had made his Apology, in defence of that Doctrine which he aſſerted, before the Preſident he was committed to Priſon and murther'd. In fine, *Maximin*, that profeſſed Enemy of all Virtue, did in a ſhort time load us with ſuch Burthens of Afflictions, that this lattter ſtorm of Perſecution raiſed by him ſeemed to us far more grievous than the former.

(*a*) This *Silvanus* is a different perſon from that *Silvanus* which *Euſebius* mentions in his Book *concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, chap. the laſt. For this was Biſhop of *Emeſa*; the other was Biſhop of *Gaza*. The firſt was beheaded in the Mines at *Paleſtine* with 39 other Martyrs; in the eighth year of the Perſecution. But this *Silvanus* was caſt to the wild Beaſts at *Emeſa*, on the ninth year of the Perſecution. Concerning this Man's Martyrdom *Euſebius* has ſaid ſomething before, in his eighth Book, although not in its proper place; ſee Book 8. Chap. 13. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Euſebius* mentioned this Man's Martyrdom before in the eighth Book, Chap. 13. but not in its proper place. For the eighth Book does not go beyond the eighth year of the Perſecution. But *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was Martyr'd in the ninth year of the Perſecution (which *Euſebius* expreſly affirmeth in the end of the ſeventh Book) upon the ſeventh of the Calends of *December*, as we read in the *Excerpta Chronologica* publiſhed by *Scaliger*. *Uſuardus* ſays the ſame; and ſo does *Ado*, and the *old Roman Martyrology*. The *Greeks* celebrate his birth-day on the 24th of *November*. The Acts of his Paſſion are extant in a MS. in Greek, which the Reverend Father *Franciſcus Combefiſius* has, and will ſhortly publiſh, with many other things. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Euſebius* has mentioned this Man's Martyrdom at Book 8. Chap. 13. though not in its due place. But here he remarks the time more diſtinctly, wherein *Peter* and *Lucianus* ſuffered; to wit, under *Maximin*; not in the Reign of *Galerius Maximianus*, as *Baronius* would have us believe, at the year of Chriſt 311. cap. 3. Alſo, *Baronius* is miſtaken in placing the Martyrdom of *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* on the year of Chriſt 310. for he ſuffered in the year of our Lord 311, on the ninth year current of the Perſecution. *Baronius*'s error aroſe from his beginning the Perſecution a year too ſoon; which miſtake we have ſufficiently confuted before, at Book 8. Chap. 2. Note (*c.*) Moreover, in regard *Lucianus*'s Martyrdom happened under *Maximin*, the Martyrdom of *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Nicomedia* ſhould in my judgment, be placed under *Maximin* alſo. Indeed *Anthimus* ſuffered a little before *Lucianus*, as *Lucianus* informs us in his Epiſtle to the *Antiochians*, which I made mention of in Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (*a*). We may alſo make the ſame concluſion from the *Acts* of *Lucianus* the Martyr; where, inſtead of *Maximinus*, we read *Maximianus*, which is a common error in the *Greeks*. Valeſ.

(*d*) When *Galerius* was dead, *Maximinus* took poſſeſſion of *Aſia* and *Bithynia*; which Provinces (together with *Illyricum*, and *Thracia*) were governed by *Galerius*. For *Galerius* kept theſe Provinces for himſelf, as *Eutropius* informs us; the ſame is aſſerted by the *old Author of the Excerptions*, which I publiſhed at the end of my *Amm. Marcellinus*. *Maximinus* therefore made his abode at *Nicomedia*, which was the chief City of *Bithynia*; where the Emperors had a Pallace ever ſince *Diocletian*'s time. Further, the following Words do evidently manifeſt, that by the term [*Emperor*] *Maximinus* muſt be meant. Wherefore I wonder at *Baronius*, for aſſerting that *Lucianus* ſuffered under *Galerius*, not under *Maximin*; when as *Euſebius*, contemporary with *Lucianus*, affirms he was killed by *Maximin*. Valeſ.

Maximinus.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Edict againſt us, which was [ingraven on Brazen Plates and] hung up on the Pillars.

MOreover, in the midſt of every City ((*a*) which was never ſeen before) the Decrees of Cities, and alſo the Imperial Edicts againſt us, were ingraven on Brazen Plates, and propoſed to open view. And the Boys in the Schools had nothing in their Mouths * all day long but *Jeſus* and *Pilate*, and the Acts which were forged to diſgrace us. I judge it pertinent to inſert here this very Reſcript of *Maximin*'s, which was ingraven on Plates of Braſs: Both that the proud and arrogant Inſolency of this Man's Hatred towards God may be manifeſted: And alſo that it may hence be made apparent, that Divine Juſtice (which hates the Impious, and keeps a continual watch againſt them) did within a very ſhort time purſue and overtake him: By which Divine Juſtice he was enforced to alter his Sentiments ſoon after concerning us, and to confirm them by his Edicts in Writing. But theſe are the Contents of his Reſcript.

(*a*) Any Man may juſtly wonder why *Euſebius* ſhould affirm here, *that this was never ſeen before.* Were the Decrees of the Cities, or the Edicts of the Emperors, never publiſhed before now? This cannot be deny'd: Nor is it deny'd by our *Euſebius*. But that which he aſſerts *to have never been ſeen before*, is, the ingraving of theſe Edicts upon plates of Braſs. For (as we obſerved before, Book 8. Chap. 5. Note (*b.*) the Imperial Edicts were written on Paper. *Valeſ.*

* Καθ' πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, *all day long*; ſo *Rufinus* and *Langus* render it: *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* tranſlate it, *quotidiè*, *daily*. Valeſ.

A COPY OF THE TRANSLATION OF MAXIMIN'S RESCRIPT, IN ANSWER TO THE DECREES OF THE CITIES AGAINST US, TRANSCRIBED FROM A BRAZEN PLATE AT TYRE.

Now at length the infirm Confidence of Man's Mind, having ſhaken off and diſperſed the Cloud and Miſt of Error (which heretofore inveſted the Senſes of Men, not ſo much wicked as wretched, being involved in the fatal Night of Ignorance,) may diſcern, that it is undoubtedly governed and ſtrengthned by the indulgent Providence of the immortal Gods. It is incredible to expreſs how grateful, how pleaſing and acceptable a thing it was to us, that you gave ſuch a Proof of your Pious Reſolution towards the Gods. Indeed, before this time no perſon was inſenſible of the Obſervancy and Religious Worſhip you ſhew'd to the immortal Gods; (b) for your Faith is made known to them not in bare and empty Words, but by uninterrupted and miraculous eminent Acts, upon which account your City may deſervedly be ſtiled the Seat and Manſion of the immortal Gods. For it is manifeſtly evident by many Inſtances, that She flouriſheth by the (c) Arrival and Preſence of the Celeſtial Deities in Her: But lo! Now your City (careleſs of all its own particular Concerns, and having no regard to the Petitions, which in times paſt it did uſually make [to us] for the welfare of its Affairs,) when it was ſenſible that the Promoters of that accurſed themſelves. *Maximin* does attempt to blacken the faith of the Chriſtians by theſe words; he calls it, ἀσυκένων ῥημάτων πίστις, *a faith of bare words:* as if the Chriſtian faith had nothing in it but words, and were void of all reality. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* thought that this clauſe ought to be referr'd to *Deos* (*the Gods:*) But we make it to be referr'd to the *Tyrians*

(*c*) The antients believed, that on ſet days the Gods deſcended into thoſe Cities for which they had a kindneſs: Hence it is that the Inhabitants of *Delos* and *Miletum* ſolemnized the coming of *Apollo:* and the *Argivi*, the advent of *Diana.* This coming of the Gods we find mentioned up and down in the Poets, as in *Virgil.* Hence it is, that upon old Coins, and in the Calendar, we find written *Adventus Impp.* Valeſ.

Vanity

Maximinus.

Vanity did begin to creep again, and [perceived] that (like Fire which is carelessly left and raked up,) it brake forth into violent Flames, the Brands thereof being rekindled, immediately without the least delay made its Address to our Piety, as to the Metropolis *of all Religion, petitioning for a Redress and an Assistance. 'Tis evident that the Gods have instilled into your Minds this wholesome Advice upon account of your constant and faithful Perseverance in your Religion. For the most High and Mighty* Jupiter, *(who presides over your most famous City, and preserveth your Country Gods, your Wives and Children, your Families and Houses from all manner of Destruction and Ruin) hath breathed into your Minds this salutary Resolution; whence he hath evidenced and plainly demonstrated, what an excellent, noble, and comfortable thing it is, to adore him, and to approach the sacred Ceremonies of the immortal Gods with a due Observancy and Veneration. For what Man can there be found so foolish and so void of all Reason, who perceives not that it comes to pass by the favourable Care of the Gods towards us, that neither the Earth does deny to restore the Seeds committed to it, frustrating the hopes of the Husbandmen with vain Expectations, or that the Aspect of impious War is not (d) immoveably fixed on the Earth; or that Mens Bodies are not hurried away to the Grave being tainted by an Infection in the temperature of the Air: Or that the Sea, tossed with the Blasts of tempestuous Winds does not swell and overflow: Or that Storms beaking forth on a sudden and unexpectedly do not raise a destructive Tempest: Or lastly, that the Earth (the Nurse and Mother of all things,) shaken by an horrid Trembling, arising from its own internal Caverns, (e) does not raise vast Hills out of its own Bowels; or that the Mountains which lie upon it are not swallowed up by its unexpected Scissures and Rents. There is no Man but knows that all these Calamities, (yea far more horrid than these) have happened heretofore. And all these Evils fell upon us, because of that pernicious Error and most vain Folly of those wicked Men, at such time as it abounded in their Souls, and burthened the whole Earth almost with Shame and Confusion.* After the interposition of some words, he continues: *Let Men now look into the open Fields, and see the flourishing Corn, waving its weighty Ears; let them view the Meadows gloriously bedecked with Flowers and Grass caused by the seasonable springing Showers: Let them consider the Constitution of the Air, how temperate and calm it is again become. In future let all men rejoyce, for that by your Piety, by your Sacrifices and Religious Worship, the Fury of that most potent and strong God* Mars *is appeased; and for this reason, let them securely solace themselves in the quiet enjoyment of a most prosperous and serene Peace. And, as many as have deserted that blind Error, and wholly relinquished those impertinent Wandrings, by returning to a right and sound Temper of Mind, let them rejoyce the more upon that account; in regard, (being delivered as it were from a Storm unforeseen, and from a fatal Disease,) they shall in future reap the sweet Enjoyments of an happy Life. But if any shall wilfully persist in that their execrable Vanity and Error, let them be banished and driven far from your City and its Vicinage (according to your request:) That by this means your City, being (agreeable to your commendable Diligence in this Affair) freed from all Pollution and Impiety, may wholly devote it self (according to its natural Inclination) to attend upon the Sacrifices and Worship of the immortal Gods with all due veneration. Now, that you may be sensible how acceptable your Address in this Case was to us, and how ready and forward our Mind is voluntarily to comply with and reward good Desires even without any Decrees or Supplication; we permit your Devotion to ask the greatest Favour you have a mind to, upon account of this your Religious Attempt. And now therefore make it your business, to ask this, and have it granted. For you shall obtain it without any delay. And this great Boon granted to your City shall endure throughout all Ages, both as a Testimony of your most Religious Piety towards the immortal Gods; and shall also be an Evidence to your Children and Descendants, that for this your good Course and Resolution of Life you have received due Rewards from our Gracious Goodness.*

Maximinus.

(d) Περὶ σὺν σπείζεσθαι. He alludes to that Aspect of the Planets called σπειγμὸν; which term is used concerning the Planets, *when they seem to move neither backward, nor forward in their Epicycles; but are stationary.* Valesius.

(e) In the Greek Text the term is [καταδυομένην, *parts* [*not*] *in sunder*] but it should be [ἀναδυομένην, *does* [*not*] *raise vast Hills* out of *its own bowels.*] For two sorts of Earthquakes (contrary to each other) are here spoken of by *Maximin*; to wit, (1) βρασμαΐαι; which (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* describes them, Book 17. pag. 98. Edit. *Paris* 1636.) *Humum molestius suscitantes sursum propellunt immanissimas moles, raise the ground after an horrid manner, and drive forth vast quantities of earth:* (2) χασμαΐαι, which (according to *Ammianus Marcellinus* description, *loc. citat.*) *grandiori motu patefactis subito voratrinis, terrarum partes absorbent, having on a sudden made vast scissures in the Ground by a most violent motion, swallow up parts of the Earth.* See *Valesius*'s Notes on these words of *Ammianus Marcellinus*; pag. 142. *Maximin* means here that Earthquake which afflicted the City of *Tyre*, in that Year before *Diocletian*'s Persecution, as our *Eusebius* relates in his *Chronicon.* Vales.

This Rescript against us was fixed up, on the Pillars throughout every Province, and did utterly exclude us from all hopes of Safety, as far as it lay in Human power to do: In so much that (according to that Divine Oracle) * *Even the elect themselves, were it possible, would have been offended at these things.* But now, when all expectation [of assistance from above] was amongst most of us in a manner expired and extinct; while they, who were commission'd to publish the foresaid Edict against us, were in some Countries yet on their Journey; God, the Protector of his own Church, (repressing the outragious Insolence of the Tyrant against us, by stopping his Mouth as it were;) did on a sudden demonstrate his Celestial assistance in defence of us.

* He alludes to Matth. 24. 24.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning what afterwards happen'd in the time of the Wars, of the Famine, and of the Pestilence.

* FOR Showers and Rains which would then have been seasonable (it being Winter) withheld their wonted Streams from the Earth: Upon which happen'd a Famine, not so much as thought of or expected, which was followed by a Pestilence. There raged also another violent Disease, (it was an Ulcer, which was properly call'd a *Carbuncle*, upon account of its violent burning.) This Ulcer spread itself over all the parts of the Body, and was very fatal and dangerous to them that were afflicted with it. And because its chief Seat was for the most part longest about the Eyes, it blinded a great many Men, Women, and Children. Besides all these Calamities, the Tyrant did now engage in a War against the *Armenians*, who had been old Friends and Allies of the *Romans*. This * person hated by God, endeavour'd to compel these Men (who were all *Christians*, very studious and industrious about the Service of God,) to sacrifice to Idols and *Dæmons*, and so rendred them Foes

* The most ancient *Mat.* MS. begins the Chap. 8. at these words; to which agrees the *Fuk.* MS. and *Rufinus.* Vales.

* *Maximin.*

Maximinus.

instead of being Friends, and bitter Enemies instead of Confederates. All these Calamities therefore, hapning on a sudden at one and the same time, did curb and confute the arrogant boasting of the insolent Tyrant against God; who had impudently bragg'd, that in regard of his care in worshipping Idols, and persecuting us, neither War nor Famine, nor Pestilence, had hapned in his Reign. Therefore all these Calamities coming to pass together, and at the same instant, were as Prologues and Fore-runners of his imminent Ruin. Both He and his Armies suffered much in the Expedition against the *Armenians*: And the residue, who inhabited the Cities under his Government, were miserably oppressed with the Plague and Famine: So that one Measure of Wheat was sold for two thousand five hundred * *Attick Drachms.* Innumerable were they that died in the Cities, but more in the Countries and Villages; so that now the † *Censor's Tables* which were formerly filled with the names of Country-men, wanted but little of one continued Blot; almost all persons being destroy'd either by the want of Sustenance, or the Pestilential Disease: Some did not refuse to sell to the wealthier sort, even those things which were most dear to them, for a little morsel of Food. Others selling their Estates by parcels, were reduced to the greatest want and extremity. Other-some chew'd in pieces little handfuls of Grass, which they had pluck'd up, and making no distinction, but eating poisonous Herbs together therewith, which corrupted the healthful Constitution of their Bodies, they perished. Also in every City divers Women of good Families, being reduced through want to shameless necessity, came forth to beg in the Market-place: Their modest Countenances and neatness of Dress were an evidence of their genteel Education: Some were pined away and dried up like the Ghosts of persons departed, so that they went reeling and tottering this way and that way, and being not able to stand, fell down in the midst of the Streets, and lying stretched out upon the Ground with their Faces downward, they craved that even the least morsel of Bread might be given them: And at their very last gasp cried out, that they were hungry; being only strong enough to utter this most doleful expression. But others that seem'd to be rich, astonish'd at the multitude of Beggars, when they had given away a great deal, afterwards became uncompassionate and inexorable, expecting that they themselves should ere-long suffer the same Extremities with those that now begg'd of them. So that now the dead Carkasses which lay in the midst of the Market-places and By-Streets naked and unburied for many days, were a most lamentable Spectacle to the Beholders. Moreover, some were devoured by Dogs, upon which account those that survived, betook themselves to killing of Dogs; being afraid lest they should run mad, and devour them who were yet alive. Neither did the Plague more leisurely destroy whole Households and Families; but more especially those whom the Famine could not dispatch, because they were furnished with great store of Provision. Therefore the rich Presidents of Provinces, the Prefects, and a great many that were of the Magistracy, (as if the Famine had purposely reserved them to be devoured by the Pestilential Distemper) suffer'd an acute and sudden death. All places, By-Lanes, the Markets and Streets, were full of Lamentations. There was nothing to be seen but mournful songs at burials, (*a*) together with their usual pipes and other funeral-musick. Thus death fighting with the two forementioned weapons, to wit, the Pestilence, and the Famine, did in a short time destroy whole Families; In so much that you might have seen two or three dead bodies carried out of the same house together to the (*b*) grave. Such were the rewards of *Maximin*'s arrogance, and of the Decrees which the Cities issued out against us. During these sad times all the Heathens had evident demonstrations of the care and piety of the *Christians* exhibited towards all men: For only they (amidst so many and great calamities on all sides) in reality declared their true compassion, and good nature: Some of them imploy'd themselves, every day in taking care of and in burying the dead (for vast numbers died, whose funerals no body took care of.) Others gathered together into one body, all those in the City who lay under the pressures of the Famine, and distributed bread to them all. So that, when the same of this action was divulged amongst all Men; they all glorified the God of the *Christians*, and did acknowledge them to be pious, and the only true worshippers of God, being convinced sufficiently by their works. Affairs being in this posture, God the great and cœlestial defender of the *Christians*, (having by the aforesaid calamities manifested his wrath and indignation against all Men, because of their barbarous cruelties shown towards us,) did again restore to us the gracious and glorious spendour of his Providence; darting forth upon us (involved in the thickest darkness) the most miraculous light of his peace: And made it apparent to all Men, that God himself was always the Overseer and Inspector of our Affairs; who does sometimes indeed chastise and correct his People with the scourges of affliction: But after sufficient chastisement, he does again shew himself gracious and merciful to those that confide in him.

Maximinus.

(*a*) It was customary amongst the *Heathens* to attend their dead to the grave with *musick upon pipes, and singing of mournful Songs*: In this Ceremony were imployed certain *old women* called *præficæ* and *fiticines*; *see our Notes upon the 14th Book of Amm. Marcell.* Wherefore *Christophorus* mistakes who instead of [αὐ ἀλ. σωπῶν αὐλῶν, &c.] reads [ἀντὶ ἀλ. &c.] as if this were the sense; *there was nothing now to be seen, but mournful cries, instead of their pipes*, &c. Thus he erroneously translates the place. But all our MSS. and *Nicephorus* keep to the common reading. *Vales.*

(*b*) By what is here related concerning the burial of the dead, we may gather that the custom of burning dead bodies was at that time wholly disused amongst the *Romans*. But, when this custom was first abolished 'tis difficult to determine. The *Romans* seem to have taken up this custom of *burying in Graves* from the *Jews*, and *Christians*: Concerning which we have a place very observable in *Macrobius*: For (says he in his *Saturnal.* B 7. Cap. 7.) *Although in our days the custom of burning the dead is antiquated and disanulled: Yet History teacheth us that in those days, when they burned the dead, they pay'd great respect and honour to them.* Vales.

* See B. 1. Chap. 8. Note (*b*.)

† See B. 1. Chap. 5. Note (*b*.)

CHAP. IX.

(*a*) *Concerning the death of the Tyrants, and what Expressions they used before their deaths.*

(*a*) In all our MSS. the Titles of the Chapters are transpos'd; that which ought to be the Title of the tenth Chapter is given to the ninth, and on the contrary that which ought to be prefixt to the ninth is set before the tenth. This mistake we had corrected in our Translation, but because we would do nothing without the Authority of the MSS. we did therefore choose rather to follow the mistake, resting satisfied in having advertised the Reader of the mistake. *Vales.*

CONSTANTINE therefore (who, as we said before, was an Emperor born of an Emperor, the Pious Son of a most religious, sober, and prudent Father) (*b*) and *Licinius* (who was next to him in Authority, both honoured for their Wisdom and Piety;) two most Pious [Emperors] having been encouraged by God the supream King and Saviour of all Men, against two

Constant. and *Licinius.*

(*b*) After these words, in the most antient *Mag.* and *Med.* MSS

follows this clause [λειπόμενα τε τῶν μὲν αὐτὸν σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην πεποιημένων, πρὸς τῶν παμβασιλέως Θεοῦ τε καὶ ὅλων σωτῆρος & δύο δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων ἀναγορευθέντων, &c. *And Licinius (who was next to him in Authority, both honoured for their wisdom and piety;) two most pious* [*Emperors*] *having been encouraged by God the supream King and Saviour of all Men against two most impious Tyrants, &c.*] which we have here inserted, judging it to be genuine, and penned by *Eusebius* himself, as 'tis apparent from what follows. For in the end of the period *Licinius* is mentioned as well as *Constantine*: Whence 'tis plain, that *Eusebius* had spoken of both of them at the beginning of the period. But the Transcriber designedly expunged *Licinius*'s name here, upon account of the impieties he committed afterwards. The *Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. do also agree with the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. in inserting this clause here. *Vales.*

Constant. and *Licinius.*

two most impious Tyrants, and engaging them in a lawful War, (God assisting them;) *Maxentius* was most miraculously vanquished at *Rome* by *Constantine*; and *Maximin* the Eastern Tyrant, not long surviving *Maxentius*, died a most ignominious death, being conquered by *Licinius*, who had not yet done any extravagant Action. Moreover, *Constantine* the former of these two (who was the chiefest person, both in respect of Honour, Place, and Degree in the Empire) took compassion upon those who were oppressed with Tyranny at *Rome*; and having by Prayers humbly called upon the God of Heaven, and his Word Jesus Christ the Saviour of all Men, to be his helper, he march'd with his whole Army in vindication of the antient Liberties of the *Romans*. Now *Maxentius*, confiding more in his Magick devices, than in the Love and Favour of his Subjects, durst not so much as stir out of the City-Gates; but with an innumerable Host of Soldiers, and with Ambushes, he fortified all Places, Towns, and Cities whatsoever about *Rome*, and within the compass of all *Italy*, which were under the pressures of his Tyranny: The Emperor [*Constine*] depended upon Divine assistance, and having attack'd the Tyrant's first, second, and third Battalion, and with ease routed them all, he made himself a passage through the greatest part of *Italy*, and was now come up to the very Gates of *Rome*. But lest he should be constrained to assault all the *Romans* for the Tyrant's sake only, God himself drew the Tyrant (as it were with Cords) a great way out of the Gates: And did effectually confirm the truth of the Miracles he wrought in times past against the Wicked (recorded in the everlasting Monuments of the sacred Scriptures, which tho' they are accounted fabulous by some and not credited, are nevertheless believed by the Faithful) to all in general, Believers as well as Infidels, who saw this Miracle we are about to relate. For as God in the days of *Moses* and the old Religious Nation of the *Hebrews*, overwhelmed the Chariots and Forces of *Pharoah* in the Sea; and drowned his (c) chosen Captains in the Red-Sea, and covered them with the Waves: After the very same manner *Maxentius* with the Soldiers and Guards that were about him, were cast into the Deep like a Stone; at such time as he fled before the Divine Power, which did always assist *Constantine*'s Arms, and design'd to pass a River that was in the way before him: Over which he laid a very artificial Bridge made of Boats joyn'd together, and so became instrumental to his own Destruction. Upon which account these words may be pertinently spoken concerning him; * *He hath graven and digged up a pit, and is fallen himself into the destruction that he hath made. His travel shall come upon his own head, and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.* The joynings therefore of the Bridge laid over the River being after this manner separated, the Passage began to sink; and the Boats together with the Men in them descended on a sudden to the bottom of the River. Thus, this most impious Tyrant in the first place, and after him his Guards (according to what was foretold in the sacred Scriptures) sunk down like Lead into the deep Waters. So that [*Constantine*'s Soldiers,] who at that time by Divine assistance obtain'd the Victory, in such sort as the *Israelites* heretofore did, who were led by *Moses* that eminent Servant of the Lord, (d) ought in all reason to have sung and repeated the same Expressions (though not in words exactly the same, yet in reality) that they heretofore did against that impious Tyrant [*Pharoah,*] after this manner: * *Let us sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumph'd gloriously; the horse and the rider hath he thrown into the Sea. The Lord is my helper and defender,* (e) *he is become my salvation.* And again: *who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongst the Gods: who is like unto thee? Glorious art thou amongst the Saints, wonderful in glory, working miracles.* When *Constantine* had in reality sung these Hymns, and Songs like unto, and of the same sort with these, in praise of Almighty God Governour of all things, and Author of Victory, he entred *Rome* with all triumphant Pomp and Splendor: And immediately the whole Senate, (f) those that were of the *Equestrian Order*, and all the People of *Rome*, together with their Wives and Children received him (with a joy in their Countenances which proceeded from their very Hearts) as a Redeemer, a Saviour, a publick Father, and Benefactor, and with Acclamations, and a gladness insatiable. But he, possessing a Piety towards God that was naturally implanted on him, was not in the least elevated in Mind at these popular Acclamations, nor puffed up with these Commendations, but being sufficiently sensible of the Divine assistance in this his Enterprize, he presently gave command, that the Trophy of our Saviour's Passion should be put (g) into the Hand of a Statue erected to him. And when they had erected his Statue in the most publick place of all *Rome*, holding in its Right Hand the Salutary Sign of the Cross, he commanded an Inscription to be

Constant. and *Licinius.*

* Psal. 7. 17, 18.

(c) These words occur at Exod. 15. 4. The phrase in the Hebrew is מִבְחַר שְׁלִשָׁיו, which the *Septuagint* translation renders ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας; our *English translation, his chosen Captains.* Expositors differ in their explications of these words. *Valesius* thinks the *Vulgar translation* is truest; 'tis there rendred *ternos ex curribus pugnantes*, that is, *The Three fighting out of the Chariots.* The true import of the *Hebrew* is, *The valiantest*, or (as the Caldee renders) *the fairest, Captains*; called *The Three* or *Third*, from their being the third sort of Governours in the Kingdom of *Egypt.* See *Ainsworth. Exod.* 14. 7. and 15. 4.

(d) I mislike *Christophorson*'s Version of these Words [ὃ δέ πως ἀνυμνεῖν] which he translates [*Canere potuisset, could have sung:*] He ought rather to have rendred it [*Cecinerit, should have sung:*] For *Eusebius* says, that *Constantine* did sing so, though not in exact words, yet really and truly. *Vales.*

* Exod. 15. 1, 2, 11.

(e) In the *Maz.* and *Savil* MSS. this place is thus written [βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπαστής μου γέγονε καὶ εγενέτό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν, *The Lord my helper and defender is become my salvation:*] Which reading is confirmed by *Rufinus*'s Version, who translates it thus [*Adjutor & protector meus, & factus est mihi in salutem:*] This passage occurs at *Exod.* 15. 2; where the *Roman* Edition of the *Septuagint* has not these two Words [καὶ σκεπαστής] which I wonder at: For I am very certain that *Eusebius* made use of the *Septuagint* translation. *Vales.*

(f) Τῶν ἄλλων διασημοτάτων. The *Greeks* call them διασημοτάτους, whom the *Latins* call [*Perfectissimi, most Perfect.*] This Title *Perfectissimi* was appropriated to them of the *Ordinis Equestris*, or *Roman Knights*; as *Clarissimi* was a title peculiar to them of the *Senatorian Order.* The Emperor's *Prefects* and *Treasurers*, who were always *Knights*, had the title of *Perfectissimi* given them. This Dignity or Title in antient Inscriptions is signified by these Characters, P. V. (i. e.) *Vir Perfectissimus:* See *Gruter*, pag. 1098; and my Notes on *Amm. Marcell.* p. 202. *Vales.*

(g) Instead of ὑπὸ χεῖρα we chose to read ὑπὲρ χεῖρα, *over*, or *into the hand:* Which *Rufinus* confirms and explains thus, *Vexillum Dominicæ crucis in dexterâ suâ jubet depingi.* Vales.

Constant. and *Licinius.*

engraven upon the Basis of it in Latin, containing these very words:

BY THIS SAVING SIGN WHICH IS THE COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT, AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANTIENT SPLENDOR AND DIGNITY.

After this, *Constantine* the Emperor and *Licinius* his Colleague, (who was not then faln into that extravagant Madness which afterwards depraved his Intellectuals) having both together worshipped and reconciled themselves to God the Author of all the Good which had happen'd to them, did with an unanimous accord and consent enact a most compleat and full Law in behalf of the Christians. And they sent a relation of the Miracles which God had done for them, and an account of their Victory over the Tyrant, together with this their Law, to *Maximin* who as yet was Emperor in the Eastern parts, and pretended Friendship towards them. But he, like a Tyrant, was discontented and dejected at this News: Yet being afterwards unwilling to seem to yield to others, and also out of fear to them who had confirmed the Edict, daring not (*b*) to suppress and conceal it, he directs this his first Rescript in behalf of the Christians, to his Ministers, as it were of his own accord, and by his own authority, tho' he was forced to it; wherein with much artifice he feigneth concerning himself such things as were never done by him.

(*b*) Παρεκδέδωκε τὸ πεπραγμένον (though otherwise rendred by some Translators) signifies the same as ἐν ὑποβύσῳ θεῖναι, a Phrase before used in the first Chapter of this ninth Book. The import of it is *seponere, occultare*; *to conceal*, or *suppress the Edict*, as *Maximin* did before in the first Chapter of this ninth Book, when *Galerius*'s Rescript was sent him. But when *Constantine* and *Licinius*, after the overthrow of *Maxentius*, sent their Decree to him in favour of the *Christians*; he durst not conceal it *metu superiorum, fearing them, as being his superiors.* Vales.

A Copy of the Translation of *Maximin* the Tyrant's Rescript.

(*i*) JOVIUS MAXIMINUS AUGUSTUS, *to* SABINUS. *I suppose it well known to Your Gravity, and to all Men, that our Lords and Fathers* Diocletian *and* Maximian (*when they perceived that almost all Men, deserting the religious Worship of the Gods, joyn'd and applied themselves to the Sect of the* Christians,) *did rightly and duly decree, that all those Persons who had apostatized from the Worship and Service of their Gods, should be recalled to the Worship of the Gods by a publick Punishment and Chastisement. But when with an happy* Omen *I first came into these* (*k*) *Eastern Provinces,*

(*i*) *Diocletian* was the first that assumed to himself this firname, *Jovius*; as his Collegue *Maximian* did that of *Herculius*. Afterwards when *Constantius* and *Galerius* were created *Cæsars*, *Galerius*, by marrying *Diocletian*'s Daughter, and living with him in the East, came to be called *Cæsar Jovius*; and *Constantius*, by marrying *Herculius*'s Daughter-in-law; and living with him in the Western parts, was called *Cæsar Herculius*. Afterwards when *Galerius* died, *Maximin*, who was by him created *Cæsar*, assumed to himself the firname of *Jovius*; which *Eusebius* here takes notice of. See the *Chronicon Alexandrian.* Vales.

(*k*) Under the name of the *East*, *Egypt* also is contained. For the Government hereof was committed to *Maximinus Cæsar*. For *Maximinus* (after he was made *Cæsar* by *Galerius*) received the jurisdiction over all those Provinces, which *Diocletian* had reserved to himself. And hence it came to pass, that *Egypt* was reckoned amongst the Eastern Provinces a long while after. So *Amm. Marcellinus* (B. 14. where he recounts the Provinces of the East,) reckons *Egypt* and *Mesopotamia* amongst them. Further, *Egypt* was originally under the *Comes* of the *East*, as we are informed from an ancient Inscription; the Contents whereof are these; M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBURIO CÆCILIANO PLACIDO C. V. COMITI ORIENTIS. ÆGYPTI. MESOPOTAMIÆ. CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. *Vales.*

and found that very many Men (who might be serviceable to the Republick) were Exiled and Confined by the Judges, for the reason aforesaid, to certain places appointed them; I gave a charge to all the Judges, that none of them should for the future treat the Subjects of their Provinces so barbarously; but that they should rather regain them to the service of the Gods by courteous Perswasives and kind Exhortations. During the time therefore that our Commands were, according to our Injunction, strictly observed, it happened that there was not one in all our Eastern Provinces either confined, or injured: But, in regard no Trouble or Disquietude happened to them, they were the rather reduced to the Worship of the Gods. After this, in (*l*) *the last Year, when I successfully made a Journey to* Nicomedia, *and there abode, the Citizens of that City came to me with the Images of their Gods, begging of me with much earnestness that those sort of Men might by no means be permitted to inhabit amongst them. But in regard I understood that a great many Men of that Religion lived in those parts, I gave them this answer: That I was very well pleased with, and thankful to them for, their Address, but did not perceive that that was the desire of all Men in general. If therefore, any do persist in the* [Christians] *Superstition, every one of them may have his free liberty, to choose what pleases him; and if they will embrace the Service of the Gods, they also may do that. I thought it requisite to return a kind reply to the* Nicomedians, *as well as to the other Cities, who with much importunity had presented me with the same Petition, to wit, That no Christian might dwell in their Cities;* (*m*) *for so the preceding Emperors (as I observed) had always done; and it now so pleased the Gods, (by whom all Men are preserved, and the publick State of Affairs continued in a sedate posture,) that I should grant that earnest Address of theirs, which they presented me with concerning the Divine Worship of their Gods. Wherefore although I have very frequently before this time, as well by Rescripts as* (*n*) *Commands, ordered your Devotion, that the Presidents of Provinces should not be rigid or severe in their Proceedings against those within their Districts, who are studious about the observation of the Rites and Usages of the Christian Religion; but that they patiently tollerate, and with moderation comply with them:*

Constant. and *Licinius.*

(*l*) Ἔτους τῷ παρεληλυθότι, *the year past*, (i. e.) the year of Christ 311. when *Maximian* was the eighth time Consul; for in this very year (wherein *Galerius* died,) *Maximin* seized upon *Bithynia*, which *Galertus* (together with *Illyricum* and *Thrace*) had reserved for himself. *Vales.*

(*m*) This place is very intricate and obscure: And first, there is a difficulty in these Words [ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο] which some have translated *propterea quòd, because*, but the adverb [ὅτι δὴ] may be rendred *ita, so*, and then this is the meaning of the place, *(viz.) I return'd a kind reply to the* Nicomedians, *which the Emperors my Predecessors always were careful to do.* The next difficulty is in these Words [ἤρεσεν οὖν, *it therefore pleased the Gods*, &c.] But we rather read ἤρεσε νῦν, *and it now so pleased the Gods*, &c. By this means [νῦν] is fitly oppos'd to the preceding Words [ἀρχαῖοι αὐτοκράτορες, *the ancient Emperors*, &c.] according to this emendation we have translated the place. *Vales.*

(*n*) *Maximin* does here make distinction betwixt γράμματα and ἐντολαὶ, *Letters* and *Commands*. *Letters* or *Rescripts* were sent by the Emperors to the Magistrates or Presidents, into ther Provinces when they were absent from Court: *Mandata* or *Commands* were given them by the Emperor when they were with him, before they went to their Provinces; all which Commands were bound up in a short *Libel*. And this was one of the chief of their Charges given them (to wit,) that they should be careful of their health. The Civilians speak much concerning these *Mandata Principum*. Vales.

them:

Constant. and Licinius.

them yet, lest they should suffer any Affronts or Molestations from the (o) Beneficiarii, or any others, I thought it agreeable and opportune to remind Your Gravity by these Letters, that You should rather win the Subjects of Our Provinces to embrace the Worship of the Gods, by Flatterings and Exhortations. Wherefore if any shall voluntarily take upon him to embrace and acknowledge the Worship of the Gods, it is convenient that You should receive and treat such Persons with the greatest kindness imaginable. But if any choose to adhere to their own Religion, You are to permit them to take their Liberty. It is therefore required, that Your Devotedness observe what You are hereby enjoyned; and that no Person be impowered to injure, or exercise Violence towards any of the Subjects of Our Provinces: Since it is rather convenient (as We said before) to recal Our Subjects to the Worship of the Gods by fair Words and kind Exhortations. Moreover, that this Injunction of Ours may come to the knowledge of all our Subjects, let it be Your care to (p) publish this Our Order by an Edict proposed by You.

(o) Those Soldiers were called Beneficiarii, or Beneficiarii, that were promoted by the favour of the Tribune; they were privileged from several Duties and Military hardships (as says Vergetius.) Vales.

(p) It was usual that the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* should, immediately upon receipt of the Emperor's Law, publish it to the Subjects by their Edict. Sometimes they did promulge the Emperor's Law before their own Edict; sometimes they proclaimed their own Edict, and only mentioned in it the Emperor's Law. Thus did *Sabinus*, in the next Chapter of this ninth Book. But *Rufinus* says that he proclaimed the Emperor's Law before his own Edict. True it is, we must confess, that the Emperor's Laws were published before the Edicts of the President's most commonly. Of this we have a notable instance in the Conference at *Carthage*, where after the reading of the Emperor's Letter to *Marcellinus* the *Tribune* and the *Notarius*, *Marcellinus*'s Edict was read. We must suppose the same thing concerning the Emperor's Rescripts: Which were always placed before the Edicts of the Magistrates. So did *Himerius*, *Rationalist* of *Egypt*, in his Epistle to the Governour of *Mareotis*; which *Athanasius* has related in *his Apology*. Vales.

When *Maximin* had issued out this Precept (being necessitated to it, and having not done it of his own accord) for all this he was not look'd upon by all Men to mean unfeignedly, or worthy to be confided in, because formerly (after the like Indulgence) he had demonstrated himself to be of a mutable and perfidious Disposition. None therefore of our Religion durst either (q) meet together in their Ecclesiastick Assemblies, or shew themselves in publick; for the Rescript did not in express words allow of this; it only contained an Order that we should be preserved secure from violence and abuses: But it permitted us not either to *celebrate* our *Assemblies*, or to build Churces, or to perform any of those Solemnities usual with us: Although *Constantine* and *Licinius*, the Patrons of Peace and Piety, (r) had by their Letters acquainted him, that they had both permitted us to do these things, and also had granted the same to all under their Government by their Rescripts and Decrees. But the most impious Tyrant was resolved not to yield thus, till such time as, having been prosecuted by Divine Justice, he was at length forc'd to it, whether he would or no.

(q) By συνοδον συσκεῖσθαι us'd in this place, we must not understand a *Council of Bishops*, but an *Ecclesiastick Congregation*, for σύνοδος is sometimes us'd in that sense, and *Niceph.* in this place uses [συναγειν, i.e. *to meet together in their Assemblies*] instead of σύνοδον συσκεῖσθαι· which word I greatly approve of as explaining the place. *Vales.*

(r) These words [αὐτῷ τε ἐπιτρέπειν ἐπεσταλκεισαν] *Musculus* and *Christoph.* render thus; *Maximino, ut ista concederet, scripserant, they had written to* Maximin *that he should grant it.* But I think *Eusebius*'s meaning was otherwise, (to wit,) *Constantine* and *Licinius* wrote to *Maximin*, that they had given free liberty to the *Christians* to exercise their Religion, to celebrate their Assemblies, and to build Churches, &c. For it seems unlikely and something arrogant, that *Constantine* and *Licinius* should command *Maximin*, their Collegue, to grant these Privileges to the *Christian*. Vales.

CHAP. X.

Constant. and Licinius.

Concerning the Victory [obtain'd] by the Pious Emperours.

THis was the reason which (a) did press him on every hand. When he was no longer able to support the weight of the Government, which was unworthily conferr'd upon him, but through want of a moderate prudence of Mind, such as is required in a Prince, did insolently and undecently manage publick concerns; and moreover, was vainly puffed up with haughtiness of Spirit, even against his Collegues in the Empire, who were far his Superiors in Birth, Education, Desert, Prudence, and (which is the chiefest Accomplishment of all) in Humility and Piety towards the only true God. Through confidence and insolency he arrived to such a degree of *audaciousness*, as to (b) challenge the Precedency, and placed his name first in all Titles and Honours. Then (c) his *madness* breaking forth into utter desparation, having violated the League which he had made with *Licinius*, he raised a bloody and implacable War. Afterwards in a short time he * put all things into confusion, and every City into a strange consternation; and having gather'd together all his Forces, being a very great Army, he march'd forth to fight against *Licinius*; being extraordinarily puffed up in mind with a confidence of the assistance of *Dæmons* which he supposed to be Gods, and with his innumerable Army of Men. But when he came to engage in a Battel, he was destitute of a Divine care and protection; and the Victory was by the one only and supream God given to *Licinius*. First of all his (d) Foot Forces were routed, in which he did most confide; then his Guards deserted him, revolting to *Licinius* the Conqueror, and he forthwith, unhappy Wretch, threw off his Royal Robes, (which did not become him,) and timerously, ignobly and unmanfully shrowded himself amongst the crowd [of common Soldiers.] Afterwards he fled; and (being very sollicitous about making provision for his own safety) hid himself in the Fields and Villages, hardly escaping the Enemies hands; by which he did truly verifie those firm, unerring, and Divine Oracles, which say; *There is no king that can be saved by the multitude* Psal. 33. of 16.

(a) I wonder Translators did not understand the force of this word [ἐπαυξήχομαι, i.e. *to surround*] when as the *Common Lexicons* do sufficiently explain it: Moreover, the old *Maz.* MS. does here begin this Chapter, and I am not a little glad that my conjecture is confirmed by its Authority. For before I had procured that MS. I begun this Tenth Chapter at the next Period. The King's and *Fuk.* MSS. do agree with the *Maz.* *Vales.*

(b) By these words [πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς πμαῖς ἀναγρεύειν] is meant, *to place his name first in all Titles of Law and Decrees.* Also, in all Inscriptions on publick Works, Statues and Images, *Maximin* placed his name before his Collegues, *Constantine* and *Licinius*: Although they were *Augusti* before him. But *Maximin* challenged the first place, because he was created *Cæsar* before them. *Vales.*

(c) *Nicephorus* changes these words [ἐπῆρε εἰς ὑπόνοιαν τὰ τῆς μανίας] thus [ἐπῆρας εἰς πλὴν μανίαν τὰ τῆς ὑπονοίας, *extending his Pride to utter madness*] which Rendition is not amiss. For ὑπόνοια is, in *Chrysostome*, taken for *pride* in many places. *Vales.*

* In all our MSS. 'tis κυκήσας; and we translate accordingly the term. *Vales.*

(d) By [ὁπλιτικὸν] the term here us'd, *Eusebius* means *Maximin's foot forces.* Of all Historians only *Zosimus* mentions any thing of this Battel between *Maximin* and *Licinius* in *Illyricum*; in his second Book: He says, that *Licinius* at first suffered some loss; but afterwards, renewing the fight, he put *Maximin* to flight, who fled towards the East, thinking to raise a new Army. This Relation does well agree with this of *Eusebius* here, for he says that *Maximin* having lost his Army fled into his part of the Empire, that is, into the East. This Battel therefore was fought in *Europe*; in the year of Christ 313. *Constantine* and *Licinius* being the third time Consuls; as *Sigonius* well observes, in his third Book *De Occidentali Imperio.* Vales.

Conſtant. and *Licinius.* Pſal. 33. 17,18,19.

of an hoſt, neither is any mighty man delivered by his great ſtrength. A horſe is counted but a vain thing to ſave a man, neither ſhall he deliver any man by his great ſtrength. Behold the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that put their truſt in his mercy; to deliver their ſouls from death. Thus therefore did the Tyrant return with diſgrace into his own Provinces; and firſt of all in a mad paſſion he deſtroyed many Prieſts and Prophets belonging to thoſe Gods he had formerly admired, (by whoſe Oracles he had been excited to engage himſelf in this War) as Cheats, Impoſtor's, and alſo, Betrayers of his own Safety. Then when he had given thanks and praiſe to the God of the *Chriſtians*, and had enacted a full, perfect, and moſt compleat Law for their Liberty, he was forthwith ſtruck with a mortal Diſtemper, and (without the leaſt delay allow'd him) finiſh'd his Life. Now this was the Law which he publiſhed.

* Ἀντίγραφον ἐμμελείας, i. e. *A Copy of the Verſion*, &c.

* A Copy of the Tyrant's Decree in behalf of the *Chriſtians*, tranſlated out of Latin into Greek.

EMPEROR CÆSAR CAÏUS VALERIUS MAXIMINUS GERMANICUS, SARMATICUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS AUGUSTUS. *We are confident no man can be ignorant, but that every one does know and is fully ſatisfied (if he does recollect himſelf, and reflect upon what is done,) that at all times and by all means we do conſult the Utility of the Subjects of our Provinces, and do willingly grant them ſuch things as may prove moſt advantagious to them in general, all that may be moſt conducive to their common good and profit, whatever is agreeable to the advantage of the Publick, and is moſt grateful to the minds of every one of them in particular. At ſuch time therefore as it came to Our knowledge, that (upon occaſion of a Law made by Our Parents, their moſt Sacred* [*Majeſties*] Diocletian *and* Maximian, *whereby it was decreed that the Aſſemblies of the Chriſtians ſhould be utterly aboliſhed) many Extortions and Rapines were committed by the* * Beneficiarii, *and that theſe Abuſes of Our Subjects (whoſe Peace and Quiet is Our chiefeſt care) increaſed exceedingly, their Eſtates being* [*upon this pretence*] *waſted: By Our* (e) *Letters written the laſt Year to Our Preſidents of every Province, We decreed; That if any one had a deſire to follow that Sect, or adhere to the Prescripts of that Religion, he might without impediment perſiſt in his Reſolution, and not be hindred or prohibited by any man: And that every one ſhould freely do what pleaſed him beſt without the leaſt fear or ſuſpicion. But it could not now eſcape our knowledge that ſome of Our Judges did* (f) *miſapprehend Our Commands, and cauſed Our Subjects to diſtruſt and doubt of Our Decrees, and made them more ſlow and fearful in their acceſſes to thoſe Religious Performances which they approved of as beſt: Now therefore that all Jealouſies, Ambiguities, and Fears may for the future be removed, we have decreed that this Our Edict be publiſhed; whereby all men may know, that they who deſire to follow this Sect and Religion, are allowed by this Our Gracious Indulgence to apply themſelves to that Religion which they have uſually followed, in ſuch a manner as is acceptable and pleaſing to every one of them. We do alſo permit them to rebuild their Oratories. Moreover, that this Our Indulgence may appear the larger and more comprehenſive, it has pleaſed us to make this Sanction; That if any Houſes or Eſtates (which formerly belonged to and were in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians) are by the Decree of Our Parents devolved to the Right of the Exchequer, or are ſeized upon by any City, or ſold, or* (g) *beſtowed upon any one as a Gratuity: We have decreed that they ſhall all be reſtored to the ancient Tenure and Poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians; that ſo all men may hereby be ſenſible of Our Piety and Providence in this concern.*

Conſtant. and *Licinius.*

(g) That is by the Emperors, who us'd to give thoſe Eſtates which fell to the Exchequer, to thoſe that begg'd them. See the *Code*, in the *Title De petitionibus*. Valeſ.

* See the foregoing Chapter. Note (o.)

(e) He means his Reſcript to *Sabinus* Præfect of the *Prætorium*; which *Euſebius* has inſerted at the foregoing Chap. B. 8. *Maximin* ſays 'twas written *in the year paſt*, or *the laſt year*, i. e. in the year of Chriſt 312. *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* being both then in their ſecond Conſulate. Whence it follows, that this laſt Edict of *Maximin* was written in the year of Chriſt 313; *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* being the third time Conſuls. Further, theſe are the principal differences between the Emperor's *Reſcripts* and *Edicts*. (1.) Their *Reſcripts* had their names annex'd to whom they were ſent; the *Edicts* ſpoke to all Men in general. (2.) The *Edicts* were publickly propoſed; the *Reſcripts* were given to thoſe to whom they were ſent; as may be ſeen from *Geſt. Purgat. Cicilian.* p. 28. nor was it uſual to publiſh them, unleſs this word was expreſly added in the end of the *Reſcript*, *proponatur*, *Let it be publiſhed*. Laſtly, in their *Reſcripts* the name of the Emperor was prefix'd only with ſome few of his Titles: But in their *Edicts*, none of their Titles were omitted, but all were carefully and proudly mentioned. *Valeſ.*

(f) This word [παρεννοέομαι] is by *Langus* rendred *malè accepiſſe*, *miſapprehended*, *miſinterpreted*: Which Verſion I approve of: For παρεννοέομαι, in its genuine ſenſe ſignifies *malè interpretari*. But *Muſculus* (and *Chriſtoph.* in imitation of him) tranſlates it, *negligere*, *to neglect*, *pro nihilo habere*, *not to value*: Which is not ſo well. The *Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. read [παρ' οὐδὲν ἐπίθεντο, *diſregarded*] which words ſeem to have been written in the Margin as a *Scholion* at firſt; but afterwards crept into the Text. *Valeſ.*

Theſe are the expreſſions of the Tyrant, which came from him not a full year after thoſe Edicts he had publiſh'd againſt the Chriſtians [engraven on Plates of Braſs, and] fix'd up on the Pillars. And now he, who but a little before look'd upon us as Impious, Atheiſtical Perſons, and the very Peſt of Mankind, (in ſo much that we were not permitted to dwell in any City, Country, or even in the Deſarts,) this very perſon [I ſay] made and publiſhed Laws and Decrees in favour of the Chriſtians. And they, who but lately were deſtroy'd by Fire and Sword, and were devoured and torn by Beaſts and Birds in the very preſence of this Tyrant; they, who underwent all ſorts of Puniſhments, Tortures and Death, in a moſt miſerable manner, like Atheiſts and irreligious perſons, even theſe Men are now acknowledged by this very Tyrant to profeſs Religion, and are permitted to rebuild their Oratories; nay further, the Tyrant himſelf does acknowledge and atteſt that they ought to be partakers of ſome Rights and Privileges. Moreover, when he made this publick acknowledgment, (as if he had hereby obtain'd ſome favour) for this very reaſon, his Sufferings were leſs calamitous than he deſerved they ſhould be, [for] being ſmitten by God with a ſudden ſtroak, he died in the ſecond Engagement [that happened in] that War. But he ended his Life not like thoſe Martial Generals, who (after they had often demeaned themſelves gallantly in the Field in defence of their Honour and their Friends) happened couragiouſly to undergo a glorious Death. But he (like an impious perſon, and a Rebel againſt his Creator,) whilſt his Army ſtood in the Field drawn up in *Battalia*, ſtaying at home and hiding himſelf, ſuffered a condign Puniſhment, being ſmitten by God with a ſudden Blow over his Body. For, being tortured with grievous and moſt acute Pains, he fell upon his Face on the Ground, and was deſtroyed by want

Constant. and *Licinius.*

want of Food, all his Flesh being melted away by an invisible Fire sent upon him from Heaven. In so much that, when his Flesh was wholly wasted away, the entire shape and figure of his former Beauty quite disappeared; his parched Bones (which look'd like a Skeleton that had been long dried) being all that was left of him. So that those about him judged his Body to be nothing but the Grave of his Soul buried in a Body already dead and wholly putrified. And when the violent Heat of his Distemper scorched him with a greater vehemency even to the very Marrow of his Bones, (*b*) his Eyes leaped out of his Head, and, having deserted their proper station, left him blind. After all this he yet drew his Breath, and having given thanks, and made his Confession to the Lord, he called for Death. At last, acknowledging these his Sufferings due for his Contempt and Presumption against Christ, he gave up the Ghost.

(*b*) *Chrysostome* attests the same, in his *Oration concerning St.* Babylas *against the Gentiles*; in these words, Ὡς τὸ μὲν τὰς κόρας ἔτι ζῶντ᾽ αὐτομάτως ἐκπηδῆσαι τῆς ὀφθαλμιᾶς, μαχόμενον ἅτερος ἦν· ὁ δὲ μανέντα. *The eye-balls of one of them leapt out of his eye-holes of their own accord, while he was yet alive; this was* Maximin: *The other ran mad. Diocletian* was the Emperor that was distracted; which is attested by *Eusebius*, and by *Constantine*. We have also an account of *Maximin*'s blindness, in *Epiphanius*'s piece *De Ponderib.* Vales.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the final Destruction of the Enemies Religion.

Maximin therefore being thus taken out of the World, (who was the only Enemy of Religion that hitherto survived, and declared himself the worst of them all;) the Churches by the Grace of God Almighty were rebuilt and raised from the very Foundation, and the Gospel of Christ, darting forth its Beams of Light to the great glory of the All-ruling Deity, enjoyed greater liberty than it formerly had. But the Wicked, and the Enemies of Religion were clouded with the highest Disgrace and greatest Shame imaginable. For first of all *Maximin* himself was proclaimed by the the Emperors a (*a*) publick Enemy, and was termed in the publick Edicts which were fixed upon Pillars, a most impious, detestable Tyrant, superlatively odious to God. Also the Pictures which were placed in every City in honour of him and his Children, were some of them broke in pieces and thrown down from on high to the very Ground; and others were defaced, having their Visages blackned with dark colours. In like manner all the Statues which had been erected in honour of him, were also thrown down, broken in pieces, and exposed as subjects of derision and scorn to all those that would abuse and insult over them. After this the other Enemies of Religion were divested of all their Dignities. Moreover, all *Maximin*'s Party, more especially those whom he had preferred to places of the greatest power in the Provinces within his Empire (who to flatter him had been insolently abusive towards our Religion) were put to death. One of this number was

(*a*) Though in the common Editions the term here is [πολεμιώτατον] yet we read πολέμιον. For *Eusebius* here means, that *Maximin* was proclaimed a *Common Enemy*. This was done very solemnly, by the Decree of the Senate, as the Compilers of the *Historia Augusta* inform us in many places, and especially where they treat of *Maximin*. Vales.

(*b*) *Picentius*, a person that was a great Favourite of his, highly esteemed by him, and his deareſt *Intimado*: Whom he created Consul a second and a third time, and also made him (*c*) *Præfect* and *Rationalist*. Another was one (*d*) *Culcianus*, who had born all Offices of Dignity in the Magistracy and in the Government of Provinces; he also was famous for his innumerable Massacres of the Christians in *Egypt*. There were a great many more beside these, by whose endeavours most especially, the barbarous Tyranny of *Maximin* was maintained and extended. Further, Divine Vengeance required justice to be executed upon (*e*) *Theotecnus*, being in no wise forgetful of his Practices against the *Christians*. For he was look'd upon as a deserving and successful person upon account of his Consecration of the Image at *Antioch*, and besides, the Emperor *Maximin* conferr'd on him the Presidency of a Province. But when *Licinius* came to *Antioch*, and was resolved to make Inquisition for the Impostors, [amongst others] he tortured the Priests and Prophets of the new-contrived Image, enquiring of them how they palliated and put a Mask upon their Imposture; when they could no longer conceal the truth, being by their tortures compelled [to disclose it] they declared, that the imposture of the whole Mystery was composed by the cunning of *Theotecnus*:

Constant. and *Licinius.*

(*b*) Him whom the Greeks name πάππαν we have termed *Picentius*: that there was a *Sycophant* of this name in the time of *Constantine*, *Zosimus* attesteth in the end of his second Book. Certain we are, that those Persons whom the *Greeks* call πευκέτιοι the *Latines* term *Picentes*. Vales.

(*c*) He seems to mean the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. For the term [ἔπαρχον] is never used but to denote either the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, or the *Præfect* of the *City*. Besides, whenas *Eusebius* affirms that *Picentius* was advanced to great honour, and made *Consul* twice by *Maximin*, it would be absurd for him to say, that he was made *Rationalist* by him, that being a place of small honour in respect of the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium*. But, there are these arguments to confute this opinion: (1.) By these words [τῆς καθόλου λόγων] *Eusebius* does always mean the *Rationalist*, as we have frequently observed before. (2.) *Sabinus* was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximin* (as we noted before) in the year of Christ, 311, and 312. Neither (3.) is the dignity of the *Rationalists* Office to be lookt upon as mean and low. For even *Macrianus* (he that seized on the Empire in the times of *Gallienus*) bore that Office: And *Eusebius* himself (Book 8. Chap. 9.) calls it ἀρχὴν ἣ πλὴν τυχοῦσαν, *no mean Office*; speaking of *Philoromus* the Martyr. But that which *Eusebius* says, to wit, that *Picentius* was made *Consul* thrice by *Maximin*, is very intricate and difficult to be made out. We have observed before, that after *Galerius*'s death, *Maximin* took upon himself the title of *Augustus*, in the year of Christ 311. Therefore, before this time, when he was *Cæsar* only, he could not make *Picentius Consul*. For the *Augusti* only had a right of creating the *Consuls*. Therefore, after *Galerius*'s death, *Maximin* declared himself and *Picentius Consuls* in that very year. On the year following *Maximin* and *Picentius* bore their second Consulate in the East, when *Constantine* and *Licinius* were the second time *Consuls* in the West. But in *Italy* and *Africa Maxentius* was the fourth time *Consul* alone. Then, on the year after, which was the 313 year of Christ, the same *Maximin* and *Picentius* were *Consuls* the third time in the East, as is evidently collected from this famous passage in *Eusebius*. For 'tis improbable that *Maximin* should give a third Consulate to another, and not declare himself *Consul* once. Indeed, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, *Galerius Maximinus* is put *Consul* with *Maximianus*, being in his eighth Consulate, which is the year of Christ 311. Although in that Chronicle he is called *Galerius Maximus*. We therefore are the first that have taken notice, that *Maximin* bore three Consulates. Whence it may be gathered, that *Maximin* was *Augustus* about two years, having before been *Cæsar* seven years, and that he had lived till the 313 year of Christ, which we have also demonstrated from his Rescripts. Wherefore I wonder how so notorious a mistake should creep into *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, as to place *Maximin*'s death before *Maxentius*'s: It seems to have been committed by St. *Jerome*; for he added many things of his own to *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*. Vales.

(*d*) He was President of *Thebais*, as *Epiphanius* attests in his 68 *Heres.* which is the Heresie of the *Meletiani*, where he is called [κυλλιανὸς, *Culetianus*;] but it should be *Culcianus*, as 'tis evident from this place in *Eusebius*. Yet *Rufinus* translates it *Quintianus*: In *Nicephorus* 'tis *Lucianus*; both names are false. For this President was called *Culcianus*, as (besides *Eusebius*) the Acts of *Phileas* the Martyr's Passion do affirm. *Vales.*

(*e*) *Eusebius* speaks of this *Theotecnus* before, in this ninth Book. *Cedrenus* asserts that this *Theotecnus* perswaded *Galerius Maximianus* to raise a Persecution against the Christians. But he is mistaken, in that he takes *Galerius Maximianus* for *Galerius Maximinus*, which is a common error amongst the modern Greek Authors. *Vales.*

when

Conſtant. and *Licinius.* when therefore *Licinius* had inflicted condign puniſhment on them all; he gave order that *Theotecnus* himſelf ſhould firſt be executed, and afterwards the reſt of his Aſſociates that were conſcious to, and Accomplices in the Cheat, having firſt ſuffered innumerable Tortures. To all theſe were added *Maximin*'s Sons, whom he had now made Collegues with himſelf in the Empire, and Partakers of the Pictures, and Inſcriptions dedicated to his Honour. In fine, all the Tyrant's Relations, (who but juſt before had made their proud boaſts, and inſolently exerciſed anthority over all Men,) moſt ignominiouſly underwent the ſame Sufferings with thoſe perſons forementioned, for they received not inſtruction, nor did they know, or underſtand this ſeaſonable Admonition uttered in the Holy Scriptures; O *put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the Children of men, for there is no health in them. The breath of man ſhall go forth, and he ſhall return again to his earth: in that day ſhall all their thoughts periſh.* Thus therefore the Impious being like Filth wiped away [from off the Earth,] the Empire, which by right belonged only to *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, continued firm, and unobnoxious to envy. Theſe perſons (after they had firſt of all cleanſed the World from all Impiety) being ſenſible of thoſe great Benefits they had received from God, did ſufficiently demonſtrate their Love of Vertue and of the Deity, their Piety and Gratitude towards God, by the Laws they made in favour of the *Chriſtians*. *Conſtant.* and *Licinius.* Pſal. 146. 2, 3.

The End of the Ninth Book of the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

THE

THE TENTH BOOK Of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.*

CHAP. I.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

Concerning the Peace, which was procured by God for us.

THerefore, Glory be to God, the Almighty and Supream King, for all things: And manifold thanks to the Saviour and Redeemer of our Souls, *Jeſus Chriſt*, through whom we pray that we may have always preſerved to us a firm and inviolable Peace, both from outward Troubles, and alſo from all internal Moleſtations of mind. Having (by the aſſiſtance of your Prayers) added this Tenth Book of our Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory to thoſe foregoing Books at this place finiſhed, we have dedicated it to you (moſt ſacred *(a) Paulinus!*) hereby publiſhing you to be the Seal and Cloſure as it were of this our whole Work. Nor will it be incongruous (as we ſuppoſe) to place here * an entire and compleat Panegyrick concerning the Re-edification of the Churches: Obeying herein the Holy Spirit, which exhorteth us in theſe words: *O ſing unto the Lord a new ſong; for he hath done marvellous things. With his own right hand, and with his holy arm hath he gotten himſelf the victory. The Lord hath declared his ſalvation: his righteouſneſs hath he openly ſhew'd in the ſight of the Heathen.* Therefore, ſince the Scripture enjoyneth us [to begin] a new Song, let us agreeable thereto ſing together; becauſe, after ſuch terrible, black, and horrid Spectacles and Relations, we are now vouchſafed to ſee ſuch happy Days, and to celebrate ſuch Feſtivals, as many of our Anceſtors, who were truly Juſt and God's *Martyrs*, deſired to ſee upon Earth, but have not ſeen them; and to hear, but have not heard them. But theſe perſons haſtning away with all poſſible ſpeed, obtain'd far more excellent things, being taken up into Heaven, and into the Paradiſe of Divine Joy and Delight: And we, confeſſing theſe preſent Enjoyments to be greater than our Deſerts, ſtand amazed at the bounty of the Donor of ſuch Munificence: We alſo juſtly admire and adore him with the utmoſt vigour of our Souls, atteſting the truth of his Predictions by his Prophets contain'd in the Scriptures, in which 'tis ſaid: *O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what miracles he hath done upon the earth: He maketh the wars to ceaſe in all the world. He ſhall break the bow, and knap in ſunder the ſpear, and burn the ſhields with fire.* Let us therefore rejoyce

Conſtant. and Licinius.

Pſal. 98. 1, 2, 3.

Pſal. 46. 8, 9.

(a) He means *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, to whom our *Euſebius* dedicated his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory. For by his perſwaſion he undertook this work, as he does here plainly intimate. *Euſebius* deſignedly omitted the dedication of his Books to *Paulinus* at the beginning of this his Work, (which is uſually done,) upon account of *Paulinus*'s modeſty (if I miſtake not:) but was contented to make an honourable mention of him at the end of his Hiſtory. For he ſuppoſed it ſignified not much, whether he dedicated his Books to him at the beginning, or at the end of them. *Euſebius* dedicated to the ſame *Paulinus* two Books περὶ τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων, *concerning the names of places:* The former of theſe (which contained the diviſion of the twelve Tribes, the deſcription of the City *Jeruſalem*, and the *Hebrew* Appellations of extraneous Nations) is now loſt. But the latter (which treats of the *Hebrew* names of places) was above twenty years ſince put forth in *Greek* by the *Reverend Father Bonfrerius*; to which there is prefix'd an Epiſtle to *Paulinus*. Wherein *Euſebius* atteſts, that by *Paulinus*'s perſwaſion he attempted that Work; and he gives him this title, [ἱερὲ Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπε παυλῖνε, *O Paulinus, thou ſacred Man of God!*] *Paulinus* therefore was our *Euſebius*'s ἐρεθιστὴς, *Inſtigator to compile his Books*, as *Ambroſius* heretofore was *Origen*'s.——Further, this *Paulinus* was at firſt a Presbyter of *Antioch*. Afterwards, being preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Tyre*, he was much commended for his Preſidency over that Church. And at length when *Euſtathius* was diveſted of the See at *Antioch*, he was by the *Antiochians* preferred to the Government of their Church: So *Euſebius* informs us, in *his Book againſt Marcellus*, Chap. 4. in theſe Words, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, &c. *Afterwards he inveighs againſt the Man of God* Paulinus, a moſt bleſſed Perſon; *who was adorned with the dignity of a Presbyter at* Antioch; *and was ſo famous for his Goverment of the* Tyrian *Church, that the* Antiochians *challenged him as their own proper Goods. Philoſtorgius* (Book 3. Chap. 15.) ſays expreſly, that *Paulinus* ſucceeded *Euſtathius* in the See of *Antioch*, and that ſix Months after his Tranſlation he died.——*Paulinus* therefore died in the year of Chriſt 328, after he had born the Epiſcopate of *Antioch* ſix Months. Wherefore *Gothofredus* is much miſtaken, who (in his Notes on *Philoſtorgius*) ſuppoſes *Paulinus* to have died in the year of Chriſt 324; and blames *Philoſtorgius* for being inconſtant to himſelf. But *Philoſtorgius* agrees very well with himſelf; which *Gothofredus* does not, in aſſenting that *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* died on the year of Chriſt 324. undoubtedly *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* was preſent at the *Nicene Council*, and ſurvived that Synod ſometime; as *Theodoret* informs us, Book 1. Chap. 6. and *Sozomen*, Book 2. Chap. 18.——*Baronius* indeed ſays that *Paulinus* died in the year 324, and that *Euſtathius ſucceeded him.* But *Baronius* affirms not, that that *Paulinus* whom he makes *Euſtathius*'s Predeceſſor, was Biſhop of *Tyre*. Valeſ.

* The Phraſe in the original is [ἐν ἀρτίθμῳ τελείῳ] which *Valeſius*, *Chriſtophorſon*, and *Grynæus* render *in perfecto numero*; and we, *an entire and compleat Panegyrick.*

Conſtant. and Licinius.

at the perfect and effectual completion of theſe things in our days, and with gladneſs proſecute the Series of our Narration. After the ſame manner therefore that we have related, did the whole Race of thoſe Enemies of God vaniſh, and was ſuddenly taken away out of Men's ſight; ſo that that Divine Oracle was again compleated, which ſays; * *I have ſeen the wicked exalted, and lifted up like the Cedars of Libanus, I went by, and lo, he was not: I ſought his place but it could not be found.* Now therefore a bright and glorious day, no cloud overſhadowing it, doth enlighten, with Rays of heavenly Light, the Churches of Chriſt over all the Earth. Neither were there any of thoſe that were ſtrangers to the Community of us Chriſtians, and to our Religion, (*b*) but (although they did not enjoy them in the ſame degree that we did, yet at leaſt in ſome meaſure) might together with us partake of the Streams and Effluxes of thoſe good things, which had been procured us from God.

* Pſal. 37. 35, 36.

(*b*) This place (which neither *Muſculus* nor *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood) muſt be thus mended; συναπολαύειν ἡμῖν εἰ μὴ ἧσσ' ἴσων, ἀπῤῥοῆς δ' ἓν ὅμως, &c. *But (although they did not enjoy them in the ſame degree that we did, yet at leaſt in ſome meaſure) might together with us partake of the Streams,* &c. Valeſ. In *Stephens*'s Edition the Reading is, συναπολαύειν ἡμῖν ἧσσ' ἴσων, &c.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Re-edification of the Churches.

ALL mankind was now free from the Slavery and Oppreſſion of Tyrants; and being releaſed from their former miſeries, (although ſeveral ways, yet) all acknowledged as well as they could, that it was the only true God, who was the Defender of the Pious. But more eſpecially amongſt us (all whoſe hopes were fixed ſolely upon God's Chriſt) there was an inexpreſſible joy, and a kind of celeſtial gladneſs; when we ſaw all places, which thro' the Irreligion of the Tyrants were a little while ago totally deſtroy'd, reſtor'd to life as it were, and recover'd from a tedious and fatal Ruin; and [when we beheld] the Temples erected again from the ground to a vaſt height, and in ſplendour far excelling thoſe which had formerly been deſtroy'd. Moreover, the Emperors themſelves, in whoſe hands the ſupream Power was, by their continual enacting of Laws in favour of the Chriſtians, did enlarge, augment, and confirm the magnificence of the Divine Bounty towards us. There were Reſcripts alſo frequently ſent from the Emperor particularly to the Biſhops, their Honours were increaſed, and Sums of Money were beſtowed on them. The Contents of which Reſcripts (being tranſlated out of Latin into Greek,) it may not be impertinent to record in this Book (as in a ſacred Table) at a proper and fit place, that they may be had in continual remembrance by all ſucceeding Generations.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Conſecrations of Churches every where [*ſolemniz'd.*]

AFter thoſe things, a Spectacle earneſtly pray'd for, and much deſir'd by us all, appear'd; [to wit,] the Solemnization of the Feſtivals of Dedication [of Churches] throughout every City, and the Conſecrations of the new builded Oratories; the frequent Aſſemblies of Biſhops, the Concourſe of Strangers from Countries far remote, the mutual Love and Benevolence of the People; the Union of the Members of Chriſt's Body joyn'd together in an entire harmony and conſent: Therefore, (agreeable to that * Prophetick Prediction, which has myſtically fore-ſignified what is to come,) *bone was joyned to bone, and joynt to joynt*; and what ever elſe that Divine Prophecy has ænigmatically but truly declar'd. There was one and the ſame Power of the Holy Ghoſt which paſſed through all the Members; one Soul in all: The ſame alacrity of Faith: One common conſent in chaunting forth the (*a*) praiſes of God. Indeed, the Ceremonies of the Prelates were moſt entire, the Presbyters Performances of Service exact, the Rites of the Church decent and majeſtick; (*b*) on the one hand was a place for the Singers of Pſalms, and for the reſt of the Auditors of the Expreſſions ſent from God: On the other was a place for thoſe who performed the divine and myſtical Services: There were alſo [deliver'd] the (*c*) myſtical Symbols of our Saviour's Paſſion. And now People of all ages and ſexes, Men and Women, with the utmoſt vigour of their Minds, with joyful Hearts and Souls, by Prayers and Thankſgiving, worſhipped God the Author of all Good. All the Prelates then preſent made publick Orations, every one (as well as he was able) endeavouring to ſet forth the Praiſes of thoſe aſſembled.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

* Ezek. 37. v. 7.

(*a*) Θεολογία is here (as 'tis frequently in this *Hiſtorian*) uſed to ſignifie *the praiſing of God*: So alſo is θεολογεῖν, *laudare Deum, to praiſe God.* Valeſ.

(*b*) *Ruffinus*'s Verſion of this place may ſerve inſtead of a Comment; he tranſlates it thus; *Jam verò ingens in Sacerdotiis & miniſteriis, atq; in omnibus quæ ad religionis obſervantiam pertinent, gratia refulgebat. Adſtabant hic pſallentium chori, juvenes & virgines, ſenes cum junioribus laudabant nomen domini. Hic myſtica miniſteria ordinatis & diſpoſitis vicibus agebantur*; *And now an exceeding great Glory and Beauty appear'd in the Performances of the* Presbyters, *and in the Eccleſiaſtick Services, and in all things belonging to the Obſervances of Religion. In one place, the company of thoſe that ſung Pſalms, Youths and Virgins, old Men and young, praiſed the name of the Lord. In another, the Myſtical Services were performed by ſet courſes orderly appointed.* The terms [ὃ δὲ μέν] therefore denote the People of the Congregation, who ſang Pſalms in the Church, and hearkned to the ſacred Leſſons: Which is confirmed by theſe Words [φωνῶν ἀκροάσεσι, *Auditors of the Expreſſions*] which can be underſtood of the *Laicks* only. The Words [ὃ δὲ δέ] point out to us the *Presbyters*, who performed the Myſtical Ceremonies. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) By theſe [ἀπόῤῥητα σύμβολα σωτηρίου πάθους, *the myſtical Symbols of our Saviour's Paſſion*] is meant *Baptiſm*; which is a ſign of our Saviour's ſuffering. For, *by Baptiſm we die, and are buried with Chriſt, and we riſe again through the ſame Chriſt by Faith.* See *Coloſ.* 2. 12. Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

A Panegyrick concerning the ſplendid Poſture of our Affairs.

AND a certain perſon, that had been indifferently well educated and was deſerving, having made this Oration, came forth into the preſence of a great many Biſhops, (that were then preſent as at an Eccleſiaſtick Aſſembly) who gave him audience quietly and decently; then turning himſelf towards one who was the eminenteſt of them all, (a Biſhop acceptable to God, by whoſe care the Church of *Tyre*, the ſtatelieſt Fabrick amongſt all the Churches within the Country of *Phœnicia*, was glorioufly erected,) he ſpake thus.

A Pane-

Constant. and Licinius.

A Panegyrick upon the Building of the Churches, spoken to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*.

You, the Friends and Priests of God, who are wrapt in the sacred long Vesture, crowned with the Celestial Diadem of Glory, anointed with the Holy Unction, and cloathed in the Sacerdotal Robe of the Holy Spirit: And You, the Grace and Ornament of this new-erected and sacred Temple of God; You, who are adorned by God with a Prudence befitting an hoary Head, but have exhibited many glorious Evidences of a vigorous and juvenile Virtue; You, to whom God, (who comprehendeth the whole World,) (a) hath granted the special Prerogative of building and renewing this terrestrial Temple for Christ His only begotten and his first born Word, and for His Holy and Sacred Spouse: [You] whom one may term either a new Beseleel, *the Architect of the holy Tabernacle; or another* Solomon, *King of a new, and far more excellent* Jerusalem; *or a second* Zerobabel, *in regard You have added a far greater splendour to the Temple of God, than it had before. Also, You, the Sheep of Christ's sacred Flock; the Seat and Mansion of good Doctrines; the School of Modesty; and the Reverend and (b) Religious Auditory of Piety! We (who have long since heard, by reading the Holy Scriptures, the miraculous Works of God, and the loving kindness of the Lord [declared] by his Wonders towards Mankind,) may now sing Hymns and Psalms to God, being instructed to say,* *O God, we have heard with our ears; our fathers have told us the work which thou didst in their days, in the times of old. *But now, having not barely by Hearing and Reports only, perceived the exalted Arm, and celestial Right Hand of our All-Good and Supream God and King; but in reality and (as we may say) with these very Eyes seen the Truth and Verity of those things which were heretofore recorded; we may sing a second Triumphant Hymn, and break forth into these expres words, saying,* Like as we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts; in the city of our God. *But in what City, in this new built and framed by God?* * Which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. *Concerning which another Divine Oracle speaketh thus:* † Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God. *In which Church, since God the Giver of all Good, by the Grace of His only begotten Son hath convened us, let every one here assembled cry out with a loud voice as it were, and say,* *I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord. *And again,* † Lord, I have loved the beauty of thine house, and the place where thine *honour* dwelleth. *And not only every particular person, but let us altogether rejoyce and shout forth Praises with one Spirit, and one Mind, saying,* * Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised, in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill. *For he is truly great, and his house is great, lofty and spacious, and more beautiful than the Sons of Men. Great is the Lord, who only doth marvellous things. Great is He who doth magnificent things, and such as are past finding out, glorious and stupendious, of which there is no number. Great is He who altereth Times and Seasons; who deposeth and constituteth Kings: Who raiseth up the Poor from the Earth, and exalteth the Beggar from the Dunghil: He hath thrust down the Mighty from their Seats, and hath exalted the Humble from the Earth. He hath filled the Hungry with good things, and hath broken in pieces the Arms of the Proud. Not only amongst the Faithful, but amongst the Infidels also He hath confirmed the Authority of those Relations heretofore recorded of him of old. 'Tis He who worketh Miracles: 'Tis He that doth great things: 'Tis He who is Lord of all: He, who is the Framer of the whole World: He, who is Almighty: All-Good: He, that is the One and Only God. In obedience to whom let us sing a new Song; to Him, who only doth wonderful things; for his Mercy endureth for ever. Who smote great Kings and slew mighty Kings; for his Mercy endureth for ever. For the Lord remembred us when we were in a low Condition, and hath redeemed us from our Enemies. And let us never cease thus to praise God the Father of all. Also Him, who is the (c) second Author of all Good to us; who is our Master in instructing us in the Knowledge of God, the Teacher of true Piety, the Destroyer of the Wicked, the Slayer of Tyrants, the Reformer of our Lives;* Jesus *our Saviour, when we were in despair, Him let us extol, having his Name always in our Mouth. For He alone, who is the Only and Best Son of the Best and Greatest Father, in compliance with His Father's Love to Mankind, most willingly cloathed himself with our Nature who were buried in Corruption; and like a careful Physician ((d) who for the Health's sake of his Patients looks into the Wounds, lightly stroaketh the Sores, and from other Men's Calamities attracteth Grievances upon himself;) he himself hath by himself saved us (who were not only diseased and oppressed with foul Ulcers and Wounds already putrified; but also lay amongst the Dead) from the very Jaws of Death. For there was no other in Heaven that had so much power, as inoffensively to minister Health to so many; it was He only therefore who, after he had touched our burdensome Corruption; He alone, who after he had endured our Labours; He alone, who after he had taken upon himself the Punishment of our Impieties; raised us* Eusebius! *) concerning the Son of God, who is co-equal in dominion, co-eternal, and con-Creator of all things* [with the Father:] *Thou stilest him the second Author of all good, when as he is the same Author and Framer of all things with the Father, and of the same Substance with him.* Also in the *Maz.* MS. we met with this *Scholion* here, in a later hand, wherein *Eusebius* is also reproved, in regard he subjects the Son to the Father, and attributes to him the second place. Τί ταῦτ' ἄνθρωπε ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς σαυτῆς θεολογεῖς κεφαλῆς· Τὸν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐσίᾳ καὶ πάντα ὅμοιον τῷ πατρὶ καταβιβάζων καὶ ὑποτιθείς, καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπονέμων· ἐναντία φρονῶν καὶ γεγραφὼς τοῖς ὁμόσπον τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἴσον δοξάζουσιν ἁγίοις πατράσιν· ὧν συνήγορος θῆς, εἰ μὴ προφανῶς ψεύδονται οἱ τὰς πράξεις συγγράψαντες αὐτῶν· that is, *Why doest thou utter this Divinity (O Man!) to thine own destruction? detracting from and subjecting him, who in Glory, Power, and Essence is every way like the Father; and attributing to him the second place from the Father? Thy Sentiments and Writings do herein contradict those Holy Fathers, who determined the Son to be co-essential with the Father? To whose Opinion thou didst subscribe, unless they who wrote their Acts do declare a palpable untruth.* Vales.

(d) In the Greek, these following Lines (the Translation whereof is contained within this Parenthesis) seem to be Iambicks taken out of some *Tragedian*. The Words are these;

Τῆς τῆν καμοῦσαν εἶχεν σωτηρίας·
Ὁρᾷ τὰ δεινὰ διγλάσσει δ' ἀνδρέων·
Ἀλλοίας τὸ συμφορῆσιν ἰδίαις
——— καρπῶται λύπας.

which Verses are undoubtedly very elegant, and smell something of *Æschylus*, or *Sophocles*. But I think they ought rather to be blotted out of this place, for they disturb the sence. *Vales.*

(a) These words [χέρας ἐδωρήσατο] which we render [*to whom God hath given this special and particular privilege*] *Christophorson* understands as if this were the sense of them, (viz.) *That this Church, which was founded by* Paulinus, *was a special Ornament or Honour to Christ, and his Church*: But *Musculus* follows the same Sense as I do. *Vales.*

(b) In the Greek Text, the term is [θεοσεβὲς] which we have translated *Religious*; but doubtless *Eusebius* wrote [θεοπρεπὲς, *majestick*] for it would be a simple way of expressing ones self thus, θεοσεβείας θεοσεβὲς ἀκροατήριον, *the Religious Auditory of Religion.* Vales.

* Psal. 44. v. 1.

Psal 48. v. 8.

* 1 Tim. c. 3. v. 15.

† Psal 87. v. 2.

* Psal. 122. v. 1.

† Psal. 26. v. 8.

* Psal. 48. v. 1.

(c) In the *Med.* MS. I found this *Scholion* written at these Words; κακῶς κ' αὐταῦθα θεολογεῖς Εὐσέβιε σὺ τὸν σωτῆρα χ' ὑὸν σωτῆρος, χ' συμποιητὸν τῆς ὅλων φύσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ δεύτερον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν αἴτιον τῆς ἀγαθῶν, σωτῆρα ὄντα χ' συνδημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων τῆς ὅλων, χ' ὁμοούσιον; i. e. *Thou deliverest no good divinity here (O Eusebius!) concerning the Son of God, who is co-equal in dominion, co-eternal, and con-Creator of all things* [with the Father:] *Thou stilest him the second Author of all good, when as he is the same Author and Framer of all things with the Father, and of the same Substance with him.* Also in the *Maz.* MS. we met with this *Scholion* here, in a later hand, wherein *Eusebius* is also reproved, in regard he subjects the Son to the Father, and attributes to him the second place. Τί ταῦτ' ἄνθρωπε ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς σαυτῆς θεολογεῖς κεφαλῆς· Τὸν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἐσίᾳ καὶ πάντα ὅμοιον τῷ πατρὶ καταβιβάζων καὶ ὑποτιθείς, καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπονέμων· ἐναντία φρονῶν καὶ γεγραφὼς τοῖς ὁμόσπον τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἴσον δοξάζουσιν ἁγίοις πατράσιν· ὧν συνήγορος θῆς, εἰ μὴ προφανῶς ψεύδονται οἱ τὰς πράξεις συγγράψαντες αὐτῶν· that is, *Why doest thou utter this Divinity (O Man!) to thine own destruction? detracting from and subjecting him, who in Glory, Power, and Essence is every way like the Father; and attributing to him the second place from the Father? Thy Sentiments and Writings do herein contradict those Holy Fathers, who determined the Son to be co-essential with the Father? To whose Opinion thou didst subscribe, unless they who wrote their Acts do declare a palpable untruth.* Vales.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

(when we were not only half dead, but lay altogether impure and ſtinking in the Graves and Sepulchres) and both in times paſt, and now through his earneſt compaſſion towards us (even beyond our hopes and expectations) preſerveth us, and imparteth to us an Exuberancy of his Father's good things. 'Tis he who is the Author of Life, and the Introducer of Light ; our Great Phyſician, King, Lord, and the Anointed of God. (e) But even then, when all Mankind (by the Wiles of deteſtable Devils, and the Operations of Spirits hated by God) lay buried in an obſcure Night, and thick Darkneſs, he (f) only by his appearance, with the Rays of his Light diſſolved the manifold Chains of our Sins, like melting Wax. And now, when by reaſon of his ſo great Love and Beneficence [towards us] the † envious Devil, Enemy to all that is good, and the Favourer of evil, was in a manner burſt [with grief,] and marſhal'd all his fatal Forces againſt us ; and when at firſt having (like a mad Dog, who with his teeth gnaws the ſtones that were thrown at him, ſpending the fury he was put into againſt thoſe that provoked him, upon the lifeleſs things thrown at him,) turning his beaſtly Rage upon the Stones of the Oratories, and upon the ſenſleſs Piles of the Buildings, he thought with himſelf, that he had procur'd the utter Deſolation of the Churches ; alſo, when afterwards he ſent forth terrible Hiſſings, and his ſerpentine Expreſſions, one while by the Menaces of impious Tyrants, at another time by the blaſphemous Decrees of prophane Preſidents, and moreover belched forth the Virulency of his Death, and with his venomous and deadly Potions, poiſon'd thoſe Souls that were captivated by him, and had in a manner deſtroy'd them by the pernicious Sacrifices of dead Idols ; when laſtly he had incited againſt us all thoſe that under the ſhape of Men masked their ſavage Cruelty, Perſons of a Diſpoſition every way barbarous and fierce : Then again, the Angel of the Great Council, that (g) Chief Commander of God's Hoſts (after a ſufficient Exerciſe in the Combat, which the moſt valiant Champions of his Kingdom exhibited, by undergoing the ſevereſt Hardſhips with patience and fortitude,) appearing on a ſudden, ſo utterly deſtroy'd and reduc'd to nothing, all his Enemies and Adverſaries, that they ſeem as if they had never been named. But his Friends and Dependants he exalted to the higheſt pitch of Glory, not only amongſt all Men, but amongſt the Celeſtial Powers alſo, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the whole Heaven, and the World. So that now (which thing never happen'd before) the ſupream Emperors, ſenſible of that Honour they have received from God, ſpit in the Faces of the dead Idols, trample under-foot the prophane Rites and Services of Devils, and deride that ancient Error handed down to them by Tradition from their Anceſtors : They acknowledge one only God, the common Benefactor to all Men, and to them in particular ; and they profeſs Chriſt the Son of God to be the ſupream Ruler of all things, they proclaim him Saviour in their Inſcriptions upon Pillars, engraving in Royal Characters, his valiant Exploits and Victories (in order to their indelible remembrance) over the Impious, in the very midſt of that City which is Queen of the whole Earth. So that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is the only perſon amongſt all thoſe who have been ſince the World began, that is confeſſed to be (even by the Emperors themſelves, who are Supream here upon Earth,) not an ordinary King, made ſuch by Men, but is worſhipped as being the genuine Son of the Supream God, and is [adored] as being (h) truly and in himſelf God ; and that deſervedly. For what King had ever ſuch power, as that he could fill the Tongues and Ears of all Men upon Earth (i) with his Name ? What King ever conſtituted ſuch pious and prudent Laws, and was able to confirm them in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould be perpetually read in the audience of all Men from the one end of the whole Earth to the oppoſite Extremities thereof ? What King hath ever by his mild and indulgent Laws, melted and ſoftned the ſavage and barbarous Diſpoſitions of the inhumane Heathens ? What King, oppoſed by all Men during the ſpace of ſo many whole Ages, ever demonſtrated ſuch a more than humàn Valour and Strength, that he flouriſhed daily, and ſeem'd to grow young in every ſucceeding Age ? Who hath planted a Nation (which heretofore was not ſo much as heard of) not in ſome ſecret unknown Corner of the Earth only, but even throughout the whole World [which lies] under the Sun ? Who ever armed his Soldiers with the Arms of Godlineſs in ſuch a manner, that in their Conflicts with their Adverſaries they made it apparent that their Minds were firmer than an Adamant ? What King was ever ſo potent as to lead an Army after his Death, and to erect Trophies againſt his Enemies, and to fill every Place, Country, and City, Grecian and Barbarian, with his Royal Palaces, and with the (k) conſecrated Fabricks of holy Temples, ſuch as are thoſe ſplendid Ornaments and conſecrated Gifts belonging to this very Church : Which are in themſelves truly Auguſt and Magnificent, worthy of amazement and admiration, in regard they are (l) evident Repreſentations of our Saviour's Kingdom. For he now ſpake and they were made ; he commanded, and they ſtood faſt : For what could withſtand the Beck and Will of the Word, who is the ſupream King and Governour of all things, and is himſelf God ? But an accurate Contemplation and Explication of theſe things particularly, require a peculiar Diſcourſe and Leiſure. Moreover, a peculiar Leiſure would be requiſite to relate what, and how great the alacrity of the Workmen was that laboured in this Building, and how it was*

Conſtant. and Licinius.

(e) Here he firſt relates what *Chriſt* did in the days of old, for the Salvation of Mankind. Afterwards he ſets forth what Miracles he lately wrought. *Valeſ.*

(f) In the Text we read [αὐτὸς μόνῳ ἐπιφανεὶς,] but we ſhould rather read [αὐτὸ μόνον] as we find it in the *Med. Fuk.* and *Maz.* MSS. αὐτὸ μόνον ſignifies *ſolummodo, only,* or *alone* ; which Phraſe is frequent in *Euſebius*, and thus he is here to be underſtood : That *Chriſt* only, by his appearance and incarnation in times paſt, delivered Men, who were enſlaved by the Devil, from that grievous yoke of ſervitude. *Valeſ.*

† Τῷ μισοκάλῳ φθόνῳ καὶ φιλεπονήρῳ δαίμονι ; the import whereof, if rendred word for word, is this ; *Envy the hater of that which is good, and the Devil the lover of miſchief.* But by the following words in the period, he ſeems to ſpeak of the Devil only : Upon which account we render it *The envious Devil*, &c. agreeable to *Valeſius*'s Verſion.

(g) Upon theſe Words in the *Med.* MS. we find this *Scholion* in the Margin, (*viz.*) *this is Wicked, Atheiſtical, and Blaſphemous, to call the Saviour Chriſt and God, the great Commander in chief of God's Hoſt.* Valeſ.

(h) We ought to take ſpecial notice of this place ; for it is the firſt wherein *Euſebius* calls Chriſt αὐτοθεὸς. This one place I think ſufficient to confute all their malicious Calumnies, who believe that our Author *Euſebius* was infected with *Arianiſm.* This word [αὐτοθεὸς] is made in imitation of *Plato*'s Word αὐτοαγαθὸν, which ſignifies *that which in it ſelf is truly good* : So αὐτοθεὸς is he *who is truly originally and in himſelf God.* Valeſ.

(i) By theſe Words [τῆς αὐτῆς θεοσημείας] may be meant *the Chriſtians*, who are called τῆς αὐτῆς θεοσημείας *after his own name* : Which name of *Chriſtians* was ſpread over all Nations, and known not amongſt the *Romans* only, but alſo amongſt the *Barbarians* But if any would have theſe Words [τῆς αὐτῆς θεοσημείας] ſignifie *Chriſt's own name* ; I will not much concradict it ; for a little after our Author ſpeaks of the *Chriſtians* : Which certainly he would not have done, had he ſpoken of them before. *Valeſ.*

(k) Ἀφιέρωμα, the term here, does not ſignifie *the Conſecration of Churches*, as *Muſculus* here tranſlates it ; but rather the *Donaria, things Offered and Conſecrated to God*, and thus the following Words [κοσμήματα καὶ ἀναθέματα, *Ornaments and Dedicated* (or *Conſecrated*) *Gifts*,] declare. Certainly if *Euſebius* had here meant *Conſecration*, he would have us'd ἀφιέρωσις and not ἀφιέρωμα in this place ; as he does in the third Chapter of this tenth Book. *Valeſ.*

(l) In the King's MS. at the ſide of this line I found this mark [ως] ſet : Which is an abbreviation of the Word [ὡραῖον, i. e. *polite, elegant.*] In antient MSS. 'tis uſually found placed at the more elegant paſſages. *Valeſ.*

* Pſal 33. v. 9.

Constant. and Licinius.

was look'd upon and esteemed of by that God himself, whom we extol, who inspects the living Temples of us all, and views the House built of living and (m) firm Stones, well and securely placed upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone: Who was rejected not only by those who were the Framers of that ancient Building, which endures now no longer, but also by those Architects of that Fabrick which now is, consisting of many persons; who were wicked Framers of evil Works. But the Father having tried [this stone] and approved of it, in times past, and now also, laid it as the Head of the Corner of this Church, which is common to us all. Into this living Temple therefore of the living God, which is made up of us, (I mean that most stately sacred Fabrick, truly worthy of God, whose inmost Recesses are invisible to the Vulgar, and are truly holy, and the Holiest of Holies) what Man is he that dares look and divulge [what he there beholds?]

(m) I have translated these words [ζεζωκότων λίθων] firm Stones: Musculus translates them crescentes lapides, growing Stones. Christophorson renders them incedentes interra lapides, walking Stones. But I cannot conceive, how the foundation could be firm, if the Stones moved. Of these Versions the Reader may take which best pleaseth him; I do not here reject Christophorson's Version. But whereas Christoph. supposes these Words [τῷ θεολογωμένῳ] which we translate [that God whom we praise] do signifie Christ; I cannot at all commend him; For our Author speaks afterward of Christ; saying, That he is the chief corner Stone of this Temple. Wherefore by [τῷ θεολογωμένῳ] is meant God the Father, the Overseer of this work. Hieronym. translates [ζεζωκότας λίθους] in the second Chapter of Haggai, lapides viventes qui nunc volvuntur super terram, living Stones which are rolled upon the Earth. Vales.

Yea, who is he that can with his Eyes penetrate its sacred Inclosures, but he alone, the Great High-Priest of all; whose only Right and Priviledge it is to make Researches into the Secrets of every rational Soul? And perhaps the same is granted to (n) one other person in the next place after him, to wit, to this chief Leader of his Host; whom the first and Great High-Priest himself hath honoured with the second place if the Priesthood in the sacred Temple, and has himself constituted him the Shepherd of your Holy Flock, having this your People committed to his charge by the allotment and determination of the Father, as being his own Minister and Interpreter: A new Aaron or Melchisedeck, made like to the Son of God, remaining, and by the publick Prayers of you all preserved for ever by him. Unto this person alone therefore be it lawful next after the Chief and Principal High-Priest, if not to have the first, yet at least the second place in looking into, and taking care of the very inmost Recesses of your Souls: For by [the help of] experience and length of time he hath both made accurate Enquiries into every particular person amongst you; and also by his care and industry, hath instructed you all in modesty, and in the Doctrine which is according to godliness: And he is abler than any one else to give such account of those (o) Works (which by the assisting power of God he hath perfected) as are answerable to the Works themselves. Indeed, our First and Chief High-Priest saith, * What things soever he seeth the Father do, these also doth the Son likewise. But this person, looking upon the first [High-Priest,] as it were upon a Master, attentively with the unpolluted Eyes of the Mind; whatsoever things he seeth him do, them he maketh use of as his original Patterns, and hath wrought the Representations thereof into such a form, that they do express (as near as 'tis possible to be done) an exact likeness thereto. Being nothing inferior to that * Beseleel, whom God himself (having filled him with the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, and of other artificial and skilful knowledge,) made choice of to be the Framer of a Structure of Celestial Types of a † Temple, by certain shadowed Representaons. After the same manner therefore, this our [Bishop] (p) bearing in his mind the perfect, whole, and intire Representation of Christ, who is the Word, the Wisdom, and the Light; it cannot be expressed with what a greatness of Soul, * with what a rich and inexhaustible hand of his Understanding, and with what an emulous Liberality [proceeding from] you all, (who by your Nobleness in contributing to the Charge did most ambitiously contend, that you might in no wise seem to be inferiour to his vast Design) he hath erected this magnificent Temple of the most High God, which may be seen, naturally resembling (as near as may be) the Model of that more Glorious Structure which is invisible. And this very place, (for it is fit we should speak of this first,) which by the Treacheries of our Enemies was overwhelmed with all manner of impure Rubbish, he neglected not; nor did he in the least yield to the Wickedness of them who had been Authors of it; whenas he could have found out another place (whereof there are great numbers in this City) where he might have been eased of much of his Labour, and freed himself from many Troubles: Yet, having first made ready himself to undertake this Work; and afterwards corroborated all the People with an alacrity of Mind, and gathered them altogether into one great Band, he attempted this (q) first laborious Enterprize: Supposing it fitting that this very Church (which had been most batter'd by the Enemies, which had heretofore undergone great Sufferings [upon our account,] which had endured Persecutions both with and before us, which like a Mother was bereaved of her Children,) ought to enjoy together with us the magnificent Bounty of our most good and gracious God. For, in as much as that Great Shepherd hath vouchsafed to gather his Children together again into one place, having driven away the Wild-Beasts, Wolves, and all the savage and fierce kind of Creatures, and (as the Divine Scriptures say,) having broken the jawbones of the Lions, with good reason he re-edified the Fold for his Flock, * That he might put to confusion the enemy and the avenger, and might bring a reproach upon the audacious and rebellious attempts of the Impious against God. (r) Now therefore these persons, hated by God, are not, nor were they then. But after they had for a short space of time raised Disturbances, and were

(n) After these words there is an Asterisk set in the Med. MS. and in the Margin are these words written [ἡ τόπο ἀσεβές. This also is blasphemous.] The Scholiast, who set this Note here, seems to have thought that in this place Eusebius spake concerning Christ: But he speaks of Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, who (says he) has obtained the next place to Christ in the Government of Believers. Now this cannot be stiled an impious Expression, seeing that all Prelates do resemble Christ, and are his Vicegerents in the Government of the Church. We confess indeed, that Eusebius attributes too much to Paulinus, in regard he gives him the second place, as if he were Christ's Equal and Colleague; and in regard he terms him Melchisedech. Vales.

(o) He means as well the spiritual as material Fabrick of the Church at Tyre; of the form and model whereof Paulinus (says he) can give the best account, in regard by the assistance of Divine Power he framed that Structure. Vales.

*Jo. 5. 19.

* See Exod. 35. 31.

† Eusebius here us'd Ναὸς improperly, making it to signifie a Tabernacle; whereas Ναὸς signifies properly, a Temple: We read in Exod. chap. 38. that Beseleel built the Tabernacle of the Lord, not the Temple. Vales.

(p) This word [ἀγαλματοφορῶν] is a Metaphorical term, taken from the Heathen Priests, who carried the Images of their Gods upon their shoulders. Vales.

* Πλουσίᾳ τε ἠ ἀπλήστῳ διανοίας χειρὶ. So 'tis worded in the original.

(q) He alludes to the Herculean Labours, or Combats. Vales.

* Psal. 8. v. 2.

(r) The Phrase here is [ἡ νῦν ὅτι μὲν ἐκ εἰσὶν οἱ θεομισεῖς, ὅτι μὴ δὲ ἦσαν] which Valesius render thus, [Itaque illi deo invisi, nunc amplius non sunt, quando ne tum quidem erant:] And we thus, [Now therefore these Persons, hated by God, are not, nor were they then.] It seems to be an imitation of Dionysius Alexandrinus his expression; who in his Epistle to Harmammon (part whereof is quoted by our Eusebius, at Book 7. Chap. 23.) speaks thus concerning Macrianus, [ὁ μὲν ἐκ ἔστιν ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ ἦν, now he is not, for he never was.] Vales.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

themſelves alſo diſturbed, they ſuffered a moſt juſt puniſhment inflicted on them by Divine Vengeance, and irrecoverably ruin'd themſelves, their Friends and Families. So that thoſe Predictions heretofore recorded in the ſacred Monuments [of the Scriptures] may now be acknowledged to be really certain, in which the Word of God does both truly declare other things, and alſo ſpeaks expreſly concerning them, thus:

* Pſal. 37. v. 14, 15. * The ungodly have drawn out the ſword, they have bent their bow, to caſt down the poor and needy, and to ſlay ſuch as are of an upright converſation. There ſword ſhall go through their own heart, and their bows ſhall be broken. *And again,* * Their memorial periſhed with a ſound, and † thou haſt put out their name for ever and ever. || For when they were in troubles they cried, and there was none to ſave them, even unto the Lord did they cry, but he heard them not. † They were bound and fell, but we aroſe and were ſet upright; *This alſo which was foretold in theſe words,* (* Lord, thou in thy city ſhalt bring their image to nought) *is manifeſted in the ſight of us all to be moſt true. Theſe men, who like the Giants raiſed a War againſt God, procured for themſelves the ſame fatal end of their lives that they did: But † ſhe which was deſolate, and whoſe ſafety was deſpaired of by all Men, has arrived to ſuch a concluſion of her patient ſufferance upon God's account as we now behold, ſo that theſe words of the Prophecy of* Iſaiah *may ſeem to have been ſpoken to her.* * Rejoyce thou thirſty deſert; let the ſolitary place rejoyce, and flouriſh like a lilly: the deſerts ſhall flouriſh and be glad: be ye ſtrengthened ye languid hands and feeble knees: be comforted you faint-hearted, be ſtrong, and fear not: Behold our God doth repay judgment, and will repay it: He will come and ſave us. *For* (*ſaith he*) Water hath broke out in the deſert, and a valley in a thirſty land. The parched ground ſhall be changed into mooriſh places, and the fountain of water into a thirſty land. *All this was formerly predicted in words, and laid up in the ſacred Books; but the things themſelves are now no longer delivered to us by hear-ſay, but* [*are exhibited*] *by actual performances. This ſame dry Deſert, this* diſconſolate Widow (* whoſe very gates they have *cut down at once with Axes, like Wood in the Foreſt,* having broken her in pieces with the axe and the hammer: *Whoſe Books they have ſpoiled,* and have burnt the ſanctuary of God with fire: they have defiled the dwelling place of his name even unto the ground; † Whoſe grapes all that go by plucked off, (having firſt broken down her hedges, *whom the* wild boar out of the foreſt hath rooted up, *and the* wild hog devoured; *by the miraculous power of Chriſt* (*it having now pleaſed him ſo to do*) *flouriſheth again like a Lilly. Yea, at ſuch time as ſhe was chaſtened, that* [*Chaſtiſement was inflicted on her*] *by his appointment, as it were by a careful and indulgent Father.*

† Heb. 12. v. 6. † For whom the Lord loveth he chaſtiſeth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth. *When therefore ſhe had been moderately and ſufficiently chaſtiſed, ſhe is again commanded from Heaven to rejoyce; and ſhe flouriſheth as a Lilly, and breaths forth upon all Men a divine ſweet ſavour: For, ſaith he,* * Water guſhed out in the deſerts, [*to wit,*] *the* † *Fountain of that Salutary Laver of Divine Regeneration.* And now, that land which a little before was deſolate, is changed into pools: And the fountain of living water hath guſhed out plentifully upon a thirſty land: *Thoſe hands which were formerly weak, are really ſtrong: And thoſe works* [*which you behold*] *are great and powerful Inſtances of this Strength of the Hands: Moreover, thoſe Knees which were formerly enfeebled and weak, having, now recovered their uſual Firmneſs and Faculty of Walking, go ſtraight on in the way of Divine Knowledge of God, haſtning towards the genuine Flock of that moſt good and gracious Shepherd. And if any of them have had their Souls benumned and ſtupified through the Menaces of Tyrants, even theſe the ſaving Word does not deſpiſe as incurable, but heals them carefully and tenderly, and excites them to be partakers of the Divine Conſolation, ſaying,* Be comforted, ye faint-heated: Be ſtrong, fear not. *When therefore this our new and excellent* Zorobabel (*by the acuteneſs of his Underſtanding*) *perceived that, according as the Divine Word had foretold, She which had been brought to deſolation for God's ſake, ſhould enjoy theſe good things, after that bitter Captivity, and Abomination of Deſolation: He deſpiſed not this dead Corps, but having in the firſt place with ſupplications and prayers* (*together with the joynt conſent of you all*) *propitiated the Father, and taking for his Aſſiſtant, and Fellow-labourer the only Reviver of the Dead, he raiſed up this fallen Church, having firſt purified her, und healed her of her Maladies. And now he hath put a Robe about her, not that old one, but ſuch a one as he had again received inſtructions about, from the Divine Oracles, which expreſly teſtifie thus:* * And the latter glory of this houſe ſhall far excel the former. *Upon which account, having taken in a far larger compaſs of Ground, he fortified the outward Circuit with a Wall on every ſide, which might ſerve for a ſtrong fence to the whole Structure. Then he raiſed a ſpacious, lofty, and ſtately* Portico *againſt the Rays of the riſing Sun, which, to thoſe who ſtand at a ſufficient diſtance without the ſacred Incloſure, does yield a full proſpect of this Structure within; and as it were, attracts the Eyes of Infidels to look upon the firſt Entrances, that ſo no Perſon might paſs by, who ſhould not feel ſome Pricks in his Mind, both at the remembrance of the former Deſolation, and alſo at* [*the ſight of*] *the ſtupendious Miracle of the preſent Fabrick. Hence he hoped, that he who upon that account felt ſuch a Compunction, might peradventure be drawn* [*towards it,*] *and at the very ſight thereof would be perſwaded to enter in. But after you are come within the Gates, he has not permitted you to enter immediately into the Holy place with impure and unwaſhen Feet. But, having left a large vacancy betwixt the Temple and the* Portico, *he beautified this vacant ſpace* ((*ſ*) *having incloſed it in the figure of a Quadrangle*) *with four oppoſite Cloyſters ſupported on every ſide with Pillars. The* (*t*) *intermediate ſpace betwixt theſe Pillars, he filled up with Partitions made of Wood, reſembling Net-work, which reach up an indifferent height, but the* (*u*) *middle ſpace*

Conſtant. and Licinius.

Temple. This ſpace was incloſed (ſays He) in figure of a Quadrangle, and beautified with four oppoſite Cloyſters by *Paulinus.* Valeſ.

(*t*) This [μέσα τῆς κιόνων] very well rendred, [*intercolumnia, the ſpace betwixt the Pillars,*] was filled up with latticed bars of Wood, which reached upwards an indifferent height: Here alſo *Euſebius* uſeth [μῆκος] to ſignifie [*height*] which is not taken notice of by Tranſlators. *Valeſ.*

(*u*) He means *that middle ſpace in the open Air,* which was encompaſſed on every ſide with the four Cloyſters; it was of the ſame figure with thoſe which in the modern Monaſteries are called *Pratella.* For that which the Monks call *a Cloyſter,* is nothing elſe but four *covered walks,* within which is *that vacancy in the open air,* by them termed *Pratellum.* Moreover, in ſome Monaſteries, this *vacancy in the open air* is fenced in with Rails, after the ſame manner that *Euſebius* ſays the *Atrium,* [the *Court,* or *Yard*] was, wherein the Church of *Tyre* ſtood; which is done to hinder Boys from going into *that open place,* which is uſually planted with Flowers. This vacant place is in *Latin* properly termed *Atrium.* Valeſ.

be

with them; in the Septuagint the reading is μετ' ἤχους, *with a ſound.*

† Pſal. 9. 5.

|| See Pſal. 18. 41.

† Pſal. 20. v. 8.

* Pſal. 73. v. 19.

† The Church of God.

* Iſa. 35. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.

Our Author quotes this Text, as it is in the Verſion of the 72; according to which we tranſlate.

* He alludes to Pſal. 74. v. 7.

† See Pſal 80. v. 12, 13.

* Iſai. 35. v. 6.

† We read [τὸ νᾶμα, *the fountain*] not [πὺρ ἄμα.] The *Fuk.* and *Sav.* MSS. confirm our reading. *Valeſ.*

(*ſ*) *Chriſtophorſon* thought that theſe words [περιέξας τὸν τόπον] were ſpoken concerning *the Temple*; whereas by them is meant the *ſpace betwixt the Porch and the*

Constant. and Licinius.

he left open, that a view of Heaven might be taken, and that by it might be let in the clear Air filled with the Rays of Light. Here also he placed the mysterious Symbols of the sacred Purgations, to wit, Fountains built opposite to the Front of the Church, which afforded plenty of Water for those who entred the sacred Walls to wash in. And this first place of reception for those that entred, yielded both a beautiful and splendid prospect to all Men, and also afforded a very commodious Mansion to those who yet wanted instruction in the first Principles of Religion. Moreover, † *after a view taken of those* [*buildings,*] *he made passages opening into the Church* [*adorned*] *with a great many more inward* Porticoes. *And again at the rays of the rising Sun he placed three gates in one and the same side. On the middlemost of which he thought fit to bestow much more of magnificence and spaciousness than on the other two placed on either side of it; and, having adorned it gloriously with plates of Brass bound on with Iron, and with variety of Sculpture, he adjoyned the other two as the Guards to her, being as it were a Queen. When he had after the same manner made the number of the Porches equal to the Cloysters on both sides of the whole Church, over these Porches, he invented other copious Conveyances of Light into the House, and adorned them with various and exceeding fine and small wooden Sculptures: But the Royal House itself he furnished with richer and more costly Materials, liberally bestowing thereon most magnificent and vast expences. I think it here superfluous for me to describe the length and breadth of this Building, and to treat particularly of the Splendour* [*of the Structure,*] *of its unspeakable Greatness, of the glittering Show of the Works, of its Height which equals Heaven, and of the costly Cedars of* Libanus *that are laid hereupon: The mention of which even the holy Scriptures hath not passed over in silence; wherein 'tis said* * The trees of the Lord shall rejoyce, even the Cedars of Libanus which he hath planted. *To what end should I make an exact Narration here, of the most ingenious and artificial Composure of the whole Structure, and of the incomparable Beauty of every particular part of it, when as the testimony of the Eyes excludeth all knowledge which entreth at the Ears? Moreover, after he had thus finished the Temple, and decently adorned it with the highest Thrones in honour of the Prelates of Churches, and also with* (x) *Benches orderly placed all over the Church, at last he placed the Holy of Holies, the Altar, in the midst, and that the Multitude might not come within these* [*sacred places,*] *he enclosed them with wooden Rails made like Net-work, which were so curiously and artificially framed and carved, that they entertained those that viewed them with a wonderful and surprizing sight. Neither was the very Pavement neglected by him, but after he had beautified it most gloriously with Marble-stone, he proceeded to the Out-buildings of the Temple; and with great Art and Skill erected most spacious* * Exhedræ *and* Oëci *on each side, which in an uniform manner were joyned together at the sides of the Cathedral, and united to the* (y) *Doors which lead into the middle of the Church. These Buildings our most peaceful King* Solomon *(who erected the Temple of God) made for them, who want the Purification, and the Sprinkling by Water and the Holy Ghost. So that that Prophecy before quoted is no longer a wordy Prediction, but is really accomplished: For now it is come to pass,* that the glory of this latter house is truly greater than the former. *For it was requisite and agreeable that (since her Pastor and Lord, for her sake once suffered death, and after his Passion changed that vile Body, which for her sake he had put on, into Brightness and Glory; and translated that very corruptible Flesh from Corruption to Immortality,) she also should likewise enjoy the* (z) *Dispensations of her Saviour. For, although she (having received from him a promise of far more excellent things than she doth at present enjoy,) incessantly longeth to be for eternal Ages partaker of a far greater glory of a Regeneration, at the Resurrection of the incorruptible Body, with the Choir of the Angels of Light, in the Palaces of God above the Heavens, together with* Jesus Christ, *the Donor of all good things and her Saviour: Yet during the interim of her abode in this present world, she (who was heretofore a Widow and desolate,) being by the Grace of God surrounded with these Flowers, is (as the Prophecy saith) truly become* like unto Lilly. *And, having put on her Wedding-Robe, and being encircled with a Crown of Beauty, let us hear her herself relate how she is taught to dance by* Esaias, *and with pleasant expressions to shout forth Thanksgivings to her God and King:* *Let my soul rejoyce in the Lord: For he hath cloathed me with the garment of salvation, and the coat of gladness. He hath encircled my head with a diadem like a bridegroom, and hath* bedecked me like a bride with ornaments. And as the earth which multiplieth its flowers, and as a garden that causeth its seeds to spring forth; so the Lord hath caused righteousness to rise up, and joy in the sight of all

Constant. and Licinius.

* See note (y.)

† Παεαμειψάμενος τὰ τῶν δεῶν, *after you have seen these things*, or *after you have entertained your self with beholding these things*. *Musculus*'s Version of it is, *Horum conspectu præterito, after you had passed seeing these things*; which Version of *Musculus*'s is rather to be followed than that long Circumlocution of *Christophorson*'s, by which he translates this place thus, *Quinetiam quo istas res ad oculos capiendos magnâ operum varietate concinnè illustrarent*: Which translation agrees not with *Eusebius*'s words. *Vales.*

* See Psal. 104. v. 16.

(x) For whom these βάθρα, *benches* or *seats* were made, 'tis some difficulty to resolve, (that is,) for what degree or order of Men they were intended. *Leo Allatius* in his *second Epist. De Templis Græcor.* supposes these *Benches* were made for the common use of the *Laity*. The same says *Clemens*, in his *Constitut. Apost.* B. 2. cap. 57. But *Eusebius* means another thing. For afterwards, where he explains the whole Fabrick of this Church Allegorically, he says that by the *Thrones*, the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were meant: But by the *Benches*, the *Deacons*, and others that served in the Church. Wherefore these *Benches* were rather designed for those who served in the Church, than for the *Laicks*. Indeed the *Laity* were not permitted to sit in the Church. So says *Optatus* in his fourth Book, which Words of his we must so understand, that in a Congregation in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, *the Laicks were not permitted to sit down*; but when the Service was ended, they had liberty to sit. So also says *Athanas.* in his Epist. *Ad Solitar.* Vales.

(y) *Christophorson* renders this place thus; *atque adeo ad fenestras inferioris templi affixit, and therefore joyned them to the windows of the lower Temple*: The meaning of which Version I understand not. For I cannot apprehend how the *Exhedræ* (i. e. *the Vestries*, or *Lower buildings which stood on the sides of the Cathedral, and were joyned to it*) could be fixed to the Windows. *Christophorson* supposed that εἰσβολαὶ (the term here used in the Greek) did signifie *Windows*. Indeed, *Eusebius*, speaking a little above concerning the Windows through which the light was conveyed into the *Porches*, uses this term [εἰσβολαὶ,] which *Christophorson* translates *Windows*. But in this place, where εἰσβολαὶ is put by its self, without being joyned to any other Word, it cannot signifie *Windows*. Either therefore *Eusebius* means, by this term here used, *the Doors of the Cathedral*, which a little before he calls [παρόδους;] or else *certain walks, through which there was a passage to the Cathedral*; which *Paulinus*, in his twelfth Epistle, calls *Transennæ*. But 'tis my judgment that *the Doors of the Cathedral* are hereby meant. Further, by those *Oeci*, and *Exhedræ*, *Eusebius* means the *Baptistery*, the *Consistory*, and *the place where they saluted one another*; which were joyned to the Cathedral. *Vales.*

(z) We observed before (see Book 1. Chap. 1. Note *b.*) that οἰκονομία (the term that occurs here) signifies *not only Christ's Incarnation*; but that, *whatever our Saviour did in the Flesh, in order to the procuring Man's Salvation*, is in general termed οἰκονομία. See the authorities there quoted. This place also evidently demonstrates the same, where *Eusebius* terms not only *the Death*, but *the Resurrection* also of Christ, οἰκονομίας, *dispensations*, in the plural number. *Vales.*

* Esaias 61. 10, 11. Our Author quotes the Words of the Septuagint; and we translate accordingly.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

all the Heathen. *Thus doth ſhe Sing and Dance. But in what expreſſions the Bridegroom, the celeſtial Word, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf anſwereth her, hear the Lord ſpeaking:* * Fear not becauſe thou haſt been ignominiouſly treated, neither be thou aſhamed, becauſe thou haſt ſuffered reproach. For thou ſhalt forget thine everlaſting ſhame, and thou ſhalt no longer remember the reproach of thy widowhoood: the Lord hath called thee, not as a woman forſaken, and dejected in ſpirit, nor as a woman hated from thy youth: thy God hath ſaid; for a little while I have forſaken thee, but with great compaſſion I will have pity upon thee. I turned my face from thee when I was a little angry; but with everlaſting mercy I will have mercy upon thee, † ſaith the Lord who hath redeem'd thee. † Ariſe, ariſe, thou who haſt drunk from the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath. For thou haſt drunk of, and emptied the cup of deſtruction, the cup of my fury: and there was none of all thy ſons, whom thou haſt born, to comfort thee: neither was there any to take thee by the hand: Behold I have taken out of thy hand the cup of deſtruction, the cup of my wrath, and thou ſhalt no longer drink it. And I will put it into the hands of them who have injured thee, and debaſed thee. *Ariſe, ariſe, put on ſtrength, put on thy glory. Shake off the duſt, and ariſe: ſit down: looſe the chain of thy neck. || Lift up thine eyes round about, and view thy children gathered together. Behold, they are gathered together, and come to thee. As I live ſaith the Lord, thou ſhalt put them all on as an ornament, and thou ſhalt put them about thee as a bride doth her bravery. For thy deſolate places, and thoſe that were waſted and ruinous, ſhall now be too narrow for thy inhabitants. And they ſhall be removed far from thee, that devoured thee: for thy Sons which thou hadſt loſt ſhall ſay in thy ears; The place is too ſtrait for me: make a place for me that I may dwell. And thou ſhalt ſay in thine heart, who hath begotten me theſe? I am childleſs and a widow. Who hath nouriſhed theſe for me? I was left deſolate: theſe where had they been? *All this* Eſaias *hath predicted. Theſe things were in times paſt recorded in the holy Scriptures, concerning us. And it was requiſite that we ſhould now at length receive the truth of theſe words really and actually fulfilled. In regard therefore the Bridegroom, the Word, hath ſpoken in this manner to his Spouſe, the Sacred and Holy Church, agreeably hereto hath this (a) Dreſſer of the Bride, (with the Prayers of you all in common, reaching out to her your helping hands, by the appointment of God the ſupream King, and by the appearance and preſence of Jeſus Chriſt's power) raiſed and erected this deſolate [Church,] lying like a dead Carcaſs [on the Ground,] and deſpaired of by all Men. And, having lifted her up after this manner, hath made her ſuch an one, as he was inſtructed to do by the Delineation of the ſacred Scriptures. This [Fabrick] is indeed a ſtupendious Miracle, and doth ſurpaſs all the degrees of Admiration, eſpecially to them, who are only intent upon the outward appearance of things. But the original Examples and primitive Forms hereof, the ſpiritual and truly divine Patterns are more admirable than all Miracles; I mean the Reparations of that Divine and Rational Building in our Souls. Which [Structure] when the Son of God himſelf had framed according to his own image, and had freely granted, that in all parts it ſhould bear the reſemblance of God, he beſtowed upon it a Nature incorruptible, incorporeal, rational, different from all Terrene Matter, [and gave it] a (b) Subſtance originally and of it ſelf intelligent; after he had once thus created it at the beginning out of nothing, He made it a holy Spouſe, and [framed it into] a moſt ſacred Temple for Himſelf and his Father. This He himſelf in expreſs words acknowledgeth, ſaying*

Conſtant. and Licinius.

* I will dwell in them and walk amongſt them, and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people. *Such indeed is the perfect and purified Soul, which was ſo framed at the beginning, that it bore the perfect image of the Celeſtial Word. But when through the Envy and Emulation of the malicious Devil, by its own voluntary choice, it began to be a Follower of its own Paſſions, and was inamoured with Vice, (God having withdrawn himſelf out of it,) being left deſtitute as it were of a Defender, it was eaſily captivated, and remained expoſed to their Treacheries who for a long time had been Enviers [of his Glory,] and being now utterly battered down by the Engines and Machines of its inviſible Adverſaries, and ſpiritual Enemies, it ſunk down into ſuch a total Ruin, that not one Stone of Vertue was left ſtanding upon another: All the Parts of it lay proſtrate on the Ground, as dead, utterly deprived of all thoſe Notions concerning God, which were naturally imprinted on it. But this ruinated Building, which was framed after the Image of God, was not laid waſte by that wild Boar out of the Wood, which is viſible to our Eyes, but by ſome deſtructive Devil, and by intelligent and ſpiritual Wild-Beaſts. Who, having put it into a Flame by wicked Paſſions (as it were with the (c) fiery Darts of their Malice) have burnt with Fire the truly Divine Sanctuary of God, and deſtroyed the Tabernacle of his Name even to the Ground. Afterwards they buried it (miſerable Wretch!) under a vaſt heap of Earth which they caſt up, and reduced it to an utter Deſpair of all manner of Safety. But its Patron, the Divine and Salutary Word (obeying the Love of his moſt gracious Father ſhown towards Mankind,) reſtored it again after it had ſuffered condign Puniſhment for its Sins. In the firſt place therefore, having united to himſelf the Minds of the Emperors, by means of thoſe moſt pious Princes, he cleanſed the whole World from all impious and pernicious Men, and alſo from thoſe cruel and barbarous Tyrants, hated of God. Afterwards he brought to light Men very well known to him, perſons that*

* Levit. 26. 12.

* Eſai. 54. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

† Eſai. 51. 17, 18, 22, 23.

* Eſai. 52. 1, 2.

|| Eſai. 49. 18, 19, 20, 21.

(a) Νυμφοστόλος is here very well rendred by *Chriſtoph. Exornator ſponſæ, the Dreſſer of the Bride. Muſculus* renders it not omiſs *Paranymphus*, (i. e.) *one who is to take care of all things that appertain to the Bride.* Valeſ.

(b) *Euſebius* here calls the ſoul of Man, ὐσία αὐτονοερὰ, (i. e.) *a ſelf-intelligent Subſtance*, becauſe naturally and of it ſelf it underſtandeth. So the Philoſophers call *Spiritual Subſtances*, νοερὰς ὐσίας, ſuch as we call *Intelligentias, Intelligences.* But *Chriſtophorſon* being groſly miſtaken, takes νοερα ὐσία in this place to be the ſame with νοητὴ ὐσία; and accordingly renders it, *Subſtantia Solâ mentis intelligentiâ cognita, a Subſtance which can only be comprehended, by the underſtanding of the mind.* But there is a difference betwixt νοητὸν, (i. e.) *intelligible, that which may be comprehended*, or, *underſtood*, and νοερὸν (i. e.) *intellectual, that which does underſtand, or comprehend.* For example's ſake, *Chimera*, and all ſuch Fictions of the underſtanding are νοητὰ, *intelligible*, but not νοερὰ, *intellectual* or *intelligent. Nebridius* in his 71 Epiſt. *to both Auguſtines*, doth very well diſtinguiſh betwixt theſe words. *Valeſ.*

(c) By πεπυρακτωμένα βέλη, *Euſebius* means *malleoli*, darts beſmeared with wild-fire, and ſuch fire-balls as are flung from the Walls upon Enemies; here he imitates that place of Saint *Paul*, where he makes the Devil to be armed *with fiery darts*, with which he fights againſt Men. See *Epheſ.* 6. 16. *Valeſ.*

Constant. and Licinius.

that heretofore had been (d) consecrated Priests to him for ever, and were secretly concealed, and secured by his Defence during the storm of Persecution, whom agreeable to their Deserts he honoured with the magnificent Gifts of the Spirit: By these Men he hath again purified and cleansed (by their poinant and reprehensive Preaching of the Divine Precepts, as it were with Shovels and Spades,) those Souls which a little before were defiled, and totally covered over with all manner of filthiness, and heaps of impious Injunctions. And when he had made the place of all your Minds bright and clear, he delivered up to this most prudent Prelate, most acceptable to God. Who being a Man endowed with great Judgment and Reason in other things, and also, most acute in discerning and (e) distinguishing the Disposition of the Souls allotted to his care; from the very first day (as I may say) even to this present, he hath not ceased to build: Cementing together in you all one while glistering Gold, at other times purified and tried Silver, and precious and rich Stones. So that by his Works towards you he hath again compleated that sacred and mystical Prophecy, the words whereof are these:

* Esai. c. 54. v. 11, 12, 13, 14.

* Behold I prepare Carbuncle for thy stone, and Sapphire for thy foundations, and for thy Bulwarks Jasper, and for thy gates stones of Crystal, and for thy wall choice stones: and all thy children shall be taught of God, and great [shall be] the peace of thy children: and thou shalt be built in righteousness. *He therefore building in righteousness hath aptly and fitly differenced the Strength of all the People. Some he hath inclosed with the outward Wall only; that is, he hath fortified them round with an unerring and strong Faith: Of this sort there is a great multitude, who cannot bear a more excellent Structure. To others he committeth [the custody of] the Entrances into the Temple, giving them in command (f) to watch at the Gates, and to conduct those in, that come thither; these may fitly be compared to the Porches of the Temple. Other some he hath set to support the chief Pillars, which are without, about the (g) Court quadrangular-wise. Bringing them within the first (h) Bolts of the literal sense of the four Gospels. Some he hath also placed about the Sanctuary (i) on both sides, these are such as are* * Catechumens *as yet, and do make a good progress and increase in the Faith; (k) but yet they are not far from inspecting those most secret Mysteries, which [Privilege] only the perfect Believers do enjoy. Out of this number he hath taken those, whose immaculate Souls have been purified like Gold in the sacred Laver; some of whom he hath set to support Pillars far more noble than those outward ones, even the most intricate and mysterious Sentences of sacred Scripture; others of them he illuminateth to be [as it were] (l) Windows to transmit Light into the Temple. He hath also beautified the whole Temple with one most spacious* Portico; *that is with the glorious Worship of the one and only God, the supream King. He hath represented Christ and the Holy Ghost on each side of the Father's Pre-eminence and Authority, as the (m) second Rays of Light. And he demonstrateth throughout the whole Cathedral a most copious and excellent Light and Evidence of the Truth particularly [couch'd] in the remaining [Articles of our Faith.] Moreover, when he had from all Parts selected living, firm, and strong Stones of Souls, of all them he framed a stately and Royal Sanctuary, full of light and splendour both within and without: (n) In as much as not only in their Souls and Minds, but their Bodies also, they are beautified with the glorious Ornaments of Chastity and Modesty. There are also within this Temple, Thrones, a great many Benches, and Seats; which are in all those Souls, whereon reside such Gifts of the Holy Ghost, as were heretofore seen by the Holy Apostles:* † To whom appear'd cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. *But on him that presides over all these, Christ himself ('tis likely) does entirely and wholly reside: And upon (o) those who are next to him in dignity, on every one of them proportionably, according as he is capable of receiving the distributions of the Power of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. The Benches also are the Souls of certain Angels, the Instruction and Custody of every one whereof is committed to them. But the August, Great, and Only Altar, what*

[διὰ βίου ἱερωμένοι αὐτῷ] which we render [*Priests consecrated to him for ever*] Translators understood not; and have therefore misinterpreted it. There were two sorts of Priests, some *Annual*; such were those the *Jews* had, under the *Roman* Governours; and such were almost all the Gentile Priests. Others were *Perpetual*, which they called διὰ βίου. This an old Inscription in *Gruter*, (pag. 313.) does manifest. And also the old Coins of the *Perpereni*, which *Jac. Sirmondus* published; where we met with ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ, *Sacerdos perpetuus, a perpetual Priest*. Hence 'tis that *Eusebius* calls the *Priests of the Christians*, [ἱερωμένοι διὰ βίου· because their Priesthood was not *yearly*, but *perpetual*: Like the Priesthood of Christ: *Who is a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedech*; as saith the *Prophet*. The word [ἱερωμένοι] our Author uses frequently to signifie *Priests*: See the third Chapter of this Book; where we have ἱερουργίαι καὶ ἱερωμένων, *the sacred Duties or Performances of the Priests*. In our Version of διὰ βίου we follow *Velleius Paterculus*, who calls those *Magistrates, Perpetui*, which the *Athenians* call διὰ βίου. *Minutius Felix* (in *Gestis Purgationis Cæciliani*) is called *Flamen Perpetuus*. This Dignity for brevities-sake was commonly noted by these Characters, F L. P P. i. e. *Flamen Perpetuus, a Perpetual Priest*. These *Priests* are mentioned in the *second Law, Cod. Theod.* Vales.

(d) What was here meant by

(e) Instead of φιλοκεινῶν we should rather read φυλοκεινῶν· as the old *Maz.* MS. does (that is,) *adjudging* or *attributing to every one his place*. Mark what follows in the Chapter. But should any desire to retain the common reading, I would not resist it much: For φιλοκεινεῖν (in *Hesychius*) is explain'd by διαιρεῖν, *dividere*, to *divide*. Vales.

(f) By συβαυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τὰς εἰσιόντας (to watch at the Gates and conduct those that come in.)

Eusebius here means the Sub-Deacons, who kept the Gates of the Church, and conducted all that came in to their particular places: (viz. The *Catechumens, Penitents*, and *Possessed with Evil Spirits*, into the *Narthex* (or *Church-Porch*,) or into the *Catechumenium*, (or place where they Catechised;) but the Believers into the *Quire*. See the 22 Canon of the *Council of Laodicea*, and *Zonaras*'s and *Balsamo*'s Notes upon it. *Vales.*

(g) We have before noted in Note (u.) of this Chapter, that that void open place betwixt the *Portico* and the Church is called by the *Latines Atrium* the *Court*. The Greek's (as here) call the same place αὐλὴ: This word [αὐλὴ] frequently occurs in the *Gospel*, and is always by the old Translator render'd *atrium*. Vales.

Constant. and Licinius.

* See Note (k.)

(h) 'Tis difficult to render this word [μεσολαὶ] here used, by any Latin word. *Musculus* renders it *Propugnacula, Bulwarks*. *Christoph. Repagula, Bars*. I have translated it *Obices, Bolts*. Vales.

(i) The word [μεσολαὶς] must be blotted out; for it troubleth the sense; it crept in here out of the upper line. *Vales.*

(k) By these words [ἃ μὴν πύρρω πω τῆς θεοπτίας ἔτι πιστῶν, *not far removed from that clear inspection into the Mysteries which the believers enjoy*] I say, by these words *Eusebius* means those who amongst the antient Christians were called *Competentes*. These were certain Holy Candidates of Baptism as it were. *Eusebius* here makes three degrees or ranks of the *Catechumeni*. The first were those who had learned the Creed: (*i. e.*) the Principles of Christian Religion. These he compares to the Out-Wall of the Church. The second were those to whom a short Exposition of the Gospels was delivered. These he compares to the Pillars, which were placed in the Court made like a Quadrangle. The next are the *Competentes*, who were next to *the Perfect Believers*. But if any one by the first rank would rather understand *the promiscuous multitude of the Laicks*; and by the second rank *those of the Laity, which were the more learned*: I will not be much averse to that Explication. *Vales.*

(l) Ἀνοίσμασι, the term used at this place, may be render'd *Gates*, as well as Windows. *Vales.*

(m) At these words we have (in the *Maz.* MS.) a long *Scholion* in the Margin, inveighing against this Author as being Heretical, and against this Passage, as being Blasphemous, in regard it makes the Son inferiour to the Father, and attributes *the* [τὰ πρῶτα] *first place* to the Father, and *the* [τὰ δεύτερα] *second* to the Son. In the *Med.* MS. we meet with this short *Scholion* at the Margin here [καὶ τὸ δὲ Βλάσφημον,] *and this also is Blasphemy.*] Vales.

(n) This place is eminent for the commendation of the *Chastity* and *Continency* of the Clergy: But its excellence lay heretofore undiscovered, because of the erroneous Version of Translators: The cause of the mistake in them was the false punctation in *Steph. Edit.* and in the King's MS. but the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. do with good reason reject that punctation. *Vales.*

† Acts c. 2. v. 2.

(o) He means the *Presbyters*, who had the second degree of the Priesthood. Here he compares the *Bishop* and *Presbyters* to the *Thrones* of the Church, and the *Deacons* to the *Benches*. Vales.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

what can it be elſe, but the moſt pure Soul and Holy of Holies of the Common Prieſt of all. On his Right Hand ſtandeth the Great High-Prieſt of all, Jeſus himſelf, the only begotten Son of God; who with a chearful Countenance and * ſtretch'd-forth Hands receiveth from all that ſweet-ſmelling Incenſe, and thoſe unbloody and immaterial Sacrifices of Prayers; and tranſmits them to his Heavenly Father the Supream God: Whom in the firſt place he himſelf worſhippeth, and he only exhibiteth due Veneration to the Father; afterwards he beſeecheth him for ever to continue favourable and propitious towards all us. Such is that Auguſt Temple, which the Great Creator of all things the [Word of God] hath built throughout all that World under the Sun; he himſelf hath again framed upon Earth this intellectual Repreſentation of thoſe things beyond the Arches of Heaven: That by every Creature, and by rational Souls upon the Earth, his Father might be duly honoured and adored. (p) But that Region above the Heavens, and the things there, which are the Originals of what we here behold, that Jeruſalem which is above, that * Celeſtial Mount Sion, and that City of the living God, far above the World, in which are innumerable Companies of Angels, and the Church of the Firſt-born which are written in Heaven, who with Praiſes unutterable, which we cannot underſtand, laud their Creator and Supream Prince; [the Bleſſedneſs of this Region, I ſay, and of its Inhabitants] † no Mortal is able deſervedly to ſet forth. For * eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him. Of which things, ſince we are now vouchſafed to be Partakeas in part, let us, both Men, Women and Children, Small and Great, all together, with one Spirit and one Soul never ceaſe to give thanks and praiſe to the Author of theſe our ſo great good things: † Who hath mercy on all our iniquities, and healeth all our infirmities. Who redeemeth our life from deſtruction, and crowneth us with mercy and loving kindneſs; who filleth our deſire with good things. For he hath not dealt with us according to our ſins, neither hath he rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as far as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, ſo far hath he removed our ſins from us. As a father pitieth his own children, even ſo is the Lord merciful to them that fear him. Keeping theſe things freſh in our Memories both now, and throughout all ſucceeding Times, and moreover ſetting before [the Eyes of] our Minds God the Cauſe of this preſent Day's joyful Solemnity, and the Maſter of this Feaſt, both Day and Night, every Hour, and (as I may ſay) every Moment wherein we fetch our Breath; let us love him and worſhip him, with all the Strength of our Souls. And let us now riſe up, and with the loud Voice of our Affection beſeech him, that he would continually ſave and defend us within his Sheepfold, and that he would afford us his everlaſting Peace entire and immoveable in Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour, by whom be Glory to him throughout all Ages, Amen.

* Τπτιας χερσὶ, ſupinis manibus; ſo Valeſius: Pronis manibus; ſo Chriſtophorſon.

(p) Here *Euſebius*, having ſpoken largely concerning the double Fabrick of the Church (that is) the *material* and *ſpiritual*; and compared them together,) elegantly makes a tranſition to that Heavenly *Hieruſalem*, which is the *Idea* and original Pattern of this Church on Earth. But the Tranſlators through their Inadvertency took no notice of this elegant *Apoſtrophe*. Valeſ.

* See Heb. 12. 22, 23.

† Inſtead of [ὅ τις θνητὸς] the reading ſhould undoubtedly be [ὅτις or οὐδεὶς θνητὸς, *no mortal*, &c. Valeſ.

* 1 Cor. c. 2. v. 9.

† Pſal. 103. 3, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

CHAP. V.

Copies of the Imperial Laws.

LET us therefore now annex the Copies of Conſtantine's *and* Licinius's *Imperial Decrees tranſlated out of Latin.*

A Copy of the Imperial Edict tranſlated out of Latin.

Having long ſince perceived, that a Liberty of Religion ought not to be denied, but that Licenſe ſhould be permitted to every one's Will and Arbitrement, of being careful about their Religious Performances according to their own Mind and Judgment, We have Decreed, That as well all other Perſons, as thoſe that are Chriſtians *ſhould retain the Faith [and Obſervances] of their own Sect and Religion. But becauſe in that Reſcript wherein this Liberty was granted them, (a) many and different ſorts of Sects ſeemed to be expreſly ſet down, for which reaſon peradventure ſome of them not long after deſiſted from ſuch an* Obſervance. *Wherefore when We* Conſtantine, *and* Licinius, Auguſti, *came fortunately to* Mediolanum, *and had in debate all matters which might conduce to the Good and Utility of the Publick; amongſt other things, which to us ſeemed ſeveral ways profitable to all in general, (or rather which we judg'd ought to be decreed before any thing elſe) we ſuppoſed ſuch Conſtitutions were to be made, as therein ſhould be contained the Worſhip and Veneration of the Deity: That is, that we ſhould allow a free Choice both to* Chriſtians *and all others, of following what way of Worſhip they pleaſe: That ſo by this means that Godhead and Heavenly Being, whatever it is, might be propitious to us, and to all that live under our Government. We have therefore proclaimed this our Will and Pleaſure, after we had taken a moſt wholeſome and deliberate Conſideration thereupon, that licence be denied to none at all of following or chooſing the Obſervances or Religion of the* Chriſtians: *And that free power be granted to every one to apply his Mind to that Religion, which he judgeth moſt congruous and agreeable to himſelf: That ſo God may in all things manifeſt his uſual Care and Loving-kindneſs towards us. It was alſo convenient, that we ſhould ſignifie to you this our Pleaſure; that all thoſe Sects which were included in our former Reſcript to your Devotion concerning the* Chriſtians *ſhould be quite left out, both that whatever ſeems hurtful and diſagreeable to our Clemency ſhould be wholly removed, and alſo that in future all that have reſolved to make choice of, and keep the Obſervances of the Chriſtian Religion, might obſerve them freely*

(a) Becauſe that firſt *Reſcript* or *Letter*, mentioned here by *Conſtantine*, is loſt, we cannot eaſily reſolve what *Conſtantine* means, when he ſays, that in that Edict were named many and ſeveral ſorts of αἱρέσεις, *Sects*; *for which reaſon many deſiſted from profeſſing Chriſtianity. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates [διαφόρους αἱρέσεις] *doubtful and controverted Opinions*; as if the ſenſe or meaning of this firſt Edict had been ambiguous. So alſo *Baronius* underſtands *Chriſtoph.* his Words at the year of Chriſt 313. *Langus* and *Muſculus* tranſlate [αἱρέσεις] *opiniones & hæreſes, Hereſies and Opinions*; far better than *Chriſtoph.* For αἵρεσις cannot ſignifie *the ſenſe*, or [διάνοια] *meaning* of a place: But it ſignifies *an Opinion* or *Sect.* When the Emperor *Conſtantine* therefore had in that former Edict permitted this Liberty of Conſcience to all, he added, that that privilege was not granted to the *Chriſtians* only, but to all Men of every Sect, (that is) to *Jews*, *Samaritans*, *Marcioniſts*, &c. and to all Sects of all Religions. This the Chriſtians took to be no ſmall injury to their Religion, that it ſhould be reckon'd amongſt Schiſmaticks, and unbelieving *Jews*. *Conſtantine* being advertiſed hereof by the Catholicks, corrected it in this latter Edict; that Clauſe, which mentioned all Sects, being taken out: And this is that which is meant by theſe Words a little further, ἵν' ἀφαιρεθεισῶν πασῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων αἵτινες πῶς σφετέρῃς ἡμῶν γεγραμμέσιν ἐνεχοντο. (i. e.) *that all thoſe Sects which were in our former Reſcript ſhould be quite left out.* Valeſ.

Constant. and Licinius.

freely and firmly, without any molestation. These things we therefore determined fully to signifie to your Carefulness; that you may be certified, that we have granted to the Christians a free and absolute liberty of being careful about the Exercise of their Religion. (b) In as much as we have already freely and absolutely granted them this, your Devotedness does hereby perceive that we have allowed a liberty to others also, who are desirous of following their own Observances and Religion: Which, 'tis apparent, is agreeable to the Tranquility of our Times, to wit, that every one should have a liberty and power of choosing and being careful about worshipping whatever Deity he has a mind to. And this we therefore did, that we might seem not in the least to have lessened or detracted from any manner of Divine Worship or Religion whatsoever. We have also further decreed in favour of the Christians; *that those their Places (wherein they used to convene in times past (concerning which Places there was (c) another Rule or Form appointed in our Rescript formerly sent to your Devotedness,) in case it appears that they have been purchased by any persons, either of our Exchequer, or of any one else) be immediately and without all hesitancy restored to the* Christians *themselves, without Money, and without any exaction of an * additional Price or Value: And if any have receiv'd these Places by way of Gift, that they in like manner forthwith restore them to the* Christians. *But if those, who have purchased, or had the Grants of these Places, have a desire to demand any thing of our Goodness, let them make their Address to the Governour that prsides as Judge in that Province, that by our Bounty provision may be made for them: All which places it shall behove you to see forthwith restored to the society of* Christians *by your Care and Diligence without the least delay. And in as much as the said* Christians *are known to have had possession not only of those Places wherein they usually assembled themselves, but of others also, which did not particularly and apart belong to any private Persons amongst them, but were the Right of a Society of them; that is, of the* Christians; *you shall give order that all these places (according to the (d) aforesaid Law) be without all manner of hesitancy restored to the said* Christians, *that is, to every Society and Assembly of them: The Rule aforesaid being observed, (viz.) that such as shall restore those places [to the* Christians,*] without a restitution of the price they gave for them, as we have said, may expect to be indemnified by our Gracious Liberality. Now it is your duty to act most vigorously in all these things in behalf of the aforesaid Body of the* Christians; *both that our Mandate may with all speed be fulfilled; and also that in this Matter provision may be made by our Goodness for the common Quiet and Tranquility of the Publick. For by this means, as is aforesaid, the Divine Care and Goodness towards us, which we have already experienced in many Affairs, will continue firm and lasting for ever. Moreover, to the end that the definitive Determination of this our Law, and of our gracious Indulgence may come to all Men's knowledge, 'tis expedient that this Rescript of ours be proposed to publick view, and made known to all persons, that so no body may be ignorant of the Establishment of this our Gracious Indulgence.*

(b) This was *Constantine*'s second Edict, directed to the *Prætorium*, the same Person to whom was sent *Constantine*'s first Edict for the *Christians*. The first Edict was signed or dated at *Rome*, *Constantine* II. and *Licinius* II. *Coss.* and it was immediately sent into the East to *Maximin*; see Book 9. Chap. 9. But this second Edict was dated at *Mediolanum* on the year following. *Vales*

(c) Concerning the Restitution of the publick Places and *Cæmiteria* of the *Christians*, there is extant an Edict of *Gallienus*'s in Book 7. Chap. 13. of this History, in which these places are commanded to be restored to the Christians. In the first Decree therefore, which *Constantine* and *Licinius* (after *Maxentius* was conquered,) published in favour of the *Christians*; a Copy of which they sent to *Maximinus* the Emperor into the *East*, they only Decreed, that all places where the Christians used to assemble themselves, which had been heretofore taken from them, should be restored to them again; but they said nothing expresly concerning the restitution of the price: Neither in the Edict of *Maximin*, which was published soon after the Decree of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, was there any caution concerning repaying of the price, as we may see in Book 9. Chap. 9. of this History. It was necessary therefore that *Constantine* should Decree something more distinctly concerning that point. That the Christians might recover those places which had been taken from them or sold, or given by the Treasury, without repaying the price. *Vales.*

* Τῆς τιμῆς ἐπαναθέσεως. So he terms *adjectiones*, i. e. *the additions to the prices in sales of Goods or Estates.* These *adjectiones* (which *Civilians* in other words call *additamenta* pretii, *accessions to the price*) we in *France* call *encheres.* Vales.

(d) Ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὃν προεθέμην. (according to the Decree *aforesaid*) (i. e.) according to that Edict signed at *Rome*. *Constantine* II. and *Licinius* II. *Coss.* which Edict *Constantine* mention'd before. That was *Constantine's first Decree* for the Christians. But *Constantine*, having in that Law shew'd himself too favourable towards the Christians, in that in it he had extolled their Religion, and condemned all other Sects and Ceremonies, was forced in *this second Edict* to explain his Mind, for fear, lest the Heathens should murmur at the prohibiting and abolishing the Worship of their Gods. Wherefore *Constantine* says, that he granted free liberty to every one to worship what Gods, and follow what Sect and and Religion he pleased. This *second Decree* therefore is nothing else but an explication of *the first*. For in *the first Edict* there were some Words with which the Gentiles and also the Schismatical Christians were not a little offended; in that they saw themselves named Hereticks. The Catholick Christians also resented it, because they were joyned in the same Decree with the Gentiles and Hereticks. Wherefore *Constantine*, that he might shew himself kind to all, desired that those words might be razed out. And this is the sense of those former words, ἵν' ἀφαιρεθεισῶν παντελῶς περὶ αἱρέσεων, &c. *That the names of these Sects in our former Rescript might be wholly taken out*, &c. *Vales.*

Constant. and Licinius.

A Copy of another Imperial Edict which the Emperors published again, to declare, that this their Beneficence was granted only to the Catholick Church.

God save You, dearest Anulinus! *This is the manner of Our Goodness; We desire, that those things which appertain to another's Right should not only not be infested with Inquietude, but should also be restored, Dearest* Anulinus! *Wherefore our Pleasure is, that, as soon as you receive this our Rescript, if any of those [Estates] (which did belong to the Catholick Church of the* Christians, *in all our Cities, or in other places,) are now detained by the* (e) Decurions, *or by any other Persons, you cause 'em to be forthwith restored to their [respective] Churches: In as much as we have resolved that those [Estates] which the said Churches have formerly possess'd, shall revert and become their Right again. Since therefore your Devotedness understandeth that this is the most evident Purport of our Command, take care, that all [Estates] which did formerly belong to the Right of the said Churches, (whether Gardens, Houses, or whatever else) be immediately restored to them again: Whereby we may be informed that you have with all diligence and accuracy obey'd this our Command. Farewell, Dearest, and our most Beloved* Anulinus.

(e) Instead of πολιτῶν, i. e. *Citizens*, in this place we read πολιτευτῶν. The πολιτευταὶ are call'd by the *Latines*, *Decuriones*; concerning whom see my Notes on *Amm. Marcellin.* B. 22. p. 225. These *Decurions* in the time of Persecution seized upon the Places and Farms which belong'd to the Catholick Church, as being vacant. *Vales.*

A Copy of the Emperor [*Constantine*'s] Rescript, by which he summoneth a Synod of Bishops at *Rome*, for the Uniting and Reconciling of the Churches.

Constantinus Augustus, *to* Militades *Bishop of* Rome,

Conſtant. and *Licinius.*

Rome, *and to* (*f*) Mark. *In regard ſeveral ſuch* (*g*) *Libels as theſe have been ſent me from the moſt Eminent* Anulinus, *Proconſul of* Africa, *wherein 'tis declared that* Cecilianus *Biſhop of the City of* (*h*) Carthage *is accuſed of many things by ſome of his Collegues ordain'd* [*Biſhops*] *throughout* Africa: *And this matter ſeeming not a little grievous to us, that in thoſe very Provinces* (*which the Providence of God delivered to our Sacrodneſs by a* (*i*) *voluntary Surrender, and where there is a great multitude of People*) *the Populace being in a manner divided, ſhould be found to degenerate and become worſe, and Differences ſhould be nouriſhed even amongſt Biſhops: It ſeemed good to us, that* Cecilianus *himſelf* (*together with ten Biſhops his ſuppoſed Accuſers, and ten other Biſhops, whom he ſhall judge neceſſary in behalf of his Cauſe,*) *ſail to* Rome; *that there in your Preſence, and alſo in the Preſence of* Reticius, Maternus, *and* Marinus *your Collegues,* (*whom for this reaſon we have commanded to haſten to* Rome) *he may be heard in ſuch manner as, you know, is moſt agreeable with the moſt Sacred Law. Moreover, that you may have a moſt compleat and perfect Knowledge of all theſe things, we have ſubjoyned to this our Reſcript, Copies of the Libels which were ſent to us by* Anulinus, *and have tranſmitted them to your aforeſaid Collegues. Which Libels when your Gravity ſhall have read, you ſhall deliberate how the aforeſaid Controverſie may with the greateſt accuracy be examined, and determined according to Equity. For it is not unknown to your Aſſiduity that we bear ſo great a Reverence* *to the moſt Legitimate Catholick Church, *that we would have you leave no Schiſm or Diſſention at all in any part of it. The Divinity of the Supream God preſerve you* (*k*) (*Deareſt*) *many years.*

* Τῇ ἐνθέσμῳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

A Copy of an Imperial Reſcript, by which [*Conſtantine*] ſummons a ſecond Synod, to put an end to all Diſſention amongſt the Biſhops.

Conſtant. and *Licinius.*

Conſtantius Auguſtus, to Chreſtus *Biſhop of* Syracuſe. *When as heretofore ſome began wickedly and perverſly to ſeparate from the Holy Religion, the Celeſtial Power, and the Catholick Opinion; We, deſirous that ſuch pertinacious Contentions as theſe ſhould be pared off, took ſuch Order that* (*ſome Biſhops being ſent out of* France, *and alſo thoſe ſummoned out of* Africa, *who being of contrary Factions, pertinaciouſly and continually quarrelled* *amongſt themſelves, *the Biſhop of* Rome *being alſo preſent,*) *this* [*Diſſention*] *which ſeemed to be raiſed after a moſt careful examination, might in their preſence be compoſed. But in regard* (*as it commonly happens*) *ſome perſons, forgetful both of their own Salvation, and of the Veneration due to the moſt holy Religion, ceaſe not as yet to improve their private Grudges and Animoſities, being unwilling to acquieſce in the Sentence already paſſed, but poſitively aſſerting, that they were but a few* [*Biſhops*] *who gave their Sentiments and Opinions; and that* (*before they had carefully enquired into all things which ought to have been firſt inſpected*) *they proceeded with too much haſte and precipitancy to paſs a definitive Sentence. From all this it happens that even they, whoſe duty it is to preſerve a brotherly and unanimous unity of Mind, unworthily, or rather impiouſly, create Schiſms amongſt one another; and alſo give an occaſion of Scorn and Deriſion to thoſe Men, whoſe Souls are alienated from the moſt holy Religion. Wherefore it was our chiefeſt care, that theſe* [*Diviſions,*] (*which ought, after ſentence already given to have been terminated by a voluntary aſſent*) *might now at laſt be concluded in the preſence of many Biſhops. Since therefore we have ſummoned many Biſhops out of divers and innumerable places, to aſſemble themſelves on the Calends of* Auguſt, *at the City* Orleans: *We thought good to write to you alſo, that having received a publick Chariot from the moſt Eminent* Latronianus (*l*) Corrector of Sicily, *and taking into your company two* (*m*) *of the ſecond Order, whom you ſhall think fit to chooſe, and alſo bringing along with you three Servants which may miniſter to you in your Journey, you meet on the very day appointed at the place aforeſaid, that both your Gravity, and alſo by the unanimous and concordant Prudence and Perſpicacity of the reſt there aſſembled, this Diſſention* (*which has ſhamefully been continued hitherto by certain deteſtable Quarrellings, after all things have been heard which ſhall be ſaid by the now diſagreeing Parties, whom we have ſummon'd to appear alſo,*) *may now at laſt be reſtored to a fit and congruous* [*Obſervancy of*] *Religion and Faith, and to a Brotherly Union. God Almighty preſerve you in health many years.*

* Inſtead of [κατὰλλήλως, *mutually, it ſhould be undoubtedly* [καὶ] ἀλλήλων, *amongſt themſelves:*] ſo 'tis corrected in the Margin of the *Geneva-Edition*: And alſo Sir *H. Savil* had mended it, in the Margin of his Copy. *Valeſ.*

(*l*) The *Maz. Fuk.* and *Med.* MSS. read κοινήτορ&. but without doubt we ſhould read κοιρήτορ& (that is) from *Latronianus Corrector of Sicily*, we find mention of this *Latronianus* in an old Inſcription at *Panormus*, which is atteſted by *Gaultherus, in Tabulis Siculis*, number 164 D. N. FL. VALERIO LICINIO AUG. DOMITIUS LATRONIANUS V.C. CORR. P.S. DEVOTUS N.M. QUE EJUS. *Gualtherus* alſo in his Annotations upon this Inſcription, quoteth and correcteth this place of *Euſebius*. Valeſ.

(*m*) By theſe words [ὁι ἐκ δευτέρου θεόνυ] *Euſebius* meaneth the *Presbyters*, who were commonly called *Sacerdotes ſecundi ordinis, (Prieſts of the ſecond Order)* which may be collected out of ſeveral good Authors, as *Optatus Milevitanus*, and *Jacobus Sirmondus in his Notes upon Sidonius*, pag. 78. *Hieronymus, in his Epitaph* on the bleſſed *Paula*, ſays, *There were preſent the Biſhops of Hieruſalem and other Cities, and an innumerable company of Prieſts* [*inferioris gradus*] *of the lower Order*, &c. So alſo ſays *Gregor. Nazianz. in Carm. Jamb. de vitâ ſuâ*, pag. 6. Hence comes this diſtinction; the Biſhops in the Church, ſate in more lofty Thrones, the *Presbyters* ſitting on both hands

(*f*) It is much controverted amongſt the Learned, who this *Mark* is, whom *Conſtantine* here joineth with *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*. *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 313. Ch. 23. thinks the Text of *Euſebius* is faulty, and inſtead of [μάρκῳ] he would read [ἱερεῖ χῳ.] But this Emendation cannot be admitted of, for whereas *Miltiades* is before call'd ἐπίσκοπος, *Biſhop*, 'tis ſuperfluous to add ἱερέως *ſacred Magiſtrate*. Moreover, Titles of honour are common Words, but this here is an affected and unuſual term. Wherefore, rejecting this conjecture of *Baronius*'s, I think this *Mark* was a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Rome*, whom *Conſtantine* had a deſire ſhould be preſent at this Synod with *Miltiades*. This alſo I think was that *Mark* who was Biſhop of *Rome* after *Silveſter*. This Epiſtle of *Conſtantine* to *Miltiades* was extant in the third *Conference at Carthage*; Chap. 319. But the latter part of *this third Conference*, which in my opinion is the moſt uſeful, is loſt. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) By τοῖς τοι χάρταις are meant two *Libels*, which contained the faults of *Cecilianus* Biſhop of *Carthage*, which being ſubſcribed by the Faction of *Majorinus*, they gave them to *Anulinus* the *Proconſul* at *Carthage* on the 17th of the *Calends* of *May*. *Conſtantine* the Emperor being the third time, and *Licinius* the third time *Conſuls*. Theſe *Libels Conſtantine* calls [χάρται,] becauſe they contained in them many Papers, and many publick Acts, to prove the faults of *Cecilianus*. *Chriſtoph.* calls theſe χάρται, *Epiſtles*, but that is an ill term: For there was but one Epiſtle ſent by *Anulinus* to *Conſtantine* the Emperor, but there were ſeveral χάρται, or *Papers*. *Conſtantine* alſo a little further calls them *Libelli*: So does *Auguſtine* alſo, in his 48 Epiſtle to *Vincentius*, call it *Libellus*: And ſays it was thus ſuperſcribed; *The Libel of the Catholick Church, containing the faults of Cecilianus, put in by the faction of Majorinus*. Valeſ.

(*h*) In our Text it is, καρταγωνέων; in *Niceph.* καρταγωνίων; in the *Maz.* and *Med.* MSS. 'tis written καρταγωνησίων by a tranſpoſition of the *aſpirate*, which the Greeks uſually do in turning *Latin* proper names into *Greek*. Valeſ.

(*i*) Inſtead of [αὐθαιρέσι&] we ſhould undoubtedly read [αὐθαιρέτως] in this place, thus, ἃς τῇ ἐμῇ καθοσιώσει αὐθαιρέτως ἡ θεία πέφυκε, ἐνεχείρισε (i. e.) *(thoſe Countries which Divine Providence gave into our Hands by a voluntary ſurrender.)* For when the head of *Maxentius* was ſent into *Africa*, all *Africa* at the ſight of the Tyrant's head, yielded to *Conſtantine*. And alſo before the overthrow of *Maxentius*, ſome *African* Cities yielded themſelves voluntarily to *Conſtantine*, when he ſent ſome Sea-forces thither. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) Inſtead of [τιμιώτατε] the reading in *Nicephorus* is [τιμιάτατοι, *deareſt*] *in the plural* number. For ſince the Reſcript was written to *Miltiades* Biſhop of *Rome*, and to *Mark*, and ſince he always ſpeaks to them in the plural number; 'tis reaſonable that in the cloſe of the Reſcript it ſhould be [τιμιώτατοι.] Further, the *Acts* of this Synod at *Rome* are extant in *Optatus*, B. 1. *The Author* of the *Synodicon* (whom we have often quoted) ſays this Synod was convened by *Miltiades* and *Mark* at *Rome*; he joins *Mark* to *Miltiades*, as ſoon as he perceived from this Reſcript that *Conſtantine* mentioned them jointly. *Valeſ.*

hands on lower seats; and the *Deacons* standing by in white garments, saith the same *Greg. Naz.* in his *Dream de Ecclesiæ Anastasiâ*, pag. 78. *Eusebius* also, in his Description of the Church of *Tyre*, allotteth the Thrones which were in the Church next the Altar, to the Bishop and Presbyters, but the Benches to the Deacons, where also he calls the Presbyters, τὰς μετὰ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον διαδρομάς, i. e. *those which have the second places next the Bishop.* See St. *Augustine*'s 148th Epistle. *Vales.*

Constant. and Licinius.

CHAP. VI.

(a) *Concerning the Estates belonging to the* Christians.

(a) This Title [περὶ τῶν χριστιανοῖς προσηκόντων · *Concerning the Estates of the Christians*] is here put in a wrong place: for the Epistle which follows, says not a word concerning the Estates of the *Christians.* This Title might better have been prefixt before Chap. 5. where we have two several Decrees of *Constantine*'s concerning the Estates of the *Christians.* Therefore very well do the old *Naz.* and *Fuk.* M.SS. make no distinction of a Chapter in this place. *Vales.*

A Copy of the Emperor's Rescript, by which he granteth Money to the Churches.

CONstantinus Augustus, *to* Cecilianus *Bishop of* Carthage. *For as much as it was our pleasure that through all the Provinces of* Africa, Numidia, *and both* Mauritania's, *some thing should be allow'd for necessary expences to some Ministers of the most Holy and Legitimate Catholick Religion, who were expresly named, We wrote to the* * most Perfect Ursus Rationalist *of* Africa, *and have intimated to him that he take care to pay to your Gravity three thousand* (b) Folles. *Therefore when you shall have received the sum aforesaid, command that it be distributed to all the forementiond, Ministers, according to a* Breve *directed to you from* Hosius. *But if you shall perceive there will be any thing wanting towards the fulfilling of our desire to all in this point, without making any scruples or delays you shall demand of* Heraclas *the Steward of our Estates whatsoever you shall judge requisite. For we ordered him when he was with us, that if your Gravity demanded any money of him, he should without the least hesitancy take care it should be told out to you. And because we have been informed that some men who are of an unsettled mind, make it their business to pervert the Members of the most Holy Catholick Church by a certain impious and clancular Falshood and Corruption; We would have you understand, that We gave such orders to* Anulinus *our* Proconsul, *and also* Patricius (c) Deputy *of the* Præfects, *when present, that amongst all other things they take an effectual and sufficient care about this business more especially, and that if any such thing be done, they should by no means suffer it to be neglected. If therefore you shall see any such men persisting in this madness, without any further doubtings you shall make your Address to the foresaid Judges; and disclose the matter to them, that they may correct them according to our Orders to them when present. The Deity of the supreme God preserve you many years.*

* See B. 9. Chap. 9. Note (f.)

(b) Φόλλεις. *Epiphanius* mentions these *Folles*, at the close of his Book *De Mensur. & Ponderib.* He speaks of two sorts of *them*: the first he calls the *small Talent*, consisting of 208 *Denarii.* The value of the other, he says, is δύο λεπτὰ, *duo minuta, two minutes* or *mites.* See the Learned *Petavius's Diatriba concerning the Follis*, at the *end of his Notes* on *Epiphan.* pag. 431, &c. Edit. *Paris*, 1622.

(c) Concerning these *Vicarii Præfectorum, Deputies of the Præfects*, we have treated in our *Notes on the 14th Book of Amm. Marcellinus*; p. 17. where we shewed that there was a difference between *acting for a Præfect*, and *acting for the Præfects.* He may be said *to act for a Præfect, whom the Præfect of a City, or the Præfect of Prætorium orders to supply his place in any special business* But *he may be said to act for the Præfects, who exercises a Deputy's power ordine Codicillorum.* See the place now cited in those Notes. The title given to these *Vicarii* at this time was *Perfectissimus*, (see Book 9. Chap. 9. Note (f)) not *Clarissimus*, or *Spectabilis.* This we are informed of from *Constantine* the Emperor's Rescript to *Probianus Proconsul* of *Africa*, which *Augustine* relates in his 68th Epistle; and in his 3d Book *against Cresconius*, cap. 70. *Vales.*

Constant. and Licinius.

CHAP. VII.

(a) *Concerning the Immunity of the Clergy.*

(a) In the most ancient *Naz.* and *Fuk.* MSS. this is called the *Sixth Chapter*; which is true, if I mistake not. See the foregoing Chap. Note (a.) *Vales.*

A Copy of the Emperor's Rescript by which he commandeth, that the Prelates of Churches be freed from bearing all Civil Offices.

WE greet you *most Honoured* Anulinus. *Since it is apparent from several Circumstances, that the contempt of that true Religion, by which is preserved the highest Veneration of the Celestial Majesty, has brought imminent Dangers upon the Affairs of the Publick; but when it was lawfully and rightly admitted and preserved, it conferred the greatest Prosperity upon the* * Roman *Empire, and an eminent Felicity on all Human Affairs; (the Divine Beneficence being the Donor hereof:) it seemed good to Us, ((b) Dearest* Anulinus,) *that those Men, who with a due sanctity and an assiduous observance of this Law give themselves wholly to the Ministrations and Services of this sacred Religion, should receive the Rewards of their Labours. Wherefore Our Pleasure is that those Men within the Province committed to your care, who in the Catholick Church, over which* Cecilianus *presides, do service to this sacred Religion, commonly called by the name of Clergymen, be always preserved exempt from all manner of Civil Offices; lest by any error or sacrilegious Misfortune, they should be drawn away from the Service due to the Deity: but* [*our Will is*] *that they should rather serve their own Law without any the least inquietude. For when they perform the highest* [*acts of*] *worship to God, the greatest advantage seems to accrue to the publick Affairs. Farewel, most Honoured and Dearest* Anulinus.

* τῷ Ρωμαϊκῷ ὀνόματι, *nomini Romano, upon the Roman name.*

(b) In the *Med Naz. Fuk.* and *Savil* MSS. we read [τιμιώτατε καὶ ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν Ἀνυλῖνε, most honoured and our dearest *Anulinus.*] We have the relation of *Anulinus* in answer to this Rescript of *Constantine*'s in *Augustine*'s 68 Epistle. But *Eusebius* inserts these Rescripts in a preposterous kind of order. For *Constantine*'s Letter to *Cecilianus* the Bishop, and his Rescript to *Anulinus*, ought in order to precede *Constantine*'s Letter to *Militiades* Bishop of *Rome.* For all those Letters have a relation to the *Roman Synod* which was summoned upon the account of *Cecilianus*, when *Constantine* and *Licinius* were both the third time Consuls, in the year of Christ 313. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Licinius's *Exorbitancies which afterwards ensued, and concerning his Death.*

SUch [gifts] therefore did the Divine and Celestial Grace of our Saviour's presence bestow upon us: and such an exuberance of prosperous successes was procur'd by all men, by reason of the peace [restored] to us. This was the posture of our affairs, we spent the time in joy and publick festivities. But this spectacle was intollerable to the malice of the Devil, that hater of all goodness, and industrious Patron of mischief. Nor were the calamitous misfortunes which befel the forementiond Tyrants sufficient to instil a sober considerateness into *Licinius*, who being honour'd with a prosperous and successful Government, and with the second place of dignity, that next to *Constantine the Great*, and innobled with an affinity contracted by marriage, and with a near relation to a most august family, relinquish'd the imitation of good men; and became a zealous emulator of the improbity and wickedness of impious Tyrants. And he made choice of following their Counsels whose calamitous end himself had beheld with

Conſtant. and Licinius.

his own eyes, rather than to continue in the friendſhip and affection of the beſt of Princes. For being ſtimulated with envy againſt his great Benefactor, he raiſed a moſt impious and nefarious war againſt him, in no wiſe revering the Laws of nature, forgetful of all oaths, affinity and leagues. For *Conſtantine*, like a moſt courteous Emperor, that he might ſhew him the moſt convincing tokens of his ſincere kindneſs, envied him not his own affinity, nor did he deny him the illuſtrious marriage of his Siſter: but vouchſafed to make him partaker of the (*a*) Nobility he derived from his Anceſtors, and [communicated to him] his own ancient lineage and Imperial blood; he alſo allow'd him to enjoy an authority over all the *Roman* Empire, as being his Kinſman and Colleague in the Empire; nor had he given him a leſs portion of the *Roman* Provinces to rule over and govern, [than he reſerved to himſelf.] But on the other hand, [*Licinius*] acted quite contrary hereto, daily inventing all kinds of ſtratagems againſt him that was his Better, deviſing all ways how to inſnare him, that with miſchiefs he might reward his Benefactor. At firſt therefore attempting to conceal his treacheries, he counterfeited a friendſhip, and having ſeveral times aſſailed [*Conſtantine*] by guile and deceit, he hoped to have eaſily obtained what he expected. But God was [*Conſtantine*'s] Friend, Guardian, and Protector: he brought to light and detected the intrigues which were clancularly and ſecretly contrived againſt him. So powerful a ſtrength is that great Armour of Godlineſs [endow'd with,] that it is both prevalent to repulſe the enemy, and has alſo a power ſufficient for its own preſervation. With this Armour our moſt pious Emperor being fortified, eſcaped the many intricate ſnares of that accurſed man. *Licinius* therefore, perceiving that his ſecret plots did not ſucceed according to his expectation, (becauſe God diſcovered all his deceit and treachery to his beloved Emperor,) and knowing that he could lie no longer conceal'd, raiſeth open war. But in that he determined to war againſt *Conſtantine*, he likewiſe reſolv'd to marſhal an army againſt Almighty God, whom he knew *Conſtantine* worſhipped. Afterwards he begun ſecretly and by little and little to attack thoſe pious men who lived under his Government, who never intended the leaſt moleſtation to his Dominions. And this he did [in regard] he was miſerably induced thereto, being blinded by his innate malice. Therefore he did not ſet before his eyes the examples of thoſe who had been Perſecutors of the *Chriſtians* before him; nor yet of thoſe whoſe deſtroyer and puniſher he himſelf had been appointed, becauſe of the height of thoſe impieties, to which they were arrived: but, declining from the way of ſober and right reaſon, or rather running perfectly mad, he reſolv'd upon engaging with God himſelf (becauſe he was *Conſtantine's* aſſiſtant,) inſtead of [*Conſtantine*] who was aſſiſted by him. And firſt of all he baniſh'd all *Chriſtians* out of his family, leaving himſelf deſtitute (miſerable wretch!) of their prayers to God for him; it being their commonly received Doctrine, that prayer ſhould be made for all men. He afterwards gave command that all the Officers in the (*b*) *Civil Milice* ſhould be disbanded, and turn'd out of their military preferments, except they were willing to ſacrifice to Devils. But theſe are but ſmall things, if compared with his greater Villanies, which enſued. To what end ſhould we recount all and every particular fact, which this man, hated of *God*, committed? How he, who was the greateſt law-breaker, invented impious laws? for he made an order, that no one ſhould charitably relieve the poor diſtreſſed Priſoners with meat, nor ſhow the leaſt compaſſion to thoſe, who through hunger pined away in their fetters: that is, that there ſhould no good man live, and that they who were led by [the dictates of] nature itſelf to have compaſſion on their neighbours, ſhould be incapable of doing them any good. And this was clearly the moſt impudent and cruel of all laws, by far ſurpaſſing all that mildneſs and clemency implanted by nature: to which Law alſo there was a penalty annex'd, that they who ſhew'd *compaſſion* upon the [criminals] ſhould ſuffer the like afflictions with thoſe towards whom they ſhew'd mercy: and that ſuch as charitably miniſtred to thoſe in bonds and confined to priſon, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment with them. Such were *Licinius*'s Ordinances. What need we reckon up his innovations concerning marriages, or his new laws about (*c*) dying perſons; whereby he preſumptuouſly abrogated the ancient, good, and wiſely eſtabliſhed *Roman* Laws, and inſtead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane Ordinances, truly unjuſt and illegal? He alſo invented ſeveral ſorts of (*d*) Taxes, to the great oppreſſion of the Subjects of his Provinces; and all ſorts of exactions of Gold ond Silver; (*e*) ſurveying of lands; and that curſed way of getting lucre from Coun-

Conſtant. and Licinius.

(*a*) Here we follow that emendation of this place which is ſet at the Margin of *Turnebus*'s MS. who inſtead of [συγγενείας, *affinity*] in this place reads [εὐγενείας, *nobility.*] For *Conſtantine* was extracted from a Royal deſcent; he derived his Pedigree from *Claudius* the Emperor. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) The beſt Comment upon this place is the 54th chap. of book 1. of *Conſtantine's Life.* The *Militia* amongſt the *Romans* was twofold: the *Militia Caſtrenſis*, or *the Militia employ'd in all martial affairs*; and the *Militia Civilis*, which in *Theodoſius's Code*, is called the *Militia Cohortalis*, *the Militia employ'd in Civil Affairs.* Thoſe that were liſted into this *Militia Cohortalis*, were by the *Latines* commonly call'd *Officiales*, or *Apparitores*: and by the *Greeks* generally στρατιῶται. See *Themiſt.* 1. *Orat.* pag. 38. *Chryſoſt. Homily* 1. upon the firſt Epiſt. to *Corinth.* p. 8. and p. 10. Moreover [στρατεύειν] by *Chryſoſt. Hom.* 1. upon St. *Matthew* is uſed for *Apparitoris Officio fungi, to execute an Apparitor's Office.* But the *Greeks* (ſometimes for diſtinction's ſake of the *Militia Caſtrenſis*) called theſe *Apparitores*, στρατιῶται κατὰ πόλιν, *City Apparitors.* So *Euſebius* in the place above quoted; and *Themiſtius*, in his 17th *Orat.* pag. 457. makes uſe of [ἀσυκὸς στρατιώτης] which has the ſame import with [στρατιώτης κατὰ πόλιν] here in *Euſebius*, (*i. e.*) *the Apparitors of the Preſidents and Præfects of the Prætorium*, who gather'd the *Tributes* which belonged to the *Treaſury.* Valeſ.

(*c*) This paſſage ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ βίου μεταλλάξασιν, is by *Chriſtoph.* and *Langus* render'd *mortuos*, *the dead*: but I cannot admit of this Verſion. What Law this of *Licinius*'s was, 'tis difficult to reſolve. It ſeems to have belonged *to the Teſtaments of dying people*: it was abbrogated by *Conſtantine* after *Licinius* was overcome by him. *Val.*

(*d*) *Euſebius* uſes this term [ἐπισκήψεις] which occurs here, at book 8. chap. 14. (ſee note (*c.*) there) where he treats concerning *Maximinus* the *Eaſtern Tyrant.* But in his firſt book *De vita Conſtant.* he terms it σκήψεις, (i. e.) *ways of getting money.* The *Ancient Greeks* us'd πόροι and πορισμοὶ, in this ſence. There is extant a Book of of *Xenophon*'s, entitled περὶ πόρων. The modern *Latin* Authors call theſe Taxes, *Tituli.* Valeſ.

(*e*) The phraſe here us'd (*viz.*) ἀναμετρήσεις τῆς γῆς, is very well rendred by *Langus*, *iteratæ agrorum menſiones*, *the re-meaſuring of Lands.* This Verſion *Rufinus* confirms, who renders it *cenſus innovare*, *to renew the Cenſus*, or *the prizing of every man's eſtate.* This *Cenſus* could not be renewed without the re-meaſuring of Land: For the *Cenſus* amongſt the *Romans* conſiſted of two things, (*i. e.*) *the meaſuring of Lands*, and *the numbering of the People*, as I have elſewhere noted. We have the teſtimony of *Aurel. Vict.* and of *Victor's Epitome* in confirmation of what *Euſebius* ſays concerning *Licinius*'s *Avarice.* But what *Euſebius* ſays concerning *Licinius*'s *Exactions*, and *Oppreſſions* of his Subjects, is confuted by the teſtimony of two ancient Authors, (*viz.*) *Aurel. Victor* and *Libanius. Victor* ſays of *Licinius* that he was, *Agraribus plane ac ruſticantibus, quia ab eo genere ortus altuſque erat, ſatis utilis*, *i. e. To the common ſort of People and Ruſticks, becauſe he was extracted from and maintained by that ſort of men, He was uſeful enough. Libanius* in *his Oration pro Templis Gentilium*, ſays, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἀνθεῖν τὰς πόλεις, *that the Cities flouriſh'd under him*, (viz.) *Licinius.* Valeſ.

trey

Constant. and Licinius.

trey-men which were not alive, but long since dead. Besides these things, why should we reckon up the (*f*) Proscriptions of innocent men which he, the Enemy of mankind, was the inventer of? and the imprisonments of men (*g*) nobly descended, and of an honourable repute? Whose youthful wives he forced from them by violence, and deliver'd them to some of his impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? What need we number the married Women, Virgins, and Maids, whom in his (*b*) decrepid age he abused, to the fulfilling of his own soul's insatiable lust? What need is there [I say] of enlarging upon these things, whenas the exorbitant grosness of his last actions evinceth his first to be trivial and almost nothing? In fine, he arrived to such an heighth of madness, that [he made an attempt] upon the Bishops: and looking upon them (in regard they were the servants of Almighty God) to be enemies to his practices; (but [daring not] as yet to use open violence, fearing his superior,) he privily and craftily plotted against them: and by the treacheries of his Presidents destroy'd the eminentest of them. The manner how he murther'd them is strange, and such as was never before heard of. But his actions at *Amasia* and the rest of the Cities of *Pontus* do far exceed the most superlative cruelty. Where some of Gods Churches were again thrown down from their vast height to the very ground, and others were shut up, lest any of those that did usually frequent them should meet there, and render a due worship to God. For he did not suppose that prayers were offer'd up for him, being perswaded to entertain such thoughts as these by a consciousness of his own impieties. But he was of opinion that all we did was in behalf of the pious Emperor, and to render God favourable to him. Upon which account he resolved to assail us with his utmost rage. Therefore, those Presidents that were his flatterers, being fully perswaded that this would be grateful to the Tyrant, [inflicted] the same punishment upon some Bishops that they usually imposed upon Malefactors. So that harmless and innocent men were haled away, and without the least pretext punish'd like murtherers. But others of them underwent a new kind of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces; and after this barbarous and most horrid spectacle, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for the fishes. After this therefore, the worshippers of God betook themselves to flight, and the fields, the deserts, the woods and mountains were the Receptacles of Christ's servants. When the impious Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained some thoughts of raising a general persecution against all the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle to hinder him from effecting of it, had not God, the Protector of his own servants, (that he might prevent what would immediately have ensued,) caused *Constantine* his servant suddenly to appear as a Saviour and a great Light to all that were in a thick darness and an obscure night, conducting him with a mighty arm into these parts.

Constant. and Licinius.

(*f*) I doubt not, but instead of [ἐξορκισμὰς,] we should read ἐξοσιωμὰς, *Proscriptions*:] for in the first Book, *De vita Constant.* cap. 55. (where *Eusebius* repeats all these passages almost in the same words) instead of this term, he uses this phrase [ὑπερορίας τιμωρίας, *punishments of Exile.*] Val.

(*g*) *Christoph.* translates the term συγκλητικῶν here used, *Patricios*, erroneously, as we before signified. They were termed *Nobiles*, who were descended from those that had born any Office in *Rome*, or in the *Towns incorporate*. Vales.

(*b*) But *Licinius* died in the *sixtieth year* of his age, as *Victor* affirms in *his Epitome*. Wherefore *Eusebius*, like an Orator, aggravates the matter here. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Constantine's *Victory, and concerning the prosperity procured by him to all those that live under the power of the* Romans.

(*a*) ON this man therefore did [God] from above bestow Trophies of Victory over the ungodly, as being the worthy fruits of his piety. But the impious Tyrant, together with all his Counsellors and friends, he laid prostrate on their faces before the feet of *Constantine*. For when * he was arriv'd at the highest degree of madness, the pious † Emperor supposing he was not to be longer born with, (*b*) entring into a prudent and sober consideration with himself, and having tempered the severity of Justice with [his own natural] clemency, resolves upon succouring of those that were oppress'd by the Tyrant; and prepares to save a great part of mankind, by cutting off and removing out of the way a few pestilent and destructive persons. For having before this made use of clemency only, and shewing pity on him who deserved no compassion; he did not profit him at all; for he desisted not from [the practice of his pristine] impieties, but rather increased his fury against the Subjects of his own Provinces. There was no hope of deliverance now remaining to those that were oppressed and afflicted by this cruel Beast. Wherefore [*Constantine*] the Protector of all good men (having temper'd his hatred of impiety with his love of virtue) together with his son *Crispus*, a most mild and courteous * *Cæsar*, marches forward upon this expedition, reaching out a helping hand to all that were in distress. Both the Father therefore and the Son, having for their Captain and Assistant the supream King, and the Son of God the Saviour of all men, divided the Army so, as on every side to encompass God's Enemies, and got an easie victory; all things in that action having been rendred facil, and successfully expedited for them by God, according to their wish. Immediately therefore, even in the twinkling of an eye, they who yesterday and the day before breathed forth death and menaces, became wholly extinct, the remembrance even of their very names not in the least surviving them. Their pictures also and other monuments [dedicated to their honour] received the deserved [spots of] ignominy; and the same [disgrace] which *Licinius* had with his own eyes beheld the impious Tyrants heretofore involv'd in, even he himself in like manner suffer'd. For he himself receiv'd not instruction, nor was he amended by his neighbour's stripes: but walking on in the same path of wickedness with them, deservedly wandred into the same precipice they did. Thus

(*a*) At these words we began the 9th Chap. which conjecture of ours is confirmed by the old Maz. and Fuk. M. SS. And in those M.S S. this Chapter is rightly called the eighth Chapter as we remark'd before. *Vales.*

* *Licinius.*

† *Constantine.*

(*b*) Τὸν σώφρονα συναγαγὼν λογισμόν: these are the Words in the original; which *Valesius* renders thus, *Modestam ac sobriam in se colligens mentem*: *Grynæus* thus, *rem hanc sapienter expendit*: and we translate it after this manner, *entring into a prudent and sober Consideration with himself.* 'Tis a phrase usual with our *Eusebius*. For so he expresses himself Book 3. *De Vita Constant.* Chap. 5. and 11.

* Or *Prince*, the term in the *Greek* is Βασιλεὺς.

Conſtant. and Licinus.

was this perſon ſmitten and proſtrated. But *Conſtantine* the Mighty Conqueror, glorioufly adorn'd with all the vertues of Religion (together with his Son *Criſpus*, a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recover'd his own *Eaſt*, and re-united the *Roman* Empire into one entire body, as it heretofore was: ſubjecting under (*c*) their peace the whole World [which reaches] from the Riſing Sun to the utmoſt Weſtern Regions, together with the Provinces that lie round about as well towards the North as the South. Men therefore were now ſecure from all fear of them who formerly had oppreſſed them, and celebrated ſplendid and ſolemn days of Feſtivity. All things ſeemed to abound with fulneſs of light, and they who heretofore beheld each other with dejectedneſs and ſorrow, then look'd upon each other with ſmiling countenances, and chearful eyes. In (*d*) Dances alſo and Songs, in every City and in the Fields, they firſt of all glorified God the the King of Kings, (for thus they were inſtructed to do) and in the next place the pious Emperor, together with his Children which were beloved of God. There was an oblivion of paſt afflictions, no remembrance of any impiety, but only an enjoyment of the preſent good things and expectations of more in future. In all places the Edicts of the Victorious Emperor, full of kindneſs and clemency, and his Laws containing manifeſt tokens of his great bounty and true piety, were proclaimed. All Tyranny therefore being thus extirpated, the Empire which did by right belong to *Conſtantine* and his Sons, was preſerved firm and ſecure from envy. Who (after they had cleanſed the World from the impiety of their Predeceſſors) being ſenſible of thoſe great benefits which had been procured for them by God, (*e*) did by a moſt apparent and convincing teſtimony of their deeds declare to all men their love of vertue and of the Deity, and alſo their piety and gratitude towards God.

Conſtant. and Licinius.

(*c*) By this Phraſe here uſed [εἰρήνη αὐτῶν, *their Peace*] is meant *the Peace which they reſtored.* So *Seneca* in his Book *De Clementia* brings in *Nero* ſpeaking thus: *Hæc tot millia gladiorum quæ pax mea comprimit, ad nutum meum ſtringentur.* Where by [*pax mea*] he means *the Peace he had procured.* So alſo *Velleius Paterculus* uſes this Phraſe, and on ſome *Old Coins* we find this inſcription; *Pax Auguſti*, i. e. *the Peace procured by the Emperor.* But *Pax Romana* is by the ſame *Seneca* (in his Book *De Clementia*, and in that *De Providentia*) uſed in another ſence, to wit, *pax ea quâ fruitur imperium Romanum*, (i. e.) *that Peace which the Roman Empire enjoyeth.* Valeſ.

(*d*) This word [χορεῖαι *dances*] here uſed, when the diſcourſe is concerning the Chriſtians praiſing God, did not pleaſe *Niceph.* And therefore inſtead of χορεῖαι he uſes παιᾶνες. *Euſebius*, in his ſecond Book, *De vita Conſtant.* inſtead of χορεῖαι uſes χοροί which term indeed is more tolerable. But we may eaſily bear with this word χορεῖαι. For the *Chriſtians* uſed to dance on their Feſtivals of the Martyrs, which they kept in honour of them; and thus they celebrated their Conflicts and Victories as *Greg. Naz.* relates (in *Carminibus ad mulieres ſeſe curioſius exornantes*, pag. 152.) *Baſilius Magnus (in his* 14th *Homily againſt drunkenneſs)* has a ſharp invective againſt theſe *Choreas*, or *Dances.* Valeſ.

(*e*) The reading in the King's M. S. (which *Stephens* almoſt every where follows) is this [διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ χειστιανῶν ἐνεδείξαντο νομοθεσίας, *declared by their Law* [*publiſhed*] *in favour of the Chriſtians.*] But in the Maz. Med. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. this place is written far otherwiſe, thus [δι' ὧν εἰς πρῶτον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχον ὁρᾶν, ἐπεδείξαντο, *did by a moſt apparent and convincing teſtimony of their deeds declare to all men*:] which reading, being confirmed by the conſent of more, and thoſe ancienter Copies, we with good reaſon ſuppoſed ought to be preferred before the other. *Valeſ.*

28 SE 60

The End (by God's Aſſiſtance) of the Tenth Book of *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

THE

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF Socrates Scholasticus,

Translated out of the GREEK, according to the Edition set forth by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1668.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are also done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annex'd,

An Account of the *Life* and *Writings* of the foresaid *Historian*; Collected by VALESIUS, and Translated into ENGLISH.

LONDON:

Printed by *J. M.* for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row.* MDCCVIII.

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL

HISTORY

OF

SOCRATES Scholasticus.

BRITISH MUSEUM

VALESIUS's PREFACE,

To the Studious READERS.

AFTER *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, (whom we may deservedly stile *The Father of Ecclesiastick History*,) many inflamed with a pious Emulation, undertook to treat of the same Subject. But *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* are in the Judgment of all Antiquity far more famous than all the other Writers: Who beginning from those Times wherein *Eusebius* concluded his *Ecclesiastick History*, brought their Work down to the Times of *Theodosius Junior*. And at first I was resolved to have publish'd these three Writers together, that as they had prosecuted one and the same Subject in their Writings, so they might have also been comprehended and read in one and the same Volume. But in regard this would hereby have been too large a Volume, therefore I was forced to defer the Edition of *Theodoret* to another time. To which I will add *Evagrius Epiphaniensis's Ecclesiastick History*, as also the *Excerptions* of *Philostorgius* and *Theodorus Lector*; that the Studious may in future read over the whole Body of *Ecclesiastick History*, publish'd and explain'd by our Labour. In the *interim* you have here (Reader) joyn'd together in this Volume *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. Concerning what I have done about the Edition of these Authors, take this Account in short.

Above eight years since, when by the Command and Advice of the most Illustrious Prelates belonging to the *Gallican* Clergy, I publish'd *the History* of *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, I made it my business to perform three things most especially in that Edition. For first, having from all places procured those Manuscript-Copies that were most remarkable and eminent, I amended and differenc'd those passages which in the former Editions had been corrupted and disguised. Secondly, in regard the former Translators had, either by reason of their want of Manuscript-Copies, or on some other account, err'd in many places, that their Versions might not induce the Readers into Mistakes, I my self have elaborated a new Translation, with which the the Studious will, I hope, be in future content. Lastly, I have added Annotations, that I might therein both give an account of mine Amendments, and also explain and illustrate all the more obscure and difficult places. And this Edition, being candidly received by all, is now in the hands of the Learned. Therefore, what I then (by the Divine Assistance) perform'd in *the History* of *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, the same I have attempted now to do *in the History* of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, by the Command and Advice of the same Prelates I mention'd. For (that I may in the first place speak concerning *Socrates*, who first betook himself to write) I have amended *his History* by the help and assistance of three Manuscript-Copies, to wit, the *Sfortian*, the *Florentine*, and the *Allatian*. The *Sfortian*-Manuscript (which is the best and ancientest,) is at this time kept in the *Vatican* Library. This Copy the Learned *Lucas Holstenius* had some time since (in favour to the most Illustrious *Carolus Monchallus*, Arch-Bishop of *Tolouse*) compared with the *Geneva Edition*; and had transmitted the various Readings (together with the Emendations of *Philostorgius* transcribed from the *Scoriacensian* MS.) to the same Prelate, at such time as the *Gallican* Clergy had committed to him the Care of setting forth a new Edition of the *Ancient Ecclesiastick History*; so the said *Holstenius* informs us, in *his Epistle* to *Peter Possinus*, a Divine of the Order of the *Jesuites*. But afterwards, when by the Entreaty of the same Arch-Bishop of *Tolouse* (who understood, that by reason of his too much other business, he could not be at leisure to take care of this Edition) the *Gallican* Clergy had injoyned me that Province; the same *Holstenius* sent me the various Readings of the fore-mention'd *Sfortian*-Manuscript, written out with his own hand at the Margin of the *Geneva Edition*, together with those Amendments of *Philostorgius*; and had sent me more, had a longer Life been granted him. For a little before his Death he sent me some *Dissertations* concerning certain Passages in the *Nicene* and *Chalcedon* Councils, and concerning *Synesius*'s Episcopate. Which *Dissertations* shall (God willing) be publish'd by us in the Third Tome of our *Ecclesiastick History*, that the learned part of the World may be no longer defrauded of that most Accomplish'd Person's Labours. The *Florentine*-Manuscript follows, transcribed above five hundred years since, which is now kept at *Florence*, in St. *Lawrence*'s *Library*. The Discovery and Use of this Manuscript I owe to *Emericus Bigotius*, a most skilful searcher into old Libraries: By whose diligence it is contrived, that we sitting still and idle here, enjoy the Riches and Treasures of many and most remote Libraries. For at his entreaty, *Michael Erminius*, a *Senator* of *Florence*, compared that Copy with the *Geneva Edition*, and transmitted the various Readings thereof to me; upon which account I do profess my self much obliged to both of them. The third Manuscript belongs to *Leo Allatius*, a Person every way learned, and one that has deserved well of Ecclesiastick Antiquity. This Copy contains the *Ecclesiastick History* of *Theodorus Lector*, comprised in Two Books; which *Theodorus Lector* had gather'd out of three Writers of Ecclesiastick Affairs, to wit, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*,

zomen, and *Theodoret*, after the ſame manner that *Caſſiodorus Senator* has compoſed his *Tripertite Hiſtory*. But this *Tripertite Hiſtory* of *Theodorus Lector* comprehends only the Affairs tranſacted in the Church during the Reign of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*: Whether the reaſon be, that *Theodorus Lector* continued *his Collection* no further, or that the other Books of that Work are loſt by the negligence of Antiquity. Out of this Copy therefore *Leo Allatius* had ſome time ſince collected the various Readings in the two former Books of *Socrates*, and tranſmitted them, being written out with his own hand, to the moſt Illuſtrious Prelate *Carolus Monchallus*: Which I afterwards procured by the aſſiſtance of the moſt Eminent *Dionyſius Talæus*, *Advocate General* to the *Moſt Chriſtian King* in *the Supream Court* at *Paris*. Beſides theſe three *Manuſcript Copies*, I made uſe of the King's *Manuſcript*, (which is no very ancient one,) which *Robert Stephens* made uſe of only in his Edition. Upon which account it is leſs to be wondred at, that the common Editions of *Socrates* have hitherto been ſo faulty, ſeeing they were all derived from one only Copy, which alſo is a very modern one. Moreover, this Copy was taken out of the *King's Library*, and courteouſly lent me by the moſt Illuſtrious and Reverend Prelate *Nicholas Colbertus*, Biſhop of *Luſſon*, a Perſon endow'd with eminent Learning, Virtue, and Dignity. Concerning whoſe Praiſe I would ſpeak more in this place, did not his ſingular Modeſty hinder me, who am very deſirous thereof. And theſe are the Aſſiſtances of the *Manuſcript Copies*, by the ſupports whereof I attempted this Edition of *Socrates*.

But in the Correcting of *Sozomen*'s *Hiſtory* I had the benefit of fewer *Manuſcript Copies*. For beſides that Copy in the *King's Library*, which *Robert Stephens* followed in *his Edition*, and beſides that Copy belonging to *Leo Allatius* (whereof we made mention before,) which was an aſſiſtance to us only in the four firſt Books of *Sozomen*, and in the beginning of the Fifth; I had only the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. This Copy did at firſt belong to *Carolus Monchallus Arch-Biſhop* of *Toloufe*, a perſon very ſtudious of *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. But afterwards it was put into the *Fuketian Library*, and lent to me by the moſt worthy *Nicolaus Fuketius*. Upon which account in *my Annotations* I have called this the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. But at length, when our Edition was compleated, this Copy (together with the other Manuſcripts belonging to the *Fuketian Library*) was transfer'd into the Right and Poſſeſſio of the moſt Illuſtrious and Eminent Perſon, on account both of his own and his Father's deſerts, *Carolus Mauricius Tellerius*, *Abbot* of *Saint Benignus*, who at this time is *Coadjutor* in the *Arch-Biſhoprick* of *Rheimes*. Indeed this is no very ancient Manuſcript, but 'tis of the beſt note, and is tranſcribed from a moſt correct Copy. The Titles of the *Chapters*, which in the *King's Manuſcript*, and in *Robert Stephen's Edition*, are prefix'd before *the Hiſtory* of *Sozomen*, are wanting in this Copy. Nor is there any diſtinction of the *Chapters* throughout all the *Books*. From whence may be diſcerned the Excellency and Antiquity of that *Manuſcript*. For *the Titles* or *Contents* of the *Chapters* were made by *Nicephorus Calliſtus*, or rather by ſome other more modern Author, and are wholly impertinent, and barbarouſly expreſs'd. In ſo much that after I had look'd thereon with a greater accuracy, they ſeem'd to have been compoſed by ſome other hand, rather than by *Nicephorus*. Moreover, that I may not defraud any perſon of his due praiſe, I acknowledge my ſelf indebted to *Samuel Tennulius* (a very learned perſon, and one that is a great lover of me, at preſent an eminent Profeſſor of Literature at *Nimmeghen*) for the various Readings in the Hiſtory of *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, collected out of the fore-mentioned *Allatian-Manuſcript*; that is, out of the *Tripertite Hiſtory* of *Theodorus Lector*. For whilſt he was at *Rome*, he tranſcribed them with his own hand from *Leo Allatius*'s Copy, a perſon never praiſed enough; who by my entreaty, and for my ſake, had delivered thoſe various Readings to the ſaid *Tennulius*, that he might write them out. By the help of theſe Copies therefore I have amended innumerable places both in *Socrates* and alſo in *Sozomen*, which were very corrupt before; I have ſupplied many Defects, reſtored many Punctations and Diſtinctions, and, laſtly, I have added a new Verſion. Concerning which I will now ſpeak briefly.

What I have heretofore ſaid concerning *Muſculus*'s and *Chriſtophorſon*'s Tranſlation in *my Preface to the Illuſtrious Prelates of the Gallican Church, which is prefixt before the Edition of our Euſebius*, I need not now repeat. I will only add this: If after thoſe Tranſlators now named, the *Hiſtory of Euſebius Cæſarienſis* wanted a new Interpreter, a new Verſion of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* was much more neceſſary. For their Hiſtories have come to our hands far more faulty than *Euſebius*'s. And that the Judicious Reader will eaſily diſcern from *Robert Stephens*'s Edition. For *Robert Stephens*, in *his Edition* of *Euſebius*, had the uſe of many Manuſcript Copies, which were taken out of the *King's Library*: But in his Impreſſion of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s Hiſtory, he had but one Copy of each of them. Therefore at the end of his Edition, he remark'd the various Readings in the Books of *Euſebius*, taken out (as he ſays) of moſt ancient Copies. But at the cloſe of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s Hiſtory he put no various Readings, becauſe he had gotten but one Copy of each of thoſe Writers. Alſo, the Copies of *Euſebius*, which *Stephens* made uſe of, were the beſt and ancienteſt, as he himſelf atteſts. But each Copy, as well that of *Socrates*'s as the other of *Sozomen*'s *Hiſtory*, which *Robert Stephens* followed in *his Edition*, was, as we perceive, very new, and did alſo abound with many faults. 'Tis therefore no wonder, that Learned Men have been ſo often miſtaken in their Verſions of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s Books, ſince they had ſuch faulty and maimed Copies before them, and were deprived of the aſſiſtance of Manuſcripts. For

Muſculus

Muſculus had ſeen *Robert Stephen's* Edition only. *Chriſtophorſon* had indeed inſpected ſome MS. Copies of *Euſebius* and *Theodoret*. But he had no MSS. of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, as I have frequently obſerved in *my Annotations*. He had only ſeen the various Readings and Conjectures of Learned Men ſet at the Margin of *Robert Stephens*'s Edition: Of which ſort many Copies came to our hands. But thoſe Readings were almoſt of no weight or authority at all, in as much they had no Remark annex'd of the ancient Copy out of which they were tranſcribed. But I, having got the beſt and ancienteſt Manuſcripts, as well of *Socrates*, as *Sozomen*, and with great labour and induſtry compared them with the common Editions; afterwards took an eaſier and plainer way to their Tranſlation. This Edition of ours therefore will (we hope) equally ſatisfie all perſons, as well thoſe that are skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, as them that are not. For, both thoſe that are knowing in the *Greek* Language will read *Socrates* and *Sozomen* amended and throughly purged by our Labour; and ſuch as are leſs skilled in the *Greek* will eaſier underſtand thoſe Authors done into *Latin* by us.

Our *Annotations* follow; wherein, in the ſame manner as in *our Notes* on *Euſebius*, we have attempted to perform two things. The firſt is, to give an account of our *Emendations*, and to propoſe to the Reader's Judgment the various Readings taken out of the *Manuſcript Copies*. Then, ſecondly, to illuſtrate (according to our ability) the more obſcure and difficult places, which ſeem'd to be able to involve the Reader's Judgment in Doubts. Nor am I ignorant, that there are many delicate and faſtidious Perſons, who may think that they have exhibited to them ſome exquiſite Obſervations only, and *Common Places* (as they are called,) compoſed for ſhew and oſtentation; and who may ſuppoſe that that part of *our Annotations*, which contains Emendations and various Readings, is altogether trivial and deſpicable. To which perſons I would make this return: Altho *thoſe Emendations* and *various Readings* (which the *Greeks* term διπλοσεαφίας) may frequently be inſipid, and ſeem troubleſome to the Readers, yet they are highly uſeful, and altogether neceſſary, eſpecially in theſe Writers, whoſe Books have come to our hands leſs correct. Now that *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s Books are ſuch, we have before mention'd. And indeed *our Obſervations* do bear a greater ſhew of Learning: But *an Emendation* in my opinion requires more of Wiſdom and Judiciouſneſs. Neither is it for every Man to give his opinion concerning the true and genuine Reading of antique Writers: But he only is able to do this, who is furniſhed with a manifold ſtock of Learning, and has been long and much exerciſed in this Art of Judging.

And theſe are the Particulars I thought neceſſary to advertize the Readers of in the beginning of this Work, that they might know at firſt ſight what they were chiefly to expect in this Edition of ours, which could not be met with in the former Editions of this Hiſtory. It remains now, that we ſpeak ſomething concerning *Socrates* and *Sozomen*: who and what manner of Perſons they were, what courſe of Life they followed, what Religion they profeſs'd, and which of them firſt wrote his Hiſtory.

CONCER-

Concerning the

LIFE

AND

WRITINGS

OF

SOCRATES and *SOZOMEN.*

OUR *Socrates* therefore, for we will begin with him, had *Conſtantinople* for his *Country.* In *the Fifth Book of his Hiſtory*, Chap. 24. he atteſts that he was born and educated in that City, and that he therefore recorded thoſe Matters chiefly which hapned in that City. When very young he was inſtructed in the *Rules of Grammar*, by *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians*, who at that time had left *Alexandria*, and betook themſelves to *Conſtantinople*. He that is deſirous to know the reaſon why theſe *Grammarians* departed from *Alexandria*, will find it related by *Socrates*, in *the Fifth Book* and *Sixteenth Chapter* of *his Hiſtory*. For when the Heathen Temples were demoliſh'd at *Alexandria*, by the Care and Induſtry of *Theophilus* Biſhop of that City, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians* (the one of whom was *Jupiter*'s Prieſt, and the other *Simius*'s at *Alexandria*,) diſpleaſed at the Ignominy their Gods were expoſed to, having left the City *Alexandria*, went to *Conſtantinople*, and there took up their habitation. Moreover, the Heathen-Temples at *Alexandria* were deſtroy'd when *Timaſius* and *Promotus* were *Conſuls*, (according to *Marcellinus*'s Relation in his *Chronicon*,) which was the Emperor *Theodoſius*'s Eleventh year. Whence it is apparent, that our *Socrates* was born about the beginning of *Theodoſius*'s Reign. For Boys were uſually ſent to be inſtructed by *Grammarians* when they were about Ten years old. After this *Socrates* ſtudied *Rhetorick* under the Tuition of *Troilus* the *Sophiſta*, who about that time was an eminent Profeſſor of Eloquence at *Conſtantinople*. Our *Socrates* does not indeed ſay thus much in expreſs words. But the attentive and diligent Reader will eaſily collect from his words that which I have affirmed. For he does make ſuch frequent, and ſo honourable a mention of him, that he may ſeem to pay reward to his Maſter. For he names his Country, *Side*, a City of *Pamphylia*. He alſo mentions not a few of his Scholars, to wit, *Euſebius Scholaſticus*, and *Silvanus*, and *Ablabius* who were Biſhops. Laſtly, in *his Seventh Book* he relates, that *Anthemius* the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* (who, whilſt *Theodoſius Junior* was yet a *Minor*, was the Chief Miniſter of State in the Empire) did chiefly make uſe of the Counſels of *Troilus* the *Sophiſta*. Where he alſo gives him this *Elogue* : Ὃς μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτῷ Φιλοσοφίας (for that muſt be the Reading, as we have intimated in our *Notes) καὶ πολιτικὴν φρόνησιν τῷ Ἀνθεμίῳ ἐφάμιλλος ἦν ; that is, *who beſides the Philoſophy that was in him, was Anthemius's Equal in Political Knowledge.* By theſe Reaſons I have been induced to think that our *Socrates* had *Troilus* for his *Rhetorick-Maſter*. But concerning this matter we permit every one to determine according to his own Arbitrement. Further, you muſt know that the Ancients were not ſo ſpeedy and haſty in [their learning the Rules of] Eloquence, as is now a-days uſual, but they applied their minds to thoſe Studies for a long time together. *Gregory Nazianzen* atteſts (*in his Poem concerning his own Life*) that he left *Athens* in the thirtieth year of his Age, as ſoon as he had learned the Precepts of the *Art* of *Oratory* in that City. After this, *Socrates* having left *Troilus*'s School, betook himſelf to the *Forum*, and pleaded Cauſes at *Conſtantinople*. Whence he got the Sirname of *Scholaſticus*. For ſo the *Advocates* were at that time called, as it has long ſince been remarked by others : * Not becauſe they were reduced into Schools ; but in regard, being Young Men that had left the Schools of the *Rhetoricians*, they profeſs'd this Art. But at length, having left off his Practice in the Law, he applied his mind to Writing of his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. In which Work he has made uſe of a ſingular Judiciouſneſs and Diligence. His Judiciouſneſs is manifeſted by his Remarks and Sentiments interwoven every where throughout his Books : than which there is (in my opinion) nothing more excellent. But his diligence is declared by many other Inſtances, chiefly by this, in regard he frequently annexes a Note of the Times

* See *Socrat. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.* Book 7. Chap. 1. Note (*c.*)

* *Non quod in Scholas relati eſſent*; ſo he words it; the expreſſion is ambiguous.

times, that is, the *Conſulates* and *Olympiades*, eſpecially where he mentions ſuch Matters as are more momentous. Nor has he careleſly or negligently written his Hiſtory, as *Rufinus Aquileienſis* did, who ſeems to me to have compoſed *his two Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* (which he annex'd to *Euſebius*'s) without looking into any Records. Our *Socrates* did far otherwiſe, for having from all places got together the beſt Monuments, that is, the Epiſtles of Prelates, the *Acts* of *Synods*, and the *Books* of *Eccleſiaſtick Writers*, agreeable to their authority he compoſed *his Hiſtory*. And whereas in the firſt Edition of his Work, having therein followed *Rufinus*, he had placed the *Synod* of *Tyre*, and the Baniſhment of *Athanaſius* into the *Gallia's*, in the Reign of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, upon reading of *Athanaſius*'s Books afterwards, he perceived his error. Wherefore he was neceſſitated to ſet forth a new Edition of his Hiſtory, wherein he both mended the Miſtake I have mention'd, and alſo made an addition of ſome other things, which were wanting in the former Edition, as he himſelf atteſts at the beginning of *his Second Book*. Whence it appears how highly we ought to value *Socrates's Hiſtory*, to which the Writer himſelf put his laſt * Hand. In the Compoſure of his Hiſtory *Socrates* has made uſe of a plain and mean Stile; which was done by him on ſet purpoſe, that he might the eaſier be underſtood by all perſons, as himſelf atteſts at the beginning of *his Firſt* and *Third Book*. For he look'd upon that ſublime and eloquent manner of expreſſion to be more agreeable for *Panegyrick Orations*, than an Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtick Affairs. Moreover, he has dedicated *his Hiſtory* to one *Theodorus*, whom in the beginning of *his Second Book* he ſtiles *a Sacred Man of God*, which is the ſame Appellation our *Euſebius* gives to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, at the beginning of *his Tenth Book*. But who this *Theodorus* was, it is to me unknown. For I cannot believe it was *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, in regard *Socrates* wrote *his Hiſtory* after the Death of *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus*. But it is now time for us to inquire concerning his Sect ond Religion, as we promiſed at the beginning.

* That is, he himſelf Reviſed, and Corrected it.

Baronius in *his Annals*, and *Philippus Labbæus* in *his Book De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, do affirm, that our *Socrates* was by Sect a † *Novatian*. The ſame was *Nicephorus*'s Opinion before it was theirs, who in the *Proeme to his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* ſays thus: Ὁ τῷ πρεσβυτέριον, ὁ μὲν δὲ γε κατὰ τὴν αἵρεσιν καθαρὸς Σωκράτης. That is, *That Socrates, ſirnamed* * *Catharus, but as to his Mind he was not pure*. Which words are not ſo to be underſtood, as if *Socrates* were ſirnamed *Catharus*, but that it might be ſhown he was a *Novatian*. For the *Novatians* termed themſelves *Cathari*, as we are informed from the *Eighth Canon* of *the Nicene Council*. The ſame *Nicephorus* (in *his Eleventh Book, Chap.* 14.) writes thus concerning *Socrates*: *Socrates (who in this place plainly ſhews himſelf not to be a deteſter of the Novatian Principles) relates that theſe things were told him by a certain old Man*, &c. Now, why our *Socrates* was by many accounted a *Novatian*, the reaſons are not few, nor trivial. For firſt, he carefully records the *Series* of the *Novatian* Biſhops, who preſided over the Church at *Conſtantinople* from the Times of *Conſtantine*; and alſo remarks the *Conſulates* wherein every one of them departed out of this Life. Secondly, he highly extols them all, eſpecially *Agerius*, *Siſinius*, *Chryſanthus*, and *Paulus*. By whoſe Prayers, as he relates, a certain Miracle was wrought at *Conſtantinople*. Laſtly, he proſecutes all Matters belonging to the *Novatian Sect* with ſo great a care and diligence, that he may ſeem to have been addicted to this Sect. But ſhould any one examine theſe Particulars with a greater accuracy, he will find nothing in them, that may evince our *Socrates* to have been a *Novatian*. For with the like diligence he enumerates the *Arian Biſhops*, who govern'd their Church at *Conſtantinople*; and yet it is not ſaid he was an *Arian*. With no leſs carefulneſs alſo has he related all things that hapned to the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians* at *Conſtantinople*, than he has recorded what befel the *Novatians*. The reaſon hereof he himſelf has given, in *Chap.* 24. of *his Fifth Book*. Where he ſays, it was his deſign to record thoſe things moſt eſpecially which hapned at *Conſtantinople*; both becauſe he himſelf lived in that City, wherein he had been born and educated; and alſo in regard the Affairs tranſacted there were more eminent, and worthier to be recorded. But ſhould any one object, that the *Arian* Biſhops are not extolled by *Socrates* at the ſame rate that the *Novatian* Biſhops are: the Anſwer hereto is eaſie. For the *Arian* Biſhops, who then lived at *Conſtantinople*, were far inferior to the *Novatian* Biſhops. For the Church of theſe Hereticks did in thoſe Times abound with many, and Thoſe eminent Prelates: Which *Sozomen* alſo confirms by his Teſtimony, who records their *Elogues*, exactly like thoſe given them by our *Socrates*. Wherefore, it muſt either be ſaid that *Sozomen* was alſo a *Novatian*, or elſe our *Socrates* muſt be diſcharged from that Calumny. But 'tis manifeſt *Sozomen* was not a *Novatian*. For (to omit *Theodorus Lector*'s Teſtimony, who, in *his Epiſtle prefixt before his Tripertite-Hiſtory*, ſtiles him Μακαριώτατον, *a moſt bleſſed Perſon*,) he himſelf in his Ninth Book relates, that he was preſent at a publick Proceſſion, celebrated at *Conſtantinople* in honour of forty Martyrs, at ſuch time as *Proclus* preſided over the Church of that City. Whence 'tis manifeſtly concluded, that *Sozomen* was a Perſon of the Catholick Communion, in regard he was preſent at the publick Prayers together with the Catholicks. I confeſs indeed, that our *Socrates* does frequently favour the *Novatians*; for inſtance, when he recounts the Ring-leader of the *Novatian* Hereſie amongſt the number of the Martyrs; when he affirms, that the *Novatians* were joyn'd to the Catholicks in the ties of a moſt intimate Friendſhip and Love, and that they pray'd together with them in the Church of God; and laſtly, when he commends *Siſinius*'s Oration, which he made againſt this Saying of S^t *Chryſoſtome*,

† See *Euſebius*'s Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 6. Chap. 43.

* That is, *Pure*.

Although

Although thou haſt repented a thouſand times, approach. But 'tis one thing to favour the *Novatians*; another to be a *Novatian*. Our *Socrates* might indeed be a favourer of the *Novatians*, either becauſe he was engaged in a friendſhip and familiarity with them, or in regard he approved of their diſcipline and abſtinence. For, as far as we can collect from his Books, he was ſomething ſevere. But I can hardly perſwade my ſelf, that he was a *Novatian*; eſpecially when as I ſeem to have found the contrary from ſome places which occur in *his Hiſtory*. For firſt, in Chap. 38. of *his Second Book*, he frequently calls the Catholicks τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *thoſe of the Church*; and oppoſes them to the *Novatians*. Therefore he acknowledges that the *Novatians* were without the Church. Which he would certainly never have done, had he embraced that Hereſie. Beſides, in the 20. and 23. *Chapters* of *his Fifth Book* he reckons the *Novatians* amongſt the Hereticks, to wit, amongſt the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, and *Eunomians*. Laſtly, from *Chap.* 19. of the *ſame Book* it may be apparently concluded that *Socrates* was not a *Novatian*. For firſt, he always calls the Church ſimply and abſolutely the Catholick-Church: oppoſing it to the Churches of other Sects, concerning which he treats in the following Chapters, to wit, of the *Arians*, *Novatians*, and *Eunomians*. Then, he does not obſcurely reprehend that advice of *Nectarius*, who abrogated the † *Pœnitentiary Presbyter*. For he ſays, that hereby Licence was given to Sinners, when as there was no body that might reprove Offenders. Which Opinion could not proceed from a *Novatian*, in regard thoſe Hereticks admitted neither of Repentance [after Baptiſm,] nor of a *Penitentiary-Presbyter*, as *Socrates* does there atteſt. Add hereto the teſtimony of *Theodorus Lector*, who, in *his Epiſtle* prefixt before *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, calls *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, ἄνδρας θεοφιλεῖς, that is, *Men that were pious and acceptable to God.* Moreover, *Theodorus Lector* lived in the ſame City, and almoſt at the ſame time that *Socrates* did, to wit, in the Reign of the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*. Laſtly, *Petrus Halloixius* (in *his Notes on the Life of* St. *Irenæus*, pag. 664.) is of the ſame Opinion with us. For, diſputing againſt *Baronius*, who at the year of Chriſt 159. had written thus; *Theſe things Socrates the Novatian, who with the Jews celebrated Eaſter on the fourteenth day of the Moon*, &c. he utters theſe words. *And whereas Socrates is termed a Novatian, that may be taken in a double ſenſe: The one is, that he ſometimes favoured the Novatians; which alſo Bellarmine affirms (in his Book de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis, at the year of our Lord* 440.) *both concerning him, and likewiſe concerning Sozomen. The other is, that he was* [*a follower*] *of the Novatian-Hereſie. In the now-cited Chapter, he neither ſhews himſelf to be a Novatian, nor a favourer of them. For he blames them, and detects their diſſentions and vices; in ſo much that he may ſeem not to have been a friend, but an enemy, or rather neither of the two, but a declarer of the truth, which is the buſineſs of an Hiſtorian.* Thus far concerning *Socrates*, we muſt now ſpeak of *Sozomen*.

† See *Socrates's* Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 5. Chap. 19. note (*a.*)

Hermias Sozomen was alſo a practiſer in the Law at *Conſtantinople*, at the ſame time with *Socrates*. His Anceſtors were not mean, they were originally *Paleſtinians*, Inhabitants of a certain Village near *Gaza*, called *Bethelia*. This Village did in times paſt abound with a numerous Company of Inhabitants, and had moſt ſtately and ancient Churches. But the moſt glorious Structure of them all was the *Pantheon*, ſituated on an artificial Hill, which was the Tower as it were of *Bethelia*, as *Sozomen* relates in *Chap.* 15. *of his fifth Book.* The Grandfather of *Hermias Sozomen* was born in that Village, and firſt converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith by *Hilarion* the *Monk*. For when *Alaphion* an inhabitant of the ſame Village was poſſeſſed with a Devil, and the *Jews* and Phyſicians attempting to cure him, could do him no good by their Inchantments; *Hilarion*, by a bare invocation of the Name of God, caſt out the Devil. *Sozomen*'s Grandfather, and *Alaphion* himſelf, amazed at this Miracle, did with their whole families embrace the *Chriſtian* Religion. The Grandfather of *Sozomen* was eminent for his Expoſitions of the ſacred Scriptures, being a Perſon endowed with a polite Wit, and an acuteneſs of Underſtanding. Beſides, he was indifferently well skill'd in Literature. Therefore he was highly eſteemed of by the *Chriſtians* inhabiting *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, and the places adjacent, in regard he was uſeful and neceſſary for [the propagating of] Religion, and could eaſily unlooſe the Knots of the ſacred Scriptures. But *Alaphion*'s Deſcendants excelled others for their Sanctity of Life, Kindneſs to the indigent, and for their other Virtues: and they were the firſt that built Churches and Monaſteries there, as *Sozomen* atteſts in the place before cited. Where he alſo adds, that ſome holy Perſons of *Alaphion*'s Family were ſurviving even in his days, with whom he himſelf, when very young, was converſant, and concerning whom he promiſes to ſpeak more afterwards. Undoubtedly he means *Salamanes*, *Phuſco*, *Malchio*, and *Criſpio*, Brothers, concerning whom he ſpeaks in *Chap.* 32. of *his ſixth Book.* For he ſays, that theſe Brethren, inſtructed in the *Monaſtick Diſcipline* by *Hilarion*, were, during the Empire of *Valens*, eminent in the Monaſteries of *Paleſtine*: and that they lived near *Bethelia*, a Village in the Country of the *Gazites*. For they were Deſcendants of a Noble Family amongſt them. He mentions the ſame Perſons in *his Eighth Book* and *Fifteenth Chapter*, where he ſays *Criſpio* was *Epiphanius*'s *Arch-Deacon.* 'Tis apparent therefore, that thoſe Brethren I have mentioned were extracted from *Alaphion*'s Family. Now *Alaphion* was related to *Sozomen*'s Grandfather. Which I conjecture from hence. Firſt, becauſe the Grandfather of *Sozomen* is ſaid to have been converted (together with his whole Family) to the Chriſtian Religion, upon account of *Alaphion*'s wonderful Cure, whom *Hilarion* had healed, by calling on the name of the Omnipotent

potent GOD. Further, this Conjecture is confirm'd by what *Sozomen* relates, to wit, that he, when very young, was familiarly converſant with the aged Monks that were of *Alaphion*'s Family. And laſtly, in regard *Sozomen* took his name from thoſe Perſons who were either the Sons or Grandchildren of *Alaphion*. For he was called *Salamanes Hermias Sozomenus* (as *Photius* atteſts in *his Bibliotheca*) from the name of that *Salamanes*, who, as we obſerved before, was *Phuſco*'s, *Malchio*'s, and *Criſpio*'s Brother. Wherefore that miſtake of *Nicephorus*'s, and others, muſt be amended, who ſuppoſe that *Sozomen* had the Surname of *Salaminus*, becauſe he was born at *Salimine* a City of *Cyprus*. But we have before demonſtrated from *Sozomen*'s own teſtimony, that he was not born in *Cyprus*, but in *Paleſtine*. For his Grandfather was not only a *Paleſtinian*, as is aboveſaid, but *Sozomen* himſelf was alſo educated in *Paleſtine*, in the boſom (as I may ſay) of thoſe Monks that were of *Alaphio*'s Family. From which education *Sozomen* ſeems to me to have imbibed that moſt ardent love of a Monaſtick Life and Diſcipline, which he declares in many places of his Hiſtory. Hence 'tis, that in his Books he is not content to relate, who were the Fathers and Founders of Monaſtick Philoſophy; but he alſo carefully relates their Succeſſors and Diſciples, who both in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and alſo in *Pontus*, *Armenia* and *Oſdroëna*, followed this way of Life. Hence alſo it is, that in the *Twelfth Chapter* of the *Firſt Book* of *his Hiſtory*, he has propoſed to be read (in the beginning as it were) that gorgeous Elogue of Monaſtick Philoſophy. For he ſuppoſed, that he ſhould have been ungrateful, had he not after this manner at leaſt made a return of thanks to thoſe, in whoſe familiarity he had lived, and from whom, when he was a youth, he had received ſuch eminent examples of a good converſe. For that he himſelf intimates, in the Proeme to *his firſt Book*. But it is collected that *Sozomen* was educated at *Gaza*, not only from this place which I have mentioned, but alſo from *Chap.* 28. of *his Seventh Book*, where *Sozomen* ſays, that he himſelf had ſeen *Zeno* Biſhop of *Majuma*. This *Majuma* is a Sea-Port belonging to the *Gazites*. Which Biſhop, although he was almoſt an hundred years old, yet was never abſent from the Morning and Evening Hymns, unleſs it hapned that he was detained by a diſeaſe. After this *Sozomen* applied himſelf to the profeſſion of the Law. He was a Student in the *Civil Law* at *Berytus*, a City of *Phœnicia*, not far diſtant from his own Country, wherethere was a famous *Civil-Law-School*. But he practiſed the Law at *Conſtantinpole*, as himſelf atteſts in *his ſecond Book* and *third Chapter*: And yet he ſeems not to have been very much employed in pleading of Cauſes. For at the ſame time that he was an *Advocate* at *Conſtantinople*, he wrote *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; which may be concluded from his own Words. For thus he ſays (Book 2. Chap. 3.) οἷον δ' Ἀκυλίνῳ ξυμπέπτωκεν, ἀνδρὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ἡμῖν συνδιαλεγομένῳ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δικαστηρίοις δίκας ἀγορεύοντι, τὰ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκούσας· τὰ δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος, ἀναγκαίως ἐρῶ· *but what hapned to Aquilinus, a perſon at this time converſant with me, and one that pleads Cauſes in the ſame Court of Judicature, I will neceſſarily relate, partly as I heard it from him, and partly as I my ſelf ſaw it.* Further, before he wrote *his Nine Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, *Sozomen* compoſed a *Breviary* of *Eccleſiaſtick affairs*, from our Saviour's Aſcenſion to the Depoſition of *Licinius*. Which work was comprized in two Books, as himſelf atteſts in the *Proeme* to *his Firſt Book*. But thoſe two Books are loſt by length of time. In the compoſure of *his Hiſtory*, *Sozomen* has made uſe of a Stile neither too Low, nor too High, but between both: which Stile is moſt agreeable to a Writer of Eccleſiaſtick Affairs. *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*) prefers *Sozomen*'s Stile before *Socrates*'s. With whom we agree. But by how much *Sozomen* is ſuperior for the Elegancy of his expreſſion, by ſo much *Socrates* exceeds upon account of his judiciouſneſs. For *Socrates* judges incomparably well, both of Men, and alſo of Eccleſiaſtick Buſineſs and Affairs. There is nothing in him but what is grave and ſerious. Nothing that you can expunge as ſuperfluous. But on the contrary, ſome paſſages occur in *Sozomen* that are trivial and childiſh. Of this ſort is his digreſſion in *his Firſt Book* concerning the building of the City *Hemona*, and concerning the *Argonauts*, who carried the Ship *Argo* on their Shoulders ſome furlongs. Alſo his deſcription of *Daphne* without the Walls of the City *Antioch*, which occurs at *Chap.* 19. of *his Sixth Book*. And that obſervation of his concerning the beauty of the Body, where he treats of that Virgin, with whom the bleſſed *Athanaſius* abſconded a long while. Laſtly, *his Ninth Book* contains little elſe beſides warlike Events, between which and an *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* there is no agreement. Beſides, *Sozomen*'s Stile, which *Photius* prefers before that of *Socrates*, wants not its faults. For I have obſerved, that the Periods are by *Sozomen* no otherwiſe joyned together, than by theſe Particles δὲ and τέ; than which there is nothing more troubleſome. Should any one attentively read *that Epiſtle wherein* Sozomen *Dedicates his Work to* Theodoſius *Junior*, he will find that which I have ſaid to be certainly true, to wit, that *Sozomen* was no great Orator.

It remains, that we inquire which of theſe * two Authors wrote firſt, and which of them borrow'd, or rather ſtole from the other. Certainly, in regard both of them Wrote almoſt the ſame things of the ſame Tranſactions, in as much as they both began at the ſame beginning, and concluded their Hiſtory at the ſame boundary, (both beginning from the Reign of *Conſtantine*, and ending at *the Seventeenth Conſulate* of *Theodoſius Junior*;) it muſt needs be true, that one of them robbed the others Desk. Which ſort of theft (as *Porphyrius* atteſts in *Euſebius*'s *Tenth Book of Evangelick Preparation*) was committed by many of the *Grecian* Writers. But which was the Plagiary, *Socrates* or *Sozomen*, 'tis hard to ſay, in regard both of them lived in the ſame times, and

* *Socrates* and *Sozomen.*

both wrote their Hiſtory in the Empire of *Theodoſius Junior*. Therefore, in the diſquiſition of this queſtion, we muſt make uſe of conjecture. In ſuch a caſe as this *Porphyrius* in the before quoted Book (when it was uncertain whether *Hyperides* ſtole from *Demoſthenes*, or *Demoſthenes* from *Hyperides*, becauſe both of them lived at the ſame time,) openly declared that conjecture was to be made uſe of. Let us therefore ſee upon which of them falls the ſuſpicion of theft. Indeed this is my ſentiment, I do ſuppoſe that the Inferior does frequently ſteal from the Superior, and the Junior from the Senior. But *Sozomen* is in my judgment far inferior to *Socrates*; and he betook himſelf to Writing *his Hiſtory* when he was younger than *Socrates*. For he wrote it whilſt he was yet an Advocate, as I obſerved before. Now, the profeſſion of the Advocates amongſt the *Romans* was not perpetual, but temporary. Laſtly, He that adds ſomething to the other, and ſometimes amends the other, ſeems to have written laſt. But *Sozomen* now and then adds ſome paſſages to *Socrates*, and in ſome places diſſents from him, as *Photius* has obſerved, and we have hinted *in our Annotations*. *Sozomen* therefore ſeems to have written laſt. And this is the Opinion of almoſt all modern Writers; who place *Socrates* before *Sozomen*, So *Bellarmine* in *his Book De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*; who is followed by *Miræus*, *Labbæus*, and *Voſſius*. Amongſt the Ancients, *Caſſiodorus*, *Photius* and *Nicephorus* name *Socrates* in the firſt place. Although *Caſſiodorus* is found to have varied. For *in his Preface* to *the Tripertite Hiſtory*, in a clean contrary order he names *Theodoret* in the firſt place, *Sozomen* in the ſecond, and *Socrates* laſt. So alſo does *Theodorus Lector* recount them, in his Epiſtle which he prefixt before the *Tripertite Hiſtory*. Thus far concerning *Sozomen*.

28 SE 60

THE

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

The Preface to the whole Book.

Constant.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS having compiled an *Ecclesiastick History* in Ten intire Books, concluded it in the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperor: at which time also the (a) Persecution against the *Christians* ceased, [which had been begun] by *Diocletian.* The same Author, in the Books he wrote concerning the Life of *Constantine,* has made but a (b) slight relation of the matters relating to *Arius:* for he was more careful about the praises of the Emperor, and about a panegyrical sublimity in his expressions, as it is usually done in [the composition of] an *Encomium,* than about an accurate and exact account of what was done. But we, purposing to commit to writing the Ecclesiastick affairs from those times to these our own days, will begin our History (c) from those things which he has left untoucht: we shall not be over curious about the grandeur of our stile, but what things soever we have found upon record, or have heard from such as were present at the transactions thereof, we will particularly relate. And because it is conducive to our design, to declare after what manner *Constantine* was converted to the *Christian* Religion, according to our ability we will speak something of that matter. Constant.

(a) In the Kings MS. and *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. it is [πόλεμος, *the war* :] but in the *Florent.* and *Sfort.* MSS. we found it written [διωγμὸς, *persecution.*] Vales.

(b) Μερικῶς here used does not (as usually) signifie *singillatim, one by one, apart,* but ἐν μέρει, *partly.* For *Eusebius* (in his Books *De vitâ Constantini*) does indeed but *partly* touch the History of *Arius*; he prosecutes it not *wholly,* and *particularly.* Vales.

(c) *Musculus* renders these words [ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέλιπε] thus, *we will begin our History where we left off. Christoph.* does translate it almost after the same manner, but more barbarously, as to his *Latin.* We have rendred these words thus [*ab iis rebus quas ille intactas reliquit, operis nostri sumemus exordium,* i. e. *we will begin our History from those matters which he has left untoucht.*] For *Socrates*'s meaning is, that he will begin from the History of *Arius,* which *Eusebius* had but partly toucht upon, *in his Books concerning the Life of Constantine.* For *Eusebius* (says he) made it his business *in those Books* to enlarge upon the Emperor's praises, rather than to give an exact account of the *Ecclesiastick affairs.* But he himself, resolving to commit to writing the affairs transacted in the *Church,* promises to give a more accurate relation of the *Arian Heresie,* and to begin his History from those things which *Eusebius* had either purposely omitted, or but slightly toucht upon, as not conducive to his design in hand. Indeed *Socrates* has not begun his History where *Eusebius* left off. For *Eusebius* continues that Work of his *concerning Constantine's Life* to the Death of *Constantine.* But *Eusebius* has continued the *Series* of his *Ecclesiastick History* down to the tumults raised by *Arius,* and to those affairs which preceded the *Nicene Council.* If therefore we have respect only to *Eusebius's Ten Books of his Ecclesiastick History,* we may say, that *Socrates* began where *Eusebius* ended. But if we also add *his Books concerning the Life of Constantine* (as *Socrates* here does, then that will not be true. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

After what manner Constantine *the Emperor was converted to the Christian Religion.*

(a) WE will begin from those times, wherein *Diocletian* and *Maximian,* sirnamed *Herculius,* having by a mutual compact resign'd their Empire, embraced a private life: and *Maximian,* sirnamed *Galerius,* who had been Colleague in the Empire with them, came into *Italy,* and created two *Cæsars, Maximin* in the Eastern parts [of the Empire,] and *Severus* in *Italy.* (b) But in *Britain Constantine* was proclaimed Emperor, in the room of *Constantius* his Father, (c) who died in the first year of the two hundredth seventy first *Olympiad,* on the five and twentieth day of the month *July.* [Lastly] at *Rome, Maxentius* the Son of *Maximianus Herculius* was by the *Prætorian* Soldiers advanced to be a Tyrant rather than an Emperor. Hereupon *Herculius,* passionately desirous of reassuming his Imperial Authority, endeavour'd to destroy his Son *Maxentius.* But he was hindred from doing that by the Soldiers. Afterwards (d) he died at *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia.*

(a) *Vales.* in his *Latin* translation begins this period not as *Musculus* and *Christoph.* do, and we have followed his judgment, as more agreeable with the continuation, and connexion of the sense.

(b) *Socrates* seems to have been of of opinion that *Constantine* and *Maxentius* began their Reign in the same year that *Diocletian* and *Maximianus Herculius* did resign the Empire. This also was the opinion of the Author of the *Chronicle* of *Alexandria,* and of others who attribute the years of *Constantius*'s Reign to *Constantine* his Son. And hence it is that *Constantine the Great* is reported to have reigned 32 years, when as really he reigned but 30 years, and 10 months. *Vales.*

(c) *Socrates* does in the end of his Seventh Book (where he concludes his History) repeat this, in which place he says that he began his History in the first year of the 271 *Olympiad,* in which year *Constantine the Great* was proclaimed Emperor. This *Olympiad* does begin at the Solstice of the CCCV. year, being the year after the resignation of *Diocletian.* But *Constantius* died not this year, but in that following, when he was the sixth time *Consul* with *Galerius Augustus,* as we may read in *Fastis Idatii.* And therefore *Constantius*'s death is to be reckon'd on the second year of the aforesaid CCLXXI. *Olympiad. Vales.*

(d) *Socrates* is here in an error, for *Maximianus Herculius,* who was otherwise called *Maximian the Elder,* was by *Constantine*'s command slain in *Gallia,* in the year of Christ 310. But *Maximinus Cæsar,* being two years after conquer'd by *Licinius,* died at *Tarsus,* as *Aurelius Victor* relates, and *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* and other Authors. This is the common mistake of the *Greek Historians*; they make a confusion betwixt *Maximianus* and *Maximinus,* using them promiscuously. *Vales.*

Conſtant. Severus Cæſar being ſent to *Rome* by (e) *Galerius Maximianus* to take *Maxentius*, was betray,d by his own Soldiers and put to death. Laſt of all died *Galerius Maximianus* alſo, who was now (f) the ſupreme perſon in the Empire, having before his death conſtituted *Licinius* Emperor: he was a native of *Dacia*, and had for a long time been *Galerius*'s Fellow Soldier and Confident. *Maxentius* in the mean while treated the *Romans* ſeverely, behaving himſelf like a Tyrant rather than an Emperor towards them: impudently debauching the wives of perſons genteely extracted; killing many and perpetrating ſuch like facts as theſe. Whereof when *Conſtantine* the Emperor had notice, he made it his buſineſs to deliver the *Romans* from that ſervitude he had preſſed them with; and immediately became ſollicitouſly inquiſitive how he might deſtroy the Tyrant. Whilſt he was in this deep cogitation, he conſidered with himſelf what Deity he ſhould invoke to be his Aſſiſtant and Tutelar God in this Expedition. It came into his mind that the ſtrict worſhip of the Heathen Gods had not in the leaſt availed *Diocletian*; and he found that his father *Conſtantius* having relinquiſhed the ſuperſtition of the *Grecians*, had led a more fortunate and proſperous life. Whilſt therefore he was [engaged] in this doubtful deliberation, and upon the March with his Army ſome whither, there hapned to appear to him a wonderful and unexpreſſible Viſion. For about noon, when the day began now to decline ſomewhat towards afternoon, he ſaw in [the face of] the heavens a pillar of light, in figure like unto a Croſs, with this inſcription on it, *By this be thou Conqueror.* The Emperor ſtood amaz'd at this apparition. And, almoſt disbelieving his own eyes, he asked them that were preſent, whether they alſo ſaw the ſame ſight; which when they all had unanimouſly agreed in, [the mind of] the Emperor was corroborated by that divine and wonderful apparition. The night following *Chriſt* appear'd to him in his ſleep, and ſaid unto him, *Make a Standard in figure like that which appeared* [*to thee,*] *and make uſe of it, as an infallible and ready Trophy, againſt thine enemies.* In obedience to this [heavenly] Oracle, he orders a Trophy to be made, in figure like a Croſs, which is kept in the Palace to this day. After this he proceeded in the diſpatch of affairs with a greater vigour and alacrity of mind; and having engag'd the Enemy before the very Gates of *Rome*, near the Bridge called *Milvius*, he got the victory; *Maxentius* being drowned in the River. This was now the (g) ſeventh year of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, when he got the victory over *Maxentius*. After theſe [Atchievements] whilſt *Licinius* his Colleague (who was alſo his Brother-in-law, by the marriage of his Siſter *Conſtantia*) reſided in the Eaſt, he alſo having received ſo many and ſuch great favours from God, offer'd thankſgivings to him his great Benefactor; which were of this ſort, he put a ſtop to the perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*; he recalled thoſe that were in exile; he releaſed ſuch as were confined in priſon, and reſtored their Eſtates to thoſe that had been proſcribed; he repaired the Churches, and all theſe things he did with great alacrity of mind. (h) About this time *Diocletian*, who had reſign'd his Imperial power, died at *Salona*, a City of *Dalmatia*.

Conſtant.

(b) *Diocletian* died at *Salona* the third of the *Nones of December*, in the year of Chriſt 316. as *Idatius* does very well write *in his Annals.* The ſame alſo ſays the Author of the *Chronic. Alexand.* but inſtead of *Diocletian* there is crept into the Text, *Galerius Maximianus*; 'tis alſo confirmed by the authority of *Zoſimus* in the ſecond Book *of his Hiſtory*, where he ſays that *Diocletian* died 3 years after the third Conſulſhip of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*. For, having ſaid, that from the Conſulſhip of *Chilon* and *Libo* (in which the *Secular Games* were celebrated) to the third Conſulſhip of *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*, it was above 110 years, he adds Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν τελευτᾷ τριετὴν ἑαυτοῖς ὕστερον· (i. e.) *three years after died Diocletian.* But *Joſeph Scaliger in his Notes upon Euſebius*, underſtood this paſſage of *Zoſimus* ſo, as if *Zoſimus* ſhould ſay that *Diocletian* died three years after the reſignation of his Empire, or after his *ninth Conſulſhip.* Valeſ.

(e) Altho' in the *Greek* it be *Galerius Maximinus*; yet we muſt read *Maximianus*: the *Greeks* uſually confound theſe two names. In the beginning of this Chapter (where the words are, *Maximianus* ſirnamed *Galerius*) the *Sfort.* MS. has it written *Maximinus.* *Valeſ.*

(f) This paſſage [πάντα Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλέριος τῶν ὅλων] *Maximianus Galerius, who was now the ſupream perſon in the Empire*] muſt be underſtood favourably; for *Galerius* was not really chief and ſole Arbitrator of all things; whenas there were at the ſame time two other *Auguſti*, to wit, *Conſtantine* in the *Gallia's*, and *Maxentius* at *Rome*. But nevertheleſs he may be ſaid *ſummam imperii adminiſtraſſe*, becauſe he was the *ſenior Auguſtus*, and was reſpected by the *junior Auguſti*, as a Father. *Valeſ.*

(g) *Conſtantine* got this Victory over *Maxentius* in the year of Chriſt 312. when he and *Licinius* were in their ſecond Conſulate; this was the ſixth year of *Conſtantine*'s Reign: for he begun his Reign on the 25th day of *July*, in the year of Chriſt 306. But if we ſay that *Maxentius* was conquered on the eighth of the Kalends of *October* in the year 312. (as *Onufrius* reckons in his *Faſti*, and *Sigonius* in *his ſecond Book concerning the Weſtern Empire*) then that which *Socrates* here affirms may be true; that *Conſtantine* routed *Maxentius* in the ſeventh year of his Reign. But it ſeems ſomething odd to me, that *Maxentius* ſhould (in the *Panegyrick* of *Nazarius*) be ſaid to be ſlain in the end of his ſixth year, juſt the day before he began his ſeventh. *Maxentius* began his Reign ſome days after *Conſtantine*; therefore if *Maxentius* died on the eighth of the *Kalends of October*, he muſt neceſſarily begin his Reign on the ſeventh. And by this Computation *Conſtantine* came to the Empire two months before *Maxentius*. Which indeed does not ſeem probable to me. But *Socrates* does here accord with his own opinion: for whereas *Conſtantine* (according to him) began his Reign in the 305th year of Chriſt; he very well reckons this Victory in the ſeventh year of his Reign. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. III.

How whilſt Conſtantine *augmented* [*the proſperity of*] *the* Chriſtians, Licinius *his Colleague perſecuted them.*

NOW *Conſtantine* the Emperor, profeſſing himſelf a *Chriſtian*, did all things beſeeming his profeſſion; he erected the Churches and adorn'd them with moſt magnificent conſecrated gifts. Moreover, he ſhut up and demoliſh'd the Temples of the Heathens, end † expoſed the Images placed therein. But *Licinius* his Colleague, adhering to the Opinions of *Heathens*, hated the *Chriſtians*: he forbore raiſing an open perſecution againſt them, becauſe he fear'd the Emperor *Conſtantine*: but in a clandeſtine manner he enſnared many of them: and at length proceeded to open violence againſt them. This Perſecution was local; for it raged in thoſe parts only * where *Licinius* made his reſidence. But in regard *Conſtantine* was in no wiſe unacquainted with theſe, and other ſuch like his tyrannous outrages, *Licinius* being ſenſible that he highly reſented theſe proceedings, betook himſelf to the making of his apology before him; and having appeaſed him by his obſequiouſneſs, he hypocritically made an amicable league with him, binding himſelf by many oaths, that in future he would never attempt any thing that was tyrannical. But at the ſame time that he ſwore, he was alſo perjured. For he deſiſted not from his tyrannick [conſpiracies againſt *Conſtantine*] nor ceaſed he from perſecuting the *Chriſtians*. For by a Decree he prohibited the Biſhops

† Δημοσιεύων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα, *made common, or expoſed the Images placed therein*; that is (as we ſuppoſe) *he caus'd them to be deſecrated.*

* Ἔνθα γὰρ ἦν Λικίνιος, ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐγίνετο· the import whereof rendred word for word, is this, *it hapned there only, where Licinius was*: *Valeſius* renders the words thus, *in iis enim duntaxat partibus graſſata eſt, quæ ſubditioni erant Licinii, it raged in thoſe parts only, which were under Licinius's juriſdiction.*

Constant. Bishops from frequenting the houses of Heathens, that there might be no pretence of propagating the Christian Religion. This Persecution was at the same time open and secret. It was concealed and disguised in words; but in reality and deeds it was apparent. For those that lay under its pressures, endured most deplorable afflictions [and losses] in their Bodies, and as to their Estates.

CHAP. IV.

That there was a War raised betwixt Constantine *and* Licinius *upon account of the* Christians.

THese proceedings rais'd the highest indignation in the Emperor *Constantine* [against *Licinius*:] and, the feign'd league of friendship which was betwixt them being broken, they became enemies to each other. Not long after they entred into an actual War against one another: and having fought several Sett-battles both by Sea and Land, at length *Licinius* was vanquished at *Chrysopolis* of *Bithynia*, a Port-Town of the *Chalcedonensians*, and yielded himself. *Constantine* having taken him alive, treated him kindly; and would in no wise slay him, but commanded him to reside at *Thessalonica* peaceably and without making any disturbance. But having lived quietly a while, he afterwards gather'd into a body some of the *Barbarians*, and attempted to recover his overthrow, and renew the War. *Constantine* being inform'd hereof, commanded that he should be put to death, and accordingly he was slain. *Constantine* having now the sole power and command over the whole [*Roman* Empire,] and being proclaimed (*a*) Emperor and *Augustus*, endeavour'd again to augment the affairs of the *Christians*: which he effected divers ways: and by his means *Christianity* enjoy'd a profound and secure peace. But an intestine War amongst the *Christians* themselves succeeded this so firm a Peace. What manner of War this was, and how it began, in the sequel according to my ability I will relate.

(*a*) In the Kings and *Florentine* MSS. the Particle [καὶ, *and*] is wanting; which *Christoph.* inserted. To me it seems not very necessary. If we do retain it, then [βασιλεὺς] must signifie [*Augustus*,] not *King*, as *Christoph.* renders it. *Socrates* alludes to the Soldiers acclamations, who after a signal Victory were wont to stile their Prince *Emperor* and *Augustus*. The Citizens did the same, when the victorious Prince made his entry into the City. *Vales.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning Arius's *Contest with* Alexander *the Bishop.*

AFter *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, who suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of *Diocletian*, *Achillas* succeeded in that See. After *Achillas* [succeeded] *Alexander*, in the time of the foremention'd peace. He living in times that were more calm and secure, adorn'd and set his Church in order. Discoursing one day in the presence of his Presbyters, and the rest of his Clergy too curiously, concerning the [mystery of] the Holy Trinity, he asserted this point of Divinity, that there was an Unity in the Trinity. But *Arius* one of the Presbyters placed under *Alexander* (a man of no mean skill in the faculty of reasoning) supposing that the Bishop design'd to introduce the Opinion of * *Sabellius* the *Libyan*, desirous to be perverse and contentious, deflected to an Opinion that was diametrically opposite to that of *Sabellius*, and as he thought, sharply and nimbly opposed the Bishop's assertions, arguing thus. If the Father begot the Son, he that was begetten hath a beginning of his Existence. And from hence it is apparent, that there was a time, when the Son was not. Whence this is a necessary consequence, that he derives his Existence from nothing. *Constant.*

* See *Eusebius*'s Eccles. Hist. Book 7. Chap. 6. Note (*b*.)

CHAP. VI.

How from this Contention there arose a Division in the Church; and how Alexander *Bishop of* Alexandria *deposed* Arius *and his Complices.*

Arius having drawn this conclusion from these new assertions, excited many to that question; and from this small spark was kindled a great fire. For the mischief having been begun in the Church of *Alexandria* over-ran all *Egypt*, *Libya* and the *Upper Thebais*, and at length consumed the rest of the Cities and Provinces. Many there were that did patronize *Arius*'s Opinion, but more especially *Eusebius* was a maintainer of it; (not that *Eusebius* who was Bishop *Cæsarea*, but another, who formerly had been Bishop of the Church of *Berytus*; but was then surreptitiously crept into the Bishoprick of *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*.) *Alexander* hearing and seeing what was done, became highly enrag'd, and having convened a Council of many Bishops, he degraded *Arius* and those that embraced his Opinion; and wrote to the [Bishops] of every City, as followeth.

The Letter of *Alexander* [Bishop] of *Alexandria.*

To Our Well beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers of the Catholick Church in all places, Alexander [*wisheth*] *health in the Lord.* (*a*) *Whereas there is one Body of the Catholick Church; and 'tis commanded in the Holy Scriptures that we keep the Bond of Peace and Concord, it is requisite that we should write and inform one another of what things are done amongst us, to the end, that if one Member suffer, or rejoyce, we may either joyntly rejoyce or suffer together. In our Dioceſs therefore there are lately started up Men that are impious and Enemies of Christ, who teach such Apostacy, as any one may judge, and justly term the forerunner of Antichrist. And this I would most gladly have buried in silence, that the mischief might have been consum'd by being included amongst the Apostates only, lest haply by its further progress into other places it should have infected the ears of the Simple. But because* Eusebius *now Bishop of* Nicomedia, *supposing that the Affairs of the Church are wholly at his dispose, (in regard, having deserted the Church of* Berytus, *he has sordidly coveted that of* Nicomedia, *and has not been prosecuted by any) does patronize even these Apostates, and has boldly attempted to write Letters up and down in commendation of them, that thereby he might seduce some ignorant Persons into this worst Heresie to Christ: I thought it and most displeasing necessary, being sensible*

(*a*) *Lucas Holstenius* a very learned person, heretofore wrote a *Dissertation upon this Epistle of Alexander's*, which (together with some other pieces of his) he sent me a little before his death. In *that Treatise* he remarks in the first place, that Interpreters had not well rendred these words of *Alexander* [ἑνὸς σώματός ἐστιν τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας,] which they had translated thus [*Cum unum sit Catholicæ corpus Ecclesiæ, whereas there is one Body of the Catholick Church.* But he asserts, that the place should rather have been thus rendred, [*whereas the Catholick Church is one Body*, &c. or, *consists of one Body.*] For that learned person is of opinion, that *Alexander* alludes to St. *Paul's Epistles*, wherein the Church is frequently called *Christ's Body.* But (by the favour of that great man, and heretofore my deerest friend) this Version cannot be born with. For, if *Alexander* had thought, as *Holstenius* means, he would doubtless have expres'd himself thus; [ἑνὸς σώματός ἐσμεν τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας·] which in regard he has not said, it is apparent, there can be no othee sense of the words, than that expres'd by Translators. Besides, if *Alexander* would have said *that the Church is the Body of Christ*, he would not have worded it thus [ἑνὸς σώματος, *one body*,] but rather thus [σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *the Body of Christ.*] Vales.

Conſtant. ſible of what is written in the Law, to be no longer ſilent, but to give you all notice, that you might know thoſe that are the Apoſtates, and likewiſe the deteſtable Expreſſions of their Hereſie, and that if Euſebius write to you, you ſhould give no heed to him: For he, at this time deſirous to renew his priſtine Malevolence, which ſeemed to have been ſilenced [and forgot] by length of time, pretends indeed to write Letters on their behalf, but in reality he declares, that he uſes his utmoſt diligence to do this upon his own account. Now theſe are the names of thoſe which are turn'd Apoſtates; Arius, Achillas, Aithales, Carpones, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoïus, Lucius, Julianus, Menas, Helladius, and Gaius; Secundus alſo, and Theönas, who were ſometimes ſtiled Biſhops. (b) And theſe are their Tenets which they have invented and do aſſert contrary to the authority of Scripture. God, they ſay, was not always a Father; but there was a time when God was not a Father. The Word of God was not from everlaſting, but had its beginning from Nothing. For God, who is, made him, who was not, of Nothing. Therefore there was a time when he was not: For the Son is a Creature and a Work; neither is he like to the Father as to his Eſſence, nor is he by Nature the genuine Word of the Father, nor his true Wiſdom (c) But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures: and is only improperly ſtiled the Word and the Wiſdom: (d) For he himſelf exiſts by the proper Word of God, and by the Wiſdom that is in God, by which God made all things and him alſo. Wherefore he is by nature mutable and ſubject to change, as well as all other rational Beings. So that the word is different, diſagreeable, and ſeparate from the Eſſence of God: and the Father cannot be declared or ſet forth by the Son, and (e) is inviſible to him. For the Son does not perfectly and accurately know the Father, neither can he perfectly behold him: For the Son knows not his own Eſſence, what it is. For our ſakes he was made, that God might make uſe of him, as an Inſtrument, in order to our Creation; nor had he ever exiſted, had it not pleaſed God to create us. And when one asked them, if the Word of God could be changed, as the Devil was, they were not afraid to anſwer, Yes certainly he may: For he is of a Nature ſubject to change, (f) in that he is gotten and created. We therefore with the Biſhops of Ægypt and (g) Libya, near a hundred in number, being met together, have *Anathematized Arius for theſe his Principles, and for his impudent Aſſertion of them, together with all his Adherents. But Euſebius has given them entertainment, endeavouring to mix Falſhood with Truth, and Impiety with Piety: but he ſhall not prevail. For Truth getteth the Victory: and Light has no communion with Darkneſs, nor hath Chriſt any agreement with Belial. For who ever heard the like? Or what Man, if he ſhould now hear them, would not be amazed thereat, and ſtop his Ears, leſt the Filth of this Doctrine ſhould penetrate and infect them? What Man is he, that when he hears theſe words of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, will not condemn thoſe that affirm, there was a time when the Word was not? Or, who is he that when he hears theſe words of the Goſpel, The only begotten Son, and by him all things were made, will not abominate theſe Men that ſay, the Son is one of the Creatures. (h) For how can he be one of thoſe things that were made by him? Or how can he be term'd the Only begotten, who (according to their ſentiments of him) is reckon'd amongſt all the other Creatures? How can he be made of nothing, whenas the Father himſelf ſaith, * My heart hath ſent forth a good word, and † Before the morning I have begotten thee in the womb? Or how can he be unlike the Father in Eſſence, whenas he is the * perfect Image, and † the brightneſs of the Father: And whenas he himſelf teſtifieth, || He that has ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father: Now if the Son be the Word and the Wiſdom of the Father, how can there be a time when he was not? For 'tis the ſame [abſurdity,] as if they ſhould ſay, there was a time when God was both without his Word and his Wiſdom. How can he be mutable and ſubject to change, who ſays concerning himſelf, * I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and † I and the Father are one? He [ſpake alſo] by the Prophet, || Behold me, for I am the Lord, and am not changed. And tho' ſome one may ſay, that this was ſpoken in reference to the Father, yet it will be more accommodate, to underſtand it now to be ſpoken in relation to the Word: Becauſe although he became Man, yet was he not changed; but, as the Apoſtle ſays, † Jeſus Chriſt the ſame yeſterday and to day, and for ever. But what motive could they have to ſay, that he was made for us, whenas Paul ſaith, ** For him are all things, and by him are all things? But concerning their Blaſphemy in affirming, that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it ought not to be wondred at. For having once reſolved to fight againſt

(b) In the *Florence* MS. after theſe words [ὅτι ταῦτα, *theſe are*] follow theſe [πῶς φρονοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, *the Tenets of the Arians,*] which words ſhould rather be placed in the Margin. In *Gelaſius* there occur likewiſe at this place, theſe words, δόγμα Ἀρείου, *Arius's Opinion.* Valeſ.

(c) After theſe words [*nor his true Wiſdom*] there was a whole clauſe wanting, which from our three MSS. the *Florentine*, *Sfortian*, and *Allatian*, and from *Gelaſius Cyzicenus* we have made good, thus, [ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ γενητῶν ὅτι. [*But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures;*] which words *Epiph. Scholaſticus* had found in his Copy, as is apparent from his Verſion. For he has tranſlated this whole place thus: *Creatura eſt enim, & factura filius, neque ſimilis eſt patri ſecundum ſubſtantiam: neque verus eſt, neque vera ſapientia ejus eſt, neque verum naturaliter patris verbum eſt, ſed unus quidem creaturarum & facturarum eſt: For the Son is a Creature and a Work, neither is he like the Father as to his Eſſence: Nor is he genuine, nor his true Wiſdom: nor is he by nature the true Word of the Father, but one of his Creatures and one of his Works.* Hence it appears, that that Greek Copy of *Socrates*, which *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* uſed, differed ſomething from our Manuſcripts. And yet *Leo Allatius*'s Copy agrees exactly with that which *Epiphanius* followed. For thus it words this paſſage: ὅτε δὲ ἀληθινός ἐστιν, ὅτε ἀληθινὴ σοφία αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν· ὅτε ἀληθινὸς καὶ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς λόγος ἐστὶν· ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ ποιητῶν ἐστι· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ λέγεται λόγος, καὶ, &c. So exactly do the Authors of the *Greek* and *Latin Tripertite Hiſtory* agree amongſt themſelves, that they ſeem to have borrowed from one another. *Valeſ.*

(d) In *Leo Allatius*'s MS. Copy, the reading of this place is thus, γενόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὢν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίᾳ. Which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſt.* has followed; who tranſlated it thus; *Factus & ipſe & exiſtens in proprio Dei verbo, & in Dei ſapientiâ, He himſelf is made and exiſts in the proper Word of God, and in the Wiſdom of God.* But we have rather follow'd the reading of the King's, the *Florentine*, and the *Sfortian* MSS. which is alſo confirm'd by *Gelaſius. Val.*

(e) In *Leo Allatius*'s MS. (which contains the *Tripertite Hiſtory* that *Theodorus Lector* compoſed in *Greek* out of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*) theſe words are added, καὶ ἀόρατος, *and is inviſible.* So *Epiph. Scholaſt.* reads it, as appears from his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

(f) Inſtead of γεννητὸς καὶ τρεπτὸς, in the *Greek*, we with *Gelaſius* chooſe to read γεννητὸς καὶ κτιστὸς, and accordingly tranſlate it thus, *begotten and created.* This Paſſage is thus tranſlated by *Epiph. Factus aium, & convertibilis eſt, They ſay that he is made, and is mutable.* Val.

(g) In *Leo Allatius*'s MS. the reading is καὶ λιβύην· but in *Gelaſius* καὶ τὰς λιβύας· Which reading does pleaſe me. For there are two *Libya*'s, we may alſo here take notice of this number (to wit) 100 Biſhops in *Egypt.* The ſame number I remember I met with in *Athanaſius*'s *Second Apology* againſt the *Arians*, pag. 788. Ἐπίσκοποι εἰσὶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ λιβύῃ καὶ πενταπόλει, ἑκατόν· *there are in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, near an hundred Biſhops.* Valeſ.

(h) In *Leo Allatius*'s MS. and in *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*, this place is truer written thus, πῶς γὰρ δύναται εἷς εἶναι τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων; which Reading we have expreſs'd in our Tranſlation. The Reading in the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* MSS. is πῶς δὲ δύναται ἴσος εἶναι τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων, *How can he be equal with thoſe things made by him.* Valeſ.

* Pſal. 45. v. 1.

† Pſal. 110. 3. Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. So the *Septuagint* words that Text; and we tranſlate accordingly; the very words of the 72 being here quoted.

* Coloſ. 1. 15. † Heb. 1. 3.

|| John 14. 9.

* John 14. 10. † John 10. 30. || See Mal. 3. 6.

† Heb. 13. 8.

** Heb. 2. 10.

Constant. against Christ, they despise even the Words of the Lord himself, who says, * As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father. If therefore the Father knoweth the Son only in part, it is manifest, that the Son also knoweth the Father in part. But if it be impious to assert this, and if the Father knoweth the Son perfectly, it is perspicuous, that as the Father knoweth his own Word, so doth the Word know his own Father, whose Word he is. By asserting of these things, and explaining the Sacred Scriptures, we have frequently confuted them; but they, like Chamæleons, have again been changed, pertinaciously contending to appropriate to themselves this that is written, † When the Impious is arrived at the very extreams of wickedness, he despiseth. There have indeed been many Heresies before these Persons, which by their too much audaciousness have fallen into Imprudence and Folly: But these Men, who by all their Discourses (i) attempt nothing less than the subversion of the Divinity of the Word, have to the utmost of their power made those [preceding] Heresies to be accounted just, in regard they approach nearer to Antichrist. Wherefore they are expelled out of the Church, and Anathematized. We are really troubled at the Destruction of these Men, and the rather, because they were heretofore instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, but have now renounced it. Yet we do not look upon this as so strange a thing. For the same thing befel * Hymæneus and Philetus; and before them, Judas, who thought he had been our Saviour's Disciple, yet was afterwards his Betrayer, and an Apostate. Neither have we continued unadvised of these very persons; for our Lord hath predicted, † Take heed that no man deceive you: For many shall come in my name saying; I am [Christ,] and the time draweth near, and they shall deceive many. Go ye not therefore after them. And Paul having learned these things from our Saviour, wrote thus; * That in the latter days, some shall depart from the sound faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, who detest the truth. Since therefore our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath himself commanded this, and also by his Apostle hath given us intimation concerning these men, we, being ear-witnesses of their impiety, have deservedly anathematized these men, as we said before, and openly declared them estranged from the Catholick Church and Faith. Moreover, we have signified thus much to your Piety, (beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers) that if any of them should have the confidence to come to you, you might not entertain them, and that you should not be perswaded [to believe] Eusebius, or any one else that shall write to you concerning them. For it is our duty, as we are Christians, to detest all those that speak or devise any thing against Christ, as the Enemies of God, and the Corrupters of Souls, and * not to say to such men so much as God speed, lest we become partakers of their iniquities (as Saint John hath commanded us.) Salute the brethren that are with you, they that are with us salute you.

* John 10. 15.

† Prov. 18. 3. ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἀσεβὴς εἰς βάθος κακῶν, καταφρονᾷ. So the Septuagint words this Text; which words occur here in the Original. But in our English Version of the Bible (which agrees with the Hebrew) this Text is thus rendred, when the Wicked cometh, then cometh also Contempt.

(i) The reading in Leo Allatius's MS. and in Gelasius (which is thus; Ἐπιχειρήσαντες τὰς εἰς ἀναίρησιν, have attempted the subversion) pleases me better than this [Ἐπιχειρήσαντες τὰς διαῤῥήσεις.] Vales.

* 2 Tim. 2. 17, 18.

†Mat. 24. 4. Luk. 21. 8.

* 1 Tim. 4. 1.

* See 2 Epist. John 5. 10, 11.

Alexander, having written such Letters as this to all the Bishops in every City, the mischief grew worse: those to whom the Contents thereof were communicated, being hereby inflamed with a pertinacious contention. Some were of the same opinion with, and subscribed to the Contents of these Letters; but others did the contrary. But Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia was in the highest degree incited to dissent, because Alexander had in his Letters made a reproachful mention of him in particular. At that time Eusebius was a man of great interest, because the Emperor did then keep his Court at Nicomedia: for Diocletian had not long before built a Palace there. For this reason therefore many Bishops were very obsequious to Eusebius. And he himself wrote frequently, sometimes to Alexander, [advising him] to suppress (k) the controversie raised [amongst them] and to readmit Arius and his adherents into the Church: at other times [he wrote] to the Bishops of every particular City, [perswading them] that they should not consent to Alexander. Hence it came to pass, that all places were filled with tumult and disturbances. For now a man might have seen not only the Prelates of the Churches in words contending with one another, but the Populace also divided, some inclining to one party, some to another. And this matter grew to that height of indignity and insolency, that the Christian Religion became a ridicule even in the publick Theaters. Those that were at Alexandria did * pertinaciously contend about the chiefest points of the Faith. They also sent Embassies to the Bishops of every particular Province. Likewise, those that were of the other party, were authors of the like stirs and discords. (l) There were mixed amongst the Arians the Melitians, who not long before had been separated from [the Communion] of the Church. Now who these Melitians are, we must relate: one Melitius a Bishop of one of the Cities in Egypt, had been deposed by Peter Bishop of Alexandria (who suffered Martyrdom under Diocletian,) for several other reasons, but most especially for this, that in the time of persecution he had denied the Faith and sacrific'd. This person being divested [of his Bishoprick,] and having got a great many followers, constituted himself the Ringleader of their Heresie, who in Egypt are to this day from him called Melitians. Moreover, having no reasonable excuse at all for his separation from the Church, he barely said thus much, that he was injured; he did likewise revile and speak reproachfully of Peter. Peter having suffer'd martyrdom in the persecution, ended his life. But [Melitius] withdraws his reproaches [from Peter] and casts them first upon Achillas, Peter's successor, and afterwards upon Alexander who succeeded Achillas. During their being engaged in this dissention, Arius's controversie was started; and Melitius and his Complices became favourers of Arius, joyning with him in a conspiracy against the Bishop. Now those who lookt upon Arius's Opinion as absurd, approv'd of Alexander's Condemnation of Arius, and thought the sentence pass'd against all that favour'd

Constant.

(k) Instead of [τὸ κινούμενον ζήτημα, the Controversie raised] the reading in Leo Allatius's MS. is [τὸ κινῆσαν τὴν ταραχὴν ζήτημα, the question that raised the disturbance.] A little after this, in the same MS. instead of [consent to Alexander] the reading is [consent to those whom Alexander wrote to.] Vales.

* Νεανικῶς, childishly.

(l) Here, I am confident, Socrates mistakes; for the Melitians did not side with the Arians till after the Council of Nice: being then sollicited by Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia to cast scandalous aspersions upon Athanasius, as he himself does testifie in his second Apology against the Arians. If the Melitians had joyned themselves with the Arians before the Council of Nice, the Fathers of that Council undoubtedly had not treated them so kindly as they did. Vales.

Conſtant. that Hereſie was juſt and equitable. But *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and as many as embraced *Arius*'s Opinion, wrote to *Alexander* that he ſhould abrogate the ſentence of Excommunication that had been pronounced, and re-admit the perſons excommunicate into the Church; in regard they aſſerted nothing that was perverſe or impious. Letters from both the diſagreeing parties having been after this manner ſent to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, there was a Collection made of theſe Epiſtles. *Arius* collected thoſe which were written in his own defence, and *Alexander* thoſe that made againſt him. Hence thoſe Sects, (which do abound ſo numerouſly in theſe our days,) that is, the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and thoſe that derive their denomination from *Macedonius*, took an occaſion of defending their own Tenets. For each of them quote the Epiſtles of their own Party as a ſufficient evidence.

CHAP. VII.

How Conſtantine *the Emperor, griev'd at theſe Diſturbances in the Church, ſent* Hoſius *a* Spaniard *to* Alexandria, *to exhort the Biſhop and* Arius *to a Reconciliation.*

WHen the Emperor had notice of theſe things, he was greatly perplex'd in mind, and looking upon this as his own calamitous concern, without delay he made it his buſineſs to extinguiſh the miſchief newly hatcht, directing his Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius* by a perſon of known fidelity, named *Hoſius*, who was Biſhop of *Corduba* a City in *Spain*; which man the Emperor had a great love and eſteem for. Part of this Letter, 'tis not unſeaſonable to inſert here; the whole Letter (*a*) is extant in *Euſebius's Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine.*

(*a*) In the Greek after theſe words, μετὰ ἐν βίβλοις, *is extant in the Books*, the *Florent.* MS. reads μέρος ὑπομνήσεως, *part of the Letter.* Which words, although they may be written in the Margin, yet ſometimes are put into the Text by Authors; as for inſtance in *Athanaſius's Apology againſt the the Arians.* Valeſ.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to ALEXANDER and ARIUS.

We underſtand that this was the ground of the preſent Controverſie. For when You, Alexander, *enquired of your Presbyters, what every particular man's* (*b*) *Opinion was concerning a certain Text of Scripture, or rather concerning a part of a fruitleſs Controverſie. And whereas you,* Arius, *inconſiderately vented ſuch Sentiments as you ought either not to have conceived at firſt, or if you had had ſuch conceptions, it had been your duty, to have let them been buried in ſilence: Upon this a diſſention has been raiſed between you, communion is refuſed: and the moſt Religious Populace rent into two Factions, is ſeparated from the harmonious unity of the whole body. Wherefore let both of you, mutually pardoning each other, quietly accept of what your Fellow-ſervant doth reaſonably adviſe you to. But what is that? It was your duty neither to have ask'd ſuch queſtions at firſt, nor if propoſed, to have made any return thereto. For ſuch queſtions, as no Law does neceſſarily limit or preſcribe, but are propoſed by the contentiouſneſs of an unprofitable vacancy from buſineſs (although they may be framed to exerciſe and employ our natural parts about, yet) we ought to confine within our own Breaſts, and not inconſiderately divulge them in publick Aſſemblies, nor unadviſedly commit them to the ears of the Vulgar. For what perſon amongſt a thouſand is ſufficiently qualified either accurately to comprehend the full Efficacy and Nature of things ſo ſublime and profound, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or ſhould any Man look upon this as an eaſie performance, how ſmall a part of the Vulgar will he induce to be fully perſwaded hereof? Or what Man can without danger of falling into groſs Errors inſiſt upon the accurate diſcuſſions of ſuch nice Controverſies? In Queſtions therefore of this nature, Loquacity muſt be bridled and reſtrained; leſt either through the frailty of our Nature (we being not able to explicate what we propoſed,) or through the ſlowneſs of our Auditors underſtanding what they are taught (being unable accurately to apprehend our Diſcourſe,) leſt [we ſay] from one of theſe Cauſes the People be reduced to a neceſſity of Blaſphemy or Schiſm. Wherefore, let any unwary Queſtion, and an inconſiderate Anſwer with both of you mutually pardon each other. For this Conteſt is not kindled upon an occaſion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: neither have you introduced any new Hereſie concerning the Worſhip of God. But you both hold one and the ſame Opinion; ſo that [you may eaſily cloſe in a] conſent of Communion with each other. For whilſt you thus pertinaciouſly contend about Trifles and things of no importance,* (*c*) *'tis not convenient that ſo numerous a People of God ſhould be under your Care and Government, becauſe of your Diſſention with one another: Nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis alſo judg'd to be altogether unlawful. Now that I may adverti ſe your Prudence by a ſmaller inſtance, I will tell you: You know even the Philoſophers themſelves, how that they are all united in [the profeſſion of] one Sect, whenas notwithſtanding they frequently diſagree in ſome part of their Aſſertions: But altho' they do ſometimes jarr * in the very Perfection of Knowledge, yet becauſe of the Agreement and Union of their Sect, they do again cloſe in a mutual conſent. Now if it be ſo [amongſt them,] it will certainly be much more reaſonable that you, who are the Miniſters of the moſt High God, ſhould in like manner be unanimous in the profeſſion of the ſame Religion. But let us now with more accuracy and greater attention inſpect and deliberate upon what has been ſaid: whether it be juſt and equitable, that becauſe of the trivial, vain, and pertinacious Conteſts between you about Words, Brethren ſhould be ſet in array [as it were] againſt Brethren; and that that venerable Aſſembly ſhould upon your account, who contend with one another about things ſo ſlight, and in no wiſe neceſſary, be rent aſunder by an impious Variance. Theſe [Conteſts] are poor and mean, and do become a childiſh ignorance, rather than agree with [the Gravity] of Presbyters and prudent Men. Let us of our own accord depart from the Tentations of the Devil. Our Great God the Saviour of all Men, hath reached forth a Light common to all Men. By the aſſiſtance of whoſe Providence, give us*

(*b*) After theſe words in the Greek; (to wit,) τὶ δήποτε ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, *Leo Allat.* MS. and *Gelaſ. Cyzicen*, add φρονεῖ; the Import of which we have alſo made uſe of in our Tranſlation; though 'tis not expreſs'd in the Common Edit. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) In *Leo Allatius's* MS. this place is thus written [τοσοῦτον τὸ Θεῷ λαὸν ὄν ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑμετέροις εὐχαῖς καὶ χερσὶν εὐδυνεῖσθαι πεισθήσει, διχονοεῖν ἔτι τε πρέπον, ἔτι ὅλως δεμιτὸν ἂν πιστεύεται; i.e. *'Tis neither decent, nor is it in any wiſe to be believed, that ſo numerous a people of God (which ought to be governed by your Prayers and Prudence) ſhould be at variance.*] *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* followed the ſame reading: For thus he tranſlates this place: [*Tantum Dei populum, quem veſtris orationibus & prudentiâ convenit gubernari, diſcordare nec decet, nec omnino fas eſſe credibile eſt.*] Valeſ.

* Τῇ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀρετῇ; *in ipſâ ſcientiæ perfectione*: So *Valeſius*, whom we follow. *Muſculus* renders it, *in virtute ſcientiæ, in the virtue of knowledge*: *Grynæus, diſciplinæ cauſâ*, &c. *upon account of their diſcipline*, &c.

Constant. *us leave, who are his Servants that we may successfully finish this our Endeavour, that by our Exhortation, Diligence and earnest Admonitions, we may reduce you to an Uunity of Assembly. For in regard, as we have already said, you hold the same Faith, and have the same Sentiments of our Religion; and since the Commandment of the Law doth in all its Parts include all in general in one Consent and Purpose of Mind; let not this thing, which has raised a mutual Division between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to the Power and Efficacy of Religion in general) by any means make a Separation and a Faction amongst you. These things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one Opinion concerning this foolish idle Controversie, of what sort soever it be. For the precious value of the Assembly may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same Communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a great Diversity of Sentiments in things of the smallest import. For we do not all* mean the same in all things, neither is there one Disposition or Opinion in all of us. Therefore, concerning the Divine Providence, let there be amongst you one Faith, one Meaning, and one Covenant of the Deity. But as for these slender and light Questions, which with so much niceness you dispute of and make Researches into amongst your selves, although therein you do not all agree in the same Opinion, yet it is your Duty to confine them to your own Thoughts, and keep them within the secret Repositories of your own Minds. Let therefore an unutterable and excellent common Friendship, a Belief of the Truth, the Honour of God, and a religious Observance of his Law, remain amongst you firm and immoveable; return ye to a mutual Friendship and Charity: restore to the whole Body of the People their usual Embraces. And be you your selves (having as it were purified your own Souls,) acquainted again [and renew your Familiarity] with one another. For Friendship is frequently more sweet and pleasing, after the (d) Occasion of the Enmity is laid aside; return to a Reconciliation again. Restore therefore to us peaceable and serene Days, and Nights void of Sollicitude, that during the Residue of our Life we may have the pleasure of the pure Light, and the joy of a quiet Life reserv'd for us. Which if [we shall not obtain] we must necessarily groan, and be wholly surrounded with Tears: Nor shall we finish the Residue of our Life without great disquietude. For whilst the People of God, (we mean our Fellow Servants,) are rent asunder by this pernicious and indiscreet Dissention which they are now involved in, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of Mtnd? And that you may be sensible of our excessive Sorrow for this thing, be attentive [to what we shall tell you.] When we lately came to the City of* Nicomedia, *we had resolved forthwith to have made a journey into the East. But while we were hastning towards you, and by the greatest part were with you, the news of this Affair quite altered our Resolution; lest we should be necessitated to be a Spectator of these things, which we could not endure even to hear. Do you therefore by your Unanimity for the time to come, open the way for us into the East, which by your mutual Discord you have stopped up. Give us leave with joy speedily to see you, and all the rest of the People, and that with an unanimous consent of Praises we may offer up to God due thanks for the publick Agreement and Liberty.* Constant.

* Βούλε-σθαι, *Will, Wish, or Desire.*

(d) In *my Annotations at the second Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*, instead of [μετὰ τὴν τῆς ἔχθρας ἀπόθεσιν, *after the occasion of the Enmity is laid aside.*] I have noted that the reading should be [τῆς ἔχθρας ἀποθέσεως, *after the removing of the Enmity*;] as it is in some Copies. But in as much as our MSS. to wit, the *Florent. Sfortian*, and *Allatian* change not the reading here, we may bear with the common reading; which is also confirmed by *Epiph. Scholasticus*'s Version: for thus he translates this Passage; *Suaviores crebrò sunt amicitiæ post inimicitiarum causas ad concordiam restitutæ.* Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Council held at Nicæa, *a City of* Bithynia; *and concerning the Faith there published.*

SUch admirable and prudent advice did the Emperor's Letter give them. But the mischievous difference was grown so strong and potent, that neither the Emperor's industry, nor the authority of the person who brought the Letters was able to do any good. For neither *Alexander* nor *Arius* were in the least mollified by the Letter. Amongst the Populace also there was an irreconcilable discord, and a great disturbance. Moreover, before this broke out, there was another distemper in that place, which had caus'd disturbance in the Church, (to wit) a disagreement concerning the Feast of *Easter*; but this was only in the Eastern parts: where some made it there business to celebrate that Festival after the *Jewish* manner, others [in their solemnization thereof] imitated the rest of the *Christians* throughout the whole World. But tho' they differ'd thus concerning the Feast, yet they did not refrain from a mutual Communion. However, they clouded the joy of the Feast by this their dissention. The Emperor therefore seeing the Church disturbed by these two evils, convened a General Council, by his Letters requesting the Bishops from all parts to meet together at *Nice* a City of *Bithynia*. Accordingly the Bishops, out of divers Provinces and Cities, assembled; concerning whom *Eusebius Pamphilus, in his Third Book of Constantine's Life*, writeth thus word for word. *The most eminent therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which filled all* Europe, Libya *and* Asia, *were convened. And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as it were by God himself, included at the same time within its Walls, both* Syrians *and* Cilicians, Phœnicians *and* Arabians, Palestinians, *and* Ægyptians *also*; Thæbeans, Libyans, *and those that came out of* Mesopotamia. *There was also at this Synod a* Persian *Bishop, neither was the* Scythian *absent from this Choir.* * Pontus *also, and* Galatia, Pamphilia *and* Cappadocia, Asia *and* Phrygia *afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, there appeared here* Thracians *and* Macedonians, Achaians *and* Epirots, *and such as dwelt far beyond these were nevertheless present* [Hosius *also*] *that most famed* Spaniard, (*together with many of his Countreymen*) *was one that sat in this Council. The* † *Prelate of the Imperial City was absent*

* These words of *Eusebius* occur at the Third Book of his Life of *Constantine*, Chap. 7. *Socrates* has not quoted them word for word as they are there: We (following herein *Valesius*, *Musculus*, and *Grynæus*) have rendred them as they are in the fore-cited place of *Eusebius*.

† *Gelasius Cyzicenus* supposed that by these words the Bishop of *Constantinople* was meant. with whom agrees *Nicetas*, (*in Thesauro Orthodoxæ fidei*, Book 5. Chap. 6.) and *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, in Book 2. *Histor. Tripart.* *Musculus* (as 'tis apparent from his rendition of these words) thought the Bishop of *Rome* was hereby meant: for he renders this place thus; *Romanæ autem civitatis Episcopus propter senium deerat*; *i. e.* *The Bishop of Rome, by reason of his age, was absent.* *Valesius* is of the same opinion with *Musculus*: for (*in his Annotations on Chap. 7. of the Third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*) he says, that at such time as this Council was convened, *Constantinople* was not adorned with the name of *The Imperial City*. See *Sozomen*, Book 1. Chap. 16. and *Theodoret*, Book 1. Chap. 7.

Conſtant. abſent by reaſon of his age. But his Presbyters were there, and ſupplied his place. The Emperor Conſtantine was the only perſon of all the Princes ſince the Foundation of the World, who (after he had platted ſuch a Crown as this by the Bond of Peace) dedicated it to Chriſt his Saviour, as a divine Preſent and Acknowledgment for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adverſaries, having conſtituted this Synod convened in our days to be a lively Repreſentation af that Apoſtolick Choir. For it is * written that in the Apoſtles Days there were gathered together devout men out of every nation under heaven, amongſt whom were Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the Inhabitants of Meſopotamia, Judæa and Cappadocia, of Pontus and of Aſia, of Phrygia and Pamphilia; of Ægypt, and of the Parts of Libya adjacent to Cyrene: Strangers alſo of Rome, Jews and Proſelytes, Cretians and Arabians. This was the only thing wanting, that meeting [in the Apoſtles times] did not conſiſt of the Miniſters of God only: But in this preſent Aſſembly the number of the Biſhops exceeded (a) three hundred. And the Presbyters that accompanied them, the Deacons, * Acoluthi, and the many other perſons were almoſt innumerable. Of theſe Miniſters of God, ſome were eminent for their Wiſdom and Eloquence; others for their ſober and diſcreet Lives, others for their patient ſufferance [of hardſhips,] and others were adorned with (b) Modeſty and a courteous Behaviour. Some of them were highly reſpected by reaſon of their great age, and others were eminent for their youthful Vigour both of Body and Mind. Some were newly initiated into the Order of the Miniſtry. To all theſe the Emperor commanded a plentiful proviſion of Food to be daily allowed. † Thus much ſays Euſebius concerning thoſe there aſſembled.

* See Acts 2. 5.

(a) The Ancients are not agreed concerning the number of Biſhops that were at the Nicene Council. Euſebius (in his third Book, Ch. 8. concerning the life of Conſtantine) ſays, they were two hundred and fifty. Euſtathius Biſhop of Antioch (in his Homily on thoſe words of Solomon, The Lord created me, &c.) affirms they were about 270; but ſays he had not caſt up their number exactly. The more conſtant account (which is confirm'd by the conſent of all modern Authors) is, that there ſat in that Synod 318 Biſhops, which is confirmed by theſe Ancients; viz. Athanaſius, in his Epiſtle to the African Biſhops, near the beginning; Hilarius, in his Book againſt Conſtantius; Jerome, in his Chronicon; and Rufinus. See Valeſius's Notes on Chap. 8. of Book 3. of Euſebius de Vitâ Conſtant.

* Ἀκολούθων, followers, or attendants

(b) Τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ κατεκοσμήντο. Many ſenſes may be given of theſe words. For firſt [μέσῳ τρόπῳ] may be taken for [Modeſty and a courteous Behaviour;] ſuppoſing [μέσῳ] to be put for [μετείῳ.] this ſenſe we have followed in our Verſion. Secondly, [μέσῳ τρόπῳ] may be meant concerning them, who were not the eminenteſt perſons amongſt the Biſhops for Learning or Piety of Life; but did not come much behind them. So the Ancients called thoſe Medios principes ac duces, middle Princes or Captains, who were neither the beſt, nor the worſt, but between both. Laſtly, this phraſe may be uſed concerning them, who deſerved to be praiſed on both accounts, to wit, for their Learning and Sanctity. And thus Sozomen interprets this place of Euſebius, as may be ſeen from his words in his Firſt Book, Chap. 16. See Valeſius's Notes on Chap. 9. of the Third Book of Euſebius, de Vitâ Conſtant.

† In the *Allat.* MS. there are ſome words added here; in which Copy the reading is περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖ συνελθόντων ὁ Παμφίλου διεξῆλθεν Εὐσέβιος, concerning thoſe there aſſembled, Euſebius Pamphilus has thus at large diſcourſed:] which reading has a greater Emphaſis. Valeſ.

When the Emperor had ended his triumphal Solemnities for his Victory over *Licinius*, he himſelf came alſo to *Nice*. The moſt eminent amongſt the Biſhops were theſe two, *Paphnutius* Biſhop of the upper *Thebaïs*, and *Spyridion* Biſhop of *Cyprus*: but for what reaſon we have made mention of theſe two particularly, ſhall in the ſequel be declared. There were alſo preſent a great many Laïcks, well skilled in Logick, ready to aſſiſt each their own party. Now the Patrons of *Arius*'s Opinion were theſe. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, (whom we mention'd before,) *Theognis* and *Maris*: the firſt was Biſhop of *Nice*, and *Maris* was Biſhop of *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. Againſt theſe *Athanaſius* (who was then but a Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*) contended vigorouſly. But *Alexander* the Biſhop had an high eſteem for him: upon which account he became the ſubject of envy, as we ſhall declare in the ſequel. A little before the Convention of the Biſhops in one place, the Logicians exerciſed themſelves by engaging in ſome skirmiſhing diſputes with ſeveral perſons: and when many had been enticed to take a delight in diſputing, a Laick, one that was a Confeſſor, an honeſt well meaning man, oppoſed theſe Diſputants, and told them thus: That neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles taught us the art of diſputing, nor vain ſubtilneſs, or fallacies, but a plain (c) Opinion, which is to be guarded by faith and good works. All that ſtood by, hearing him ſpeak theſe words, admired him, and approved of what he ſaid: and the *Logicians* themſelves, having heard this plain and honeſt declaration of the the truth, did in future more patiently acquieſce: and thus was that tumult, which had been raiſed by diſputing, compoſed. The next day after this all the Biſhops were conven'd in one place; after whom came the Emperor: Who when he came in, ſtood in the midſt of them, and would not take his ſeat till ſuch time as the Biſhops had by bowing of their heads ſignified to him, that it was their deſire he ſhould ſit down; ſo great a reſpect and reverence had the Emperor for thoſe men. After ſuch a ſilence was made, as was agreeable to the occaſion, the Emperor from his Chair of State began to ſpeak to them in kind perſwaſive words, exhorting them to unanimity and concord. He alſo adviſed them to paſs by all private animoſities. For many of 'em had brought in accuſations againſt one another: and ſome of them the day before had preſented petitionary Libels to the Emperor. But he, adviſing them to proceed to the buſineſs before them for which they were convened, gave command that the Libels ſhould be burnt, adding only this [maxim,] Chriſt commands him, who deſires to obtain forgiveneſs, to forgive his Brother. Therefore, after he had at large diſcourſed upon Concord and Peace, he referred it to their power and arbitrement with a greater accuracy to make a further inſpection into the points of our Religion. It will be very opportune to hear *Euſebius*'s relation of theſe affairs, *in his third Book of Conſtantine's Life*. His words there are theſe: * *Many Queſtions being propoſed by both Parties, and a great Controverſie raiſed even at the firſt beginning [of their debate,] the Emperor heard them all very patiently, and with an intent mind deliberately received their Propoſitions; by turns he aſſiſted the Aſſertions of both Parties, and by degrees reduced them, who pertinaciouſly oppoſed each other, to a more ſedate temper of mind; by his gracious Speeches to every perſon, which he ſpoke in the Greek Tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language) he rendred himſelf moſt pleaſant, acceptable, and delightful; inducing ſome to be of his*

(c) I prefer the reading in the *Allat.* MS. in which, inſtead of [γυμνὴν γνώμην, a plain Opinion,] it is [γυμνὴν γνῶσιν, &c. plain Knowledge, &c.) *Epiph. Scholaſticus* followed this latter reading, as appears from his Verſion of this place. *Socrates* ſeems to to have had this Narration out of *Rufinus*'s tenth Book, where he treats concerning the *Nicene Council*. But *Socrates* on ſet purpoſe alter'd ſome things. *Gelaſius* treating on this ſubject, enlarges upon it, relating the Queſtions of each of the Philoſophers, and the Biſhops Anſwers thereto. All which paſſages of his, look more like Fables, than an Hiſtory of what was done. *Valeſ.*

* *Euſebius, concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, Book 3. Chap. 13, and 14. Edit. *Valeſ.*

Opinion

Constant. *Opinion by the force of his Arguments : wooing others by Entreaties ; praising those who spoke well, and exciting all to an Accommodation ; at length he reduc'd them all to an Unanimity and Conformity in Opinion concerning all Points that were in debate. So that there was not only an universal Agreement about* [*the Articles*] *of Faith, but also a set time generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the Salutary Feast* [*of* Easter.] *Moreover, the Decrees ratified by a common consent were engross'd and confirm'd by the Subscription of every Person.* These are *Eusebius*'s own words concerning these things, which he has left us in his Writings : We thought it not unseasonable to make use of them ; and have inserted them into our History, relying upon the Testimony of what has been said by him : That in case any should condemn this Council of *Nice* as erroneous in the [matters of] Faith, we might take no notice of them, nor credit (*d*) *Sabinus* the *Macedonian*, who terms all those that were convened in this Council, Idiots and Simple Persons. For *Sabinus* (Bishop of those *Macedonians* which dwell at *Heraclea* a City of *Thrace*) who made a Collection of the Canons which several Synods of Bishops publish'd, reviles the Bishops of the Council of *Nice* as being Idiots and Ignorant Fellows, being insensible that he does also at the same time accuse *Eusebius* himself as an Idiot, who after a most exquisite search into it made a confession of that Faith. Some things he hath designedly omitted : Othersome he has depraved and changed ; but he has interpreted all Passages according to his own sense and design. He does indeed commend *Eusebius Pamphilus* as a Witness worthy to be credited. He does also praise the Emperor for his Judgment and Skill in the Principles of *Christianity* ; but he complains of the Creed published at the Council of *Nice*, as being set forth by Idiots und Men that understand nothing. And that same Man's words, whom he calls a wise and faithful Witness, he voluntarily contemns. For *Eusebius* testifieth, that of those Ministers of God that were present at the Council of *Nice*, some were eminent for their prudent eloquence ; others for their gravity and solidness of life ; and that the Emperor being present reduced them all to an agreement, and made them to be of the same mind and opinion. But of *Sabinus* (whersoever necessity requires) we shall hereafter make mention. Now the agreement in [the Articles of] our Faith (*e*) published with loud acclamations, by the great Council of *Nice*, was this.

(*d*) This *Sabinus* was Bishop of the *Macedonians* in *Heraclea*, a City of *Thrace* ; he made a Collection of the *Synodical Acts* ; a very useful Work : The Testimony whereof *Socrates* does frequently make use of in *this his History*. But *Socrates* reproves him in many places ; both because he was unfaithful in his Collection of *those Acts*, (studiously relating what conduc'd to the strengthning of his own Heresie, and omitting the contrary,) and also in regard he always shews himself incensed against the Orthodox Bishops. An instance whereof is this Relation of *Socrates*'s here ; where he says, that *Sabinus* term'd the Fathers of the *Nicene Council* ignorant and simple Fellows. But 'tis usual for Hereticks to calumniate the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church. *Vales.*

(*e*) In the *Allat.* MS. the reading here is [Ἡ δὲ ἐν νικαίᾳ παρὰ τῆς μεγάλης συνόδου καὶ ἀπὸ Εὐσεβίου μεγαλοφώνως ἐπαινεθεῖσα συμφωνία, &c. *Now the agreement in the Faith with loud Acclamations approved of by the* Great Synod at Nice, *and by* Eusebius, *&c.*] *Epiphan. Scholast.* followed the same reading. *Vales.*

(*f*) This following Creed is wanting in all our MSS. *viz.* the *King's*, *Sfortian*, and *Florent.* But *Christophorson* did very well in placing it here : for 'tis plain both from *Epiph. Scholast.* as also by those following words, [ταύτην τὴν πίστιν τριακόσιοι, &c. *this Creed three hundred*, &c.] That it was placed here by the Historian himself. But all the MSS. did omit it in this place because 'tis repeated a little after in *Eusebius Pamphilus*'s Epistle. *Vales.*

(*f*) *We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible : and in one Lord* Jesus Christ *the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the Only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father : God of God, and Light of Light ; very God of very God ; begotten not made ; of the same substance with the Father ; by whom all things were made, that are in Heaven and in Earth ; who for the sake of us men, and for our salvation, descended, and was incarnate, and was made Man, and he suffer'd and arose again the third day, ascended into the Heavens, he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead.* [*We also believe*] *in the Holy Ghost. But the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church doth Anathematize those that aver, that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that he was not before he was begotten ; and that he was made of Nothing ; or that say he was made of another Substance or Essence ; or that he is either created, or convertible, or mutable.* Constant.

This Creed three hundred and eighteen Bishops approved of and embraced : and (as *Eusebius* testifies) being unanimous in their Suffrages and Sentiments, they subscribed it. There were only (*g*) five that refused to allow of it, who misliked the word **Homoöusios* : these were *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*. For, in regard they asserted, that that is * *Consubstantial* which is from another either by Partition, or by Derivation, or by Eruption : by Eruption, as the Branch from the Root : by Derivation, as Children from their Parents : by Partition, as two or three pieces of Gold from the whole mass : but that the Son of God is [from the Father] by none of these three ways. Therefore they said, they could not give their assent to this [Draught of] of the Creed. Therefore after a tedious cavil about the term * *Homoöusios*, they deny'd to subscribe the degradation of *Arius*. Upon which account the Synod anathematized *Arius* and all those that were of his opinion, adding this besides, that he should be prohibited from entring into *Alexandria*. The Emperor also did by his Edict banish *Arius*, *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* soon after their banishment exhibited their penitentiary Libels, and assented to the Belief of *Homoöusios*, as we shall declare in the procedure of our History. At the same time *Eusebius* sirnamed *Pamphilus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* (having made some small hesitancy in the Synod, and considered with himself whether he might securely admit of this form of Faith,) at length together with all the rest gave his assent, and subscrib'd : He also sent a Copy of the Form of Faith to the People within his Dioceſs, and explained to them the term *Homoöusios*, lest any one should have an ill opinion of him, because of his hesitancy : Thus therefore he wrote word for word. *It is very probable (beloved) that you may have heard what hath been done concerning the Ecclesiastick Faith in the Great Council convened at* Nice, *in regard report doth usually out-run an accurate Narrative of the Matters transacted. But* [*fearing*] *lest by such a bare report the Matter might be represented to you otherwise than really it is, we thought it requisite to send to you ; first, that Form of Faith which we our selves proposed* [*to the Council,*] *and likewise that*

(*g*) There was only two Bishops, *Secundus* and *Theonas* which refus'd to subscribe to the *Nicene Creed*, as *Theodoret* does very well testifie in the first Book of his *Ecclesiastick History*, and (before him) *Hieronymus* in *his Dialogue against the Luciferiani*. The *Synodical Epistle* also of the Council of *Nice*, which is here related by *Socrates*, does plainly confirm this *Vales.*

* That is, *of the same substance.*

* That is, *of the same substance.*

* That is, *of the same substance.*

Conſtant. that other publiſhed [by the Biſhops] who made ſome additions to ours. That Form of Faith drawn up by us, (which was read in the preſence of our moſt pious Emperor, and appeared to all to be ſound and orthodox,) runs thus. As we have received by Tradition from our Predeceſſors the Biſhops, then when we were inſtructed in the firſt Principles of the Faith, and received Baptiſm; as we have learnt from the Divine Scriptures, and as (during our continuance in the Presbyterſhip, and alſo ſince we have been intruſted with a Biſhoprick) we have believed and taught, ſo we alſo now believe, and do make a publick Declaration to you of our Faith; which is this.

We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things viſible and inviſible; and in One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the Only begotten Son, the Firſt born of every Creature, begotten of God the Father before all Worlds; by whom alſo all things were made: Who for our Salvation was incarnate, and converſed amongſt Men: Who ſuffer'd, and roſe again the third day; he aſcended unto the Father, and ſhall come again in Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead. We alſo believe in one Holy Ghoſt: We believe that each of theſe [Perſons] is, and doth ſubſiſt: That the Father is truly the Father, the Son really the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt really the Holy Ghoſt: As our Lord alſo, when he ſent his Diſciples out to Preach, ſaid, * Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Concerning which [Articles] we do aver, that we thus maintain and hold them, that theſe are our Sentiments of them, that this was our Opinion formerly, that this Opinion we will till death retain, that we will perſevere in this Belief, and Anathematize every impious Hereſie. We call God Almighty, and Jeſus Chriſt our Lord to witneſs, that theſe were ſincerely and heartily our Sentiments, ever ſince we were capable of knowing our ſelves; and that we do now think and ſpeak what is moſt true: And we are ready to demonſtrate to you, by moſt infallible Proofs, and to perſwade you, that both in times paſt we thus believed, and likewiſe thus preached.

* Mat. 28. 19.

When this Creed was propoſed by us, there was no body that could oppoſe it. Moreover, our moſt Pious Emperor did himſelf firſt atteſt its Truth: He proteſted that he himſelf was of the ſame Opinion, and exhorted all to aſſent to, and ſubſcribe theſe very Articles, and unanimouſly to agree [in the Profeſſion] of them; (h) this one only word Homoöuſios being inſerted; which Term the Emperor himſelf thus explained, ſaying, he ſuppoſed that the word Homoouſios was not to be taken in ſuch a ſenſe as is agreeable to the Affections of the Body; and therefore that the Son had not his Subſiſtence from the Father, either by Diviſion, or Abſciſſion. For it is impoſſible [ſaid he] that an Immaterial, Intellectual and Incorporeal Nature, ſhould be ſubject to any Corporeal Affections: But our Sentiments of ſuch things muſt be expreſs'd in Divine and Myſterious Terms. Thus did our moſt Wiſe and Pious Emperor Philoſophize. But the Biſhops upon the Occaſion of adding this word Homoulios drew up this Form [of the Creed (i).]

(h) Euſebius ſeems to affirm that the Emperor Conſtantine was the occaſion of adding the word Homoöuſios to the Creed. But this is very improbable. For Conſtantine was not ſo learned, being as yet but a Catechumen. Euſebius's relation therefore muſt be thus underſtood, that the Biſhops (after the Creed propoſed by Euſebius Cæſarienſis,) judged that the word Homoöuſios ought to be added to it; and that Conſtantine confirmed their Opinion. But Euſebius, who made it his buſineſs to clear and excuſe himſelf to thoſe of his Dioceſs, becauſe he hath ſubſcribed that form of the Creed publiſhed by the Council, (as Athanaſius, in his Book De Decret. Synod. Nicen. and in his Book De Synod Arimini and Seleuciæ atteſts,) does deſignedly make the buſineſs intricate, and aſcribes that to the Emperor Conſtantine, which ſhould rather be aſcribed to the Biſhops. Valeſ.

(i) After theſe words, before the Nicene Creed, in the Florentine and Sforzian MSS. are added theſe words [τὸ μάθημα.] So the Greeks call the Creed, becauſe the Catechumens got it by heart. Socrates (in his third Book, Chap. 25.) has theſe words, πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ μαθήματι, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and the reſt of the Articles of the Creed. See Leontius Bizantius, in his Book De Sectis, pag. 466. Valeſ.

Conſtant.

The Creed.

We Believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things viſible and inviſible: and in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, the Only begotten of the Father, (that is) of the Subſtance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten not made: Of the ſame Subſtance with the Father; by whom all things were made, that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth. Who for us Men, and for our Salvation deſcended, and was incarnate, was made Man, ſuffered, and roſe again the third day: He aſcended into Heaven. He ſhall come to Judge the Quick and the Dead. [We alſo believe] in the Holy Ghoſt. But thoſe who hold, that there was a time when he was not, or that he was not before he was begotten, or that he was made of nothing, and thoſe that affirm he is of any other Subſtance or Eſſence; or that the Son of God is created, or convertible, or obnoxious to change, [all ſuch] God's Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church doth Anathematize.

When this Form of Faith was appointed by the Biſhops, who did not inconſiderately omit making an enquiry, what their meaning was of thoſe Terms, Of the ſubſtance of the Father, and of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father. Hence therefore aroſe ſeveral Queſtions and Anſwers; and the true import of thoſe words was with great accuracy examined. And it was acknowledged by them, that theſe words, To be of the ſubſtance, did only ſignifie thus much, That the Son is of the Father, but not as a Part of the Father. It ſeem'd to us altogether reaſonable and ſafe to give our aſſent to this meaning of the Sacred Doctrine, which aſſerteth, that the Son is of the Father, but is not a Part of his Subſtance. Wherefore we our ſelves alſo gave our aſſent to this import [of thoſe words;] nor do we reject the term Homoöuſios, having peace before our Eyes as the Mark at which we aim; and [being cautious] leſt we ſhould fall from a right apprehenſion [of the Faith.] For the ſame Reaſons alſo we have admitted of theſe words, Begotten, not made. For made, ſaid they, is a common term attributed to all other Creatures which were made by the Son; of whom the Son hath no reſemblance. Wherefore he is no Creature, like to thoſe which were created by him: But he is of a far more excellent ſubſtance than any Creature: Which ſubſtance, as the Sacred Oracles do inſtruct us, is begotten of the Father, but by ſuch a manner of Generation as is ineffable and inexpreſſible by any created Being. Thus alſo this Propoſition, That the Son is of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, was diſcuſs'd, to wit, that this is not [to be underſtood] according to the manner of Bodies, nor [in a ſenſe] agreeable to mortal Creatures. For this [Conſubſtantiality] cannot [be] either by Diviſion of the Subſtance, or by Abſciſſion, or Mutation of the Paternal Eſſence and Power. For all theſe things are inconſiſtent with the uncreated Nature of the Father. But this [Propoſition] To be of the ſame ſubſtance with the Father, doth expreſly

Constant. *expresly represent to us no more than this,* viz. *that the Son of God hath no community with, or resemblance to, created Beings; but that in every respect he is like to the Father only, who hath begotten him; and that he does exist of no other Substance or Essence, but of the Father. To this* [*Opinion*] *therefore thus explained, we thought good to give our assent: More especially, because we also knew that some of the Ancient Learned and Eminent Bishops and Writers, have made use of this term* Homoöusios, *in their Explications of the Divinity of the Father and of the Son. Thus much therefore we have said concerning the Creed published* [*at* Nice,] *to which we all agreed, not inconsiderately and without examination, but according to the senses given,* (*k*) *which were discuss'd in the presence of our most pious Emperor, and for the forementioned reasons, received with an unanimous consent. Moreover, as concerning the* * Anathematism *publish'd by the Fathers after the Creed, we judged it not in the least troublesome, in regard it does prohibit the use of terms that occur not in the Scriptures, from the use of which terms came almost all the Confusion and Disturbance that hath been raised in the Church. Since therefore, no part of the Scripture given by Divine Inspiration, hath made use of these terms, to wit,* of things which exist not, *and* there was a time when he was not: *It seemed disagreeable to Reason that these* [*Assertions*] *should be either mention'd, or taught. To this good and sound Opinion we also have assented, in as much as in former times we have never made use of such expressions. These things* (*Beloved*) *we thought requisite to send to you, that we might most apparently evidence to you the Considerateness as well of our Examination and Researches* [*into all Points,*] *as of our Assent: And* [*that you might also know*] *with what good reason we did at first make a resistance even to the last hour, as long as some things written in a manner different from what they should have been, offended us: But at length without further contention we embraced those Points which were not offensive, when after a candid enquiry into the Import of the Terms we found them to be agreeable with what we our selves had made confession of in that Form of the Creed we at first proposed.*

(*k*) In the Greek Text of *Socrates* (as it is published by *Valesius*) there is at this place a great Error. For these Words [ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ βασιλέως ἐξεταζομένοις, *which were discussed in the presence of our most pious Emperor*] are quite omitted; and instead thereof, these [καὶ τοῖς ἐμφανέσι λογισμοῖς συνομολογηθέντας, *and for the forementioned reasons received with an unanimous consent*] are twice printed. We supplied this defect from *Robert Stephens*'s Greek Edit. with which our Translation agrees; as it likewise doth with *Valesius*'s Latin Version, and with that of *Musculus*, *Christophorson*, and *Grynæus*.

* That is, *the Curse.*

Thus wrote *Eusebius Pamphilus* to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. Also, by the common consent and approbation of the Council, this following Synodical Epistle was written to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the Inhabitants of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*.

CHAP. IX.

The Epistle of the Synod concerning those Matters determined by it, and how Arius *was degraded, together with them that embraced his Sentiments.*

TO the Holy (by the Grace of God) and Great Church of the Alexandrians, *and to our beloved Brethren the Inhabitants of* Egypt, Libya, *and* Pentapolis; *The Bishops assembled at* Nice, *who fill up that great and holy Synod, send Greeting in the Lord.*

For as much as by the Grace of God, and [*the Summons*] *of the most pious Emperor* Constantine (*who hath called us together out of divers Cities and Provinces,*) *a great and holy Synod has been convened at* Nice, *it seemed altogether necessary, that a Letter should be written to you in the name of the sacred Synod; whence you might understand what things were there proposed, and what taken into examination, as also what were decreed and established. First of all therefore, the Impiety and Iniquity of* Arius *and his Complices was enquired into in the presence of the most pious Emperor* Constantine: *And the Council's Determination* (*which was confirmed by the Suffrages of all*) *was, that his impious Opinions, and execrable Terms and Names should be* anathematized; *which* [*Terms and Names*] *he blasphemously used,* (*a*) *affirming that the Son of God had his Being of nothing, and that there was a time when he was not; as also saying, that the Son of God had a freedom of Will,* [*whereby he was*] *capable either of Vertue or Vice: And calls him a Creature and a Work. All these* [*Tenets*] *the holy Synod hath* anathematized, *not enduring so much as patiently to hear this impious Opinion, or rather Madness, and those blasphemous Expressions. But what issue the Proceedings against him are arrived at, you have either heard already, or will hear; lest we should seem to insult over a Man who hath received a condign Recompence for his own Wickedness. But his Impiety was grown so prevalent, that he drew into the same Pit of Perdition with himself*] Theonas *Bishop of* Marmarica, *and* Secundus *Bishop of* Ptolemaïs. *For the same Sentence* [*that had been given against him*] *was pronounced against them. But after the Grace of God had delivered us from that mischievous Opinion, and from Impiety and Blasphemy, and from those persons who were so audacious as to make Divisions and* [*sow*] *discord amongst a People heretofore peaceable; there yet remained the perverse Stubborness of* Melitius, *and those that had been by him admitted into sacred Orders: And we now relate to you (beloved Brethren) the Judgment of the Synod concerning this particular. It pleased therefore the Synod (which dealt more kindly with* Melitius; *for in the* (*b*) *strictest sense and rigour of the Law he did not deserve the least favour) that he should contsnue in his City, but have no Jurisdiction, neither to Order,* (the phrase that occurs here) imports the *rigour* or *extremity of the Law*: To which ἐπιείκεια, *equity*, is opposed. The Fathers therefore of the *Nicene Council* say, that the Synod dealt with *Melitius*, not according to the rigour and extremity of the Law, nor according to the exact rule and discipline, but (συγκαταβατικῶς) *by way of dispensation.* For in the strictest sense of the Law *Melitius* deserved no kindness or pardon, in regard he challenged Ordinations which in no wise belong to him, and had made a Schism in *Egypt*. For that is evidently declared by these words of this Epistle, *viz.* Τὰς δὲ χάριτι θεοῦ ἐν μεδενὶ σχίσματι εὑρεθέντας, *Those that by God's Grace have not been found* [engaged] *in any Schism.* By reason therefore of his rashness and insolency, *Melitius* deserved to be deposed and excommunicated. But yet the Holy Fathers had a mind to treat him kindly, depriving him of all power, and leaving him only the name of a Bishop. Now, why *Melitius* was thus kindly used, many reasons may be alledg'd. The first (which the Holy Fathers intimate in this Epistle) is, because they had before unsheath'd and made use of their sharpest severity and censure against *Arius* and his Followers. Now it was but equal, that after so sad and heavy a sentence pronounc'd against them, there should be a place afterwards left for clemency; especially, since *Melitius* had been convicted of no Heresie, but was only accused to have made a Schism. Secondly, there were many persons amongst the *Melitians*, that were good Men, and eminent for their pious Lives. Of which sort was *Paphnutius* the

(*a*) *This Epistle* is extant in *Theodoret*, in Chap. 6. of *the first Book of his Ecclesiastick History*; but is in some places different from *Socrates*'s Edition of it here. For *Theodoret* omits the Word [λέγον]τα, *affirming,*] together with the following Clause, and joins all this with the preceding period. In *Leo Allatius*'s MS. the word [λέγον]τα is also wanting, and that which follows, to wit, [ὀνομάζον]τα, *calls:*] And instead of [ἅπαντα] the reading there is [ταῦτα πάντα.] *Vales.*

(*b*) Ἀκριβείας λόγῳ

Anchoret, and *John* the Biſhop; whom *Epiphanius* mentions, in *Hæreſ. Melitian.* Laſtly, they did thus to promote Peace, whereby the members of the Church, which before had ben rent in ſunder, might cement and unite: Therefore the *Nicene Fathers* receiv'd the *Melitians* into communion. And this is a moſt illuſtrious Example of Eccleſiaſtick Diſpenſation. *Valeſ.*

Conſtant.

* See note (*f*) in this chapter.

(*c*) I like not *Chriſtophorſon*'s Verſion, who thought theſe words were meant of the *Preſbyters* Ordain'd by *Melitius*, For *Melitius* ordain'd not only *Preſbyters* and *Deacons* throughout *Egypt*, but *Biſhops* alſo, as *Epiphanius* atteſts. Yea, he had ordain'd far more Biſhops, than Pretbyters; as may be Collected from that Catalogue, which *Alexander* ('tis ſaid) requir'd of him, after the *Nicene Synod*. Wherein are reckon'd twenty eight Biſhops of *Melitius*'s Party; but five Presbyters, and three Deacons. This Catalogue is extant in *Athanaſius*'s *Second Apology againſt the Arians*. Since therefore *Melitius* had Ordained ſo many Biſhops, if the *Nicene Fathers* had made no Determination concerning the Biſhops by him Ordain'd, their ſentence had been imperfect; in regard they would have Decreed, what ſhould be done with the *Presbyters* made by *Melitius*, but would have made no mention of the Biſhops. Wherefore I think theſe Words muſt be taken in ſuch a Senſe, as to include both *Biſhops*, and alſo *Presbyters*. Valeſ.

*or to * propoſe the Names of thoſe that were to be Ordained, or to appear in any Village, or City upon this pretence: But that he ſhould barely enjoy his appellation and Title only. And as for* (*c*) *thoſe that had been Ordained by him to any Function, being confirmed by a* (*d*) *more ſacred Ordination, they ſhould afterwards be admitted into Communion, and upon this condition they may continue poſſeſt of their Preferment and Function, but yet they are to acknowledge themſelves always inferiour to all thoſe that had been approved of in every Dioceſs and Church, who had been* (*e*) *Ordained before by our deareſt Collegue in the ſacred Function*, Alexander. *So that beſides, they ſhall have no Power* (*f*) *to propoſe, or nominate whom they pleaſe; or to act in any thing at all without the Knowledge and Conſent of ſome Catholick* (*g*) *Biſhop, who is one of* Alexander's *Suffragans. But thoſe that by the Grace of God and your Prayers have not been found* [*engaged*] *in any Schiſm, but have continued in the Catholick Church blameleſs; let ſuch have Power to nominate and elect thoſe that are worthy of the ſacred Function, and act in all things according to the eſtabliſhed Law and Sanctions of the Church. And if it ſhall happen, that ſome of thoſe who now hold Eccleſiaſtick preferments, die, then let thoſe that are newly admitted and receiv'd* [*into the Church*] *be preferred to the Dignities of the deceaſed,* (*b*) *provided that they ſhall appear worthy, and that the People ſhall freely elect them, provided alſo that the Biſhop of* Alexandria *doth by his ſuffrage ratifie and confirm* [*the Peoples Election.*] *This ſame Priviledge is alſo granted to all. But concerning* Melitius *in particular, We otherwiſe Decree, that (becauſe of his former irregularity, raſhneſs, and giddineſs of diſpoſition,) no Juriſdiction or Authority ſhall be allowed him, he being a Man able to revive the ſame diſturbances that were before. Theſe things are ſuch as moſt eſpecially and particularly relate to* Ægypt, *and* [*concern*] *the moſt holy Church of* Alexandria. *But if there ſhall be any other Canon or Decree made, being our Lord, and our moſt Reverend Fellow Miniſter and Brother* Alexander *is preſent, he at his arrival will give you a more particular Account, in regard he is the Author of, and conſcious to, what ever is done. We alſo ſend you the good News concerning the unanimous conſent of all, in reference to the celebration of the moſt ſolemn Feaſt of* Eaſter; *for this difference alſo hath been made up by the aſſiſtance of your Prayers; ſo that all the Brethren in the Eaſt, who formerly celebrated this Feſtival at the ſame time the* Jews *did, will in future conform to the* Romans *and to us, and to all who have of old obſerved our manner of celebrating* Eaſter. *Do you therefore (rejoycing at the good ſucceſs of Affairs, and at the unanimous Peace and Concord* [*amongſt all Men,*] *and alſo becauſe all Hereſie is wholly extirpated,) with a greater honour, and more ardent love receive our Fellow-Miniſter (but your Biſhop)* Alexander, *whoſe preſence here hath greatly rejoyc'd us, and who in this his infirm Age hath endured ſo great labours, that Peace might be reſtor'd amongſt you. Pray for us all, that thoſe good Determinations which are made, may remain firm and inviolable, through Almighty GOD, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, together with the Holy Ghoſt; to whom be Glory for ever, Amen.*

Conſtant.

(*b*) Theſe words do plainly confirm what we ſaid before, to wit, that not only the Preſbyters and Deacons, but the Biſhopsalſo (who had been Ordained by *Melitius*) are here ſpoken of. For, if they here treated concerning the Presbyters only, that were to ſucceed in the places of other Presbyters, why ſhou'd the *Nicene Fathers* uſe ſo great caution, require ſo many and great things, for this reaſon, that one of the *Melitian* Presbyters ſhould be put into the place of a defunct Presbyter of the Catholick Church? For the holy Fathers expreſly prohibit, that any of the *Melitians* ſhall ſucceed in the place and dignity of the defunct, unleſs he ſeem worthy of that honour, unleſs the People Elect him, and unleſs his Election be confirm'd by the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. What need of ſo great caution and diligence in the promotion of a Presbyter? 'Tis therefore apparent, that theſe words do rather belong to the Biſhops. In the Elections of whom moſt eſpecially, the Peoples ſuffrages were neceſſary; and whoſe Election muſt beſides be confirmed by the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in regard he was the *Metropolitane* of all *Egypt*. Valeſ.

In this Synodical Epiſtle 'tis apparent, that the *Nicene* Fathers did not only *anathematize Arius* and his followers, but the very Terms of his Opinion alſo: And that (in regard they had amongſt themſelves agreed concerning the celebration of *Eaſter*,) they receiv'd into Communion (*i*) the Arch-Heretick *Melitius*, allowing him indeed the liberty of retaining the Dignity of a Biſhop; but they deprived him of the Power of doing any thing as a Biſhop. And upon this Account I ſuppoſe it is, that the *Melitians* in *Ægypt* are to this Day ſeparated from the Church, becauſe the Synod took away all [Epiſcopal] Power from *Melitius*. Moreover, nor *Athanaſius* (*in his* 2 *Apology*) nor *Epiphanius*, accuſe *Melitius* of any Hereſie; they only affirm, he was the Author of a Schiſm. But when the *Melitians* had afterwards joyned themſelves to the *Arians*, (which, as I remarkt before, hapned after the *Nicene Synod*, and *Melitius*'s death,) they turned their Schiſm into an Hereſie, as *Auguſtine* writes concerning the *Donatiſts*. In this ſenſe therefore *Melitius* may be termed an Arch-Heretick. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) *Socrates* does undeſervedly ſtile *Melitius* an *Arch-Heretick*. For neither do the *Nicene* Fathers,

(*f*) In *our Annotations on the third Book of* Euſebius *concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, we remark'd, that προχειρίζεσθαι, ſignifies *to propoſe the Names of ſuch Perſons as are to be ordained*. So the Synod Decree'd above concerning *Melitius*, μήτε χειροθετεῖν, μήτε προχειρίζεσθαι, *that he ſhould neither ordain, nor propoſe the Names of thoſe that were to be ordained*. In the ſame ſenſe *Nicetas* us'd this term, *in his Life of Ignatius Patriarch of Conſtantinople*, where he mentions his Election: his Words are theſe, πολλῶν τοιαῦτα εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας προχειριζομένων, &c. *when therefore the names of many Perſons were propoſed to preſide over that Church*, &c. Therefore the following Words [ἢ ὑποβάλλειν ὀνόματα, *or to nominate*] are only an explication of the foregoing term. In the ſame Senſe *Sozomen* took this word, in his fore-cited 24th chapt. Moreover, we muſt note, that *Melitius* was more ſeverely dealt with, (as being the Author of a Schiſm,) than the *Melitiani*. For the *Nicene Fathers* depriv'd *Melitius* of all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, and left him only the name of a Biſhop. But they permitted the *Melitians* to exerciſe their Functions in the Church. That is, that the Deacons ſhould Miniſter in the Order of Deacons, and that the Presbyters ſhould Conſecrate and Baptize, as ſhould alſo the Biſhops. Tney only took from them their Power of Voting in Elections: Which was prudently done of the *Nicene Fathers*, leſt the *Melitians* ſhould clandeſtinely promote ſome Men of their own Party to the Eccleſiaſtick preferments. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) It ſhould rather be [τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, *Biſhops,*] as it is in *Theodoret*, and in the *Allat.* M. S. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) Inſtead of προχειροτονιῶν] it ſhould rather be [προχειροτονηθέντων, *ordained before*] as it is in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 6. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* For προχειρίζεσθαι ſignifies another thing, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. (See the following Note.) *Sozomen* (in his firſt book chap. 24. where he epitomizes this Epiſtle) ſuppoſed theſe Words were meant of the Clergy, not of the Biſhops. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) In the firſt place the Synod Decreed, that the Biſhops and Clergy, which had been Ordain'd by *Melitius*, ſhould be confirm'd by a more Holy Conſecration, that is, ſhould receive impoſition of hands from the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For, in regard they had been Ordain'd without his conſent, it was the pleaſure of the Synod, that they ſhould be Ordained by the *Alexandrian* Biſhop, according to the ancient uſage, by which it was cuſtomary, that all the Biſhops of the Dioceſs of *Egypt* ſhould be Subject to the Prelate of *Alexandria*. But the Synod required not the *Re ordination* of *Melitius*, becauſe he had been rightly Ordained before. *Valeſ.*

you

Constant. you must know, that *Arius* wrote a Book concerning his own Opinion, which he entitled *Thalia*. The Stile of the Book [and the Doctrine contain'd in it] was loose and dissolute, much resembling the Songs (*k*) or Verses of **Sotades*. This Piece of his also the Synod did at the same time condemn. Nor was the Synod only sollicitous about writing Letters concerning the Peace restored [to the Church :] but the Emperor *Constantine* also [signified the same] by his own Letters, who wrote to the Church of *Alexandria* as followeth.

(*k*) The *Sfortian*, and *Florentine* MSS. add these Words [ἤτοι ἰάμβοις, *or*, *Verses*;] which *Christophorson* found in his Copy, as appears from his Version. Concerning *Arius*'s *Thalia* see *Athanasius*, in *his second Oration against the Arians*. When *Socrates* says, that this Book of *Arius*'s was condemned by the *Synod*, we must not so understand him, as if the Poem it self were particuly condemned, but the Doctrine only contained in that Poem. *Vales.*

*He was a *Maronite*, a most obscene *Greek* Poet.

The Emperor's Letter.

Constantinus Augustus, *to the Catholick Church of* Alexandria. *God save You, beloved Brethren. We have received the greatest Blessing from the Divine Providence, that being released from all Error, We can now embrace and profess one and the same Faith. The Devil hath no longer a Dominion over us : For all the Machinations he design'd against Us are now totally destroy'd. The bright lustre of Truth has (according to the Commandment of God) defeated those Dissentions, those Schisms, those Tumults, and (if I may so term them) those fatal Poisons of Discord. We therefore do all adore one God in name, and We believe that He is. Moreover, that this might be effected, by the Admonition of God, We convened a great many Bishops at the City of* Nice : *Together with whom We Our selves, one of Your number, who rejoyce exceedingly in that We are Your Fellow-servant, undertook the Disquisition of the Truth. We did therefore enquire into and accurately discuss all things, which seem'd to yield the least occasion of Ambiguity or Dissention. And (may the Divine Majesty pardon us!) how great and horrid Blasphemies have some indecently utter'd concerning Our * Great Saviour, concerning Our Hope and Life, speaking and openly professing that they believe things contrary to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and to the sacred Faith? Whenas therefore three hundred Bishops and upwards, admirable both for their Moderation and Acuteness of Understanding, had unanimously confirmed one and the same Faith, (which, according to the Verity and accurate Disquisition of the Divine Law, can only be the Faith)* Arius, *vanquished by a Diabolical force, was found to be the only person, who with an impious Mind disseminated this Mischief, first amongst You, and afterwards amongst others. Let Us therefore embrace that Opinion, which Almighty God hath delivered. Let Us return to Our beloved Brethren, from whom this impudent Servant of the Devil hath separated Us. Let Us with all diligence imaginable hasten to the common Body, and to Our own natural Members. For this doth well become Your Prudence, Faith, and Sanctity, that since his Error (who has been evidently proved to be an Enemy of the Truth) is confuted, You should return to the Divine Grace. For that which was approved of by three hundred Bishops, can be [judged] nothing else but the Determination of God ; especially, since the Holy Ghost, residing in the Minds of such Great and Worthy Personages, hath disclosed to them the Will of God. Wherefore let none of You continue dubious, let none of You make delays : But do You all with great Alacrity return to the right way : That when We come to You, which shall be as soon as possible, We may together with You return due thanks to God, who inspects all things, because, having revealed the pure Faith, He hath restored You that mutual Love which was the subject of all Men's Prayers. God preserve You, beloved Brethren.* *Constant.*

* In the *Allat.* MS. the reading is *concerning our Saviour*; which I like better than this, *concerning our Great Saviour*. Vales.

Thus wrote the Emperor to the People of *Alexandria*, demonstrating to them that the determination of the Faith was not imprudently, or unadvisedly made ; but that it was dictated with a great deal of disquisition and diligent examination : Nor [does he say] that some things were spoken [in that Council,] and others passed over in silence : But that all that was fitting to be said in confirmation of the Opinion, was produc'd and urg'd ; and that the Controversie was not inconsiderately determin'd, but was with great Accuracy first discuss'd. Insomuch that, all things whatever, which seem'd to produce Matter of Ambiguity or Dissention, were wholly remov'd and destroy'd. In short, he terms the Determination of all those there assembled, the Will of God, and does confidently aver that the unanimity of so many and such eminent Prelates was procured by the Holy Ghost. But *Sabinus*, the Ringleader of the *Macedonian* Heresie, does wittingly and on set purpose oppose their [Authorities] and stiles the Fathers there assembled, Idiots and Men of no knowledge ; and he does in all appearance asperse even *Eusebius Cæsariensis* with [the imputation of] ignorance : But he does not in the least consider with himself, that, although those convened in that Synod were Idiots, yet in regard they were illuminated by God, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, they could in no wise err from the Truth. But let us hear, what the Emperor, by another Letter which he sent to all the Bishops every where, and to the People, decreed against *Arius* and those that embraced his Opinion.

Another Letter of *Constantine*'s.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Bishops and People.

(*l*) *In as much as* Arius *has followed the Practices of wicked and prophane Persons, 'tis but just that he should undergo the same ignominy with them. Therefore, as* Porphyrius, *that Enemy of true Piety, found a just recompence for composing impious Volumes against Religion, and such a recompence as has rendred him ignominious to Posterity, covered him with infamy and many reproaches, and his impious Writings have been utterly destroy'd : So it also now seems reasonable to term* Arius *and those that embrace his Opinion* Porphyrians, *that they may derive their denomination from him, whose Morals they have so exactly imitated. Moreover, if any Book written by* Arius *shall be found extant, We do hereby order, that it be immediately burnt : That by this means not only his wicked Doctrine may be wholly destoyed, but also that there might not be left to Posterity the*

(*l*) This Epistle of *Constantine* the Emperor, is not rightly placed by our Author. It should rather be placed immediately after *Constantine*'s Letter to the Churches, which is the next in this Chapter. For certainly those Letters which concern the Council of *Nice* should regularly be placed first. But this Letter does not concern that Council, nor does it in the least mention the Council. *Athanasius in his Epistle ad Solitar.* alludes to this Letter of *Constantine*'s, where he speaks thus concerning the Emperor, Διὰ τί τὰς Ἀρειανὰς ὃς ἐκεῖνος πορφυριανὰς ὠνόμασε, τούτους δὴ καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰσαγαγεῖν σπουδάζει, (i. e.) *Why does he* (to wit, *Constantine*) *endeavour to reduce the Arian into the Church, whom he himself calls Porphyrians?* Vales.

Conſtant. *leaſt monument of him. This alſo we declare, that if any Perſon ſhall be found to have concealed a Book compiled by* Arius, *and ſhall not immediately produce the ſaid Book and burn it, his puniſhment ſhall be death. For immediately upon his being found guilty of this Fact, he ſhall undergo a capital Puniſhment. God preſerve you.*

Another Letter.

Coſtantinus Auguſtus, to the Churches.

Having ſufficiently experienced, by the flouriſhing poſture of the Publick Affairs, how great the benignity of the Divine Power has been towards us; We judged it our chiefeſt concern and aim [*to labour*] *for the Preſervation of one Faith, a ſincere Charity, and one univerſally acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God amongſt the moſt bleſſed Congregations of the Catholick Church. But ſince this could not be otherwiſe firmly conſtituted and eſtabliſhed, unleſs all, or at leaſt the greateſt part of the Biſhops were convened in one place, and every particular that concerns the moſt ſacred Religion were by them firſt diſcuſſed: Upon this Account, when as many of the Clergy, as could poſſibly be got together, were aſſembled, and we alſo, as one of you, were preſent with them (for we will not deny, what we account our greateſt Glory, that we are your Fellow-ſervant) all things were ſufficiently diſcuſſed ſo long, until a determination acceptable to God the Inſpector of all things, was publiſh'd in order to an univerſal agreement and union: So that there is now no place left for Diſſention, or controverſie about* [*matters*] *of Faith. Where alſo, after a Diſquiſition made concerning the moſt Holy Day of* Eaſter, *it was by a general conſent concluded to be the beſt courſe, for all Men in all places to celebrate that Feſtival upon one and the ſame Day. For what can be more comely and commendable, or what more grave and decent, than that this Feſtival, from which we have received the hopes of Immortality, ſhould be unerringly kept by all Men in one and the ſame order, and in a manner apparently and expreſly agreeable? And in the firſt place, all Men lookt upon it as an unworthy thing, and misbecoming the dignity of that moſt ſacred Feſtival, to follow the Jewiſh uſage in the Celebration thereof. For the* Jews, *Perſons who have defiled themſelves with a moſt abominable Sin, are deſervedly impure and blind as to their underſtandings. Having therefore rejected their uſage, we may by a more certain and infallible order propagate that Day to future Ages for the completion of this Solemnity, which we have kept from the firſt Day of the Paſſion even to this preſent time. Let us then have nothing in common with that moſt hoſtile multitude of the* Jews. *We have received another way from Our Saviour. For there is propoſed to us a lawful and decent leading to our moſt Sacred Religion. Let us therefore (deareſt Brethren) with one accord conſtantly perſiſt in this courſe, and* * *withdraw our ſelves from that moſt adverſe Society and their conſciouſneſs. For it is really moſt abſurd for them to make their braggs, that we are not capable of our ſelves, without their inſtruction to obſerve theſe things. But of what are they able to paſs a right judgment, who after that parricide of theirs, the murther of our Lord, were ſtruck with madneſs, and are led, not by the conduct of reaſon, but by an ungovernable* * impetus, *whitherſoever their innate rage ſhall drive them? Hence therefore it is that even in this particular they diſcern not the Truth,* (m) *but always wandring at the greateſt diſtance from a decent and agreeable amendment, they celebrate* Eaſter *twice within the ſpace of one and the ſame Year. What reaſon have we therefore to follow theſe Men, who, it is acknowledged, are diſtempered with an abominable Error? We muſt never endure the keeping of two* Eaſters *in one Year. But although what we have ſaid were not ſufficient, yet nevertheleſs, it behoves your Prudence to make it your greateſt care, and the matter of your conſtant Prayers, that the purity of your Souls ſhould not in the likeneſs of any thing ſeem to be joyned or mix'd with the uſages of moſt wicked men. Beſides, this is to be conſidered, that it is a moſt impious thing, that there ſhould be any diſagreement in a matter of ſo great concern, and in ſuch a ſolemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Day* [*to be celebrated in commemoration*] *of our Redemption, That is the Day of his moſt ſacred Paſſion: And he alſo deſired that his Catholick Church ſhould be one. The members of which Church (although they are much diſperſed in divers places, yet nevertheleſs) are cheriſhed by one Spirit, that is, by the Will of God. Let the Prudence of your Sanctity conſider, how grievous and undecent a thing it is, that on the ſelf ſame days ſome ſhould keep ſtrict Faſts, and others celebrate Feaſts: And that on the Days after* Eaſter, *ſome ſhould be converſant in Feaſtings and a vacantneſs from labours, and others devote themſelves to ſet Faſts. Wherefore it pleaſed Divine Providence that theſe things ſhould be ſeaſonably redreſſed, and reduced to one and the ſame Form, as we ſuppoſe you are all ſenſible. Since therefore it was expedient to make ſuch an emendation in this point, as that we might not ſeem to hold the leaſt Communion with thoſe Parricides, and Murderers of Our Lord, the* Jews: *And ſince this is the moſt decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Weſtern, Southern and Northern parts of the World, and alſo ſome in the Eaſtern Parts do obſerve: For theſe Reaſons all Perſons have at preſent judged it good and expedient; (and we our ſelves alſo promiſed that it would not be ungrateful to your Wiſdom,) that that which with ſuch an univerſal unanimity is obſerved in the City of* Rome, *and all over* Italy *and* Africa, *throughout all*

Conſtant. Violence.

* In book 3. chap. 18. of *Euſebius*'s Life of *Conſtantine* where (we have this Epiſtle of the Emperor,) the reading is [τῆς αἰσχρᾶς ἐκείνης συνοικήσεως] which *Valeſius* at that place, and here, renders thus [*ab illâ turpiſſimâ ſocietate & conſcientiâ, from that moſt abominable ſociety and their conſciouſneſs.*] Of this his Verſion, he gives this reaſon: They who celebrate *Eaſter* with the *Jews*, ſeem to be conſcious of that wickedneſs which they committed againſt our Lord. See his *Annotat.* at the book and chapter now cited.

(m) Inſtead of [ὡς ἀεὶ] in the *Florent.* and *Sforzian* M.SS. the reading is [ὡς ἀεί, *always*:] which reading *Theodoret* confirms. In book 3. chap. 18. of *Euſebius*'s *Life of Conſtantine*, it is [ὡς δή] whereas the *Jewiſh Paſchal Neomenia* (or *new Moon*) began from the fifth Day of *March*, and was concluded at the third of *April*, hence it ſometimes hapned, that their Paſſover began before the *Æquinox*. So that they celebrated two Paſſovers in one Year, (ſuppoſing you mean the *Solar* and *Julian* Year) that is, accounting from the *Vernal Æquinox* of this year, to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the year following. *Ambroſius* aſſerts the ſame *in his Epiſtle to the Biſhops of Æmilia*, where he relates, that the *Jews* ſometimes celebrated their Paſſover in the twelfth month, that is according to the *Latines*, and *Eaſtern men*. For the *Jews* never kept their Paſſover on *their own* twelfth month, but on the fourteenth day of their firſt month. Moreover, this celebrating of their Paſſover twice in one year, which *Conſtantine* objects againſt the *Jews*, ſeems to me not at all momentous. For the *Jews* might have returned the objection upon the *Chriſtians*, to wit, that they celebrated *Eaſter* twice in the ſame year. For, ſuppoſe *Eaſter* is this year kept on the tenth of the *Calends of May*; (that is, on the 22d of *April*) next year it muſt neceſſarily be kept ſooner. And ſo there will occur two *Eaſters* amongſt the *Chriſtians* within the ſpace of one year current. But this will not happen, if you reckon the year from the *Æquinoctial Cardo* to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the Year following. See *Epiphan.* pag. 824. *Edit. Petav.* and *Petav. Animadverſ.* pag. 294, 295. See alſo *Ægidius Bucherius de Paſchali Judæorum Cyclo*, chap. 3.

Constant. all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya; over all Greece, and the Provinces of Asia and Pontus, and throughout Cilicia, would also be most willingly received and embraced by You. Let this also be seriously considered, that not only the number of the Churches in the forementiond places is far the greater; but also that it is most just and equal that all Men's Wills should universally concur in that which strict Reason seems to require, and which has no Communion with the Perjury of the Jews. But, that We may speak more summarily and briefly, it was by a general consent agreed that the most sacred Festival of Easter should be solemnized upon one and the same day. For it is undecent that there should be any diversity in so great and holy a Solemnity: And it is far better to adhere to that Opinion, in which there is no mixture of strange and absurd Error and Impiety. Since therefore these things are thus ordered, do You with joy receive this celestial and truly divine Commandment. For whatsoever is trausacted [and determined] in the sacred Assemblies of the Bishops, must be attributed to the Divine Will. Wherefore, when You have imparted to all Our beloved Brethren what has been prescribed, it is Your duty to embrace, and establish the forementiond Rule and Observation of the most Holy Day: That when We shall come into the presence of Your Love (which We were long since desirous of,) We may celebrate the sacred Festival with You, on one and the same day: And that We may rejoyce together with You for all things, beholding the cruelty of the Devil totally removed by the Divine Power and Our Endeavours; whilst Your Faith, Peace, and Concord does every where flourish. God preserve You, beloved Brethren.

(n) Another Letter to *Eusebius*.

(n) This Letter of the Emperor to *Eusebius*, and also the two next, are misplaced. For they have no Relation to *the Council of Nice*; neither do they make the least mention of *Arius* or the *Arians*. Yea, the first of *Constantine*'s Letters to *Eusebius* was written before *the Council of Nice*. as *Eusebius* himself testifies, in *his* 2d *Book of Constantine*'s *Life*, Chap. 45. *Vales.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Eusebius*.

We really believe and are absolutely perswaded (Deareſt Brother) that, in regard an impious Desire and tyrannick Violence hath persecuted the Servants of God our Saviour even to this present time, the Edifices of all Churches, have either by neglect gone to ruin, or through fear of the imminent dangerousness [of the Times] have been adorn'd with less of statelineß. But now, since Liberty is restored, and that Serpent, (o) that Persecutor Licinius, *is by Almighty God's Providence and Our instrumental Endeavours forced out of the Administration of publick Affairs, We suppose that the Divine Power hath been sufficiently manifested to all Men: And that all who either through fear or unbelief have fallen into any Sins, (p) having now acknowledged the only true God, will in future return to the true and right course of life. Do You therefore remind as well all [persons belonging to] the Churches over which You preside, as also all other Bishops presiding in other places, together with the Presbyters and Deacons, whom You know, that they use their utmost diligence about the Structures of the Churches; either about repairing those that are still standing, or about enlarging others, or in building new ones, whereseever it shall be found requisite. And You your self, and the rest by Your mediation may ask Necessaries [for that Work] both from Our Presidents of the Provinces, and also from the (p) Office of the* Prætorian Præfecture. *For they are already impowered by Our Rescripts to be diligently observant about all Your Holineß's Orders. God preserve You, Beloved Brother.*

(o) We meet with this Letter of the Emperor's to *Eusebius* at Book 2. Chap. 46. of *Eusebius's Life of Constantine*; where these three words [*that Persecutor Licinius*] are wanting; being added here, in stead of a *Scholion* by *Socrates*, or some other *Scholiast*. He terms *Licinius a Serpent*, by reason of his craftiness, and age. Hence we may conjecture, that this Letter was written soon after *Licinius*'s deposition. See *Valesius*'s *Notes* on Book 2. Chap. 46. of *Eusebius's Life of Constantine.*

(p) Here we made choice of this reading [ἐπιγνόντας ἤδη, &c. *having now acknowledged*, &c.] By the term [fear] in the foregoing clause he means the *Christians*, who through fear of persecution had neglected the Churches, or renounced the Faith. The term [*Unbelief*] belongs to the *Heathens*, who had demolished the Churches, and divers ways vexed the *Christians*. See *Valesius*'s *notes*, at the Book and Chapter before-cited.

Thus wrote the Emperor to the Bishops throughout every particular Province, concerning the Building of the Churches: But what he wrote to *Eusebius* of *Palestine* about providing [some Copies of] the sacred Scriptures, we may easily collect from these his Works.

(p) τάξις, the term here us'd, signifies *an Office, or company of Apparitors attending on a Magistrate*, i.e. *a certain number of Soldiers waiting on the Judges.* Ἔπαρχοι are the *Præfects of the Prætorium*; so termed, because they were ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆσιν, *over the Presidents* and *Rectors of Provinces*. Therefore ἐπαρχικὴ τάξις (the Phrase here used) imports *the Office of the Prætorian Præfecture*, concerning which consult the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Further, the Office (or Attendannce) of *the Præfect of the Prætorium* was more honourable than the Offices of all the other Magistrates. For as the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* excelled all the other Judges, as well Military as Civil, in Dignity; so his *Officials* or Attendants, were look'd upon to be more honourable than the other *Officials*. Hence, in the *Chalcedon Council*, *Action* 3, the Office of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* is called μεγίστη τάξις. See *Valesius's Notes*, at the before-cited Book and Chapter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

By the assistance of God our Saviour's Providence, so great a multitude of Men have joyned themselves to the most holy Church in that City which bears our * *Name; that [Christianity seems] to have made its greatest progress and increase there.*

(r) *It seems therefore very requisite that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore do You with the greatest alacrity admit of what We have decreed. We thought fit to signifie this to Your Prudence, that You should order fifty Copies of the sacred Scriptures (the Provision and Use whereof You know to be most necessary for the instruction of the Church,) to be written on well prepared Parchment by artificial Transcribers of Books, most skilful in the Art of accurate and fair Writing; which [Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable, in order to their being used. Moreover Letters are dispatch'd away from Our Clemency to the (s)* Rationalist *of the* Diœcesis *to take care for provision of all things necessary towards the preparing of the said Copies. Let it therefore be the employment of Your Care to see that the foresaid Copies be provided as soon as may be. You are also impower'd by this Our Letter to make use of two publick Carriages for their conveyance. For by this means those which are faireſt transcribed may be easiest convey'd even to Our sight, to wit, if one of the Deacons of your Church be employ'd in the Performances hereof: Who when he comes to Us, shall experience Our Liberality. God preserve You, Dear Brother.*

* He means the City of *Constantinople.*

(r) In *Eusebius's Life of Constantine*, Book 4. Chap. 36. (where this Letter occurs) this place is far otherwise read and pointed, than it is here; so also it is in *Theodoret*, Book 1. Chap. 16. *Vales.*

(s) Concerning the *Rationalist* and his Office, we have spoken before, in our *Notes* on *Eusebius*. By [*Diœcesis*] is meant here the *Dioceſs* of the *East*. The old *Romans* called a certain number of Provinces (which, taken together, were under a *Deputy* of the *Prætorian Præfecture*) by this name [*Diœceſis.*] For the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* had under his jurisdiction many *Diœceſes*; but the *Deputies* had each but one *Diœceſis*. This term began to be used in this sense about *Constantine*'s time, as appears from his Letters, and from some Laws in the *Cod. Theod.* See *Valesius's Annotations on Eusebius's Life of Constant.* B. 4. Chap. 36.

Conſtant.

Another Letter to *Macarius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Macarius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

*So great is our Saviour's Love and Favour, that no Rhetorick ſeems ſufficient to ſet forth a Declaration of the preſent Miracle. For, that the * Monument of his moſt holy Paſſion, long ſince hid underneath the Earth, ſhould lie conceal'd for ſo many Years ſpace, till ſuch time as, by the (t) Slaughter of the common Enemy, it ſhould glorioufly appear to his Servants now ſet at liberty, [is a matter which] does really ſurmount all Admiration. For if all thoſe Perſons that throughout the whole World are accounted wiſe ſhould be convened in one and the ſame place with a deſign to ſpeak ſomething according to the Worthineſs of this Matter, they would not be able, after their utmoſt Endeavours to attain to [an Explication of] the leaſt part thereof. For the * Authority and Greatneſs of this Miracle doth as far tranſcend every Nature capable of human Reaſon, as things that are celeſtial do exceed thoſe that are humane. Wherefore this is always our chief and only aim, that as the Authority of the truth doth daily demonſtrate it ſelf by new Miracles, ſo the Minds of us all ſhould with all Modeſty and unanimous Alacrity become more careful and diligent about an Obſervation of the Divine Law. Which in regard we judge to be manifeſtly apparent to all Men, our Deſire is you ſhould moſt eſpecially be perſwaded of this, that it is altogether our chiefeſt Care, that that ſacred Place (which by God's Command we have unburthened of that moſt deteſtable (u) acceſſion of the Idol, as it were of a ponderous and heavy weight; which [place] was by God's Determination made holy from the Beginning, but was afterwards demonſtrated to be more holy, out of which he hath brought to light the Certainty of our Saviour's Paſſion) ſhould be beautified and adorn'd with magnificent and ſtately ſtructures. Wherefore it does well become your Prudence ſo to order the matter, and to make ſuch a Proviſion of Materials neceſſary for this Work, that not only the Temple it ſelf may in ſtatelineſs excel all others in what place ſoever, but alſo that the other parts of it be made ſuch, as that all the beautifuleſt Structures in every City, may be acknowledged far inferiour to this Fabrick. And as concerning the Workmanſhip and exquiſite Beauty of the Walls, we would have you know that we have committed the Care thereof to our Friend † Dracilianus, Deputy to the moſt excellent the Prefects of the Prætorium, and to the Preſident of the Province. For our Piety has taken order, that Artificers and Workmen, and whatever elſe they may be inform'd from your Prudence to be neceſſary for the Structure, ſhall by their Care be forthwith ſent. But concerning the Pillars or Marbles, (and whatever you your ſelf on ſight of the (x) Model [of the building] ſhall judge to be more rich and uſeful,) make it your Buſineſs to inform us by writing: that when we ſhall underſtand from your Letter, how many, und what manner of Materials you ſtand in need of, they may be convey'd to you from all Parts. For it is but reaſonable that that moſt admirable place of the whole World ſhould be beautified according to its Dignity and Worth. We deſire to know of you, whether you think good to have the inner Roof of the Church, (y) arched, or made of any other ſort of Work. For if it be arched, it may alſo be gilded with Gold. It remains therefore, that your Holineſs inform as ſoon as may be the forementionʼd Judges, how many Workmen, and Artificers, and what Money for Expences you ſhall want. And be you careful to return Us a ſpeedy Account, not only concerning the Marbles, and Pillars, but alſo concerning the arched Roof (if you ſhall judge that to be the more beautiful Work.) Deareſt Brother, God preſerve you.* The Emperour wrote ſeveral other Epiſtles in a more florid Stile like Orations, againſt *Arius*, and thoſe that embraced his Opinion, and cauſed them to be (z) publiſh'd in every City; in

* He means our Bleſſed Saviour's Sepulchre.

(t) *Conſtantine* here terms *Licinius* the publick Enemy, after whoſe Deſtruction, he ſays, the ſacred Sepulchre of our Lord, which had been before concealed, was diſcover'd. *Licinius* was ſlain in the Year of *Chriſt* 326, as 'tis recorded in *Faſt. Idat.* And on that very Year, when *Helena* came to *Jeruſalem*, the Sepulchre of our Lord was found. By the name of *the publick Enemy*, the Devil might here be meant, were not this contradicted by the Expreſſions here us'd. For the Devil was not then vanquiſh'd and overcome, when the Sepulchre of our Lord was cleared from the Rubbiſh that cover'd it. Beſides, the Term [ἀναίρεσις, *Slaughter*] is more expreſſive, being meant of *Licinius*, than of the Devil. See *Valeſius*'s Notes on *Euſebius*'s *Life of Conſtant.* Book 3. Chap. 30.

* Ἡ τῆς θαύματος τούτου πίστις, the *Faith, Authority*, or *Eſtimation of this Miracle*, &c.

(u) He means the Temple built by *Adrian* the Emperor on *Mount Calvary*, in honor of *Venus*; which Receptacle of Paganiſm was demoliſh'd by *Helena*, *Conſtantine*'s Mother, and in the room thereof was built a magnificent Temple, at this day called *The Temple of the Sepulchre*; The Deſcription whereof you may ſee in *Sandy*'s *Travels*, Book 3. p. 125, &c. Edit. Lond. 1673.

† There are two Laws made by *Conſtantine*, extant in the *Cod. Theod.* (the one in *Tit. de uſuris*, the other in *Tit. de Hæreticis*,) written to this *Dracilianus*. The former of theſe Laws bears this Inſcription, *Imp. Conſtantinus Aug. ad Dracilianum agentem vices Præfectorum præt.* that is, *Emperor Conſtantinus Auguſtus* to *Dracilianus Deputy to the Præfects of the Prætorium*. This Law was publiſh'd at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* on the 15th of the *Calends* of *May*, when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were *Conſuls*. The other is ſaid to have been publiſh'd on the *Calends* of *September*, *Conſtantinus Auguſtus* being the ſeventh time, and *Conſtantius Cæſar* Coſſ. that is, in the Year of Chriſt 326. In which Year *Conſtantine* wrote this Epiſtle to *Macarius*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Further, we muſt remark, that the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* are here ſtiled *clariſſimi*, *moſt excellent*. For as yet they had not received the Title of *Moſt Illuſtrious*. Moreover, in other of *Conſtantine*'s Laws, the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* are ſtiled *Moſt Excellent*. Now, as the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* were in *Conſtantine*'s times allow'd only the Title of the *Moſt Excellent*, ſo the *Deputies* of the *Prætorian Præfecture* had in the ſaid *Conſtantine*'s times only the Title of *Moſt Perfect* given them, as *the Epiſtle to Probianus Proconſul* of *Africa*, ſhews, which we meet with in *Athanaſius*'s *Apology to Conſtantius*, p. 794. See *Valeſius*'s *Notes* on Book 3. Chap. 31. of *Euſebius*'s *Life of Conſtantine*.

Conſtant.

(x) At this place the Term [συνόψις] ſignifies the *Model* or *Delineation of the Fabrick that was to be erected*. It is taken in the ſame Senſe, in the *Epiſtle of Himerius Rationaliſt* of *Alexandria* to the *Præfect* of *Mareotis*; which *Athanaſius* has recorded in *his Apology*, p. 803. For after he had ſaid, that *Auguſtus* and the *Cæſars* had permitted *Iſchyras* to build a Church in his Town, he orders the Governor of that Town, that *he ſhould forthwith draw a Model of the future Building, and tranſmit it to his Office*; φερέτω (ſays he) τοίνυν ἐν τάχει τὴν σύνοψιν ποιησάμενος, εἰς τὸ τάξιν ἀνενεγκεῖν. See *Valeſius*'s *Notes*, at the Book and Chapter before cited.

(y) The inner Roofs of Churches were commonly fram'd two ways. For they were either beauſy'd with arched or embowed Roofs, or elſe painted with *Moſaick Work*. Coocerning the arched (or embowed) Roofs, this place of *Conſtantine*'s Letter is an Evidence. *Procopius* evidences the Uſe of the *Moſaick-work*, in his firſt Book *De Fabricis Juſtiniani*, where he deſcribes the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*. Now the arched Roofs were uſually adorn'd two ways. For they were either gilded with Gold, or painted; which latter way was firſt invented by *Pauſias*, as *Pliny* atteſts, Book 35. Chap. 11. *Hiſt. Natural.* See *Valeſius*'s *Notes*, at the Book and Chapter before cited.

(z) Inſtead of [προσέθηκε, *He added*] the Reading muſt neceſſarily be [προσέθηκε, *He publiſhed.*] For the Roman Emperors did uſually propoſe to publick view thoſe Reſcripts they wrote to the Cities. Therefore, at the Cloſe of the Reſcript they added this word [*Proponatur*, *let it be publiſh'd:*] as we have obſerv'd in our *Notes on Euſebius*. So *Conſtantine*, when he had wrote many Letters againſt *Arius* and his Followers, commanded they ſhould be propoſed to publick view in the *Forum*. Of this ſort was *Conſtantine*'s Epiſtle to *Arius* and the *Arians*, which *Gelaſius Cyzicenus* has recorded in his third Book *De Geſtis Synodi Nicænæ*: which Epiſtle *Epiphanius* mentions in *Hæreſ. Arian.* It was written by *Conſtantine* after the *Nicene Synod*, and it contains the Puniſhment of thoſe that would not recede from *Arius*'s wicked Tenets. For at the Cloſe of that Epiſtle, the Emperor commands, that, if they be Perſons of the ordinary Rank, they ſhall pay tribute for ten Heads, beſides their own Poll-Money. But if they be Deſcendants of the *Curiales*, (or *Noble Men*) they ſhall be deliver'd to the *Court*, and made liable to bear the publick Offices of the *Decurions*. This Letter therefore was like an Edict, and ſo ought to be publickly read and promulg'd. *Valeſ.*

which

Constant. which Epistles he represents [*Arius*] to be an infamous Person, and rebukes him sharply in an Ironical manner. Moreover, he wrote to the (a) *Nicomedians*, against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*: wherein he severely reprehends *Eusebius*'s wickedness, not only for his *Arianism*, but also because, having formerly been a Favourer of the Tyrants, Party, he had been a Traitor against [him and] his Affairs. He therefore advises them to elect another Bishop in his stead. But I thought it superfluous to insert his Letters concerning these Matters here, because they are long. They that are desirous [to inspect them] may easily find them out, and read them over. Thus much concerning these things.

(a) The greatest part of this Epistle is extant in the first Book of *Theodoret's Ecclesiastick History*, chap. 20. it is entire in Latin, in *Baronius*, at the Year of Christ 329; as *Justinian* the Emperor sent it to Pope *Vigilius*. Vales.

CHAP. X.

That the Emperour summoned to the Synod Acesius *also, a Bishop of the* Novatian *Heresie.*

THis great Diligence and Industry of the Emperour moves me to make mention of another thing, wherein his Mind is declared, and how careful and solicitous he was to procure Peace. For, consulting the Concord and Agreement of the Churches, he (a) summoned *Acesius*, a Bishop of the *Novatian* Heresie, to appear at the Council. When the Synod had drawn up a Form of the Creed, and subscribed it, the Emperor enquir'd of *Acesius*, whether he wou'd also give his Assent to these Articles of the Creed, and also to the Determination about the Festival of *Easter*. He replied, O Emperor, the Synod has determin'd no new thing: for antiently, even from the [Churches] original, and the Apostolick Times, I have in this same manner received by Tradition both this Form of Faith, and also this time [for the Observation] of the Feast of *Easter*. When therefore the Emperor demanded of him again, what then should induce you to be a Separatist from the Communion [of the Church?] he related what was done under *Decius* in the time of the Persecution, and recited the Strictness of that severe Canon, [to wit,] that those who after Baptism had committed any such Sin, as the sacred Scriptures term a mortal Sin, ought not to be admitted to a Participation of the sacred Mysteries: They were indeed to be exhorted to Repentance, but ought not to entertain any Hopes of Remission from the Priests, but from God, who only is able, and has Power to forgive Sins. When *Acesius* had spoken thus, the Emperor reply'd, O *Acesius*, set a Ladder, and do you alone climb up to Heaven. This Story neither *Eusebius Pamphilus*, nor any other Author has mention'd. But I had it from a Person that was in no wise a Liar, one who was very aged, and related what he had seen transacted in the Council. Whence I conjecture, that the same Accident befell those who have omitted the Mention hereof, which happens to many other Writers of History. For they usually pass over many things, either because they are ill affected towards some, or have a Desire to gratifie others. Thus much concerning *Acesius*. Constant.

(a) *Sozomen* relates the same story in his first Book, chap. 22. but in such a manner, that 'tis sufficiently apparent, he had it *out* of *Socrates's History*. For *Socrates* tells the whole *Story* more fully and elegantly. And after he has told it, says he had it from a credible Person, who lived in the times of the *Nicene Council*. But *Sozomen* begins this Relation thus, Λέγεται δὲ ἡ Βασιλέα, &c. *It's reported that the Emperor*, &c. Nor does he confirm it by any Persons Authority. Besides, *Sozomen* has in a manner stole the very words of *Socrates*, making some small alterations and interpositions, as Plagiaries usually do. But this Story seems to me very improbable upon many accounts. First, because it is founded on the Authority of no antient Writer. Secondly, neither *Socrates* nor *Sozomen*, do say, of what City *Acesius* was Bishop, which was very necessary to confirm the Story. Thirdly, it is not atall likely, that an heretical Bishop should be summoned by *Constantine* to an Ecclesiastick Synod. For if *Constantine* had sent for *Acesius* in order to the restoring of Peace and Agreement to the Church, upon the same account he ought to have summon'd the Bishops of other Heresies also to the *Nicene Council*. Lastly, what *Socrates* says, to wit, that he had this story from a very old man who was at the Synod, seems to me altogether incredible. This person's name was *Auxano*, a *Novatian Presbyter*, who was at the Synod with *Acesius*, and lived until the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, as *Socrates* says, Chap. 13. of this Book. Now from the *Nicene Synod* to the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign, there are 83 Years. To which if you add 20 (for so old *Auxano* must needs be when he was present at the Council) *Auxano* must necessarily be above an hundred years old, when he told *Socrates* this Story. Let the Reader judge therefore, at what rate the Testimony of a decrepid old Heretick is to be valu'd. *Vales.*

CHP. XI.

Concerning Paphnutius *the Bishop.*

NOw because we have promised before, to make mention of *Paphnutius* and *Spyridon*, it will be seasonable to speak of them here. *Paphnutius* therefore was Bishop of one of the Cities in the upper *Thebais*; he was a Person so pious, that wonderful Miracles were wrought by him. In the time of the Persecution, one of his Eyes had been cut out: The Emperor had an high Esteem for the Man, and frequently sent for him to the Pallace, and kissed [the place of] that Eye which had been dug out. So great a Piety and Reverence was there in the Emperor *Constantine*. Let this therefore be one thing said by us concerning *Paphnutius*. This other (which was done by his Advice for the Utility and Advantage of the Church, and the Grace and Ornament of the Clergy,) I will now relate. The Bishops had a Design to introduce a new Law into the Church, to wit, That those who were in holy Orders, I mean the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (a) should abstain from lying with those Wives which they had married during the time they were Laicks. And when a Proposition was made to consult hereof, *Phaphnutius* (b) rose up in the midst of the Assembly of Bishops, and cried out with a great deal of Earnestness, that such an heavy Yoak ought not to be imposed upon those Persons that were in sacred Orders, saying, *That Marriage was honourable, and the Bed undefil'd*; [so that they ought to be careful] lest they should rather incommode the Church, by their overmuch Severity. For all Men [said he] cannot bear the Practice of so strict and severe a Continencie, nor is it likely that the Chastity of every one of their Wives should be preserved. (The Husband's keeping Company with his lawful Wife he termed Chastity.) It was sufficient [said he,] that they who had entred themselves into the Function of the Clergy before they were married, should afterwards (according to the antient Tradition of the Church) abstain from entring into a State of Matrimony: But that no Person ought to be separated from his Wife, whom

(a) The *Florent.* M. S. adds [καὶ διακόνους, *and Sub-Deacons:*] and so the Reading is in *Sozomen*, Book 1. Chap. 23. where he tells this Story concerning *Paphnutius*, where also what we said before is apparent, to wit, that *Sozomen* borrow'd from *Socrates*. For he that adds to anothers Relation, shews evidently that he wrote last. *Vales.*

(b) *Rufinus* (out of whom *Socrates* had the former Story which he tells in this Chapter concerning *Paphnutius*) says not a word of this Speech of *Paphnutius*; see his first Book *Eccles. Hist.* Chap. 4. But he relates, That *Paphnutius was one of the Bishops in the Parts of* Egypt, *and that he was present at the Nicene Council.*

Conſtant. whom he had heretofore married, [to wit,] whilſt he was a Laick. Thus he ſpake, though he was a Man, who had not experienced what marriage was, and (as I may truly aver) never knew a Woman, for from his childhood he had been educated in a * place where the ſtricteſt exerciſes of Virtue and Abſtinence were conſtantly practiſed, and was eminently famous above all Men for his ſingular continency. All the whole Aſſembly of the Clergy were perſwaded to yield their aſſent, to what *Paphnutius* ſaid; wherefore they ſilenc'd all further Debate concerning this Point, and left it to every Man's arbitrement whether he would [or would not] abſtain from keeping company with his Wife. And thus much concerning *Paphnutius*.

*'Εν ἀσκητηρίῳ; that is, in a place, where the *Aſcetæ* lived; concerning whom and their courſe of life, ſee *Euſeb. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.* book. 2. chap. 17. *Valeſ.* note (*a*) book 7. chap. 32. note (*c*.) *in the ſecond Alphabet.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Spyridon *Biſhop of the* Cyprians.

NOW [we come to ſpeak] of *Spyridon*: So great a ſanctity was in this Perſon whilſt yet a Shepherd, that he was thought worthy to be made a Paſtor of Men. He had obtained the Biſhoprick of a City in *Cyprus* call'd *Trimithuntis*: But by reaſon of his ſingular humility he fed ſheep during his being a Biſhop. There are many things related of this Man: But I will only record one or two, that I may not ſeem to wander from my Subject. One time about midnight, thieves entring his ſheepfold privately, and attempted to take away the ſheep. But God who protected the ſhepherd, preſerv'd his ſheep alſo: For the thieves, were by an inviſible Power faſt bound to the folds. The Morning being now come, he went to his ſheep, where finding the Men bound with their hands behind them, he perceiv'd what had hapned. And after he had prayed, he looſed the thieves, admoniſhing and exhorting them earneſtly, to endeavour the procuring of a livelyhood by honeſt Labours, and not by ſuch unjuſt Rapine: He alſo gave them a Ram, and diſmiſt them with this facetious ſaying, *leaſt*, ſays he, *you might ſeem to have watched all all night in vain.* This is one of *Spyridon*'s Miracles. Another was of this ſort. He had a Daughter, a Virgin, indued with her Father's piety, her name *Irene*. A Perſon well known to her, entruſted her with the keeping of an Ornament, that was of great value. The Maid, that ſhe might with greater ſafety keep what was depoſited with her, hid it in the Earth: And within a ſhort time died. Soon after that, he who had committed this thing to her care, came [to demand it.] Not finding the Virgin, he involves her Father [in that concern,] ſometimes accuſing, another while entreating him. The old Man looking upon the Perſons loſs who had entruſted his Daughter, as his own misfortune, went to his Daughters grave, and did there beg of God, that he would ſhew him the promiſed Reſurrection before the Time. And his hope was not fruſtated. For the Virgin immediately revives, and appears to her Father, and having ſhewed him the place where ſhe had hid the Ornament, immediately departed. Such Perſons as theſe were during the Reign of *Conſtantine* the Emperor eminent in the Church. Theſe things I both heard from ſeveral *Cyprians*; and and alſo read them in a Book of *Ruſinus* a Presbyter, written in Latin, out of which I have not only collected what has here been ſaid, but alſo ſome other Things, which ſhall a little after this be declared. Conſtant.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Eutychianus *the Monk.*

I Have alſo heard of *Eutychianus*, a pious Man, who flouriſhed at the ſame Time: Who although he was one of the *Novatian* Church, yet was admired for Works of the ſame Nature with thoſe [we have mentioned.] I will ſincerely confeſs who it was that gave me this Account of him: Nor will I conceal it, though I am ſenſible ſome will be offended with me for it. One *Auxanon* a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, was a Perſon of a very great Age: This Man, when he was very young, went to the Council of *Nice* with *Aceſius*, from him I received what I have ſaid before concerning *Aceſius*. He lived from thoſe Times to the Reign of *Theodoſius* the younger, and rehearſed to me, though then very young, theſe [Memoirs] of *Eutychianus*: He diſcourſed much to me concerning the Divine Grace infus'd into him: But one thing he told me concerning him, more eſpecially worthy of remembrance, which happened in the Reign of *Conſtantine*. One of thoſe belonging to the Guard, whom the Emperor calls his (*a*) Domeſticks, being ſuſpected to have attempted ſome Tyrannick Deſigns, made his eſcape by flight: The Emperor, highly incenſed thereat, gave order, that he ſhould be put to death, wherever he could be found: Being apprehended about the mountain *Olympus* in *Bithynia*, he was ſhut up in priſon, and loaded with very heavy and painful chains; near theſe parts of *Olympus Eutychianus* then reſided, leading a ſolitary Life, where he wrought many cures both upon Men's Bodies and Souls. The long lived *Auxanon* was with him at that time, being then very young, and was by him inſtructed in the Precepts of a ſolitary Life. Many did reſort to this *Eutychianus*, beſeeching him to releaſe the Priſoner, by interceding for him with the Emperor. (For the fame of the Miracles wrought by *Eutychianus* was come to the Emperor's hearing.) He readily promiſed to make a Journey to the Emperor. But in regard the Priſoner ſuffered moſt acute tortures cauſed by his chains, thoſe that did ſollicit for him, reported, that his death, haſtned by [the tortures of] his fetters, would both prevent the Emperor's puniſhment, and *Eutychianus*'s interceſſion for him. *Eutychianus* therefore ſent to the keepers of the Priſon, and intreated them to releaſe the Man. But when they anſwered that it would be a very dangerous thing for them to releaſe a Criminal, he, taking *Auxanon* only along with him, went to the Priſon: And upon the Keepers refuſal to open the Priſon. the Grace which was in *Eutychianus*, did there moſt illuſtrate it ſelf: For the Priſon, doors opened of their own accord, whilſt the Keepers of the Priſon had the keys in their cuſtody: And when *Eutychianus*, together with *Auxanon*, had entred the Priſon, and a great amazement had ſeized thoſe that were preſent, the

(*a*) By δίκτιοι he means the *Protectores Domeſtici*, or *Guard of the Body*, which waited on the Emperor's Perſon. They were Soldiers of a ſuperior Order; who alſo had greater pay than the others. See *Valeſius*'s *Notes* on *Amm. Marcellin.* book 14. pag. 33.

Conſtant. the Chains fell from the Priſoners [Members] of their own accord. Afterwards [*Eutychianus*] together with his Companion *Auxano* travelled to the City heretofore named *Byzantium*, but afterwards called *Conſtantinople*, and being admitted into the Imperial Palace, he freed the Priſoner from [the danger of] Death. For the Emperor, having a great reſpect for *Eutychianus*, readily granted his requeſt. This was done after [thoſe times which we are now giving an account of.] But then, the Biſhops that were preſent at the Synod, after they had drawn up in writing ſome things, which they uſually term Canons, return'd to their reſpective Cities. Moreover, I look upon it as a thing advantagious to ſuch as are ſtudious of Hiſtory, to inſert here thoſe Biſhop's Names (as many of them as we were able to find,) that were convened at *Nice*, as alſo [the name of] the Province and City over which every one of them did preſide, and likewiſe the time wherein they were aſſembled. (*b*) *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain. I do believe as is before written.* (*c*) *Vito* and *Vincentius* Presbyters of *Rome*. *Alexander* [Biſhop] of *Egypt*. *Euſtathius* [Biſhop] of *Antioch* the Great. *Macarius* [Biſhop] of *Jeruſalem*. (*d*) *Harpocration* [Biſhop] of *Cynopolis*: And the reſt who are particularly and fully ſet forth in the (*e*) *Synodicon* of *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. And the time when this Synod was convened was (as we found it in the (*f*) *Notation of the time* prefix'd before the Synod) in the Conſulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus*, *Conſtant.* on the (*g*) twentieth day of the Month of *May*; that was the (*h*) ſix hundredth thirty ſixth year from the Reign of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*. Thus the Synod was concluded. We muſt alſo take notice, that after [the diſſolution of] this Synod, the Emperor took his Progreſs into the Weſtern Parts [of his Empire.

(*b*) We perfected this place by the aſſiſtance of the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* MSS. For in the common Editions of *Socrates*, after theſe words [Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορδύβης, *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*] followed theſe [Βίτων καὶ Βικεντῖνος, *Vito and Vincentius.*] But thoſe incomparable MSS. exhibited this place entire to us, after this manner: ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος Κορδύβης Ἱσπανίας· οὕτως πιστεύω ὡς προγέγραπται· ῥώμης βίτων καὶ βικεντῖνος πρεσβύτεροι, &c. i.e. *Hoſius Biſhop of Corduba in Spain. I do believe as it is before written. Vito and Vincentius, Presbyters of Rome*, &c. This is the Series of the Biſhops who ſubſcribed the *Nicene* Council; which *Socrates* tranſcribed from *Athanaſius*'s *Synodicon*, as he himſelf atteſts hereafter. In the *Greek Collections of the Canons* this Series is wanting, nor is it extant in *Dionyſius Exiguus's Verſion.* But in *that ancient Collection* lately publiſhed at *Paris*, (which the Weſtern Church heretofore made uſe of, before *Dionyſius*'s Verſion) and in *Iſidorus*'s Collection, this Series occurs almoſt in the ſame words. In *that ancient Collection* the words are theſe: *Et ſubſcripſerunt. Oſius Epiſcopus civitatis Cordubenſis, Provinciæ Spaniæ dixit: Ita credo ſicut ſuperius ſcriptum eſt. Victor & Vincentius Presbyteri urbis Romæ. Alexander Alexandriæ magnæ. Alphocration*, &c. i. e. *And they ſubſcribed. Oſius Biſhop of the City Corduba, in the Province of Spain, ſaid: I believe ſo, as it is above written. Victor and Vincentius, Presbyters of the City of Rome. Alexander of Alexandria the Great, Alphocration*, &c. The words in *Iſidorus*'s *Collection* are almoſt the ſame. But in *Athanaſius*'s *Synodicon*, *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, and *Macarius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, are placed after *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Valeſ.

(*c*) *Athanaſius* makes mention of this *Vito* the Presbyter, in *His Apologetick againſt the Arians*, and atteſts, that a *Roman Synod* conſiſting of fifty Biſhops (by whom he was received into Communion) was convened in his Church. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) In the *Latin Collections* of the *Canons*, *Harpocration* is ſtiled Biſhop of *Naucratis*, and next to him is ſet *Adamantius Cynopolites*, or *Cynenſis*, as it is in *that forementioned ancient* Collection. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) This Book of *Athanaſius*'s is not now (to my knowledge) extant. But 'tis probable that the names of the Biſhops who ſubſcribed the *Nicene Council*, were tranſlated out of that Book. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) Παραγραφὴ (the term that occurs here) imports the *Notation* (or expreſs Declaration) *of the time* uſually prefixt before publick Acts. In the *Greek Collection* of the Canons (which *Joannes Tilius* firſt publiſhed) *the notation of the time* is prefixed, thus: Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν ἐν νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ παυλίνου καὶ ἰουλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων· ἔτους ἀπὸ ἀλεξάνδρου· ἐν μηνὶ δεσίῳ ἐνεσκαιδεκάτῃ, πρὸ δεκατεσσάρων καλανδῶν ἰουλίων· i.e. *The Canons of the* 318. *Holy Fathers, convened at Nice, in the Conſulate of the moſt illuſtrious Paulinus Julianus, on the* 636*th year from Alexander, on the nineteenth day of the month Deſius, before the thirteenth of the Calends of July.* Valeſ.

(*g*) It is otherwiſe in the *Greek Collection*, which *Tilius* publiſhed, (ſee the foregoing Note.) For 'tis ſaid that the Synod was convened on the nineteenth Day of the Month *Deſius* (which the *Romans* call *June*) on the thirteenth of the *Calends* of *July*. Which is confirmed by the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, by the *Chalcedon Council*, and by that *Latin Collection* which *Baronius* calls *Creſconiana*, which account I think is the trueſt. For, ſhould we ſuppoſe that the Council of *Nice* was aſſembled on the twentieth day of *May*, there would be too narrow a ſpace of time left for the tranſacting of thoſe Affairs which *Conſtantine* did after his vanquiſhing of *Licinius*. *Licinius* was ſubdued in the laſt Engagement at *Chalcedon*, in the year of Chriſt 324, on the 15th of the Calends of *October*, as 'tis recorded *in Faſtis Idatii*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: On the day following *Licinius* (who made his eſcape to *Nicomedia*) yielded himſelf to *Conſtantine* the Conqueror. After this *Conſtantine* made his entry into *Nicomedia*: Whilſt he continued there, and haſtned to make his Progreſs into the Eaſtern parts, a Meſſenger arrived, declaring to him the Diſſention of the *Alexandrian* Church, and of all *Egypt*, upon account of *Arius*'s Opinion, and the diſturbances of the *Melitians*, as himſelf atteſts in his Epiſtle to *Alexander* and *Arius*. And firſt he ſends *Hoſius* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, that he might compoſe thoſe Differences by his Authority. But *Hoſius*, after he had ſtaid a little while at *Alexandria*, returns to *Conſtantine* without effecting his buſineſs. All this could in no wiſe have been done in a ſhorter ſpace of time than three Months. Moreover, *Conſtantine* perceiving the miſchief to increaſe daily, reſolves upon calling a general Council of Biſhops, that he might thereby reſtore Peace to the Church. Upon this account he diſpatch'd away Couriers throughout all the Provinces, to convene the Biſhops at *Nice* in *Bithynia*. Suppoſe therefore, that the Couriers delivered the Emperor's Letters to every one of the Biſhops in the Month of *March*: It is ſcarce credible, that the Biſhops could come from the remoteſt Regions, as well of the Eaſt as of the Weſt, to *Bythinia*, before the Month *July*: Eſpecially ſince they came by Land, and not by Water, as *Euſebius* atteſts, Book 3. Chap. 6. *De Vitâ Conſtant.* See *Valeſius*'s Notes on *Euſeb. Life* of *Conſtant.* Book 3. Chap. 14.

(*h*) After theſe words [*the ſix hundredth thirty ſixth year from the reign of Alexander the Macedonian*] *Leo. Allat.* MS. adds theſe [*and it was the nineteenth year from the beginning of the reign of Conſtantine the Emperor,*] which is very true. For when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were Conſuls, (which was on the 325th year of Chriſt,) the *Nicene* Synod was (according to *Socrates*'s Opinion) aſſembled in *May*, it being then the nineteenth year of *Conſtantine*'s Reign. His 20th year began the ſame year, about the end of *July* following. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

That Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia, Theognis *Biſhop of* Nice (*who had been baniſh'd becauſe they were Abettors of* Arius's *Opinion,*) *having afterwards ſent a* Libel *of Repentance, and agreed to the Expoſition of the Faith, were readmitted to their Sees.*

MOreover, (*a*) *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, (*b*) having ſent a *Libel* of *Repentance* to the moſt eminent *Biſhops*, were by an *Imperial Order* recall'd from *Exile*, and reſtored to their own *Churches*: For he ſays, that *Euſebius* and *Theognis* were recall'd from baniſhment almoſt before he had told us they were exiled. *Sozomen* therefore did better, who in this particular corrected *Socrates*'s Relation. For, in the firſt Book of *his Hiſtory*, Chap. 21. he relates that *Euſebius* and *Theognis* were baniſh'd by the Emperor *Conſtantine* a little after the Synod, and that other Biſhops were put into their Sees. Then, in his ſecond Book Chap. 16. he declares how they were recalled from their baniſhment. From which paſſage (that I may make this Remark by the by) it may be concluded, that *Sozomen* wrote *his Hiſtory* after *Socrates*, in as much as he corrects and amends *Socrates*'s Narration in many places. Further, *Euſebius* and *Theognis* were baniſh'd three Months after the *Nicene Synod*, as *Philoſtorgius* atteſts: and returned from their Exile (as the ſaid *Philoſtorgius* relates) in the third year after that Synod, that is, in the year of Chriſt 328. which account agrees exactly with the Hiſtory of Affairs tranſacted in that time. For all *Hiſtorians* agree that *Euſebius*, upon his return from baniſhment, entertained thoughts of confirming *Arius*'s Opinion, and of thruſting out thoſe that aſſerted the *Nicene* Faith. And, that his firſt attack was made againſt *Euſtathius*

(*a*) *Socrates* has obſerved no order here.

Euſtathius Biſhop of *Antioch*, whom he cauſed to be expell'd [from his See] by feigned Calumnies, in the year of Chriſt 329, or 330. *Baronius* therefore did ill, to place *Euſebius Nicomedienſis*'s return from exile on the year of Chriſt 330. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 325.) reproves *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, for ſaying, that *Euſebius* and *Theognis* were baniſh'd a little after the *Nicene Synod*; and that ſome few years after (having ſent a Libel of ſatisfaction to the moſt eminent Biſhops) they were recalled from their Exile. *Baronius* endeavours to prove, that this Libel was preſented by *Euſebius* to the Biſhops in the *Nicene Synod*. For he aſſerts, that the Rule of Faith was firſt written; which *Euſebius Nicomedienſis* (with four other Biſhops) refuſed to ſubſcribe: But, that the ſaid *Euſebius*, having afterwards preſented a Libel of Satisfaction, did ſubſcribe what had been determined [in the Synod.] But, after this, when the Synod had *Anathematized Arius*, *Euſebius* and *Theognis* (ſays he) would not ſubſcribe this *Anathematiſm*; and for that reaſon they were condemned and depoſed, by the Synod, and *Amphion* and *Chreſtus* were put into their Sees. But the Emperor *Conſtantine* (continues he) interceded that the ſentence might not be put in execution, and perſwaded the Synod that they ſhould admit of *Euſebius* and *Theognis* upon their preſenting a Libel of Repentance. This is *Baronius*'s Opinion. But he is out, firſt, in ſaying that there were two Libels preſented by *Euſebius*: For of the former Libel no Body has ever made mention. Secondly, he cites no Author for what he ſays concerning *Euſebius*'s and *Theoginis*'s Deprivation and Condemnation done in the *Nicene* Council. *Conſtantine* (in *his Epiſtle to the Nicomedians*, the latter part of which Epiſtle in Greek the Reader may meet in *Theodoret. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 1. Chap. 20; it occurs entire at the cloſe of *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*'s 3d Book, pag. 217.) ſays not that it was then done, but only ſays, that *Euſebius* was afraid it would be done. Laſtly, his ſaying that a Libel of Repentance was preſented by *Euſebius* in the *Nicene Synod*, is manifeſtly refuted from the Libel it ſelf. For this Libel was preſented by *Euſebius*, when he was in baniſhment, as is atteſted by theſe words of it, καὶ διὰ τάτε τὸ γεγραμμένῳ πληροφορῶμεν τῷ συγκαταθέσιν, ἣν τὴν ἔξοδον βασιλέως φέροντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ, &c. i. e. *and by this Libel do fully declare and confirm our conſent*; [*which we are induced to do*] *not becauſe we look upon our Exile to be tedious*, &c. Beſides, this Libel was ſent, when *Arius* was recalled from baniſhment; which is apparent from theſe words, Ἄτοπον δὲ τὸ δοκοῦντι μὲν κατάδικον, ἀνακεκλῆσθαι, καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον, &c. i. e. *But it would be abſurd (ſince he that ſeemed to be guilty, is recalled, and has made his defence in reference to*, &c. Moreover, *Arius* was recalled from baniſhment by *Conſtantine* long enough after the *Nicene* Synod, &c. *Valeſ.*

Conſtant. thoſe who had been Ordain'd in their places being removed by them; *Euſebius* [put out] *Amphion*, and *Theognis* [removed] *Chreſtus*. This is the Copy of their Libel.

We having been ſome time ſince (c) condemned by Your Piety, (d) without having Our Cauſe declared or defended, ought quietly to bear what has been determined by Your Holy Diſcretion.

(c) In as much as *Euſebius* and *Theognis* do ſay in the beginning of this Epiſtle, that they were condemned by the Biſhops: it is worth our making an enquiry, when and where they were condemned. *Baronius* ſays they were condemned, and depoſed in the *Nicene* Synod. But this is contradicted by St. *Jerome*'s Authority; who, *in his Dialogue againſt the Luciferiani*, does in expreſs words atteſt, that *Euſebius* and *Theognis* (with other Biſhops of the *Arian* faction) were admitted of by the *Nicene Synod*. And this he proves both from the teſtimony of thoſe that were preſent at the Synod, and alſo from the very *Acts* of the *Nicene Synod*; in which, amongſt the names of thoſe Biſhops who ſubſcribed the Synod, *Euſebius* and the others I have mentioned are reckoned. The ſame is atteſted by *Philoſtorgius*, who ſays that *Euſebius* was baniſh'd about three months after the *Nicene Synod*. Since therefore *Euſebius* and *Theognis* do confeſs themſelves to have been condemned by the Biſhops, and ſince 'tis manifeſt that was not done in the *Nicene Synod*; it muſt neceſſarily have been done in ſome other meeting of the Biſhops. The reaſon of their being exiled, *Conſtantine* does declare in *his Epiſtle* to the *Nicomedians*, (the latter part whereof ſee in *Theodoret. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 1. Chap. 20.) For he ſays, that he baniſhed them, becauſe they entertained certain Heretics, (whom he had commanded to be ſent to his Court from the City *Alexandria*,) and held communion with them. (*Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 329, thinks theſe Hereticks were *Melitians*. But I do rather believe they were *Arians*: And this is expreſly affirmed by the *Egyptian* Biſhops, in their *Synodick Epiſtle*, which *Athanaſius* has recorded *in his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians*.) For this reaſon therefore *Conſtantine* ordered a Synod of ſome Biſhops to be convened, by whom *Euſebius* and *Theognis* were condemned and depoſed, after which the Emperor baniſhed them. This is expreſly affirmed by *Athanaſius* (*in his Book De Synodis*,) and by *Theodoret* (Book 1. Chap. 19. Eccleſ. Hiſt.) *Valeſ.*

(d) *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* omitted theſe words [πρὸ κρίσεως, *without having our cauſe declared or defended*] in their Verſion. They occur in *Sozomen* (Book 2. Chap. 16.) and *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* has rendred them thus: *Dudum quidem ante judicium condemnati à Reverentiâ veſtrâ, patienter ferre quæ decreta ſunt à ſancto veſtro concilio debuimus*; i. e. *Having been ſometime ſince condemned by your Reverence before judgment, we ought patiently to bear what is decreed by your Holy Council.* By theſe words *Euſebius* ſeems to intimate, that he was condemned without being heard, and by a raſh judgment, or prejudice: To wit, becauſe the Emperor had condemned him before, who was angry with *Euſebius* for ſeveral reaſons, which you may meet with in *Conſtantine's Epiſtle to the Nicomedians*; ſee *Theodoret.* Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 1. Chap. 20. *Valeſ.*

Conſtant. *But becauſe 'tis abſurd, by ſilence to give an occaſion of Calumny againſt our ſelves, for this reaſon we declare to You, that We have both unanimouſly agreed to the* [*Determination about the*] *Faith, and alſo (after We had made Reſearches into the Notion of* Homoöuſios,) *with Our utmoſt earneſtneß laboured for Peace, having never been Followers of any Hereſie. And when We had ſuggeſted whatever came into our Minds upon account of the Churches ſecurity, and had fully ſatisfied thoſe that ought to be perſwaded by us, We ſubſcribed the Faith, but have not ſubſcribed the* Anathematiſm; *not that we had any thing to object againſt the Faith, but becauſe We did not believe the Perſon accuſed to be ſuch a one* [*as he was repreſented to be*;] *having been fully ſatisfied that he was no ſuch Perſon, partly from the private Letters written to Us by Him, and partly from the Diſcourſes he made in Our Preſence.* (e) *But if Your Holy Council was* [*then*] *ſatisfied, We* [*now*] *make no reſiſtance, but agree to what You have determined, and by this Libel do fully declare and confirm Our Conſent; which We are induced to do*] *not becauſe We look upon Our Exile to be tedious and burthenſome, but that We might avoid the ſuſpicion of Hereſie. For if You ſhall now vouchſafe to let Us return to Your Preſence, You ſhall find Us to be of the ſame Opinion with You in all Points, and quietly to adhere to what You have determined: Since it hath ſeemed good to Your Piety gently to treat even* * *Him, who is accuſed for theſe things, and to* (f) *recall Him from Baniſhment. But it would be abſurd (ſince He that ſeemed to be guilty is recalled, and has made his Defence in reference to thoſe things laid to his charge,) that We ſhould be ſilent, and muſter up an Argument againſt Our ſelves, Do You therefore vouchſafe (as it befits Your Piety that loves Chriſt) to remind Our Emperor moſt dear to God, to offer up Our Supplications to Him, and ſpeedily to determine concerning Us as ſhall be moſt agreeable to Your* [*Prudence.*]

* Arius.

(e) The meaning of theſe words is this. If *we then ſatisfied your holy Council* (to wit, the Nicene) *and perſwaded it to think, that we had juſt cauſe for our being unwilling to ſubſcribe* the Anathematiſm *now we fully compleat our conſent, and are ready to ſubſcribe as well the* Anathematiſm *as the form of the Creed.* You ſee how much the adding of theſe two words [*then* and *now*] would enlighten this place. *Valeſ.*

This is the Libel of *Euſebius* and *Theognis*'s Recantation. From the words whereof I conjecture, that they ſubſcribed the Faith which had been publiſhed [in the Council;] but would not give their conſent to the depoſing of *Arius*: And it appears hence, that *Arius* was recalled from Baniſhment] before them: But although this ſeems to be ſo, yet he was forbid to enter *Alexandria*. Which is evident from this, [to wit,] that he afterwards invented a way for his own return into the Church and the City *Alexandria*, by having made uſe of a counterfeited Repentance, as we ſhall relate in its due place.

(f) That is attributed here to the Biſhops, which had been done by the Emperor. For the Emperor, not the Biſhops, had recalled *Arius* from his Exile. But Writers do uſually ſpeak thus; aſſigning that to the Biſhops, which was the Emperors Deed; and on the contrary, that to the Emperor which the Biſhops did. So *Socrates* ſaid above, that the *Nicene* Synod forbad *Arius* to enter *Alexandria*; whenas this was the Emperor's doing, as appears from his Epiſtle. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

Constant.

CHAP. XV.

That Alexander *dying after the* [*Nicene*] *Synod,* Athanasius *was consecrated Bishop of the City* Alexandria.

(a) SOON after, upon the death of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Athanasius* was promoted to the presidency over that Church. *Rufinus* relates, that this Person, when he was very young, did, together with those that were his equals in Age, play at a kind of an holy sport: this Play was an imitation of the Sacerdotal Function, and of those Persons order that were Clergy-men. In this sport therefore *Athanasius* was elected Bishop, and every one of the rest of the Children acted either a Presbyter, or a Deacon. This sport the Children plaid at on that Day, whereon was celebrated the Memory of *Peter* the Martyr and Bishop. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* accidentally passing by at that time, saw all their Play. *And, having afterwards sent for the Children, he enquired of them what place had been allotted to ever one of them in the Play, supposing that from what had been done, some thing might be portended* [*concerning each of them.*] *And he gave order, that the Children should be educated in the Church, and instructed in Learning; but most especially* Athanasius. *Afterwards when he was come a maturity of Age, he ordained him Deacon, and took him along with him to* Nice, *that he might assist him in the Disputations there, at such time as that Synod was convened.* These things *Rufinus* has related concerning *Athanasius*, in his (*b*) Books [of Ecclesiastick History;] nor is it at all unlikely that these things hapned: For many such like Acts are frequently found to have been done. Thus much we have hitherto said concerning *Athanasius*.

(a) *Socrates* (as also *Sozomen*) Mistakes here in placing *Alexander*'s death, and *Athanasius*'s Ordination after *Eusebius*'s and *Theognis*'s return from exile. For *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* dyed within five months after the Council of *Nice*, as *Athanasius* testifies in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*, where he speaks of *Melitius*. The same says *Theodoret*, in the first book of his History, in chap. 26. *Alexander* therefore died in the year of Christ 325. and *Athanasius* was Consecrated either at the latter end of the same Year, or in the beginning of the next. *Vales.*

(b) See *Rufinus*'s *Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 14. where *Rufinus* adds this circumstance to this story; that the Boys (upon *Alexander*'s enquiry) confessed some *Catechumens* had been Baptiz'd by *Athanasius*, whom they had chosen Bishop in their sports. Then *Alexander*, having demanded of those said to be baptiz'd, what Questions they had been asked, and what Answers they made, and also having examined him who had asked them the Questions; found that all things had been done according to the Rites of our Religion: And, after a consult with his Clergy, 'tis said, he ordered, that those Boys (on whom water had been poured, after they were perfectly question'd, and had return'd compleat answers) should not be rebaptiz'd, *&c.* See *Rufinus* at the Book and Chapter now cited.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Emperor Constantine, *having enlarged the City heretofore call'd* Byzantium, *named it* Constantinople.

THE Emperor, after the [Dissolution of the] Council spent his time in delight and pleasure. As soon therefore as he had finish'd the Publick Festivals of his (*a*) *Vicennalia*, he forthwith employ'd himself very diligently about re-edifying and erecting of Churches. This he did as well in other Cities, as in that that bore his own Name. Which City being formerly called *Byzantium*, he very much enlarged; he encompassed it with magnificent Walls, and beautified with several Edifices; and having made it equal to the Imperial City *Rome*, (*b*) he named it *Constantinople*, and did by a Law establish that it should be call'd New *Rome*. Which Law was engraven on a Pillar of stone, and (*c*) exposed to the publick view, being erected in the (*d*) *Strategium*, near to the Emperor's Statue on horseback. He also founded two Churches in the same City, the one of which he named *Irene*, and the other he called *the Apostles*: Nor did he only improve and enlarge the Affairs of the Christians, as I have said, but did also subvert [the Superstition] of the Gentiles. For [he took their] Images [out of their Temples] and set them up in the most Publick Places, that they might serve to beautifie the City *Constantinople*: He also expos'd the *Delphick Tripods* openly in the *Hippodrome*. But it will perhaps seem superfluous to mention these things now. For they are sooner beheld with the Eyes, than the relation of them can be heard. But at that time the Christian Religion was mightily propagated and increased. For the Divine Providence did (amongst other things) reserve that more especially for the times of *Constantine*: And thus has *Eusebius Pamphilus* in a magnifick stile recorded the praises of this Emperor. But yet we judge it not unseasonable for us to speak briefly of them according to our ability.

(a) That is *the Festivals for his having arrived to the twentieth year of his Empire.*

Constant.

(b) This place, which was corrupted and obscured by an ill distinction, we have illustrated and restor'd, by blotting out the Particle δέ; which Particle is not to be found, either in the *Florent.* or *Sforti.* M.S. our correction is also confirm'd by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version, who thus translates the passage, *Et denominatam Constantinopolim, appellari secundam Romam lege firmavit.* Vales.

(c) Instead of [παρέθηκε, *was set*, or *placed*] it should be [παρέστηκε,] *was exposed*, or *erected*. This emendation is confirm'd by *Epiphan. Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

(d) The *Stategium* was a publick edifice wherein the *Strategi*, (i. e. the *Duumviri, the two principal* Magistrates that hereto fore governed the City *Byzantium*) were wont to sit. It is mentioned *in the old description of the City Constantinople*, which is prefixt before the *Notitia Imperii Romani.* Vales.

CHAP. XVII.

How Helena, *the Emperor's Mother, came to* Jerusalem, *and having there found Christ's Cross, which she had sought for a long time, built a Church.*

HELENA the Emperor's Mother, (from whose name *Drepanum*, which was formerly only a Village, but made a City by the Emperor, was call'd *Helenopolis*) being admonished by God in her Dreams, travell'd to *Jerusalem*. And when she found that place which was formerly *Jerusalem*, desolate (as the Prophet predicted) * *like a lodge* [*set up*] *to preserve Apples*, she searched diligently for Christ's Sepulchre wherein he was buried, and whence he arose, and though with great difficulty, yet by God's assistance she found it out. What was the reason of this Difficulty, I will in few words explain. Those that embraced Christ's Doctrine, did after the time of his Passion pay an high respect to that Monument. But the Heathens, who abhorred the Christian Religion, having covered the Place with an heap of Earth, erected thereon a Temple to *Venus*, and set up her image there, designing wholly to suppress the memory of that place. And this plot of theirs had for a long time succeeded. But the Emperor's Mother had notice hereof. Wherefore, having thrown down the image, remov'd the Earth, and wholly cleared the place, she finds three Crosses in the monument: One of them was that blessed Cross on which our Saviour had

* See Esai. 1.8. where the *Septuagint Version* is, ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηρέᾳ; which, in our English translation is thus worded, *as a lodge in a Garden of Cucumbers*; which Rendition does exactly agree with the original Hebrew.

Conſtant. had hung: The other two were thoſe, on which the two *Thieves*, that were crucified with him, had died. There was alſo found with the Croſſes *Pilate*'s Title, whereon he had written in divers Languages, and proclaim'd that that *Chriſt* who was crucified, was the King of the *Jews*. But in regard 'twas dubious which of theſe was the *Croſs* that was ſearch'd for, the Emperor's Mother was not a little troubled hereat. This trouble the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, by name *Macarius*, ſoon eaſed her of; and by [the power of] his *Faith* clear'd the doubt: For he requeſted a *Sign* of God and obtain'd it; the Sign was this: A certain Woman of that Vicinage, having been oppreſs'd with a tedious and laſting Diſtemper, was now juſt at the point of death. The Biſhop therefore commanded every one of the Croſſes to be applied to her now expiring, being perſwaded in himſelf that if the Woman were touch'd by the precious Croſs [of the Lord] ſhe ſhould recover: Nor was his Hope fruſtrated: For the two Croſſes which were not our *Lord's* being applied, the Woman nevertheleſs continued in her dying condition; but when the third, the true and genuine Croſs was applied, the dying Woman immediately recover'd and was made whole. After this manner was the Croſs found out: But the Emperor's Mother erected over the place where the Sepulchre was, a moſt magnificent *Church*, and call'd it (a) *New Jeruſalem*, building it oppoſite to that old deſerted *Jeruſalem*. She left there one half of the Croſs, incloſed in a Silver Caſe, as a *Relique* to be ſeen by thoſe that ſhou'd deſire it; the other half ſhe ſent to the Emperor, which when he had receiv'd, being fully perſwaded that that City would be perfectly ſecure wherein ſuch a [Relique] as this was preſerv'd, he hid it within his own Statue, (b) which is erected upon a vaſt Pillar of *Porphyry* in *Conſtantinople*, in the *Forum*, call'd from him *Conſtantine's Forum*. This Story I have recorded as it has been related to me; but almoſt all the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* do affirm it to be true. *Conſtantine* having alſo receiv'd the Nails with which *Chriſt*'s Hands were faſtned to the Croſs; (for his Mother, having found them alſo in the Sepulchre, ſent them to him:) He order'd Bridles and a Helmet to be made of them, which he made uſe of in his Military Expeditions. Moreover, the Emperor gave large Supplies of all manner of Materials towards the building of the *Churches*, and wrote to *Macarius* the Biſhop to haſten the Work. The Emperor's Mother, having finiſh'd the *New Jeruſalem*, built another Church in no wiſe inferior in ſplendour to the former, in the Cave at *Bethlehem*, which was the place of *Chriſt*'s Birth according to the Fleſh: Beſides, [ſhe erected another Church] upon the Mount, from whence he was taken up into Heaven. And ſhe was ſo religiouſly and piouſly affected towards theſe things, that ſhe would pray in the Women's company together with the others: She alſo invited thoſe Virgins that were enrolled in the Catalogue of the Churches to an Entertainment: Where ſhe herſelf waited, and brought the Meat to the Tables. Beſides, ſhe was very liberal both to the Churches, and alſo to the Indigent. [In fine,] having ſpent her life very piouſly, ſhe died about the eightieth year of her age: And her Body was convey'd to the Imperial City *New Rome*, and depoſited amongſt the Imperial Monuments. *Conſtant.*

(a) *Socrates* borrow'd this Story out of *Euſebius*'s third Book of *Conſtantine's Life*, Chap. 33. But miſtakes in ſaying that the Church which was built over our Saviour's Sepulchre by *Helena*, or rather by *Conſtantine*, was call'd *New Jeruſalem*. For *Euſebius* ſays no ſuch thing: But he only alludes to the *New Jeruſalem*, which is mentioned in St. *John*'s Revelations. See our notes on *Euſeb. Life of Conſtant.* Book 3. Chap. 33. *Valeſ.*

(b) *Philoſtorgius* does report that the People us'd to come to this Pillar with their Tapers, and worſhip it; which is very ſtrange and almoſt incredible: But *Theodoret* does by his authority confirm it, in the firſt Book of his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, and the laſt Chapter. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Emperor Conſtantine *aboliſh'd Gentiliſm, and erected many Churches in ſeveral places.*

AFter this, the Emperor, becoming more ſolicitous about [the Propagation of] Chriſtianity, abhorr'd the Superſtitions of the Gentiles: And firſt he aboliſh'd the Combats of the Gladiators: Afterwards he placed his own Statues in the Temples. The Heathens affirming that it was *Serapis* that cauſed the Inundations of *Nile*, whereby the Fields of *Egypt* were water'd, becauſe there was a Cubit uſually carried into his Temple, the Emperor (a) ordered *Alexander* to remove the Cubit into the Church [of the *Alexandrians*,] hereupon 'twas generally reported, that, becauſe *Serapis* was diſguſted, the *Nile* would not overflow; nevertheleſs, there hapned an Inundation on the enſuing Year, and afterwards, which alſo does continue to this day: And thus it was really demonſtrated, that the Inundation of the *Nile* hapned not by the means of their *Superſtition*, but by the *decree* of *Providence*. About the ſame time, thoſe barbarous Nations, the *Sarmatæ* and the *Goths* made Inroads into the *Roman* Territories, and yet the Emperor's forwardneſs in building of *Churches* was not in the leaſt interrupted thereby, but he made a commodious proviſion for both thoſe Affairs. For, having put his confidence in the * Chriſtian Banner, he totally ſubdued thoſe his Enemies; in ſo much that he took off the Tribute of Gold which had been cuſtomarily paid to the *Barbarians* by thoſe Emperors who were his Predeceſſors; and that was the firſt time that they (being aſtoniſh'd at their prodigious Overthrow) were perſwaded to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, by which *Conſtantine* had been every where preſerv'd. Again, he erected other Churches: One he built at that place called the *Oak* of *Mambre*, under which the ſacred Scriptures tell us that the Angels were entertain'd by *Abraham*. For the Emperor being inform'd that Altars were erected under that *Oak*, and, that Pagan Sacrifices were there perform'd, by his Letter he ſeverely reprov'd *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*: And gave command that the Altar ſhould be demoliſh'd, and an Houſe of Prayer erected near that Oak. He alſo gave order for the building of another Church, in *Heliopolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*, for this

(a) *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* thought that theſe Words were tranſpoſed; they read them (as appears from their Verſion) thus, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἡ πῆχυς μεταπεθέναι ἐκέλευσε, [*the Emperor*] *ordered that the Cubit ſhould be removed into the Church of the Alexandrians.* But, becauſe the word [μεταπεθέναι] cannot be taken in a paſſive ſenſe, the place muſt be otherwiſe mended: Which from the *Sfortian* MS. we have thus reſtored: αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡ πῆχυν ἀλέξανδρον μεταπεθέναι ἐκέλευσεν; [*the Emperor*] *ordered Alexander to remove the Cubit into the Church* [*of the Alexandrians.*] Which emendation needs no confirmation. See *Rufin. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 2. Chap. 23. This order of *Conſtantine*'s laſted not long. For *Julian* commanded that the ſame Cubit ſhould be carried back again into *Serapis*'s Temple, where it ſeems to have continued till *Theodoſius*'s Reign, and the demoliſhment of *Serapis*'s Temple. *Valeſ.*

* He means that *Standard*, or *Banner*, which the Emperor order'd to be made, in figure like to the Croſs that appear'd to him in the face of the Heavens. See Chap. 2. of this Book.

Constant. this reason. What manner of Law-maker the Citizens of *Heliopolis* originally had, or what Person he was as to his Morals, I cannot certainly tell. But his Disposition is sufficiently demonstrated from that City: For the Law of their Country has commanded that the Women should be common among them, upon which Account the Children amongst them could not be known whose they were. For there was no distinction betwixt the Parents and the Children. Their Virgins they delivered to strangers that arrived amongst them, that they might deflower them. The Emperor made it his business to abolish this custom, which had so long prevailed amongst them. For having abrogated the flagitiousness of those unclean usages, by a discreet and chast Law, he brought them to know and distinguish betwixt Families: And when he had built Churches, he took care that a Bishop should be ordain'd over them, and a sacred Clergy. Thus he reformed the impious usages of the *Heliopolites*, and made them more modest and civil. After the like manner also he demolish'd the Temple of *Venus* at *Aphaca* near [the mount] *Libanus*, and abrogated those impudent and obscene Mysteries there celebrated. What need I relate how he expell'd that Devil who pretended to utter Prophecies, out of *Cilicia*, commanding the house in which he lurked, to be demolished even to its very Foundations. Moreover, so ardent was the Emperors love for the Christian Religion, that being about to ingage in a War with the *Persians*, he provided a Tabernacle made of Linen painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church (even as *Moses* did in the Wilderness) and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert Regions he might have an Oratory ready. But this War went no further at that time: For it hapned to be immediately extinguish'd through the fear which the *Persians* had conceiv'd of the Emperor. But I think it unseasonable to relate here how diligent the Emperor *Constantine* was in repairing Cities, and how he turned many Villages into Cities; as for instance, *Drepane*, which bore his Mother's name, and *Constantia* in *Palestine*, so called from his Sister's Name *Constantia*. For our Design is not to recount all the Emperor's Actions, but them only which belong to the Christian Religion, and those more particularly which were done about the Churches. Wherefore, the Emperor's famous exploits, in regard they are of a subject different [from mine,] and require a peculiar Treatise, I leave to others, that are able to commit to writing such Matters. Indeed, I my self, had the Church continued undisturbed by Factions and Discord, had been wholly silent. For where the Subject affords not matter proper for a Narrative, the Relator's Words are superfluous and useless. But in regard a subtile, vain, and insignificant craftiness in disputing, hath disturbed, and at the same time also dissipated and distracted the Apostolick Faith of Christianity, I supposed it requisite to commit these things to writing; that so those Affairs which have been transacted in the Churches, might not be buried in silence. For the knowledge of these things does both procure great praise and commendation amongst most Men, and also renders him that is well versed therein much more solid and cautious; teaching him not to fluctuate or stagger [in his sentiments,] when any * *vain bablings* about words and terms shall happen to arise.

* Κενοφωνίας τινὸς; See 1 Tim. 6. 20.

Constant.

CHAP. XIX.

After what manner the Innermost Indian *Nations were in the times of* Constantine *converted to Christianity.*

NOW therefore we must record, how the Christian Religion was propagated in the times of this Emperor. For the innermost *Indians*, and the *Iberians* did then first embrace the Christian Faith. But we will briefly explain, what we mean by the addition of this Term, the *Innermost*. When the Apostles, about to take their Journey to the Heathens, in order to their preaching to them, had by lot divided them amongst themselves, (*a*) *Thomas* received the Apostolate of the *Parthians*. To *Matthew* was allotted *Æthiopia*. *Bartholomew* had that *India* assign'd to him which lyes upon the confines of *Æthiopia*. But this *innermost India*, which is inhabited by several barbarous Nations, who make use of different Languages, was not enlightned with the Doctrine of Christianity, before the Times of *Constantine*. What was the cause of their embracing the Christian Religion, I come now to relate. One *Meropius*, a Philosopher, by birth a *Tyrian*, made it his business to see the Country of the *Indians*, emulating herein (*b*) *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, who a little before him had travelled over that same Country. *Meropius* therefore taking along with him two Youths that were related to him, who were in no wise unskill'd in the Greek Language, arrived in this Country in a Ship. And having seen what he desired, in order to his procuring necessary Provisions, he put to Land at a Place which had a safe commodious Harbour. It hapned, that a little before [his arrival there] the League betwixt the *Romans* and *Indians* had been broken. The *Indians* therefore took the Philosopher, and those that were in the Ship with him, and put them all to death, except his two young Kinsmen. Having saved the Lives of the two Youths, out of a compassion to their Age, they presented them to the King of the *Indians*. He, much pleased with the young Men's looks, made the one of them, whose name was *Ædesius*, the Cup-bearer of his Table: To the other, whose name was *Frumentius*, he * committed the custody of his Accounts and Evidences-Royal. Not long after this, the King dying (having left behind him a Son to be his Successor, who was a minor, and his Wife,) gave these two Young Men their liberty. But the Queen, seeing her Son left in his minority, spoke to these two Persons to take care of him, till such time as he should come to maturity of Age. The young Men, in Obedience to the Queen, undertake the management of the King's Business. But *Frumentius* was the chief Person in managing the Affairs of State. And he was very earnest in

(*a*) See book 3. chap. 1. of *Eusebius*'s *Ecclesiastick History*: To which add this place of an *anonymous Author* out of the second *Homily upon Matthew*. *Denique cum post resurrectionem. Domini Thomas Apostolus isset in Provinciam illam, adjuncti sunt ei: & baptisati ab eo, facti sunt adjutores prædicationis illius*: Meaning the *Persian Magi*. Vales.

(*b*) This is *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, whom *Jerome* has mention'd in his *Chronicon*; who, returning from his Travails in *India*, presented *Constantine* with many gemms and pearls, and feigned that many more of greater value were taken from him by *Sapor* King of the *Persians*: which lie of his was the occasion of the *Persian* War, as *Am. Marcellinus* attests, book 25. pag. 295. Edit. *Vales.* See *Valesius*'s *Notes* on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 304.

* *Rationes suas scriniaque commisit*; so *Rufinus* (from whom *Socrates* translated this story almost word for word) describes this young Man's Office; book 1. chap. 9. *Hist. Ecclesiast.*

Conſtant.

enquiring of the *Roman* Merchants who then came to trade in that country, whether there were any that embrac'd Chriſtianity to be found among 'em. Having found ſome, and inform'd them who he was, he exhorted them to make choice of (c) ſome private meeting places for the performance of prayers therein, after the manner of *Chriſtians*. Afterwards, within ſome ſhort interval of time he built an oratory: and they, having inſtructed ſome *Indians* in the principles of *Chriſtianity*, brought them to prayers with them. But afterwards, when the young King came to a maturity of age, *Frumentius* reſigning to him the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Kingdom, which he had well manag'd, petitioned for leave to return into his own Country. And tho' the King and his mother entreated him to ſtay, yet they could not perſwade him, but being deſirous to ſee his own Country, he, together with *Ædeſius* return'd home. *Ædeſius* haſten'd to *Tyre* to ſee his Parents and Kindred: but *Frumentius* arriving at *Alexandria*, related the whole ſtory to *Athanaſius*, (d) who was then newly dignified with that Biſhoprick; informing him of the circumſtances of his travels, and that there was good grounds to hope that the *Indians* would embrace *Chriſtianity*: [He alſo deſir'd him] that he would ſend a Biſhop and a Clergy thither, and that he ought in no wiſe to neglect thoſe that might be brought unto ſalvation. *Athanaſius* having taken into conſideration what was moſt expedient to be done, entreated *Frumentius* himſelf to take upon him the Biſhoprick, telling him that there was no man better quallified for it than he. Which was done. (e) *Frumentius* therefore dignified with an Epiſcopate, returns again to the *Indians* Country, and there became a preacher of the Chriſtian Religion; he founded many Oratories, and being vouchſafed [the aſſiſtance of] Divine Grace, he wrought many Miracles, and cured many Men's Bodies together with their Souls. Theſe things *Rufinus* ſays he heard from *Ædeſius*'s own mouth, who was afterwards dignified with a Presbyterſhip in the Church of *Tyre*.

Conſtant.

(c) Tranſlators underſtood not this place. For *Muſculus* renders it thus, *Ut ſeparatis locis uterentur, that they ſhould make uſe of ſeparate places. Chriſtophorſon* thus, *ut loca ſeparatim ſibi ſumerent, that they ſhould take to themſelves places ſeverally.* In this chap. *Socrates* has tranſlated *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 9. *Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt.*) almoſt word for word; and calls thoſe τὸ πρὸς ἰδιάζουσας, which *Rufinus* had termed *Conventicula*. Now *Conventicula* are properly *private Places* wherein *Collects*, or *ſhort Prayers are made*; and from theſe places Churches are diſtinguiſhed, which belong to the right of the Publick, and are not in the Power of any private Perſon. *Valeſ.*

(d) *Rufinus* ſays the ſame: *Tum vero Athanaſius (nam is nuper ſacerdotium ſuſceperat,)* i. e. *But then Athanaſius (for he had a little before undertaken the Epiſcopate, &c.)* But if we conſider the matter more attentively, theſe things cannot be. For *Meropius* the Philoſopher is ſaid to have travell'd into *India*, in imitation of the Philoſopher *Metrodorus*, who had taken a view of that Country before him. But *Metrodorus*, return'd not from his *Indian* Journey before the Year of Chriſt 325. For at his return from *India* he preſented the Emperor *Conſtantine* with gifts which he had receiv'd from the King of the *Indians*, as we remarked before in note (*b.*) in this chapter. Which muſt neceſſarily happen after the conqueſt of *Licinius*. For then *Conſtantine* firſt receiv'd the Empire of the Eaſt. Now, *Licinius* was vanquiſh'd at the latter end of the Year of Chriſt 324. *Meropius* therefore, in regard, following *Metrodorus*'s Example, he attempted to travel over *India*, muſt have undertaken this journey ſome Years after him. Let us then ſuppoſe, that *Meropius* went into *India* in the year of our Lord 327. On the year following, when he ſhould have returned into his own Country, he was ſlain by the Barbarians. And *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius*, being as yet youths, were preſented to the *Indian* King; and one of them was made his Cup-bearer; the other was ſet over his Acts and Evidences Royal. In which Offices both continued to the Kings death. Now, ſuppoſe they ſerved the King three years. After this the *Indian* King dies, leaving his Son very young. But the Queen his mother entreated *Ædeſius* and *Frumentius* to undertake the Government of the Kingdom, till her Son were of Age. Let us alſo allow that the King's Son was about eight years old when his father died. In as much as *Frumentius* return'd not to *Alexandria* till the young King was grown a Man, it is wholly requiſite that he ſhould have manag'd the Affairs of the Kingdom at leaſt ten Years. So *Frumentius* return'd to *Alexandria* about the Year of our Lord 341; in which year *Athanaſius* was not newly made Biſhop, but had held that Biſhoprick above fifteen Years. From what we have ſaid 'tis apparent, that this converſion of the *Indians* by *Frumentius* hapned in the Reign of *Conſtantius*, not of *Conſtantine*, as *Rufinus*, and others that follow him, have related. *Valeſ.*

(e) *Athanaſius* ſpeaks of this *Frumentius*, in his *Apologetick to the Emperor Conſtantius.* And a little after mentions *Conſtantius*'s Epiſtle to *Aizanas* and *Sazanas* the Kings of *Auxumis*, wherein he commands them to ſend *Frumentius* (whom *Athanaſius* had ordained Biſhop of *Auxumis*) to *Alexandria*, to *George* Biſhop of that City, that he might receive from him the Doctrine of the true Faith. Whence it appears, that *Frumentius* was at that time but newly ordain'd by *Athanaſius*. Now this Epiſtle was written in the Year of Chriſt 356. *Baronius*, (in *his Annotations on the Roman Martyrology,*) ſays that this *Frumentius* Biſhop of *Auxumis* muſt be differenced from the other *Frumentius* Biſhop of the *Indians*. But I do aſſert, that he that was Biſhop of *Auxumis*, and he that is ſtiled the Biſhop of the *Indians*, is one and the ſame *Frumentius*. For *Auxumis* is the *Metropolis* of *Æthiopia*. Now the *Æthiopians* are by the ancients uſually confounded with the *Indians*. So *Philoſtorgius* calls the *Homeritæ* (who were the *Auxumites* neighbours) *Indians*. Alſo, the *Æthiopians* who are now call'd *Abyſſines*, call themſelves *Indians*, and do acknowledge *Frumentius* to have been the Apoſtle of their Nation; as *Lucas Holſteinus* atteſts *in his Notes on Baronius's Martyrology*, which were lately publiſh'd at *Rome*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XX.

After what manner the Iberians *were converted to the* Chriſtian Religion.

IT is now a fit opportunity to relate after what manner the *Iberians* were at the ſame time converted to Chriſtianity. A Woman who led a religious and chaſt life, was, by the diſpoſal of Divine Providence, taken captive by the *Iberians*. Theſe *Iberians* dwell near the *Euxine Sea*; they are a colony of the *Iberians* in *Spain*. This captive woman therefore, living amongſt the *Barbarians*, devoted herſelf to a Philoſophick courſe of life. For together with the ſtricteſt and ſevereſt exerciſes of Chaſtity, ſhe uſed herſelf to moſt tedious and laſting faſts, and to continued prayer. The *Barbarians* ſeeing this, were amaz'd at the ſtrangeneſs and novelty of her actions. It hapned, that * the King's Son, being a very young child fell ſick. The Queen, according to the cuſtom of that Country, ſent the child about to other women to be cured: if perchance by long experience they might know of any cure for the diſtemper. When the young child had been carried about by his nurſe, and could find no cure from any of the women, he was at laſt brought to this captive Woman. She in the preſence of many women, apply'd not any material remedy, for ſhe had no knowledge of any ſuch Medicines. But, having taken the child, ſhe laid him upon her own bed, which was made of hair-cloath, and only ſpake theſe words: *Chriſt* (ſaid ſhe) *who healed many, ſhall alſo cure this Child.* Having added a prayer to theſe words, and invoked God's aſſiſtance, the child immediately recover'd, and from that time was very well. The report hereof was nois'd abroad among the *Barbarian* women, it came alſo to the Queen's ear; and the captive woman became more eminent. Not long after the Queen, being fallen into a diſtemper, ſent for the captive woman. She having refus'd to go by reaſon of her modeſty and baſhfuldiſpoſition, the Queen her ſelf was convey'd to her. The captive woman does the ſame that ſhe before had done to the child. And forthwith the ſick Queen recover'd, and return'd her thanks to the woman. But ſhe made her this anſwer, *it is not I that do this, but Chriſt, who is the Son of that God, who made the world.* She therefore exhorted the Queen to call upon

* See *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 10 *Eccl. Hiſt. Rufinus* does not ſay, that this child was the King's Son; but *mulier quædam parvulum ſuum, &c. a certain woman* (ſays he) *carried about her Son, &c.*

Constant. upon him, and to acknowledge the true God. The King of the *Iberians*, amazed at the suddenness of her recovery from the Disease, having enquired who it was that did these cures, presented the captive Woman with Gifts. She answered, that she stood not in need of wealth, for piety was her riches. But that she should accept it as the greatest present, if he would acknowledge that God who was set forth and declared by her. With this answer she return'd his presents. The King treasured up her words in his breast. The next day this accident befel the King going out a hunting: There fell a mist and a thick darkness upon the tops of the mountains and forrests where he was hunting, so that their sport was grown troublesom, and the way impassable. The King being in a very great straight, earnestly implored [the assistance of] those Gods whom he worshipped: But finding he was never the better, at last he bethought himself of the captive-womans God, and calls upon him to be his assistant. He had no sooner prayed, but the darkness caused by the mist was dispers'd. Admiring what was done, he he return'd home with joy, and having told his Queen what had befallen him, he forthwith sent for the captive woman, and enquired of her who that God was, whom she worshipped. When the woman was come into his presence, she made the King of the *Iberians* to become a Preacher of Christ. For, having been perswaded by this devout woman to believe in Christ, he convened all the *Iberians* that were his Subjects; and when he had related to them all things concerning the cure of his wife and his child, and also what had befallen him in his hunting, he exhorted them to worship the God of the captive-woman. Thus therefore they both became Preachers of Christ, the King preach'd to the men, and the Queen to the women. Moreover, the King, informed by the captive woman of the fashion of those Churches amongst the *Romans*, commanded an Oratory to be built; and order'd a provision of all materials towards the building to be forthwith made. Therefore a Church was erected; and when they went about raising of the Pillars, Divine Providence attempts somewhat that might perswade the inhabitants of that Country [to embrace] the Christian Faith. For one of the Pillars continued immovable. No engine could be invented, that was able to stir it. But the ropes were broken, and the engines torn in pieces. The work-men therefore, desponding and quite out of heart, went away. Then was the captive womans Faith openly manifested. For she goes by night to the place without any bodies knowledge, and there stayed all night, spending the time in fervent prayer: and by God's Providence the Pillar was rais'd and stood fix'd in the air, higher than its basis, in such a manner that it did not in the least touch its basis. Assoonas it was day, the King, (*a*) well skilled in architecture, came to the building, and sees the Pillar hanging in the Air above its own Basis. Both he himself, and all his attendants were amaz'd at what had happen'd, for a little while after in their sight the Pillar descended upon its own Basis, and there stood fixt. Hereupon they all shouted, cried out that the King's Faith was true, and celebrated the praises of the captive-womans God. After this they believed [in Christ,] and raised up the rest of the Pillars with great alacrity of mind: and the whole building was in a short time perfectly finish'd. Afterwards an Embassie was sent from them to *Constantine* the Emperor, whereby they requested, that they might both in future be admitted to a confederacy with the *Romans*, and also have a Bishop and an holy Clergy sent to them. For they protested that they did sincerely believe in Christ. This relation *Rufinus* says he had from (*b*) *Bacurius*, who had formerly been a Prince of *Iberia*: but afterwards coming over to the *Romans*, he was (*c*) made a Captain within the limits of *Palestine*. At length he was advanced to the Office of a General, and did the Emperor *Theodosius* extraordinary good service, in the (*d*) War against *Maximus* the Tyrant. After this manner were the *Iberians* converted to the Christian Religion in the times of *Constantine*.

Constant.

(*a*) Instead of [ἔμπρων τις ὤν, *well skilled in Architecture*] I had rather read ἐμφερὴς ἄν, *being very anxious.*] I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote it thus. For in *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 10. from whom *Socrates* borrowed this Relation) the Words are these; *cum ecce matutinus & anxius cum suis omnibus ingrediens Rex*, &c. *when behold the King, perplex'd in his mind, coming in the morning with all his attendants*, &c. *Vales.*

(*b*) The *Sfort. Florent.* and *Allat.* MSS. call this Persons name *Baccurius.* But in *Rufinus*, and others, his name is, more truly, *Bacurius. Zosimus* says, he was born in that *Armenia* which borders on *Iberia*, and that he was a man without all malice, or deceit, very expert in Military Affairs But *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 10. and Book 2. Chap. 33. *Eccles. Hist.*) affirms he was a Prince of the *Iberi*; that he was a Person of great fidelity, very studious of Religion and Truth: First made a Captain within the limits of *Palestine*; afterwards *Comes of the Domesticks*; and lastly that he did *Theodosius* the Emperor great service in his War with *Eugenius*. Vales. See *Valesius*'s notes on *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 430, &c.

(*c*) At this place *Socrates* mistook *Rufinus*'s meaning. For *Rufinus* says, that *Bacurius* was a Captain, *Palestini limitis, of the Palestinian limit*; when he told him these things. But *Socrates* seems to have read in *Rufinus*, *Palestini militis ducem, that Bacurius was a Captain o the Palestinian Milice.* Vales. *f*

(*d*) Here also *Socrates* is out. For *Bacurius* served not *Theodosius* in the War against *Maximus*, but in that against *Eugenius*: as *Rufinus* attests, Book 2. Chap. 33. *Eccles. Hist.* and *Zosimus*, Book 4. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning Antonius *the Monk.*

IT would be superfluous for us to say any thing concerning *Antonius* the *Monk*, who at the same time lived in the Deserts of *Egypt*, [or to relate] what a man he was, how he openly strove with Devils, and detected all their stratagems and attempts; and how he wrought many miracles. For *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* has prevented us, having written a particular Book concerning his Life: Such a plenty of eminent Men was there, who lived at one and the same time, in the Reign of *Constantine*.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Manes *the Author of the Heresie of the* Manichees, *and whence he had his Original.*

BUt it is usual for cockle to grow up amongst the good corn, for the envy [of the Devil] loves to lay snares for the righteous. Not long before *Constantine*'s reign, there sprung up a kind of heathenish Christianity, together with the true Christian Religion, as heretofore false Prophets arose up together with the Prophets, and Pseudo-Apostles amongst the Apostles. For in those days one *Manichæus* attempted clandestinly to introduce the Opinion of *Empedocles* the Heathen Philosopher, into Christianity. This Man *Eusebius Pamphilus* indeed has mention'd in the *seventh book of his Ecclesiastick History*, but has not accurately

* See *Eusebius Eccles. Hist.* book 7. chap. 31.

Conſtant. curately explained all things concerning him. Wherefore I judge it requiſite to ſupply what he has omitted. For thereby it will be manifeſted, who this *Manichæus* was, whence he came, and how he arrived at ſo high a degree of audaciouſneſs. One *Scythianus* a *Saracen*, married a captive Woman, a Native of the *Upper Thebais*. Upon her account he lived in *Ægypt*, and having been inſtructed in the Literature of the *Ægyptians*, he introduced the Opinion of *Empedocles* and *Pythagoras* into the Chriſtian Religion: Aſſerting that there were two Natures, the one Good, the other Evil, (as *Empedocles* alſo did); the evil Nature he termed *Diſcord*; the good he called *Friendſhip*. One *Buddas*, heretofore named *Terebinthus*, was this *Scythianus*'s Scholar. This Man travelling into the Country of *Babylonia*, which is inhabited by the *Perſians*, told many ſtrange and prodigious things of himſelf, ſaying, that he was born of a Virgin, and educated in the Mountains. Afterwards he wrote four Books, one he entitled [the Book] of *Myſteries*; another, *the Goſpel*; the third he called the *Theſaurus*, and the fourth *Heads*. But as he was counterfeiting the Performance of ſome myſterious ſacred Rites, he was thrown down headlong by the Devil, and ſo died. The Woman, at whoſe Houſe he ſojourned, buried him. She having poſſeſſed herſelf of his Money, bought a Boy, about ſeven years old, by name *Cubricus*: This Boy ſhe made free; and when ſhe had bred him a Scholar, ſhe died ſoon after, and left him all *Terebinthus*'s Eſtate, and the Books alſo which he had written, being inſtructed by *Scythianus*. *Cubricus*, now a Free-man, takes theſe Goods along with him, and travelling into *Perſia*, changes his Name, calling himſelf *Manes*. Where he diſtributed *Buddas*'s, or *Terebinthus*'s Books, as his own genuine Works, amongſt his ſeduced Followers. Now theſe are the Subjects of thoſe Books; in the Words they ſeemingly aſſert the Chriſtian Religion, but [if] the Opinions [contained in them be attentively conſidered] they are [neer a kin to] Gentiliſm. For *Manichæus*, being an impious Perſon, does incite [his Diſciples] to worſhip a Plurality of Gods. He alſo teaches, that the (*a*) Sun is to be adored. Beſides, he introduces Fate, and deſtroy man's Free-will. He apparently aſſerts a Tranſmutation of Bodies, following herein the Opinions of *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, and the *Ægyptians*: He denies that Chriſt exiſted in the fleſh, ſaying, that he was a meer * Phantaſm. He does alſo reject the Law and the Prophets: And calls himſelf the *Paraclete*. All which Tenets, 'tis manifeſt, are wholly diſagreeable to the Orthodox [Doctrine of the] Church. Moreover, in his Letters he has been ſo audacious as to ſtile himſelf an Apoſtle. But he met with a condign puniſhment for this impudent lie of his, [which befel him] upon this occaſion. The Son of the King of *Perſia* happened to fall ſick; his Father, deſirous to ſave the life of his Son, left no ſtone unturned, as the common ſaying is. Having heard of *Manichæus*, and ſuppoſing the wonders he did to the real and true, he ſends for him, as if he had been an Apoſtle, hoping that he might preſerve his Son's life. When he was come, in a fictitious and pretended manner he takes in hand to cure the King's Son. But the King, ſeeing that his Son died under his hands, clap't him in Priſon, with a deſign forthwith to put him to death. He made his eſcape [out of Priſon] into *Meſopotamia*, and ſaved himſelf: But when the King of *Perſia* had intelligence of his abode in thoſe Parts, he [cauſed him] to be brought from thence by force, and flead him alive: And having ſtuffed his skin with chaff, he hanged it up before the City Gates. Theſe things, which we relate, are no forgeries of our own, (*b*) but we collected them out of a Book we read over, [intitled] *The Diſputation of Archelaus*, *Biſhop* of *Caſcharum*, one of the Cities of *Meſopotamia*. For this *Archelaus* ſays, that he diſputed with *Manichæus* face to face, and what we have written above concerning *Manichæus*'s Life, *Archelaus* himſelf does relate. Thus therefore does the envy [of the Devil,] as we ſaid before, delight to entrap good Affairs when in their moſt flouriſhing poſture. But, for what reaſon the goodneſs of God ſhould permit this to be done, (whether it be that he is deſirous to have the true Opinion of the Church brought to the teſt and examined, and wholly to extirpate arrogancy, which uſually grows up together with Faith, or for what other reaſon) is a queſtion that cannot be ſolved without great difficulty and tediouſneſs: Nor can it now be opportunely diſcuſs'd by us. For, it is not our deſign to examine [the truth] of Opinions, or to make reſearches into the abſtruſe Accounts of Providence and the Judgment of God; but, according to our ability, to compoſe a narrative of the Affairs that have been tranſacted in the Churches. After what manner therefore the ſuperſtition of the *Manichæans* (*c*) ſprang up a little before the times of *Conſtantine*, it has been ſufficiently declared. Let us now return to [the Series of] thoſe times, that are the proper ſubject of the Hiſtory we deſign.

Conſtant.

(*a*) It is moſt apparent that the *Manichæans* adored the Sun. *Libanius* relates the ſame concerning them, in Book 4. Epiſt. 140. wherein he commends the *Manichæans* that were in *Paleſtine* (but ſuppreſſes their name) to *Priſcianus* the Preſident of *Paleſtine*: οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἄτοι θεραπεύοντες, &c. i. e. *Thoſe men that worſhip the Sun without blood, and honour God with the ſecond appellation, who chaſtize their belly, and account the day of their death to be gain; are found to be in many places, but are every where few in number. They injure no Man, but are moleſted by ſome.* I doubt not but by theſe Words *Libanius* means the *Manichæans*; for they cannot be agreeably attributed to any other Perſons beſides them. But he deſignedly omitted the mention of their name, becauſe the name of the *Manichæans* was odious. Concerning the feigned faſts of the *Manichæans*, ſee *Cyrill*, in his ſixth *Catechef.* Valeſ.

* That is, he had only the form and figure of a man; was imaginarily, not really ſuch.

(*b*) The reading here muſt be [διαλόγῳ ἀρχελάου, *out of Archelaus's Dialogue, or Diſputation:*] which appears from the term [ἐλθόντες, *we read.*] This *Archelaus*, Biſhop, of *Meſopotamia*, wrote the diſpute which he maintain'd againſt *Manichæus*, in *Syriack*: which being afterwards tranſlated into *Greek*, was in the poſſeſſion of many perſons, as *Jerome* atteſts, *in his Book de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. Cyrill* of *Jeruſalem* has mentioned this diſpute, in *his ſixth Catechiſm.* A fragment of this Work is in my hands, wherein is contained the Hiſtory of the impious and perfidious *Manichæus*. But his diſputation with *Archelaus* the Biſhop, which was annexed to the cloſe of this Hiſtory, is wanting. In the room whereof is added *Archelaus*'s Epiſtle to *Diodorus* the Presbyter. I am beholden to the eminent *Emericus Bigotius* for this monument, as alſo for many others. *Valeſ.* *Valeſius* has publiſh'd *this Diſputation* of *Archelaus*'s in Latine, at the cloſe of *his Annotations* upon *Sozomen*, pag. 197, &c.

(*c*) In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [παρεφύει, *ſprang up*;] which is better than [προεφύει, *ſprang up before.*] After the ſame manner *Socrates* expreſſes himſelf in the beginning of this chapter. 'Tis a metaphor taken from *Cockle*, which is wont to grow up with the Corn. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia, *and* Theognis *Biſhop of* Nice, *taking courage again, endeavoured to ſubvert the* Nicene Creed, *by plotting againſt* Athanaſius.

EUSEBIUS and *Theognis*, being returned from exile, recovered their own Churches, having (as we ſaid before) extruded thoſe that had been ordained [Biſhops] in their Places: Moreover, they acquired great Intereſt and favour with the Emperor, who had an high eſteem for

Constant. for them, looking upon them as Converts from an Heretical to the Orthodox Doctrine. But they abused this favour and liberty granted them, and made more disturbance in the World than formerly they had done; incited thereto by two motives: The one [proceeded] from the *Arian* Heresie, with which they had been formerly infected; the other from their inveterate hatred against *Athanasius*; because he had so vigorously opposed them in the Synod, when the Articles of Faith were discussed. First of all therefore they began to find fault with *Athanasius*'s Ordination, as if he were unworthy of a Bishoprick, and (*a*) as if his Ordination had been performed by unfitting Persons. But it was afterwards demonstrated that he was Superiour to all manner of Calumny: For being seated in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, he stifly and vigorously contended for the *Nicene Creed*: Then *Eusebius* set all his wits at work to lay a plot for *Athanasius*, and to bring *Arius* again into *Alexandria*. For he supposed this to be the only way to eradicate the * Doctrine of Consubstantiality, and introduce *Arianism*. *Eusebius* thereforefore wrote to *Athanasius* that he would readmit *Arius* and his Companions [into the Church.] (*b*) And in his Letter he intreated him, but openly and in publick he threatned him. But when *Athanasius* could by no means be prevailed with, he attempts to perswade the Emperor to grant *Arius* leave to come into his presence, and that he would give him a liberty of returning to *Alexandria*. And by what means he prevailed so far, as to effect this, I will relate in its due place. But before these things were done, there was another commotion raised in the Churches. For her own Sons did again disturb the Peace of the Church. *Eusebius Pamphilus* relates, that immediately after the Synod, *Egypt* raised mutual Factions within itself, but he annexes not the occasion of this Division. Whence he is thought by many to have been double-tongued, because declining to set forth the Reasons [of the Discords] he had resolved with himself not to assent to what had been determined at *Nice*. But as we our selves have found from several Letters which the Bishops wrote to one another after the Synod, the term *Homoöusios* disturbed some Men's minds. Whilst they were busying themselves about this Word, and made too curious inquiries into its import and meaning, they raised an intestine War amongst themselves. And what was done herein was not unlike a Fight in the Night. For neither side seemed to understand perfectly, why they reviled one another. For they that had an aversion for the term *Homoöusios*, look'd upon them that approved of it as introducers of (*c*) *Sabellius*'s and *Montanus*'s Opinion. And therefore they called them Blasphemers, as being Persons that destroyed the existence of the Son of God. On the other hand, they that were maintainers of the term *Homoousios*, supposing the other [their Adversaries] to be introducers of [the worship of] many Gods, abominated them, as the bringers in of Gentilism. *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* reviles *Eusebius Pamphilus* as one that adulterates the *Nicene* Faith. *Eusebius* answers, that he does in no wise infringe or Violate the Creed [published] at *Nice*: But accuses *Eustathius*, for being an Assertor of *Sabellius*'s Opinion. For these Reasons every one [of the Bishops] wrote Volumes, as if it had been against most bitter Enemies: And although both sides asserted, that the Son of God had a * proper, real and peculiar Person and existence, and confessed that there was one God in three Persons, yet (how it came to pass, I know not) they could in no wise agree amongst themselves; and therefore would by no means endure to be at quiet.

Constant.

(a) I follow this reading] ὡς μὴ κατὰ ἀξιωτέων γεγονότα, *as if his ordination, &c.*

For *Eusebius*'s Party found fault with the Ordination of *Athanasius* upon two Accounts; both because *Athanasius* was unworthy of that Honour, and also because his Ordination had been performed by Persons unfitting. See *Philostorgius*. Vales.

* Τὴν τῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν, *the faith of Homoöusios*; i. e. those Words in the Creed, wherein it is asserted that Christ is of the same Essence or substance with the Father.

(*b*) *Socrates* borrowed these words out of *Athanasius*'s *second Apology* against the *Arians*; where *Athanasius* gives an account how *Eusebius* secretly joyned with the *Melitians* in a conspiracy against him, these are his very Words: Τὴν μὲν ἓν ἀρχὴν πρεσβέπεμπε περὶ ῥέπων δεξασθαί με τὸν ἄρειον· καὶ ἀσφάρας ἠπείλει, γράφων δὲ ἠξίου. Which words of *Athanasius*, *Sozomen* makes use of in his second Book, Chap. 18. *Vales.*

* Ἐνυπόστατον καὶ ἐνυπάρχοντα. The Learned Reader will find these terms incomparably well explained by *Dionysius Petavius*, in his *Dogm. Theolog.* Tom. 2. *De Trinit.* book 4. chap. 8. Sect. 10, &c. pag. 380. Edit. *Paris.* 1644.

(c) It is hard to assign a reason, why *Socrates* should joyn *Montanus* with *Sabellius*. For *Montanus* himself made no innovations in the Doctrine of the Trinity, but follow'd the Faith of the Catholick Church; as *Epiphanius* attests (in *Hæres. Montanist.*) and *Theodoret* (book. 3. *Hæret. Fabul.*) Yet some of his Disciples took away the difference of the Persons, as *Sabellius* did; which *Theodoret* attests (at the place now cited) in these words: τινὲς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, &c. *But some of them have denied the three Persons of the Godhead, in like manner as* Sabellius *did, saying that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one and the same Person.* And hence it is, that that in the Synodical Epistle of the *Arian* Bishops at *Sardica*, *Montanus* is joyned to *Sabellius*. Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Synod convened at Antioch, *which deposed* Eustathius *Bishop of* Antioch: *Upon whose Account there was a Sedition raised, by which that City was almost ruined.*

THerefore, having convened a Synod at *Antioch*, they depose *Eustathius*, as one who was better affected towards *Sabellius*'s Opinion, than towards what the *Nicene Synod* had determined. But, as some report, [he was deposed] for other Reasons less commendable: Which yet they have not openly declared. But this is a thing which the Bishops usually do towards all that they Depose; they load them with Reproaches, and call them impious Persons, but annex not the Reasons of their impiety. Now that they Deposed *Eustathius* as a favourer of *Sabellius*'s Opinion (*Cyrus* Bishop of *Beræa* being his Accuser,) *Georgius* Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria* (one of their number who hated the term *Homoüusios*) has related *in that Encomium* (*a*) *he wrote upon Eusebius Emisenus*. Concerning this *Eusebius Emisenus* we will hereafter speak in its proper place. But *Georgius* writes [such things as do not very well hang together] concerning *Eustathius*. For he reports, that *Eustathius* was accused by *Cyrus* for an assertor of *Sabellius*'s Opinion; again he says, that *Cyrus* was (*b*) condemned and Deposed for maintaining the same Error.

(a) It is strange to see how notoriously translators have been mistaken in the Version of this place; they perceiv'd not that the last Word was to expunged, as being superfluous. For whenas at first there had been a Remark set in the Margin, that in stead of [ἔγραψεν, *he wrote*] it should be otherwise written, thus [εἶπεν, *he said*:] afterwards this word [εἶπεν, *he said*] crept out of the Margin, into the Text. *Vales.*

(*b*) Whether *Cyrus* Bishop of *Beræa* did accuse *Eustathius*, as being a favourer of *Sabellius*'s Opinion, (as *Georgius* of *Laodicea* relates,) I know not. But what *Georgius* writes, to wit, that *Cyrus* himself was afterwards deposed because he favoured *Sabellius*'s Heresie (*i. e.* because he defended the Doctrine of *Consubstantiality*; for so these words are to be understood:) is very true. For *Athanasius* confirms this, in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* Where he reckons up in order all the Bishops thrust out by the *Arians* during *Constantine's* Reign. And in the first place he names *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, then *Eutropius* of *Adrianople*. Afterwards *Euphration* of the *Balanci*, the two *Cymatius*'s *Asclepa* of *Gaza*, *Cyrus* of *Beræa* and others; who were banished by the Emperor's Edict, and others put into their Places. *Vales.*

Conſtant. But how can it be, that *Cyrus* ſhould accuſe *Euſtathius*, for being a *Sabellian*, who was himſelf a favourer of that Hereſie? It is probable therefore that *Euſtathius* was Depoſed for ſome other Reaſons. Moreover, at ſuch time as *Euſtathius* was Depoſed, there was a very great Sedition raiſed in *Antioch*. And afterwards, [at the Conferences] about the Election of a Biſhop, there was frequently kindled ſo great a flame [of Diſſention,] that it wanted but little of deſtroying the whole City, the Populace being divided into two Factions: One Party of them contended vigorouſly for the Tranſlation of *Euſebius Pamphilus* from *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* to [the See of] *Antioch*; the other Faction was very earneſt to have *Euſtathius* reſtored. The whole City in general favoured the one or the other Party [of the Chriſtians.] The Military Forces alſo were drawn up in Battle array [on both ſides] as it were againſt Enemies, in ſo much that they were juſt about making uſe of their Swords, had not God, and the fear of the Emperor repreſſed the Violence of the Multitude. For the Emperor by his Letters, (*c*) and *Euſebius* by his refuſal of the Biſhoprick, appeaſed the Tumult and Sedition. Upon which Account the Emperor admired him greatly, and writ a Letter to him, in which he commends his prudent reſolution, calling him happy, becauſe he was judged worthy to be Biſhop not of one City, but almoſt of the whole World. It is recorded therefore that after this the See of *Antioch* was (*d*) vacant eight Years. But at length, by the diligence of thoſe that plotted the ſubverſion of the *Nicene* Faith, (*e*) *Euphronius* is ordained Biſhop. Let thus much be related concerning the Synod convened at *Antioch* upon *Euſtathius*'s Account. Soon after theſe things, *Euſebius* (who had long before left *Berytus*, and was now poſſeſs'd of the Church of *Nicomedia*,) made it his buſineſs, together with his confederates, to bring *Arius* again into *Alexandria*. But how they prevailed to effect this their Deſign, and after what manner the Emperor was perſwaded to admit *Arius* and *Euzoïus* into his preſence, we are now to relate.

(*c*) The meaning of this place is this. The Emperor, by his Letters written to *Antioch*, and *Euſebius*, by his refuſing the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, appeaſed that tumult. Therefore theſe words [*appeaſed the tumult and ſedition*] muſt in common belong to both the preceeding clauſes. *Valeſ.*

(*a*) What *Socrates* here ſays, concerning the vacancy of the See of *Antioch* 8 years after *Euſtathius* was depoſed, i falſe. For immediately after *Euſtithius* was ejected; when *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* had refuſed that See; *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre* was tranſlated to that See, in the Year of Chriſt 329: As I before noted in the Tenth Book of *Euſebius*'s *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, chap. 1. note (*a.*) Afterwards *Euphronius* ſucceeded *Paulinus*; or, as ſome will have it, *Eulalius*. After whom *Flaccillus* was advanced to the See of *Antioch*, who (as *Athanaſius* atteſts *in his ſecond Apology* againſt the *Arians*) was at the Synod of *Tyre*. *Valeſ.*

(*e*) *Sozomen* ſays the ſame; and *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus* (*apud Nicætam in Theſauro Orthodox. fidei.*) Which is alſo confirm'd by *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, in his *Encomium* of *Euſebius Emiſenus*, *Socrates* quotes his Words, in Book 2. Chap. 9. (Eccleſ. Hiſt.) But *Theodoret* (Book 1. Chap. 22. Eccleſ. Hiſt.) puts *Eulalius* between *Euſtathius* and *Euphronius*, and ſays that he preſided but a very ſhort time. *Philoſtorgius* agrees with *Theodoret*. Valeſ.

Conſtant. was a favourer of *Arianiſm*, who was reckoned amongſt her Domeſticks. This Man, prompted thereto by *Euſebius* and thoſe of his Faction, did in his familiar Diſcourſe with *Conſtantia* let fall ſome Words concerning *Arius*, ſaying, that the Synod had done him wrong, and that his ſentiments were not ſuch as Report repreſented them to be. *Conſtantia* having heard this was eaſily induced to give credit to the Presbyter. But ſhe had not confidence to declare it to the Emperor. It happened that *Conſtantia* fell dangerouſly ſick. The Emperor came daily to viſit her in her ſickneſs. But when ſhe was brought into ſo dangerous a condition by her Diſtemper, that ſhe expected to die immediately, ſhe recommends the Presbyter to the Emperor, declaring to him his induſtry, piety, and how well affected he was towards his Government: And immediately after ſhe died. The Presbyter was [after this] made one of the Emperor's greateſt Confidents. And having by degrees got a greater liberty of ſpeaking, he relates to the Emperor the ſame things concerning *Arius*, that he before told his Siſter; affirming that *Arius* had no other ſentiments than what were agreeable to the Synod's determination: And that if [the Emperor] would admit him to his preſence, he would give his conſent to what the Synod had decreed: (*a*) Moreover, that he was falſely accuſed without the leaſt of Reaſon. Theſe Words of the Presbyters ſeemed ſtrange to the Emperor. Thus therefore he anſwered [the Presbyter,] if *Arius* does conſent to the Synod's determination, and has the ſame ſentiments with that, I will both admit him to my preſence, and alſo ſend him back to *Alexandria* with Repute and Honor. Thus he anſwered, and immediately wrote to *Arius* after this manner.

(*a*) Inſtead of [ᾧ μὴ ἀλόγως συνοχοφαντεῖσθαι, *and that he was falſely accuſed not without reaſon*] Sir *Henry Savil*, and *Chriſtopherſon* read [ᾧ δὴ ἀλόγως συνοχοφαντεῖσθαι, *Moreover that he was falſely accuſed without the leaſt of reaſon.*] This ſtory concerning the *Arian* Presbyter (whom *Conſtantia Auguſta* recommended to her brother *Conſtantine*) *Socrates* borrowed out of *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 11. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* But I ſuſpect the truth of it, for theſe reaſons. Firſt, becauſe *Athanaſius* (who does uſually detect all the frauds of the *Arians*) has no where made mention of it. Secondly, in regard the name of this Presbyter is ſuppreſſed: For, if this Presbyter were in ſo great favour and authority with *Conſtantine*, that (as *Rufinus* relates in the book and chapter now cited,) when the Emperor died, he ſhould leave his Will, which he had written, in the hands of this Presbyter; doubtleſs, he was worthy to have had his name mentioned. But, in my judgment, *Rufinus*'s authority is but ſmall; for he wrote his Hiſtory very careleſly, not from the Records of Affairs tranſacted, but from fabulous ſtories, and relations grounded barely on report.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to *Arius*.

It has been ſometime ſince made known to your Gravity, that you ſhould repair to Our Court, in order to your being admitted to the enjoyment of Our preſence. But we much admire, that you have not immediately performed this. Wherefore aſcend forthwith a publick Chariot, and come with ſpeed to Our Court: That having experienced Our benevolence and care, you may return to your own Country. God preſerve you, beloved Brother. Dated before the fifth of the Kalends of December. This was the Emperor's Letter to *Arius*. Here I cannot but admire the Emperors care and zeal for Religion. For 'tis evident by this Letter, that he had before frequently exhorted *Arius* to a * Recantation, in regard he reproves him, that after his frequent writing to him, *Arius* had not forthwith returned to the Truth. *Arius* therefore having receiv'd the Emperor's Letters, came ſoon after to *Conſtantinople*. There came along

* Repentance.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Presbyter, *who made it his buſineſs to get* Arius *recalled.*

THE Emperor *Conſtantine* had a ſiſter whoſe name was *Conſtantia*. She had been married to *Licinius* who was heretofore colleague in the Empire with *Conſtantine*, but afterwards he became a Tyrant and was therefore put to death. She had a confident, a Presbyter, one that

Constant. along with him *Euzoïus*, whom *Alexander* had divested of his Deaconship when he depos'd *Arius* and his associates. The Emperor admits them to his presence, and asked them whether they would agree to the [*Nicene*] Faith. They having readily given their assent, the Emperor commanded them to deliver in a Libel containing [the Articles of] their Faith.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Arius *being recalled* [*from exile,*] *and having given up a Libel of Repentance to the Emperor, did therein hypocritically pretend* [*himself an assertor of*] *the* Nicene *Creed.*

HAving therefore composed a Libel, they present it to the Emperor, the contents whereof are as followeth.

'*Arius* and *Euzoïus*, to our most Religious 'and most pious Lord *Constantine* the Emperor. 'According to the order of your piety most ac- 'ceptable to God, (our Lord the Emperor,) we 'do declare our Faith, and in writing pro- 'fess in the presence of God, that we and all our 'adherents do believe as followeth. We believe 'in one God the Father Almighty; and in the 'Lord Jesus Christ his Son, who was made by 'him before all Worlds; God the Word, by 'whom all things were made, that are in Hea- 'ven, and that are in Earth: Who came down 'from Heaven and was incarnate, and suffer'd, 'and rose again, and ascended into the Heavens, 'who also shall come again to judge the quick 'and the dead. [We also believe] in the Holy 'Ghost, and in the Resurrection of the flesh, 'and in the life of the World to come, and in the 'Kingdom of Heaven, and in one Catholick 'Church of God [which is spread] from one 'end of the World to the other. This Faith 'we have receiv'd from the Holy Gospels, 'the Lord saying to his Disciples: *Go ye* Matth. 28. 19. '*and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name* '*of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost.* '(*a*) If we do not thus believe these things, (a) after these words, there was wanting this whole clause [εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἔτως πιστεύομεν καὶ ἀποδεχόμεθα ἁπλῶς, πατέρα, υἱὸν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, *If we do not thus believe these things, and* [*if we do not truly admit of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost*] which we have made up from the Authority of the *Allatian* MS. and from *Sozomen*, Book 2. Chap. 27. *Vales.* 'and [if we do not] truly admit of the Father, 'the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in such man- 'ner as the whole Catholick Church, and the 'Scriptures (which we believe in all things) 'do teach, God be our Judge, both now, and 'in the Judgment to come. We therefore be- 'seech your piety (O Emperor most accepta- 'ble to God!) that we being Ecclesiastical 'Persons, and holding the Faith and Sence of 'the Church and the holy Scriptures, may by 'your pacifick and religious piety be united (*b*) 'to our mother, to wit the Church; all que- 'stions and superfluous disputations being 'wholly taken away and suppressed: that so 'both we and the Church, enjoying a mutual 'Peace and Union, may joyntly offer up our 'usual Prayers for the peaceable Reign of 'your Imperial Majesty, and for your whole 'Family.

(*b*) In the King's M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, this place is pointed otherwise, thus [*to our Mother the Church, to wit, all questions*, &c.] which distinction displeases me not.

CHAP. XXVII.

Constant.

How Arius *return'd to* Alexandria *by the Emperor's Order; and upon* Athanasius's *Refusal to admit him,* Eusebius's *Faction framed divers Accusations against* Athanasius *before the Emperor.*

ARius having thus perswaded the Emperor, returned to *Alexandria*. But this specious covert was not prevalent enough to suppress the silenc'd and hidden truth. For when *Athanasius* denied him reception upon his arrival at *Alexandria*: (in regard he detested the man as an abomination:) he attempted to stir up new commotions in *Alexandria*, by disseminating his heresie. Moreover, at that time *Eusebius* did both himself write Letters, and also induced the Emperor to write, that *Arius* and his complices might be receiv'd [into the Church.] But *Athanasius* did wholly refuse to grant them reception: And he acquainted the Emperor by his Letters, that it was impossible for those, who had once rejected the Faith, and were anathematized, to be entirely readmitted again [to their degrees in the Church] at their return. But the Emperor, highly incens'd [at this return] thus threatned *Athanasius* in a Letter (*a*)

(*a*) After these words the *Florentine* MS. adds these [μέρος ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ βασιλέως, *part of the Emperor's Letter.*] Which are altogether necessary, that the Reader may understand, that not the Emperor's whole Epistle, but part of it only, is here inserted. *Athanasius*, in *his second Apology against the Arians*, (out of whom *Socrates* took these passages) producing this Epistle of *Constantines*, sets these very words before it; and adds, that this Epistle was brought to *Alexandria* by *Syncletius* and *Guadentius*, Officers belonging to the Imperial Palace. But, that which *Socrates* affirms (to wit, that *Arius* came to *Alexandria*) is not mentioned by *Athanasius*, nor do I think it is true. *Vales.*

Part of the Emperor's Letter.

Having therefore received the knowledge of our will, do you afford a free ingress to such as are desirous of entring into the Church. For if we shall receive information that you have prohibited any of those that are desirous [*to be united*] *to the Church, or have hindred their admission, We will immediately send one who shall be impowered by Our order to depose you, and banish you your Country.* Thus wrote the Emperor, having a regard to the good of the publick, and being unwilling that [the members of] the Church should be rent asunder. (*b*) For he laboured to reduce them all to a perfect Union. At that time therefore the *Eusebians* (who were deadly haters of *Athanasius*,) supposing they had gotten a fair opportunity, made use of the Emperor's indignation as instrumental for the execution of their own Design. Upon which account they made great disturbances, labouring by that means to effect *Athanasius*'s deposition from his Bishoprick: for they hoped that the *Arian* opinion would become absolutely prevalent by these means only, [to wit,] by a removal of *Athanasius*. There was therefore by a joynt consent an attack made against him by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum* [a City] of the *Upper Mæsia*, and *Valens* of *Mursa* in the *Upper Pannonia*. These persons hire some of the

(*b*) After these Words from the *Florentine*, *Sfortian*, and *Allatian* MSS. we have added this whole Period [τὰς γὰρ πάσας ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμόνοιαν ἄγειν ἐσπούδαζε, *For he laboured to reduce them all to a perfect Union:*] which was wanting in the common Editions. *Sozomen* has almost the same words, in his second book at the close of chap. 22; but he has changed their order. *Vales.*

Conſtant. *Melitian* Hereticks, who bring in ſeveral Accuſations againſt *Athanaſius*. And firſt they frame a complaint [againſt him] by (*c*) *Iſion*, *Eudæmon* and *Callinicus*, who were *Melitians*, as if *Athanaſius* had ordered the *Ægyptians* to pay a Linnen-Garment [under the notion of tribute] to the Church of *Alexandria*. (*d*) But *Alypius*, and *Macarius*, Presbyters of the Church of *Alexandria*, who were then accidentally at *Nicomedia*, extinguiſhed this Accuſation, having informed the Emperor, that what they reported againſt *Athanaſius* was falſe. Wherefore the Emperor by his Letters ſharply reproved thoſe that inform'd againſt him: But he adviſed *Athanaſius* in a Letter to repair to him. But the *Euſebian* Faction, before his arrival, and in order to their preventing of it, tack another Accuſation to the firſt, far worſe than the former: As if *Athanaſius*, * entring into a conſpiracy againſt the Emperor's Affairs, had ſent a little cheſt full of Gold to one *Philumenus*. But the Emperor, having taken cognizance hereof at *Pſamathia*, which is the Suburbs of the City *Nicomedia*, and finding *Athanaſius* innocent, diſmiſſed him with honour; and wrote to the Church of *Alexandria*, that their Biſhop *Athanaſius* had been falſly accuſed. It would indeed have been comely and decent to have paſſed over in ſilence thoſe calumnies, which the *Euſebians* afterwards framed againſt *Athanaſius*, leſt Chriſt's Church ſhould be condemned by thoſe that do not embrace his Doctrine. But in regard they have been committed to Writing, and expoſed to the view of all Men, I therefore judged it neceſſary to treat of theſe Matters as compendiouſly as may be, which [if particularized] would require a peculiar Volume. Wherefore I will give a ſhort Account, whence both the Subject of the calumny itſelf, and alſo the contrivers of the falſe Accuſation had their Original. (*e*) *Mareotes* is a Region of *Alexandria*: There are in it a great many, and thoſe very populous Villages, and in them many and ſtately Churches. All theſe Churches are under [the juriſdiction of] the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and ſubject to his City like Pariſhes. In this Country of *Mareotes* there was a Man, by name *Iſchyras*, who had committed a Fact worthy of a thouſand deaths. For, whenas he had never been admitted into ſacred Orders, he [nevertheleſs] took upon himſelf the name of a Presbyter, and was ſo audacious as to perform the Office of a Presbyter. This *Iſchyras* therefore, detected in the commiſſion of the foreſaid crime, made his eſcape thence, and arriving at *Nicomedia*, for refuge fled to the *Euſebian* Faction. They, in regard of their hatred towards *Athanaſius*, receive him as a Presbyter; and promiſe to prefer him to the dignity of a Biſhoprick, if he would frame an Accuſation againſt *Athanaſius*, they deriving a pretence [for this calumny] from thoſe ſtories which *Iſchyras* had contrived. For he gave out, that he had ſuffered moſt miſerably by an aſſault made upon him: And that *Macarius* running furiouſly [into the Oratory] as far as the Altar, overturned the Table, broke the myſtical Cup, and burnt the ſacred Books. For this Accuſation (as I have ſaid) the *Euſebians* promiſed him a Biſhoprick as his reward, being ſenſible that this Accuſation againſt *Macarius*, would (together with him that was accuſed) overthrow *Athanaſius* alſo who had ſent *Macarius*. This Accuſation therefore they charged him with afterwards. But before this [calumny, they framed] another ſtuffed with all manner of hatred and maliciouſneſs, which we muſt now ſpeak of. Having got a Man's hand (whence they had it, I know not, whether they had murdered any Man and cut off his hand; or whether they had cut it off from ſome dead body, God only knows, and they that were Authors of this Fact,) they produced it [pretending] it to be the hand of one (*f*) *Arſenius*, a *Melitian* Biſhop: The hand they expoſed to all Men's view, but kept *Arſenius* concealed. And they reported that *Athanaſius* had this hand in his cuſtody, and made uſe of it in the performance of ſome Magical Deluſions. This therefore was the chiefeſt and moſt important point of the Acuſation which theſe Sycophants had forged [againſt *Athanaſius*.] But (as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes) other Perſons accuſed him of other matters. For all thoſe who had been his Enemies before, did at this time moſt eſpecially make uſe of their utmoſt force againſt him. The Emperor, having intelligence of theſe Proceedings, writes to (*g*) *Dalmatius* the *Cenſor*, his Brother's Son, who then kept his reſidence at *Antioch* in *Syria*; that he ſhonld command the Perſons accuſed to be brought before him, and (after he had taken cognizance of the Caſe) order them that were convicted to be puniſh'd. He alſo ſent *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, that *Athanaſius* might be tryed before them. When *Athanaſius* knew that he was to be ſummon'd to appear before the *Cenſor*, he ſent into *Ægypt* to find out *Arſenius*. He had certain information that the Man was conceal'd: But he could not apprehend him becauſe he frequently changed his lurking-holes by removing from one place to another. In the interim, the Emperor ſuppreſſed the tryal which ſhould have been before the *Cenſor*, upon this Account.

(*b*) We find theſe Men's names in that Catalogue of the *Melitian* Biſhops which *Alexander* procured from *Melitius*. This *Iſion* was Biſhop in *Athribis*, *Eudæmon* in *Tanis*, and *Callinicus* in *Peluſium*. See *Athanaſius*'s *ſecond Apologetick*. Valeſ.

(*d*) *Athanaſius* (in *his Apologetick*) calls this Man *Apis*, not *Alypius*. But names not the place, wherein *Conſtantine* took cognizance of this matter. Yet *Socrates* affirms it was at *Nicomedia*. Further, *Baronius* relates that theſe Affairs were tranſacted in the Year of Chriſt 329. But I would rather chooſe to place them on the Year following. For theſe things hapned after *Euſtathius*'s depoſition, when *Euſebius* and *Theognis*, (returned from their Exile) had procured a great authority and Intereſt with *Conſtantine*. But what the ſame *Baronius* ſays (to wit, that *Conſtantine*'s Letter, concerning *Arius*'s readmiſſion into the Church, was written to *Athanaſius* in the year of Chriſt 327,) is a palpable miſtake; and he diſſents from *Athanaſius*, whom notwithſtanding he profeſſes to follow in all things. For *Athanaſius* relates, that ſoon after *Conſtantine*'s Letter, and *Arius*'s repulſe, the *Melitians* accuſed him of theſe Crimes before the Emperor. *Valeſ.*

* Ἐπιβελεύων τοῖς Βασιλέως πράγμασι; which words, *Valeſius* has thus rendred, *conſpirans adverſus Principem*, *conſpiring againſt the Emperor*.

(*e*) This paſſage of *Socrates* is verymuch enlightned by *Athanaſius* in *his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*. Whoſe Words, becauſe they are miſunderſtood by his Tranſlator, I will here ſet down. Ὁ μαρεώτης χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὅτι· καὶ ἐδέποτε ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἐπισκοπῶν, οὐδὲ χωρεπίσκοπος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι τῆς χώρας ἐποκεῖνται· ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας, μεγίστας καὶ ἀριθμῷ δέκα που καὶ πλείονας. That is, *Mareotes is a Region of* Alexandria. *In that Region there never was a Biſhop, or Deputy-Biſhop. But the Churches of that whole Region are ſubject to the Biſhop of* Alexandria. *Each of the Presbyters hath peculiar Villages, (which are very great,) ſometimes ten in number, or more.* From theſe words it appears, that every Village of *Mareotes* had nor its particular Presbyter; but that one Presbyter govern'd ten Villages and ſometimes more. That Village, wherein *Iſchyras* was, in regard it was the leaſt of all, undoubtedly had neither its peculiar Church, nor Presbyter. To that Epiſtle which all the Presbyters and Deacons of *Mareotes* wrote to the Synod of *Tyre* (which Letter is recorded by *Athanaſius* in the Book now cited) there ſubſcribed fourteen Presbyters, and fifteen Deacons. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) This *Arſenius* was a Biſhop of the *Melitians* in the City *Hypſelis* which is in *Thebaïs*. In his Epiſtle, which he wrote to *Athanaſius*, he aſſumes to himſelf this title of honour, Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίῳ, Πάπα Ἀρσένιος ἐπίσκοπος ἦν ποτὲ ὑπὸ μελίτιον τῆς ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως, i. e. *To Athanaſius the bleſſed, Pope Arſenius Biſhop of the City Hypſelis, one of thoſe ſometimes under* Melitius. But in the Catalogue of Biſhops of the *Melitian faction*, which *Melitius* deliver'd *to Alexander*, no *Arſenius* can be found. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) *Socrates* took this out of *Athanaſius*, *in his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*; His words are theſe; Γράφει δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος, &c. *Conſtantine wrote to Antioch, to Dalmatius the Cenſor, [ordering him] to hear the Cauſe concerning the murder. The Cenſor therefore ſent to me, to prepare for my defence. Socrates* thought that this *Dalmatius*

matius was the Son of *Constantine*'s Brother, he that some years after was made *Cæsar* by *Constantine*. But that is a great mistake. For *Dalmatius* the *Censor* was *Constantine*'s Brother, and the Father of *Dalmatius* the *Cæsar*. *The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* confirms this, who writes thus concerning *Constantine*. Καὶ Δαλμάτιον τὸν υἱὸν ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Δαλματίου τοῦ κένσορος καίσαρα ἀνηγόρευσε ; i. e. *and he created Dalmatius (the Son of his Brother Dalmatius the Censor) Cæsar.* Certainly, *Dalmatius* the Son of *Dalmatius* was (when these things were done which are related by *Athanasius*) very young, and could not sit as judge in so weighty an Affair. Besides, he lived at that time at *Narbona*, and (together with *Hannibalianus* his brother) was an Hearer of *Exuperius* the *Rhetorician*. For from that City he was sent for by *Constantine*, and created *Cæsar* when very young (as *Ausonius* affirms *in his Book de Professor. Burdigal.*) in the year of Christ 335. But that tryal concerning the murder of *Arsenius* was before *Dalmatius* the Censor at *Antioch*, (as *Athanasius* attests,) in the year of Christ 332, according to *Baronius*'s Opinion. *Vales.*

Constant.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Emperor ordered a Synod of Bishops should be convened at Tyre, *upon account of the accusations brought against* Athanasius.

THE Emperor had ordered a Synod of Bishops to meet, that they might be present at the Consecration of the Church which he had erected at *Jerusalem*. He therefore issued out an Order, that those Bishops [before they met there] should first be convened at *Tyre*, and by the by make researches into *Athanasius*'s case : That so [all occasions of] contention being by this means wholly taken away, they might more peaceably perform the * Solemnities of the Churches Dedication, and consecrate it unto God. (*a*) This was the thirtieth Year of *Constantine*'s Empire. Moreover there were assembled at *Tyre* Bishops out of divers places, to the number of sixty, upon the summons of *Dionysius*, a Person that had born the Consulship. *Macarius* the Presbyter was brought from *Alexandria*, bound in iron chains, under the custody of a guard of Soldiers. But *Athanasius* would not have come thither (not that he so much dreaded the accusations brought against him : For he was not conscious to himself that he was guilty of those things he was accused for : But he was afraid least they should make any innovations there in opposition to what had by common consent been approved of at the Synod of *Nice*.) But yet he dreaded the Emperor's menacing Letters. For he had written to him, that if he would not come voluntarily, he should be brought by force. Therefore *Athanasius* also was present there, being necessitated to it.

* Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Concerning the import of this word, the learned Reader may consult *Scaliger. Poetic. Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 106. *Epibaterion.*

(*a*) The Synod of *Tyre* was held in the consulates of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, (as *Athanasius* attests,) in the year of Christ 335. This was the 28*th* year of *Constantine*'s Empire. His 29*th* Year began (during the same Men's Consulates) on the 8*th* of the *Calends* of *August*, on which day *Constantine* celebrated his *Tricennalia* (i. e. *the Festivals for his having arrived to the* 30*th Year of his Empire*) as *Idacius* attests, (*in Fast.*) anticipating that Solemnity one whole Year. This anticipation of his *Tricennalia* has induced not only *Socrates*, but several others also, into a mistake. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Arsenius, *and his Hand which was reported to to have been cut off.*

MOREOVER, Divine Providence forced *Arsenius* to go to *Tyre*. For having neglected the commands which the Sycophants, whose hireling he was, had given him, he came in a disguise, to see what would be done there. It accidentally hapned, that the Servants of (*a*) *Archelaus* (who was the *Consularis*) heard some Persons in an Inn say, that *Arsenius* (the Person reported to have been murthered) was there kept concealed in some [Citizens] house. When they had heard this, and had taken good notice of them that spoke these Words, they gave their Master an Account of what they had heard. He, without the least delay, immediately searched for the Man, and found him : And when he had found him, ordered he should be secured. And gives notice to *Athanasius* not to be in the least disturbed : For *Arsenius* was alive and present there. *Arsenius* being apprehended, denied that he was [*Arsenius.*] But *Paul* Bishop of *Tyre*, who had formerly known him, made it appear that he was the Person. Divine Providence having before hand disposed of these things after this manner, soon after *Athanasius* was summoned by the Synod. And when he had made his appearance, the Sycophants produced the hand, and enforced their Accusation [against him.] But he * demeaned himself prudently. For he enquired of those that were present, and of his Accusers, whether any of them knew *Arsenius*. When a great many answered that they knew him very well, he caused *Arsenius* to be brought in before them, having his hands hid under his upper long Garment : Then he asked them again ; is this the Man that hath lost his hand ? Hereupon, they (excepting those that knew whence the hand had been cut off) were astonish'd at the strangeness of the thing. For all the rest thought that *Arsenius* had really wanted a hand, and they expected that *Athanasius* would make his own Defence some other way. But he took *Arsenius*'s Garment and turning it on one side, shews the Man's hand. Again, when some supposed that his other hand was wanting, he made a short stay, permitting them to continue dubious. Immediately after, without any further delay, he turned aside the other part [of his garment] and shewed *Arsenius*'s other hand : After which he thus addressed himself to the company ; *Arsenius*, as you see, is found to have two hands : As for the third, let my Accusers shew the place whence it was cut off.

Constant

* Σώτας μετηλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα *ordered the matter prudently:* this is the import of these words, if rendred literally.

CHAP. XXX.

That Athanasius *being found innocent, after his first Accusation, his Accusers made their escape by flight.*

THESE Affairs concerning *Arsenius* having been thus transacted, they who had contriv'd this fraud, were reduc'd to a straight. But (*a*) *Achab*, (who was also called *John*) *Athanasius*'s Accuser, slipt away out of the Court of Judicature, and so made his escape in the tumult. Thus *Athanasius* cleared himself from this accusation, without making use of any * exception. For he was confident, that the bare sight of *Arsenius* being alive would abash the Sycophants.

(*a*) In *Athanasius*'s *second Apologetick.* pag. 783. *Edit. Par.* the words are Ἀρχὰφ ὁ καὶ Ἰωάννης. *Archaph, who is also called John.* In the *the Epistle of Alexander Bishop of Thessalonica to Athanasius*, he is also called *Archaph.* Therefore, this Man had two Names, he was called *Archaph*, by the *Egyptians*, which was his Country name : *John* was his *Monastick* Name. He was a Bishop of the *Melitian faction* at *Memphis*. *Athanasius* relates, that he was commanded by *Constantine* to agree with his Arch-Bishop. *Athanasius* means *Constantines* Letter to *John*, which he gives an Account of, at Pag. 787. of *his second Apologet. Edit. Paris.* Vales.

* Παραγραφὴν. See *Calvin. Lexic. Juridic.* in the Word *Paragraphe.*

(*a*) *Rufinus* in book 1. chap. 16. of *his Ecclesiastick History*, says that this *Archelaus* was not the *Consularis* (or *President*) of *Phœnicia*, but the *Comes* of the *East*. Vales.

CHAP.

Conſtant.

CHAP. XXXI.

That Athanaſius *fled to the Emperor, upon the Biſhops not admitting of his Defence at his ſecond Accuſation.*

BUT in his diſproof of the falſe accuſations brought againſt *Macarius*, he made uſe of legal exceptions. And firſt he excepted againſt *Euſebius* and his companions, as being enemies, alledging that no man ought to be judged by his adverſaries. Afterwards he ſaid, that it muſt be demonſtrated, that *Iſchyras* the Accuſer had really procured the dignity of a Presbyter. For ſo it was written in the Libel of Accuſation. But when the Judges would not allow of any of theſe exceptions, *Macarius*'s cauſe was brought in. After that the Acuſers were almoſt wearied out and quite faint, the further hearing of the cauſe was deferr'd till ſuch time as ſome Perſons ſhould make a journey into *Mareotes*, that they might make inquiſition upon the place concerning all matters that were doubtful. But when *Athanaſius* perceiv'd that thoſe very perſons were ordered to go, whom he had excepted againſt; (for *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Theodorus*, *Macedonius*, *Valens*, and *Urſacius* were ſent:) he cried out that their proceedings were treacherous and fraudulent. For it is unjuſt [ſaid he] that *Macarius* the Presbyter ſhould be kept in bonds, and that his Accuſer, together with his Adverſaries the Judges ſhould go; and [that this was done [for this reaſon, [to wit,] that the memorials of the Acts might be made up [in favour] of one ſide only. After *Athanaſius* had ſpoke theſe words aloud, and made ptoteſtation before the whole Synod and *Dionyſius* the preſident, when he ſaw that no body took notice of him, he privately withdrew. Thoſe therefore that were ſent to *Mareotes*, having regiſtred the Acts in favour of one ſide only, as if thoſe things had been moſt certainly true, (*a*) which the Accuſer had depoſed; made [their return to *Tyre*.]

(*a*) This place is imperfect, as any one may perceive. It may be made perfect, if inſtead of [ἔχειν] we make this addition [ἔχουσι τῆς ἐπανόδου, *made their return to Tyre:*] which we have followed in our Verſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXII.

That after Athanaſius's *departure, he was depoſed by the Vote of the Synod.*

ATHanaſius being gone away, fled immediately to the Emperor. The Synod in the firſt place condemn'd him in his abſence for deſerting his cauſe. But when the Acts, which had been made up in *Mareotes* arrived, they paſſed the ſentence of depoſition againſt him; loading him with reproaches in the (*a*) Libel of his depoſition but mention'd not a word how ſhameſully the *Sycophants* had been vanquiſh'd in the accuſation of the murder. *Arſenius* alſo, who was reported to have been murdered, was receiv'd by them.

(*a*) *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* render theſe words [ἐν τοῖς καθαιρέσεσι] thus, *depoſitionis cauſas, the cauſes of his depoſition.* But I ſuppoſe, that by theſe words is meant *the Libel of his depoſition*, or the Synodical Epiſtle concerning the condemnation and depoſition of *Athanaſius*. *Socrates* uſes the ſame term, in his ſecond Book Chap. 1. If any one be deſirous to peruſe a copy of theſe Epiſtles, there is extant a Synodical Epiſtle of the *Council of Antioch*, concerning the depoſition of *Paul* of *Samoſata*: alſo, the Synodical Epiſtle of the *Council of Sardis*, concerning the depoſition of *Gregorius Alexandrinus*, *Valens*, *Urſacius*, and other *Arian* Prelates. *Valeſ.*

Conſtan.

He had at firſt been a Biſhop of the *Melitian* Hereſie: But he ſubſcrib'd *Athanaſius*'s depoſition, as being at that time Biſhop of the (*b*) *Hypſelites*. And thus (which was very ſtrange) he that was reported to have been murdered by *Athanaſius*, being alive, depoſed *Athanaſius*.

(*b*) In *Athanaſius* the reading is truer, thus [ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως, *of the City of the Hypſelites,*] as we noted before. *Stephanus* (*de Urbibus*) ſays *Hypſelis* is a Town in *Egypt*; and that the inhabitants thereof are called *Hypſelites*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Synod, having left Tyre, *came to* Jeruſalem, *and after the Celebration of the Feaſt of Dedication of the New* Jeruſalem, *readmitted* Arius *to Communion.*

IN the interim the Emperors Letters arrived, commanding the Synod to give their ſpeedy attendance at *New Jeruſalem*. And immediately with all poſſible expedition they haſtned from *Tyre* to *Jeruſalem*. Where after they had finiſhed the ſolemnities of the conſecration of the places, they (*a*) readmitted *Arius* and his aſſociates into the Church, ſaying, that they did it in obedience to the Emperor's Letters, by which he had ſignified to them that he was fully ſatisfi'd as touching *Arius* and *Euzoïus*'s faith. Moreover, they wrote Letters to the Church of *Alexandria*, that all envy and hatred was now baniſh'd, and that the affairs of the Church were in a peaceable and ſedate poſture: and that *Arius*, in regard by his repentance he had acknowledg'd the truth, was in future to be receiv'd by them, and that deſer-

(*a*) In *Athanaſius*'s ſecond Apology againſt the *Arians*, and in his book *de Synodis Arimini and Seleucia*, this Synodick Epiſtle of the *Jeruſalem Council* is recorded; in which Epiſtle the Biſhops who had been convened there for the Dedication of *Conſtantine*'s Church, do atteſt, that they had received into Communion τὸν περὶ Ἄρειον, *Arius and his followers*: Which they had done according to the Emperor's command, who by his Letters had ſignified to them, that he himſelf knew that thoſe Mens Faith was true and Orthodox, both from their own atteſtation by word of mouth, and alſo from the Libel of Faith which they preſented to him. Which Libel *Conſtantine* had annex'd to his Letters. Now, he means that Libel of Faith, which *Arius* and *Euzoïus* had preſented to *Conſtantine*, mentioned by *Socrates* before, at the 26 chapter of this firſt Book; and by *Sozomen*, Book 2. Chap. 27. For when *Arius* had preſented a Libel of his Faith to *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantine*, believing his Doctrine to be agreeable to the *Nicene Faith*, would not himſelf give his Judgment concerning this matter; but remitted him to the examination of the *Jeruſalem Council*, as *Rufinus* and *Sozomen* do relate. *Athanaſius* alſo (in his Book *de Synodis*) affirms expreſly, that *Arius* and his aſſociates were received into communion by the *Jeruſalem Synod*: his words are theſe, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξορισθῆναι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀθανάσιον, γεγράφασι δεῖν δεχθῆναι Ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, *and after the baniſhment of Athanaſius Biſhop of* Alexandria, *writing that they ſhould admit to communion Arius and his followers*, &c. But I ſuppoſe that *Arius* the *Arch-Heretick* is not to be meant here, but another *Arius*, his name ſake, who had been condemn'd by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, together with *Arius* his Ringleader. For *Arius* the Arch-Heretick died long before the *Jeruſalem Synod*, as I have evidently prov'd in *my ſecond Book of Eccleſiaſtick Obſervations*, chap. 2. [The Learned Reader will find *three Books of Eccleſiaſtick Obſervations* written by *Valeſius*, and publiſh'd at the latter end of the ſecond Vol. of *his Greek Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians.*] Therefore, that *Arius*, who together with *Euzoïus*, preſented a Libel of his Faith to *Conſtantine*, is a different Perſon from *Arius* the Arch-Heretick. Which may be demonſtrated by another Argument. This *Arius* who preſented a Libel to *Conſtantine* together with *Euzoïus*, was not reſtored before the *Jeruſalem* Synod, that is, before the year of Chriſt 335; nor joyned to the Catkolick Church. For he requeſts of the Emperor in the foreſaid Libel, that all altercations being taken away by his piety, he may be united to the Catholick Church. But *Arius* the *Arch-Heretick* was recalled from exile long before, and readmitted to communion, as the penitentiary Libel of *Euſebius* and *Theognius* doth atteſt. For *Euſebius* and *Theognius* do ſay there expreſly, that the Author of the whole controverſie (to wit, *Arius*) having given ſatisfaction, was entirely reſtored. Further, *Euſebius* and *Theognius* ſent that Libel to the Biſhops in the year of Chriſt 328. as I ſhewed before. Therefore *Arius* the *Hæreſiarch* muſt neceſſarily have been recalled at the beginning of the ſame Year. *Valeſ.*

vedly,

Constant. vedly, as being a member of the Church. (*b*) [But] they obscurely intimated that *Athanasius* was deposed from his Bishoprick [by their saying that all envy and hatred was now banished.] Moreover they wrote to the Emperor, informing him of the same Affairs. Whilst the Bishops were transacting these things, other Letters came unlookt for from the Emperor, which signifi'd to them that *Athanasius* was fled to him for refuge: and that upon his account they must necessarily come to *Constantinople*. Now the Emperor's intervening Letter is as followeth.

(*b*) This place is imperfect; it is easier to pick out them meaning of it, than to correct the words. *Socrates* therefore would say, that the Bishops, when they say, that *all envy and hatred now was banish'd*, &c. *Vales.* in their Synodical Epistle, do obscurely mean *Athanasius*,

CHAP. XXXIV.

That the Emperor by his Letter summoned the Synod to attend him, that Athanasius's *Case might be accurately discussed in his presence.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the Bishops Assembled at *Tyre.*

IT *is indeed unknown to Us, what hath tumultuously and tempestuously been determined by your Synod. But the Truth seemeth in a manner to be perverted by a certain turbulent disorder, to wit, whilst by reason of your mutual contention, which you are desirous should be insuperable, you consider not those things that are well pleasing to God. But it will* [*We hope*] *be the Work of Divine Providence, to dissipate the mischiefs of this pertinacious contentiousness, after they are manifestly detected; and to make it perspicious to Us, how great a care you that have been convened have had of the Truth, and whether you have determined the matters that have been discussed by you without any favour or malice. Therefore, all of you must of necessity with speed attend upon Our Piety, that you your selves may render an accurate Account of what hath been done by you. Now, for what reason we thought it requisite to write these things to you, and to summon you before our selves by this Letter, you shall understand from the sequel. As We were making our entry into* Constantinople, *the City that bears Our name,* [*scituate in*] *Our own most flourishing Country; (it hapned that We then rode on Horse-back:) on a sudden* Athanasius *the Bishop, together* (*a*) *with some Presbyters whom he had about him, approacht Us in the midst of the high way so unpectedly, that he put Us into a consternation. For God the Inspector of all things is our witness, that at first sight We were unable even to discern who he was, had not some of Our* [*Servants*] *upon Our enquiry told Us (as it was meet) both who he was, and what injuries he had suffered. At that time We neither spoke to, nor had any discourse with him. But when he requested that he might be heard, and We had refused that, and in a manner ordered he should be removed from our presence; with a greater confidence he said, that he desired nothing else but your appearance here, that (being necessitated thereto) he might in Our presence make a complaint of his sufferings. Wherefore in regard this seemed reasonable to Us, and a matter befitting Our times, We willingly gave order for the writing of these things to you: That all you, who made up the Synod convened at* Tyre, *should without delay hasten to the Court of Our Piety, in order to your making a real Demonstration of the integrity and unbyassedness of your determination; to wit, in the presence of Us, whom none of you can deny to be a genuine Servant of God. For by the worship we exhibit to the Deity, Peace doth every where flourish, and the name of God is sincerely praised even by the* (*b*) Barbarians *themselves, who till this time have been ignorant of the truth. Moreover, it is manifest, that he who knows not the truth, acknowledges not God. Nevertheless, as we said before, even the* Barbarians *have (upon Our Account, who are Gods genuine servant) acknowledg'd the Deity, and have learned to pay a Religious worship to him, by whose Providence, as they have been really and truly made sensible, we are every where protected and provided for. Upon which account chiefly they have been brought to the knowledge of God; whom they worship out of a dread towards Us. But* (*c*) *we, who seem to have a greater esteem for, (for We will not say, to defend) the holy mysteries of his Church: We say, We do nothing else, but what belongs to discord and hatred, and (to speak plainly) what tends to the destruction of mankind. But, as we said before, come all of you to Us speedily; with a full assurance, that with our utmost vigour we will endeavour the accomplishing of this,* [*namely*] *that those things* [*comprehended*] *in the Law of God may most especially be preserv'd firm and unshaken (on which no reproach or ill opinion can possibly be fixt,) to wit, by dissipating, breaking to pieces, and utterly destroying the Enemies of the Law, who under the covert of* [*Christs*] *holy Name introduce various and different sorts of Blasphemies.*

(*a*) In *Athanasius*'s *second Apology against the Arians* (where this Epistle of *Constantine*'s is recorded) the reading is [μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν, *together with some others.*] But the reading we follow, to wit, [μετὰ ἱερέων τινῶν, *with some Presbyters*] is better; which is confirm'd by *Epiphan. Scholasticus.* Vales.

Constant.

(*b*) Perhaps he means the *Iberians*, concerning whose conversion *Socrates* has spoken before. *Vales.*

(*c*) In *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. and in *Athanasius*, the reading of this place is [οἱ τὰ ἅγια, &c. *Ye, who seem to have a greater esteem for — the holy mysteries of his clemency.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read this passage thus also, as appears from his Version: where, instead of [*We, who seem*, &c.] it is [*Ye, who seem*, &c.] which is confirmed by the *Florent.* M. S. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

That, when the Synod came not to the Emperor, the Eusebians *accused* Athanasius, *as if he had threatned, that he would prohibit the carriage of that* Corn, *with which* Alexandria *furnish'd* Constantinople. *Whereupon the Emperor, being incensed, banished* Athanasius, *confining him to the* Gallia's.

THis Letter put those present at the Synod into a great perplexity of mind. Wherefore most of them returned to their own Cities. But *Eusebius, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Ursacius* and *Valens*, going to *Constantinople*, would not suffer any further enquiry to be made concerning breaking the Cup, overturning the [Communion] Table, and the murthering of *Arsenius:* but they proceeded to another calumny, having informed the Emperor, that *Athanasius* had threatned to prohibit the sending of the Corn, which was usually convey'd from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*: And that these words were said by *Athanasius* in the hearing of *Adamantius, Anubion,* (*a*) *Arbathion* and *Peter*, all Bishops. For a calumny hath a greater force and prevalency, when the false Accuser is a person of repute and credit. The Emperor thus circumvented

(*a*) In *Athanasius*'s *second Apology*, this man is called *Arbetion.* But it must be read with a Diphthong, thus, *Arbætion.* For 'tis a Greek name derived from *Arbætus*; of which name there was a Consul in *Constantius*'s reign, as I have observed *in my Notes on Amm. Marellin.* Vales.

Conſtant. cumvented and incenſed, puniſheth *Athanaſius* with baniſhment, ordering him to inhabit the *Gallia's*. There are thoſe that ſay this was done by the Emperor, with a deſign thereby to procure a general Union in the Church, in regard *Athanaſius* had wholly refuſed to communicate with *Arius* and his followers. But he lived [in exile] at *Triers* a City of *Gallia*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning Marcellus [*Biſhop*] *of* Ancyra, *and* Aſterius *the* Sophiſta.

THE Biſhops that were convened at *Conſtantinople* did alſo depoſe *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia the leſs*, upon this Account. There was one *Aſterius*, a Profeſſor of Rhetorick in *Cappadocia*, who left the teaching of that Art, and owned himſelf a Profeſſor of the Chriſtian Religion. He alſo took in hand to write Books (which are extant to this Day) wherein he aſſerted *Arius*'s Opinion, ſaying, that Chriſt is the Power of God in the ſame ſence that the Locuſt and Palmer-worm are in *Moſes* ſaid to be the Power of God, and other ſuch like [*Blaſphemies*] as theſe. This *Aſterius* was continually in company with the Biſhops, and with thoſe Biſhops moſt eſpecially that were not diſaffected to *Arianiſm*: Moreover, he came frequently to Synods, being very deſirous to creep into the Biſhoprick of ſome City. But he got not ſo much as a Presbyterſhip, becauſe he had ſacrificed in the time of Perſecution. He went up and down to the Cities of *Syria*, and (*a*) recited in publick the Books he had made. When *Marcellus* underſtood this, being deſirous to (*b*) oppoſe him, through an over great earneſtneſs [in his confutation of him], he fell into the contrary Error. For he audaciouſly aſſerted, that Chriſt was a meer Man, as *Paul* of *Samoſata* did. Which when the Biſhops then convened at *Jeruſalem* had intelligence of, they took no notice of *Aſterius*, becauſe he was not enrolled in the Catalogue of the Presbyters. But they required of *Marcellus*, as being a Prieſt, an Account of the Book (*c*) written by him. And when they found that he held *Paul* of *Samoſata*'s Principles, they commanded him to alter his Opinion. He, aſham'd [of what he had done,] promiſed to burn his Book. But the convention of Biſhops being haſtily diſſolved, upon the Emperor's ſummoning of them to *Conſtantinople*; when the *Euſebians* came to *Conſtantinople*, *Marcellus*'s Caſe was again diſcuſſed. And upon *Marcellus*'s refuſal to burn his impious and unhappy Book according to his promiſe, the Biſhops there aſſembled depoſed him, and ſent *Baſilius* in his room to *Ancyra*. Moreover, *Euſebius* wrote three Books by way of Anſwer and Confutation of this Book, [of *Marcellus*'s,] in which he manifeſtly laid open and reproved his falſe Opinion. But *Marcellus* afterwards recovered his Biſhoprick in the Synod of *Sardis*, ſaying, that his Book was not rightly underſtood, and therefore he was judged to favour *Paul* of *Samoſata*'s Doctrine. But we will ſpeak of this in its proper place.

(*a*) *Athanaſius* (in his Book *De Synodis*) ſays that this *Aſterius* ſat in the Church amongſt thoſe that were of the Clergy, and recited his Books in publick. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) In the *Allat.* M. S. the reading is [ἀντιγεάφειν, *to write againſt him.*] So *Epiphan. Scholaſt.* ſeems to have read.

(*c*) This Book of *Marcellus*'s was intitled, *De ſubjectione Chriſti*, *concerning Chriſt's ſubjection*; as *Hilarius* informs us, *in the fragment of his book, de Synodis.* Valeſ.

Conſtant.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How, after Athanaſius *was exiled,* Arius, *being ſent for from* Alexandria *by the Emperor, raiſed Diſturbances againſt* Alexander *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople.

WHILE theſe things were tranſacted, the thirtieth Year of *Conſtantine*'s Reign was compleated. (*a*) *Arius* and his followers being returned to *Alexandria*, cauſed a general diſturbance in that City again. For the populace of *Alexandria* were very much troubled both at *Arius* and his Complices's return, and alſo at the exile of their Biſhop *Athanaſius*. But when the Emperor underſtood the perverſeneſs of *Arius*'s mind, he ordered him to be ſent for again to *Conſtantinople*, thereto give an Account of the diſturbances he had endeavour'd to rekindle. *Alexander*, who had ſome time before that ſucceeded *Metrophanes*, did then preſide over the Church of *Conſtantinople*. The conflict this Man had with *Arius* at that time, was a ſufficient Proof of his Piety and Acceptableneſs to God. For upon *Arius*'s arrival there, both the People were divided into two Factions, and there alſo aroſe an univerſal commotion all the City over: Some of them affirming, that the *Nicene Creed* ought to continue unſhaken and without any alteration; and others pertinaciouſly aſſerting that *Arius*'s Opinion was conſonant to Reaſon; *Alexander* was hereupon reduced to a great ſtraight. And more eſpecially, becauſe *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* had ſorely threatned him, ſaying, that he would forthwith cauſe him to be depoſed, unleſs he would admit *Arius* and his followers to Communion. But *Alexander* was not ſo ſollicitous about his own Depoſition, as he was fearful of the enervating of the Doctrine of Faith, which they earneſtly endeavoured to ſubvert. For looking upon himſelf as the Keeper and Patron of the Determinations made by the [*Nicene*] Synod, he made it wholly his buſineſs to prevent the wreſting and depravation of thoſe Canons. Being therefore reduced to thoſe extremeties, he entirely bad farewel to [the aſſiſtances of] Logick, and made God his Refuge. He devoted himſelf to continual Faſts, and omitted no form or manner of Praying. Now, he made this reſolution within his own mind, and what he had reſolved he ſecretly perform'd. Having ſhut up himſelf alone in the Church which is called *Irene*, he went to the Altar, laid himſelf proſtate on the Ground under the (*b*) Holy Table, and poured forth his Prayers [to God] with tears: he continued doing this for many Nights and Days together. Moreover, he asked of God, and received [what he had deſired.] His Petition was this; That if *Arius*'s Opinion were true, he might not ſee the Day appointed for the Diſquiſition thereof: But, if that Faith which he profeſſed were true, that *Arius* (in regard he was the Author of all theſe miſchiefs) might ſuffer condign puniſhment for his impiety.

(*a*) *Socrates* does here follow *Rufinus*, who ſays that *Arius* (after the *Synod* at *Jeruſalem*) return'd to *Alexandria*; and a little after that (when his devices would do no good there) was recalled to *Conſtantinople* by *Euſebius*. But all this is falſe, as we intimated before, in regard *Arius* died long before the *Jeruſalem Synod*. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Rufinus* (book 1. chap. 12. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*) from whom *Socrates* borrowed this, words this paſſage thus, *ſub altari jacens*, *lying under the altar.* *Sozomen* tells the ſame ſtory; Book 2. Chap. 29. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

Constant.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning Arius's *Death.*

THis was the subject of *Alexander*'s Prayer. Now the Emperor, desirous to make tryal of *Arius*, sends for him to the Palace, and enquired of him, whether he would give his assent to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Synod. He, without any delay, readily subscribed in the Emperor's presence, making use of evasive shifts to elude and avoid what had been determined concerning the Faith. The Emperor, admiring hereat, compelled him to swear. This he also did, by making use of fraud and deceit. Moreover, the manner of artifice he made use of in subscribing was, as I have heard, this. *Arius*, they say, wrote that Opinion he maintain'd in a piece of paper, and hid it under his armpit: and then swore that he did really think as he had written. What I have written concerning his having done this, is grounded on hearsay only. But I have collected out of the Emperor's own Letters, that he swore, besides his bare subscribing. Hereupon the Emperor believed him, and gave order to *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* to admit him to Communion. It was then the Sabbath-day, and on the day following he expected that he should be a Member of the assembly of Believers. But Divine Vengeance closely follow'd *Arius*'s audaciousness. For, when he went out of the Imperial Palace, he was attended by the *Eusebian* Faction, like Guards, through the midst of the City; in so much that the eyes of all people were upon him. And when he came near that place which is called *Constantine's Forum*, where the pillar of Porphyrie is erected, a terror [proceeding] from a consciousness [of his impieties] seiz'd *Arius*, which terror was accompanied with a looseness. Hereupon he enquir'd whether there was an House-of-office near, and understanding that there was one behind *Constantine's Forum*, he went thither. A fainting fit seiz'd him; (*a*) and together with his Excrements his Fundament fell down forthwith, and a great flux of blood follow'd, and his small guts, and blood gushed out, together with his Spleen and Liver. He died therefore immediately. But the House-of-office is to be seen at this day in *Constantinople*, as I said, behind *Constantine's Forum*, and behind the *Shambles* in the *Piazza*: and by every ones pointing with their finger at the jakes as they go by, the manner of *Arius*'s death will never be forgotten by posterity. This accident happning, a fear and an anxiety seiz'd *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*'s faction: and the report hereof quickly spread it self all over the City, nay I may say over the whole World. But the Emperor did more zealously adhere to Christianity, and said that the *Nicene* Faith was now truly confirmed by God himself. He was also very glad, both at what had happned, and also upon the account of his three sons, whom he had proclaimed *Cæsars*: each of them was created at every * *Decennalia* of his Reign. The eldest of them (called *Constantine* after his own name) he created Governour over the Western parts of the Empire, in the first tenth year of his Reign. His second son, *Constantius* (who bore his Grandfathers name) he made *Cæsar* in (*b*) the Eastern parts of the Empire, in the twentieth year of his reign. The youngest, called *Constans* he created [*Cæsar*] in the thirtieth year of his Empire.

Constant.

* Or, *every tenth year of his Empire.*

(*a*) In *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. (or in *Theodorus Lector's Tripertite History*) this place is worded thus, [ᾧ ἅμα διαχωρήμασι παρεκπίπτει ἡ ἕδρα, τό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν καλούμενον ἀπόφθεσμα παραυτίκα διὰ τῆς ἕδρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αἵμα ὅς τε πολὺ ἐπακολουθεῖ, καὶ τὰ λίπλα σὺν τοῖς ἐντέροις συνέτρεχεν ἅμα αὐτῷ σπλῆνί τε καὶ ἥπατι; *and together with his excrements his fundament slid secretly down, and that termed by Physicians the Apephthesma fell immediately through his fundament; which was followed by a great flux of Blood, and his small guts ran out, together with his spleen and liver.*] Which passage is in my judgment incomparably well expressed. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. 'Tis certain, *Epiphanius Scholasticus* does in part confirm this reading. Also, in the *Sfortian* M. S. it is [παρεκπίπτει, *slid secretly down*] instead of [ἐκπίπτει, *fell down.*] Vales.

(*b*) It should not be [τὸν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑῴοις μέρων] but [τοῖς δὲ, &c. *in the Eastern parts.*] And, a little before, it must be [τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον, *of the same name with his Grandfather:*] as it is in the *Allat.* M. S. But the vulgar reading is tolerable. For the Greek term [ἐπώνυμος] is used not only to signifie him who gives his name to another; but in respect to him also, who takes his name from another. So *Socrates* does usually stile *Constantinople* ἐπώνυμον Κωνσταντίνου, *a City that took its name from Constantine.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXIX.

How Constantine, *falling into a Distemper, ended his Life.*

THE year after, the Emperor *Constantine*, having just entred the sixty fifth year of his age, falls sick. He therefore left *Constantinople*, and went by water to *Helenopolis*, to make use of the medicinal hot Springs, situate in the Vicinage of that City. But when he was sensible that his distemper increased, he defer'd bathing. And removed from *Helenopolis* to *Nicomedia*. He kept his Court there in the Suburbs, and received Christian Baptism. He was hereupon very chearful, and made his Will, wherein he left his three sons Heirs of the Empire, alotting to every one of them their part, as he had done in his life-time. He left many Legacies both to (*a*) *Rome* and to *Constantinople*, and he intrusted his Will with that (*b*) Presbyter, by whose intercession *Arius* was recalled, of whom we spoke something * before: enjoining him not to deliver it into any man's hands, except his Son *Constantius*'s, whom he had constituted Governour of the East. After he had made his Will, he lived some few days and then died. Moreover, none of his Sons were with him at his death: Therefore there was one immediately dispatcht into the East, to inform *Constantius* of his Father's death.

* Chap. 25. of this Book.

(*a*) Concerning this gift, which *Constantine* by his Will bequeathed to the *Elder-Rome*, our *Eusebius* is a witness; in his 4th Book of *Constantine's life*, Chap. 63. *Vales.*

(*b*) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*, Book 1. *Eccles. Hist.* Chap. 11. But this story seems to me very improbable. For who can believe that the Emperor *Constantine*, who then had many Bishops about him, (for so *Eusebius* says expressly;) as also Grandees and great Officers, should make choice of one Presbyter, an unknown Person, (for his name is always concealed) to whom he might commit the keeping of his Will, when he died. Wherefore, I had rather follow *Philostorgius* here, who says, that *Constantine* delivered his Will to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by whom he had been baptized a little before. *Vales.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning Constantine *the Emperor's Funeral.*

THey that were about the Emperor, put his Corps in a Coffin of Gold, convey'd it to *Constantinople*, and placed it [on a Bed of State] on high in the Palace; and there they paid their honorary respects to it, and set a guard about it, as when he was alive. This course they continued, till one of his Sons came. But when

Conſtant. *Conſtantius* arrived out of the Eaſtern parts, he was honour'd with an Imperial Sepulture, and depoſited in the Church called *The Apoſtles*; which he he himſelf had erected for this reaſon, that the Emperors and Prelates (*a*) might not be far inferior to the Reliques of the Apoſtles. The Emperor *Conſtantine* liv'd to the age of ſixty five years: he reigned one and thirty years: and died in the Conſulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, upon the twenty ſecond day of *May*: which was the (*b*) ſecond year of the two hundredth ſeventy eighth *Olympiad*. Now, this Book contains in it the ſpace of thirty one years. *Conſtant.*

(*a*) *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred this place thus; *ne Imperatores & Antiſtetes reliquiis apoſtolorum deſtituerentur, that the Emperors and Prelates might not be deprived of the Apoſtles reliques.* But I cannot approve of this Verſion. For *Conſtantine* had depoſited no reliques of the Apoſtles in that Church. I would therefore rather tranſlate it thus, that the Emperors and Prelates there to be buried, might not be far inferior to the Apoſtles Reliques; but might be affected with the ſame degree of honour with them. Which interpretation *Euſebius* confirms, in Book 4. Chap. 40. *Concerning the Life of Conſtantine* Valeſ.

(*b*) *Socrates* miſtakes here. For in the conſulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus* (which was the year of Chriſt 337) on the eleventh of the *Calends of June* (i. e. on the 22d of *May*) the fourth year of the 278th *Olympiad* was current. Which may be demonſtrated by moſt evident reaſons. But *Socrates* ſeems to have made uſe of a corrupt Copy of *Euſebius*'s *Chronicle*, wherein the year of the *Olympiad* was erroneouſly ſet. But, at this place of *Socrates*, we ought rather to read *The third Year.* For *Socrates* ſays, that this firſt Book of *his Hiſtory* contains the ſpace of One and thirty years. For he begins from the beginning of *Conſtantine*'s Reign, who, as he ſays, reigned One and thirty years. The beginning of his Reign he places on the firſt year of the 271 *Olympiad*, as we ſaw before. Now from this year to the ſecond year of the 278th *Olympiad* there are but thirty years, including therein the two terms. Wherefore, there muſt neceſſarily be a miſtake in this place of *Socrates*. Valeſ.

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

The Preface, wherein he gives an account, why he made a new Edition of his Firſt and Second Book.

Conſtantius.

RUfinus (he that wrote *an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory in the Latin tongue*,) has erred concerning [the notation of] the times. For he ſuppoſes, that what was done againſt *Athanaſius*, hapned after the death of *Conſtantine* the Emperor. He was alſo ignorant of his baniſhment into the *Gallia's*, and of ſeveral other things. We having at firſt follow'd *Rufinus* [as our Author,] wrote the firſt and ſecond Book of our Hiſtory according to his authority. But from the third to the ſeventh Book, we have made a collection of ſome paſſages, partly out of *Rufinus*, and partly out of various other Authors, and related others from thoſe which do yet ſurvive; and ſo have compleated our work. But when we had afterwards procured *Athanaſius*'s Books, wherein he laments his own calamitous ſufferings, and how he was baniſh'd by the calumny of the *Euſebian* faction; we thought it more expedient to credit him (who had ſuffer'd theſe hardſhips) and thoſe who had been preſent at the tranſacting of theſe matters; rather than ſuch as have followed conjectures [in their relations] thereof, and for that reaſon have been miſtaken. Beſides, having gotten [ſeveral] Letters of perſons at that time very eminent, to our utmoſt ability we have diligently traced out the truth. Upon which account we have been neceſſitated *entirely to to dictate again the firſt and ſecond Book [of this Work,] making uſe [nevertheleſs] of thoſe paſſages, in the relation whereof *Rufinus* hath not forſaken the truth. Moreover, notice is to be taken, that in our former Edition we had not inſerted *Arius*'s Libel of Depoſition, nor the Emperor's Letters; but had only ſet forth a bare relation of the affairs tranſacted, that we might not dull our Readers by a prolix and tedious Narration. But in regard that this alſo was to be done in favour to you ((*a*) O ſacred Man of God, *Theodorus!*) that you might not be ignorant of what the Emperors wrote in their Letters, nor of what the Biſhops (changing that Faith by little and little) promulged in divers Synods: wherefore, in this latter Edition we have made ſuch alterations and inſertions as we judged to be neceſſary. And having done this in the firſt Book, we will alſo make it our buſineſs to do the ſame in that now under our hands, we mean the ſecond. But we muſt now begin [the following Series of] our Hiſtory.

Conſtantius.

(*a*) Our *Euſebius* has given the ſame title to *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, at the beginning of the *tenth Book of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſt.* whoſe Example *Socrates* here follows. Who this *Theodorus* was, to whom *Socrates* dedicated *his Hiſtory*, is uncertain. For I cannot think that *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* is here meant. *Valeſ.*

* That is, to make a new Edition of, &c.

CHAP. II.

How Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia *with his Accomplices, earneſtly endeavouring to introduce* Arius's *Opinion again, made diſturbances in the Churches.*

THE Emperor *Conſtantine* being dead, *Euſebius* [Biſhop] of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* Biſhop of *Nice*, ſuppoſing they had now gotten a very ſeaſonable opportunity, made uſe of their utmoſt diligence and attempts to expel the * *Homoöuſian* Faith, and introduce *Arianiſm* in its ſtead. (*a*) But they [ſuppoſed] it impoſſible for them to effect this, if *Athanaſius* ſhould return [to *Alexandria*.] Moreover, in order to their forming and carrying on of their deſign in this matter, they made uſe of that Presbyters aſſiſtance, who had a little before been the cauſe of *Arius*'s being recalled from baniſhment. But, how this was effected, we muſt relate. That Presbyter [we have mention'd] preſented *Conſtanine*'s laſt will and commands, which he had received from the Emperor at his death, to the Emperor's Son *Conſtantius*. He having found that written in the Will which he was very deſirous

* That is, the Faith that profeſſed Chriſt to be of the ſame Subſtance or Eſſence with the Father.

(*a*) This place is imperfect, and faulty. It may be made good not incommodiouſly, thus; πεῤῥέπεσθαι δὲ τότε σωπήσαν ὡ. ἐκ ἂν δύναιντο; εἰ ἀνοσήσοι Ἀθανάσιος: *but they underſtood that they could not effect this, if Athanaſius ſhould return.* Valeſ.

Conſtantius.

deſirous of; (for by the Will the Empire of the *Eaſt* was committed to him) had an honorary reſpect for the Presbyter, allow'd him a great liberty of ſpeaking, and order'd he ſhould freely and with confidence come into the Palace. This liberty therefore being allowed [the Preſbyter,] made him in a ſhort time well known both to the Empreſs, and alſo to her Eunuchs. The principal perſon of the Emperor's Bedchamber at that time was an Eunuch, whoſe name was *Euſebius*. The Presbyter perſwaded this perſon to embrace *Arius*'s opinion. After which, the reſt of the Eunuchs were prevailed with to be of the ſame opinion. Moreover, the Emperor's *Wife* alſo, by the perſwaſion of the Eunuchs and this Presbyter, became a favourer of *Arius*'s Tenets. Not long after, this queſtion came to [the hearing of] the Emperor himſelf. And by degrees it was ſpread abroad, firſt amongſt (*b*) thoſe that were of the *Milice* in the Palace; and afterwards it was divulged amongſt the multitudes of the [Imperial] City. Thoſe of the Bed-chamber together with the women diſcourſed concerning this opinion in the Imperial Palace: and in the City, throughout every private family, there was a logical war waged. Moreover, the miſchief ſoon ſpread it ſelf over other Provinces and Cities. And (like a ſpark) this controverſie taking its riſe from a ſmall beginning, excited the hearers minds to a moſt pertinacious contention. For every perſon that enquired the reaſon of the diſturbance, immediately had an occaſion of diſputing given him; and at the very interim of his making an enquiry, he reſolved upon entring into a wrangling diſpute. By this contention all things were ſubverted. Theſe [alterations] were ſtarted in Eaſtern Cities only. For the Cities of *Illyricum*, and thoſe [ſituated] in the Weſtern parts [of the Empire] were in that interim at quiet: for they would by no means diſanull the determinations made at the *Nicene* Synod. When therefore this miſchief, thus kindled, increaſed and grew daily worſe and worſe, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* and his Faction began then to think the diſturbance of the Vulgar to be their gain. For [they were in hopes] of being enabled by this means only, to conſtitute a Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that ſhould be of the ſame opinion with them. But *Athanaſius*'s return at that time to *Alexandria* prevented this their deſign, who came thither fortified with one of the *Auguſtus*'s Letters, which *Conſtantinus the Younger* (who bore the ſame name with his Father) ſent from *Triers* a City in *Gallia* to the people of *Alexandria*. [A Copy of] which Letter I have here ſubjoyned.

(*b*) *Chriſtophorſon* rendred theſe words [τοῖς περὶ τὰ βασίλεια σπεκελευομένοις,] thus, *Imperatoris ſatellites, the Emperor's Guards:* which is ill tranſlated. For by this term all the *Palatini* are meant; not only the *Protectores*, the *Domeſtici*, and the reſt of the *Scholares*, (ſee *Valeſius*'s *notes* on *Amm. Marcellin.* pag. 31. &c.) but the *Miniſteriani*, and *Scriniarii* alſo. For this was termed the *Palatine Milice*. Valeſ.

Conſtantius.

IT has not, we ſuppoſe, (a) eſcaped the knowledge of your Sacred Mind, that Athanaſius *an Interpreter of the venerable Law, was therefore ſent into the* Gallia's *for a time, leſt (in regard the Barbarity of his blood-devouring Enemies and Adverſaries continually menaced his ſacred Head with imminent danger,) he ſhould undergo incurable Miſchiefs through the perverſeneſs of wicked Men. In order therefore to his fruſtrating of this [Barbarity,] he was ſnatch'd out of the Jaws of thoſe perſons that deſigned his ruin; and enjoyned to live under our Diſtrict, in ſuch a manner that, in that City wherein he was ordered to make his reſidence, he ſhould abound with all manner of Neceſſaries: although his moſt eximious Virtue, having put its confidence in the Divine Aſſiſtances, eſteems as nothing the Troubles of a rougher Fortune. Wherefore, although our Lord and Father* Conſtantinus Auguſtus *of bleſſed memory, had determined to reſtore this Biſhop to his own* * *See,* * Place. *and [return him] to your moſt amiable Piety: Yet in regard, being prevented by human chance, he died before the accompliſhment of his deſire; We being his Succeſſor, thought it agreeable to fulfil the mind of that Emperor of ſacred memory. [Moreover,] how great a reverence and reſpect he has procured from us, you ſhall know from himſelf, as ſoon as he ſhall come into your preſence. Nor is it a wonder that We have done any thing in favour to him: for both the repreſentation of your Love, and alſo the aſpect of ſo great a Perſonage moved and excited Our Mind hereto. May the Divine Providence preſerve you, deareſt Brethren.*

(*a*) Inſtead of [ἀποτεθειμένας εἰς γνῶσιν] I read [ἀποπεπεισθαι γνῶσιν,] as it is in *Athanaſius*'s *ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians.* *Cæſar Baronius*, (in his *Annals*,) *Dionyſius Petavius*, (in his *Rationarium Temporum*,) *Blondellus*, (in his Book *de Primatu Eccleſiæ*,) and others do relate, that *Athanaſius* was recalled from baniſhment in the year of Chriſt 338, to wit, the year after *Conſtantine*'s death; who perceiving the foreſaid Prelate to be preſſed on every ſide by the Calumnies of his Adverſaries, had for a time baniſhed him into the *Gallia's*. But I do maintain, that *Athanaſius* was reſtored in the year of Chriſt 337, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were Conſuls, in that very year wherein *Conſtantine* died: which I can make evident, as I ſuppoſe, by a moſt demonſtrable argument. For *Athanaſius* (in *his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians*, pag. 805.) relates, that he was releaſed from his baniſhment, and reſtored to his Country by *Conſtantine the younger*, who alſo wrote a Letter in his behalf to the Populace and Clergy of the *Alexandrian* Church. This Letter [as *Socrates* does here, ſo] *Athanaſius* there recites: the inſcription of it is this; *Conſtantinus Cæſar, to the People of the Catholick Church of Alexandria.* The ſubſcription of this Letter is thus, *dated at Iriers the fifteenth of the Calends of July.* As well the inſcription, as ſubſcription of this Letter, does atteſt what I ſay, to wit, that *Athanaſius* was releaſed from his exile ſoon after the death of *Conſtantine the Great*, in the year of Chriſt 337. For if he had been reſtored on the year following, then *Conſtantine the younger* would not have called himſelf *Cæſar*, but *Auguſtus*. Nor would *Athanaſius* have been reſtored by *Conſtantine the younger*, but by *Conſtantius*, to whom was allotted the Eaſtern part of the Empire. Wherefore, in regard *Conſtantine* ſtiles himſelf only *Cæſar* in that Letter, and ſince *Athanaſius* atteſts, that he was reſtored by *Conſtantine the younger*, 'tis apparent, that that was done, before the Sons of *Conſtantine the elder* were by the Soldiers proclaimed *Auguſti*. For, upon *Conſtantine*'s Death, there was a certain *interregnum*: and the *Roman* World continued without an Emperor almoſt three Months; until the Brethren (who under the name of *Cæſars* Governed divers Provinces) had met together, in order to their making a diviſion of the whole *Roman* Empire. *Conſtantine* died on the *eleventh* of the *Calends* of *June*, and on that very year there were three *Auguſti* proclaimed, to wit, *Conſtantinus*, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans*, on the *fifth* of the *Ides* of *September*; (as it is recorded in the *Old Faſti*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* publiſhed under the falſe name of *Idatius*. This is that which *Euſebius* writes in his fourth Book of *Conſtantine's Life*, chap. 71. to wit, that *Conſtantine* retained his Empire after his death, and that all Reſcripts and Edicts bore his name, as if he had been yet alive. For this reaſon therefore *Conſtantine the younger* ſtiles himſelf *Cæſar* only, in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, in regard he was not yet proclaimed *Auguſtus*. For the Letter was dated on the *fifteenth* of the *Calends* of *July*. But he was created *Auguſtus* (together with his brethren) on the *fifth* of the *Ides* of *September*. Moreover, at that time (whilſt the Brothers were ſtiled *Cæſars* only) *Conſtantinus Junior* was the chief in Authority, becauſe he was the eldeſt Brother. See *Valeſius*'s firſt Book of *Eccleſiaſtick Obſervations on Socrates and Sozomen*. Chap. 1.

CHAP. III.

How Athanaſius, *confiding in the Letter of* Conſtantine the Younger, *returned to* Alexandria.

CONSTANTINUS CÆSAR, to the People of the Catholick Church of the *Alexandrians*.

Upon

Constantius. Upon the confidence of this Letter *Athanasius* comes to *Alexandria*, and the people of *Alexandria* most willingly received him. But as many as were followers of *Arius*'s Opinion, entred into a combination and conspired against him. Hereupon continual Seditions arose, which gave an occasion to the *Eusebian* faction of accusing him before the Emperor, because upon his own inclination and award (without the determination of a general Council of Bishops) he had return'd and taken possession of the [*Alexandrian*] Church. And they made so great a proficiency in their calumnies, that the Emperor, being incensed, expelled him out of *Alexandria*. But, how that was effected, I will a little after this relate.

CHAP. IV.

That upon Eusebius Pamphilus's *Death*, Acacius *succeeded in the Bishoprick of* Cæsarea.

DUring this interval of time, *Eusebius* (who was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and had the sirname of *Pamphilus*) departed this life, and *Acacius* his Scholar succeeded him in that Bishoprick. This *Acacius* published many other Books, and also wrote [particularly] concerning the Life of his Master [*Eusebius.*]

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Death of Constantine the Younger.

NOT long after this, the Emperor *Constantius*'s Brother, (who bore the same name with his Father,) *Constantine the Younger*, invading those parts [of the Empire] that belonged to his younger brother *Constans*, and ingaging with his Soldiers, is slain by them, in the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proclus*.

CHAP. VI.

How Alexander *Bishop of* Constantinople, *at his Death, proposed* Paulus *and* Macedonius *to be elected into his Bishoprick.*

AT the very same time, the City *Constantinople* was involv'd in another tumult (which follow'd on the neck of those [disturbances] we have before related,) raised upon this account. (a) *Alexander*, who presided over the Churches in that City, [a Prelate] that had couragiously opposed *Arius*, departed out of this life, after he had spent twenty three years in that Bishoprick, and had lived ninety eight years compleat, having ordained no body [to succeed] in his place. But he commanded those to whom the power of electing belong'd, to make choice of one of those two whom he should name. And if they were desirous of having one that should be both skilful in teaching, and also of an approved piety and uprightness of life, [he advised them] to make choice of *Paulus*, one that he had ordained Presbyter; a person that was a young man indeed in respect of his age, but old in understanding and prudence. But if they would rather have one commendable for an external shew of piety only, they might elect (b) *Macedonius*, who had long since been made a Deacon of that Church, and was now grown aged. Hereupon there hapned a great contest concerning the Ordination of a Bishop, which very much disturbed that Church. For the people were divided into two * Factions; the one side adhered to the *Arian* Opinion; the other embraced the determinations made at the *Nicene* Synod. And as long as *Alexander* continued alive, the † *Homoousian* party prevailed; the *Arians* disagreeing and contending daily amongst themselves concerning their own Opinion. But after *Alexander*'s death, the success of the peoples contest was dubious. Therefore, the *Homoousian* party proposed *Paulus* to be ordained Bishop. But those that embraced *Arianism*, were very earnest to have *Macedonius* elected. And in the Church called (c) *Irene* (which is near that Church now named *The Great Church*, and the Church of *Sophia*,) *Paulus* is ordained Bishop; in which [Election] the Suffrage of *Alexander*, then dead, seem'd to have prevailed.

Constantius.

(a) *Socrates* mistakes here, (and all those that follow him,) in placing the death of *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* on the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proclus*, in the year of Christ 340. In *the second Book of my Ecclesiastick Observations upon Socrates* and *Sozomen* [the Learned Reader will meet with *Valesius's Ecclesiastick Observations upon Socrates* and *Sozomen*, at the close of *Valesius's second Volume of the Greek Ecclesiastick Historians*; he may find the matter discussed at the first Chapter of the second Book of those Observations.] I have by most evident arguments demonstrated, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* died in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, and that *Paul* succeeded him, during the Reign of the said *Constantine*. *Baronius*, who places *Alexander*'s death on the year of Christ 340, does manifestly contradict himself. For he says, that the Synod of the Bishops of *Egypt* (which was summoned to confute the Calumnies brought against *Athanasius* by the *Eusebian* Faction,) was convened in the year of Christ 339. But those Bishops do expresly atteft, in their *Synodick Epistle*, that at that very time *Eusebius* had left *Nicomedia*, and had lept into the *Constantinopolitan* See. 'Tis needless to quote the words of that Epistle here, in regard they are produced by *Baronius* himself, at the year of Christ 340. Now, if *Eusebius* had gotten the See of *Constantinople* in the year of Christ 339. *Alexander* must necessarily be supposed to have been dead before this year. *Vales.*

(b) This Person was afterwards promoted to the degree of Presbyter under *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and accused his own Bishop, as *Athanasius* relates, in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* Vales.

* Parts.

† That is, those that owned Christ to be of the same Substance or Essence with the Father.

(c) There were two Churches of this name in *Constantinople*, the one called *the Old*, the other *the New Irene*; as it is recorded in the Life of *Paul* the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop, which *Photius* relates in his *Bibliotheca*. Moreover, the *Old Church* called *Irene* was contiguous to the *Great Church*, which was afterwards named *Sophia*: nor had it separate Clergy-men; but the Clergy of the *Great Church* by turns ministred in that Church. The Emperor *Justinian* informs us of this, in *the third Novel*. In the old description of *Constantinople*, which is prefixt before *the Notitia Imperii Romani*, this is called *the Old Church*, and 'tis placed in the second Ward of the City, together with the *Great Church*. The Church *Irene* (to wit, *The New Irene*,) is recounted in the seventh Ward of that City. *Socrates* hath made mention of *The Old Irene*, in *his first Book*, Chap. 37. It is termed the Church of *Saint Irene*, after the same manner that the *Church Sophia* is called *Saint Sophia*; not that there was a Virgin, or Martyr, called by that name. *Vales.*

CHAP. VII.

How the Emperor Constantius *ejected* Paulus, *who had been ordained Bishop: and, having sent for* Eusebius *from* Nicomedia, *entrusted him with the Bishoprick of* Constantinople.

BUT the Emperor, arriving not long after at *Constantinople*, was highly incensed at this Ordination [of *Paulus.*] And having convened a Council of Bishops that embraced *Arius*'s Opinion, he vacated *Paulus*'s [Bishoprick.] And he translated *Eusebius* (a) from *Nicomedia*, and constituted him Bishop of *Constantinople*. When the Emperor had performed these things, he went to *Antioch.*

(a) The *Allatian* M. S. inserts some words here, after this manner: Εὐσέβιον δὲ ἐκ τῆς νικομηδείας καὶ περιελόμενον αὐτὸ μελασήας τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἀναδείκνυσι; i. e. *and having through Eusebius's own ambition removed him from Nicomedia, he constituted him Bishop of the Great City* [*Constantinople.*] Vales.

Conſtantius.

CHAP. VIII.

How Euſebius *aſſembled another Synod at* Antioch *of* Syria, *and cauſed another Form of Faith to be publiſhed.*

BUT *Euſebius* could by no means be at quiet: but (as the common ſaying is) moved every ſtone, that he might effect what he had deſigned. Therefore, he procures a Synod to be aſſembled at *Antioch* in *Syria*, under a pretence of dedicating a Church, which [*Conſtantine*] the Father of the **Auguſti* had begun to build: (after whoſe death, *Conſtantius* his ſon finiſh'd it, in the tenth year after its foundation was laid:) but in reality, that he might ſubvert and deſtroy the *Homoöuſian* Faith. At this Synod there met ninety Biſhops, [who came] out of divers Cities. But *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who had ſucceeded *Macarius*, was not preſent at that Synod, (*a*) having conſider'd with himſelf that he had been before induced by fraud to ſubſcribe *Athanaſius*'s Depoſition. Neither was *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome the Great* preſent there: Nor did he ſend any body to ſupply his place. Altho' the Eccleſiaſtick Canon doth order, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Biſhop of *Rome*'s opinion. This Synod therefore is convened at *Antioch* (the Emperor *Conſtantius* himſelf being there preſent,) in the (*b*) Conſulate of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*. This was the (*c*) fifth year from the death of *Conſtantine* the Father of the *Auguſti*. At that time (*d*) *Placitus*, Succeſſor to *Euphronius* preſided over the Churches in *Antioch*. The *Euſebians* therefore made it their principal buſineſs to calumniate *Athanaſius*, [ſaying,] in the firſt place, that he had done contrary to that Canon, which they had then conſtituted, becauſe he had recover'd his Epiſcopal Dignity without the conſent of a general Synod of Biſhops. For, returning from his Exile, he had upon his own arbitrement and award ruſh'd into the Church: [Secondly,] that a tumult being raiſed at his entrance, (*e*) many had loſt their lives in that ſedition; and that ſome perſons had been ſcourged by *Athanaſius*, and others brought before the ſeats of Judicature. Moreover, they produced what had been done againſt *Athanaſius* in the City of *Tyre*.

* That is, he means *Conſtantius*, and *Conſtans*, Sons to the Emperor *Conſtantine the Great*; who had a little before this been proclaimed *Auguſti*. *Conſtantine*, the other Son of *Conſtantine the Great*, was now dead. See Chap. 5. of this Book.

(*a*) The Particle [ἐν] muſt be expunged here; and the whole Clauſe read in this continued form; *Having conſidered with himſelf how he had been circumvented that he might ſubſcribe Athanaſius's depoſition.* For *Maximus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* had, together with *Paul* and the reſt, ſubſcrib'd *Athanaſius*'s depoſition, in the Council of *Tyre*.

In regard of his ſorrow for doing this, he refuſed afterwards to be preſent at the Council of *Antioch*; as *Sozomen* relates, in his third Book, Chap. 6. near the end. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Athanaſius* (in *his Book de Synodis*) ſet forth the time of this Council by theſe Notes: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνέλθοντες, &c. *Thoſe Biſhops that met at the Dedication were ninety in number*; [*they were convened*] *in the Conſulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, in the tenth Indiction, the moſt impious Conſtantius being there preſent.* Valeſ.

(*c*) In the Conſulate of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*, on the eleventh of the *Calends* of *June* was compleated the fourth year from *Conſtantine*'s death. The Synod of *Antioch* therefore was convened after this day, if it be true which *Socrates* here ſays, to wit, that it was convened in the fifth year after *Conſtantine*'s Death. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) In *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion, this perſons name is truer written, thus, *Flaccillus*. Nor is he otherwiſe called in Pope *Julius*'s Epiſtle to the Biſhops convened in *this Synod of Antioch*. This perſon had been preſent before, at the *Council* of *Tyre*, and had with the *Arians* conſpired againſt *Athanaſius*, as the Epiſtle of the *Egyptian* Biſhops to *Dionyſius* the *Comes* doth inform us, which Epiſtle *Athanaſius* has recorded, in *his ſecond defence againſt the Arians*. *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea* dedicated the Books he wrote againſt *Marcellus* to this ſame *Flaccillus*. But inſtead of *Flaccillus*, he is almoſt every where called *Placitus*: only in the following chapter, the *Allatian* M. S. terms him *Flaccillus*. Valeſ.

(*e*) Theſe Calumnies of the *Euſebians* are incomparably well refuted by the *Egyptian* Biſhops, in their Synodick Epiſtle, which *Athanaſius* records, *in his ſecond defence againſt the Arians*. Valeſ.

Conſtantius.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning Euſebius Emiſenus.

AFter the framing of theſe Calumnies, they propoſed one to be made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and in the firſt place [they named] *Euſebius Emiſenus*. Who this perſon was, *Georgius* of *Laodicæa*, one that was preſent at this Synod, informs us. For he ſays (in the *Book he wrote concerning his Life*) that this *Euſebius* was deſcended from noble Perſonages of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*: and that from his Childhood he (*a*) learned the ſacred Scriptures: that he was afterwards inſtructed in the *Grecian* Literature by a Maſter who then lived at *Edeſſa*; and in fine, that he had the ſacred Scriptures interpreted to him by *Patrophilus* and *Euſebius*; the latter of which perſons preſided over the Church in *Cæſarea*, and the former over that in *Scythopolis*. After this, when he came to *Antioch*, it hapned that *Euſtathius*, being accuſed by *Cyrus* of *Berœa*, was depoſed, as being an aſſertor of *Sabellius*'s opinion. Wherefore *Euſebius* afterwards lived with *Euphronius*, *Euſtathius*'s Succeſſor. Afterwards, that he might avoid being made a Biſhop, he betook himſelf to *Alexandria*, and their ſtudied Philoſophy. Returning from thence to *Antioch*, he converſed with *Flaccillus*, *Euphronius*'s Succeſſor, and was at length promoted to the See of *Alexandria* by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. But he went thither no more, becauſe *Athanaſius* was ſo much beloved by the people of *Alexandria*. He was therefore ſent to *Emiſa*. But when the Inhabitants of that City raiſed a Sedition at his Ordination, (for he was reproach'd, as being a perſon ſtudious of, and exerciſed in *the Mathematicks*,) he fled from thence, and went to *Laodicæa*, to *Gregorius*, who hath related ſo many paſſages concerning him. When this *Georgius* had brought him to *Antioch*, he procured him to be ſent back again to *Emiſa* by *Flaccillus* and *Narciſſus*. But he afterwards underwent another accuſation; for being an adherent to *Sabellius*'s Principles. *Georgius* writes at large concerning his *Ordination: And in fine adds, that the Emperor, in his Expedition againſt the *Barbarians*, took him along with him, and that miracles were wrought by him. But hitherto we have recorded what *Geoorgius* hath related concerning *Euſebius Emiſenus*.

(*a*) *Sozomen* (in his third book, chap. 6.) explains this Paſſage in *Socrates*; where he ſpeaks thus concerning *Euſebius Emiſenus*: ἐκ νέας δὲ κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος τὰς ἱερὰς ἐκμαθὼν λόγους, &c. i. e. *from his childhood (according to the cuſtom of his own Country) he learned the ſacred Scriptures by heart.* Therefore the Boys of *Edeſſa* got by heart the books of ſacred Scripture, according to the uſage of their Anceſtors. Indeed, Eccleſiaſtick Writers do atteſt, that the *Edeſſens* were moſt ardent lovers of the Chriſtian Religion. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Reſtauration*, or, *Election*.

CHAP. X.

That the Biſhops convened at Antioch *upon* Euſebius Emiſenus's *refuſal* [*of the Biſhoprick*] *of* Alexandria, *ordained* Gregorius, *and altered the Expreſſions of the* Nicene *Faith.*

BUT when *Euſebius*, who had been choſen Biſhop of *Alexandria* at *Antioch*, was afraid to go thither, they then propoſed *Gregorius* to be ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*. And having done this, they alter'd the * Creed, finding

* Or, *the Faith.*

Constantius.

finding fault indeed with nothing [that had been determined] at *Nice*; (*a*) but in reality [their design was] to subvert and destroy the *Homoöusian* Faith, by their continual assembling of Synods, and by their publishing sometimes one, sometimes another form of the *Creed*; that so by degrees [all persons] might be (*b*) perverted to the *Arian* Opinion. Moreover, how these things were done [by them,] we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But the Epistle they publish'd concerning the Faith runs thus.

(*a*) Instead of these Words [*but in reality their design was to subvert,*] the Allat. M. S. has these [*but giving the beginning to a pretext by their continual*, &c.] and so *Epiphan. Schol.* read it, as from his Version appears. *Vales.*

(*b*) In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [*fall into.*] Vales.

We have neither been Arius's *Followers: (for how should we that are Bishops be the Followers of a Presbyter?) Nor have we embraced any other Faith, than what was from the Beginning set forth. But, being made Inquirers into, and Examiners of his Faith, we have* (*c*) *admitted and entertained, rather than followed him. And this you will understand from what shall be said. For we have learned from the Beginning to believe in one supream God, the Maker and Preserver of all things, as well intelligible as sensible. And in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all ages, existing together with the Father that begat him; by whom all things visible and invisible were made: who in the last days, according to the Father's good pleasure, descended, and assumed flesh from the Holy Virgin; and when he had compleatly fulfilled all his Father's will, he suffered and arose, and ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father: and he shall come to judge the Quick and Dead, and continues a King and God ever. We believe also in the Holy Ghost. And (if it be requisite to add this) we also believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life everlasting.*

(*c*) How these words are to be understood, I have advertized the Reader, in the *second Book of my Ecclesiastick Observations*, Chap. 2. for we must not suppose, that the Arch-Heretick *Arius* himself was admitted and entertained in the *Jerusalem* Synod, but his Followers only. For *Arius* himself was dead long before. Should any one maintain, that these Words of the Bishops of the *Antiochian* Council are to be understood of *Arius* himself, then I will answer, that the *Jerusalem* Synod is not meant here, but some other more ancient Synod, which admitted *Arius* to communion: for the *Eusebian* party had done that before the Synod of *Jerusalem*, as *Athanasius* attests, in *his Book de Synodis*, not far from the beginning. *Vales.*

Having written these things in their first Epistle, they sent them to [the Bishops] throughout every City. But, when they had continued sometime at *Antioch*, condemning as it were this [their former] Epistle, they again publish another, in these very words.

Another Exposition [of Faith.]

Agreeable to Evangelick and Apostolick tradition, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Framer and Maker of all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, God, by whom all things were made: begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Whole of Whole, Only of Only, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord: the Living Word, the Wisdom, the Life, the True Light, the Way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate: immutable and inconvertible: the most expreß Image of

* Essence. *mage of the Father's Deity,* * *Substance, Power, Council, and Glory: the First begotten of every Crea-*

† John 1. 1. *ture:* † Who was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, *according as 'tis said in the Gospel:* And the Word was God, *by whom all things were made, and in whom all things have subsisted. Who in the last days came down from Heaven, and was born of the Virgin according to the Scriptures. And was made Man, the Mediator of God and Men, the Apostle of our Faith, and the Prince of Life, as he himself says,* * For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. *Who suffer'd for us, and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into the Heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory and power, to judge the Quick and Dead. And* [*we believe*] *in the Holy Ghost, who is given to Believers in order to their Consolation, Sanctification, and Perfection: according as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his Disciples, saying,* † Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: *to wit, of the Father being truly the Father, and of the Son being truly the Son, and of the Holy Ghost being truly the Holy Ghost: which terms are not simply or insignificantly* * *made use of, but they do accurately manifest the proper and peculiar Person, Glory, and Order of each of those that are named. So that they are three in person, but in consent one.* (*d*) *We therefore holding this Faith, in the presence of God and of Christ, do* anathematize *all manner of heretical and ill Opinions. And if any one shall teach (contrary to the sound and true Faith of the Scriptures,) saying, that there is, or was, a time, or an age,* (*e*) *before the Son of God* [*was begotten;*] *let him be* Anathema. *And if any one says, that the Son is a Creature, as one of the Creatures, or that he is a* * *Branch as one of the Branches; and* [*shall not hold*] *every one of the foresaid Points according as the sacred Scriptures have set them forth: Or if any one teaches or preaches any other thing than what we have received, let him be* Anathema. *For we do truly, and* (*f*) *clearly believe and follow all things delivered by the Prophets and Apostles in the sacred Scriptures.*

Constantius.

* John 6. 38.

† Matt. 28. 19.

* Placed.

* Or, an Off-spring, or, a Fœtus.

(*d*) After these words [*we therefore holding this faith.*] in *Athanasius*'s Book *de Synodis* (where this form of faith occurs) these are added [καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τέλους ἔχοντες, *and holding it from the beginning to the end:*] which ought not to have been omitted. *Hilarius* (in *his Book de Synodis*) has translated this form of the Creed into *Latin*; in which Version of his, these Words occur. *Vales.*

(*e*) I corrected this place by the assistance of the *Florentine* M. S. wherein it is written thus [πρὸ τοῦ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *before the Son of God.*] The Verb [γεγονέναι, *was begotten*] which preceded, is to be understood here. In *Athanasius*'s Book *de Synodis*, the reading is [πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι, *before he was begotten.*] But our reading pleases us better, because it comes nearer the sense of the *Arians*: who asserted that the Son of God was made. *Vales.*

(*f*) In the *Allat. M. S.* the reading is [καὶ ἐμφόβως, *and with fear:*] 'Tis so also in *Athanasius*, and in *Hilarius*'s Version. *Vales.*

Such were the Expositions of the Faith, [published] by those at that time convened at *Antioch*: to which also *Gregorius* (altho' he had not then made his Entry into *Alexandria*, yet) subscribed as a Bishop of that City. The Synod at that time assembled in *Antioch*, having done these things, and made some other Canons, was dissolved. The state of the publick affairs in the Empire hapned to be disturb'd at the very same time also. A nation (they are called *The Franci*) made an incursion into the *Roman* Territories in *Gallia*. At the same time also, there were terrible earthquakes in the *East*: (*g*) especially at *Antioch*, which City was shaken thereby [continually] for the space of one whole year.

(*g*) No; *Antioch* was by a special priviledge free from this earth-quake. For so 'tis recorded in those incomparable *Fasti Consulares*, (which *Sirmondus* has published under the name of *Idatius*;) in these words: *Marcellino & Probino Coss. His consulibus pugna facta est cum gente Francorum à Constante Augusto in Galliis. Et ipso anno terræ motus fuit ad orientem per totum annum præter Antiochiam*; i. e. *in the consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, there was a fight between the Nation of the Franci and Constans Augustus in the Gallia's. And in the same year there was an earthquake in the East throughout the whole year, except at Antioch.* Vales.

Conſtantius.

CHAP. XI.

That, upon Gregorius's *arrival at* Alexandria *[guarded] with a Military force,* Athanaſius *fled.*

WHen theſe things were done, (*a*) *Syrianus* the Captain (with the armed Soldiers under his command, being in number five thouſand,) brought *Gregorius* to *Alexandria.* Thoſe in that City who were favourers of *Arius*'s Opinion, aſſiſted the Soldiers. Moreover, after what manner *Athanaſius,* being expelled out of the Church, eſcaped being taken by them, I think fit to relate. It was now (*b*) Evening, and the people lodg'd in the Church all night, a Communion being expected. The Captain came, and having put his Soldiers into a fighting poſture, environ'd the Church on every ſide. *Athanaſius* ſeeing what was done, made it his chiefeſt care, that the people might in no wiſe be damnified upon his account. And having commanded the Deacon to give the people notice of going to prayers, after that he gave order for the recitation of a Pſalm: And when there was a ſweet harmony made by reaſon of the peoples ſinging of the Pſalm together, all the Congregation went out through one of the Church doors. Whilſt this was doing, the Soldiers ſtood ſtill without ſtriking a ſtroak; and ſo *Athanaſius* eſcaped unhurt in the midſt of thoſe that ſang the Pſalm. Having ſecretly made his eſcape after this manner, he haſtned to *Rome.* *Gregorius* was then put into poſſeſſion of the [*Alexandrian*] Church. But the people of *Alexandria,* unable to bear what had been done, burnt that, call'd *Dionyſius*'s Church. Thus far concerning theſe things. But *Euſebius* having done what he had a mind to do, (*c*) ſent an Embaſſage to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome,* entreating him to become Judge of thoſe matters relating to *Athanaſius,* and that he would call for a diſquiſition of the controverſie before himſelf, in order to his taking cognizance thereof.

(*a*) In this place *Socrates* miſtakes, who confounds what was done at *Georgius*'s inſtallation with thoſe things tranſacted at *Gregorius*'s arrival. Indeed *Syrianus* brought *Georgius* to *Alexandria,* as *Athanaſius* atteſts, in his *Epiſtle ad Solitar.* and *in his Apologetick to Conſtantius the Emperor*; and in *his Apology concerning his own Eſcape,* when *Syrianus* purſued him. But theſe things hapned a long while after this, to wit, in the year of Chriſt 356. *Gregorius,* concerning whom *Socrates* ſpeaks here, was brough to *Alexandria* by *Balacius* the Captain, and *Philagrius Prefect* of *Egypt,* as *Athanaſius* relates, in *his Epiſtle ad Solitar.* But *Athanaſius* departed from *Alexandria* before their arrival, and went to *Rome,* whither he had been invited by Pope *Julius*'s Letters. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Athanaſius's Apology concerning his own eſcape,* about the cloſe of it. Where *Athanaſius*'s Words are theſe: τὺξ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἤδη νὺξ, καὶ τὸ λαὸ τινες ἐπηννύχιζον προσδοκῶντες συνάξεως, i. e. *it was now night, and ſome of the people lay in the Church all night, a communion being expected.* But in *his Apologetick to the Emperor Conſtantius,* he ſhews manifeſtly that *Syrianus* made this irruption in the night, and not in the evening, as *Socrates* here ſays. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Our *Socrates* does miſtake here alſo. For *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia* did not ſend Embaſſadors to Pope *Julius,* to incite him againſt *Athanaſius,* after the Council at *Antioch,* but a long time before. But when the Presbyters ſent by *Athanaſius* had confuted *Euſebius*'s Embaſſadors in all points before *Julius,* at length *Euſebius*'s Meſſengers referred the deciſion of the whole matter to *Julius. Julius* therefore, according to the requeſt of the Embaſſadors, wrote Letters, both to *Athanaſius,* and alſo to *Euſebius* and the reſt of *Athanaſius*'s adverſaries, by which he invited them to an Eccleſiaſtick judicature at *Rome.* But this was done before the Council at *Antioch,* as *Athanaſius* informs us, (in *his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians,*) and *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome,* (in *his Epiſtle to the Biſhops convened in the Council at Antioch.*) This Epiſtle of *Julius*'s *Athanaſius* has inſerted at the 739th *page of his works, Edit. Paris.* 1627. Moreover, *Socrates*'s relation here may be refuted alſo by theſe arguments. For, if theſe things had been done after the Council at *Antioch,* not only *Euſebius,* but the whole Synod would have ſent an Embaſſy, and Letters, to *Julius.* Beſides, it would have been altogether ridiculous and unſeemly, after the matter was determined in a Council, and put in execution, (*Athanaſius* being now expelled, and *Gregorius* put into his See,) to write to *Julius,* that he would be judge, and remove the Controverſie in order to its being diſcuſt before him; as if the matter were ſtill wholly undetermined. *Sozomen* (Book 3. Chap. 7.) has followed *Socrates*'s miſtake in this relation. *Valeſ.*

Conſtantius.

CHAP. XII.

How, after Euſebius's *Death, the People of* Conſtantinople *reſtored* Paulus *to his See again. And that the* Arians *made choice of* Macedonius.

BUT *Euſebius* could never underſtand what *Julius* had determined concerning *Athanaſius.* For having ſurvived the Synod ſome ſmall time, he died. Wherefore the people of *Conſtantinople* introduce *Paulus* into the Church again. But at the ſame time the *Arians* ordain *Macedonius,* in the (*a*) Church dedicated to *Paul.* And this was done by thoſe, who formerly had been aſſiſtants to *Euſebius* that diſturber of all things, but were then his ſucceſſors in power and authority. Theſe are their names, *Theognis* of *Nice, Maris* of *Chalcedon, Theodorus* of *Heraclea* in *Thracia, Urſacius* of *Singidunum* in the *Upper Myſia, Valens* of *Murſa* in the *Upper Pannonia.* Indeed, *Urſacius* and *Valens* changing their Opinions afterwards, delivered their penitentiary Libel to *Julius* the Biſhop; and having conſented to the *Homoöuſian* Opinion, were admitted to Communion. But at that time they were hot maintainers of the *Arian* Religion, and *framed no trivial commotions againſt the Churches. One whereof was that made by *Macedonius* in the City of *Conſtantinople.* For from this inteſtine War amongſt the *Chriſtians* there hapned continual Seditions in the City, and many perſons, oppreſſed by the violence of what was done, loſt their lives.

(*a*) In the old deſcription of *Conſtantinople* this Church is mentioned; where 'tis called *Paul*'s Church, and 'tis placed in the 7th Ward of the City. *Valeſ.*

* ἐπῆγεν, coagulated, or curdled, as the Runnet doth in the making of Cheeſe.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Slaughter of Hermogenes *the* Lieutenant-General, *and how* Paulus *was for that reaſon turned out of the Church again.*

BUT, what was done came to the hearing of *Conſtantius* the Emperor, who then made his reſidence at *Antioch.* Therefore he orders *Hermogenes* the Lieutenant-General, (whom he had ſent into the Coaſts of *Thracia,*) that he ſhould incidently paſs through [*Conſtantinople,*] and turn *Paulus* out of that Church. He arriving at *Conſtantinople,* diſturbed the whole City, by endeavouring to caſt out the Biſhop by force. For there immediately followed a Sedition amongſt the people, and all perſons were ready to defend [the Biſhop.] But when *Hermogenes* with much earneſtneſs endeavour'd to expel *Paulus* by his Military forces, the Populace being exaſperated (as in ſuch like caſes it uſually happens,) made a more inconſiderate and raſh attack againſt him. In the firſt place they ſet his Houſe on fire: then, having (*a*) drawn him about by the heels, they killed him. Theſe things were done in the Conſulate of the *Two Auguſti, Conſtantius* being then the third, and *Conſtans* the ſecond time *Conſul.* At the ſame time, *Conſtans,* having vanquiſh'd the nation of the *Franci,* made them enter into a league with the *Romans.* But the Emperor *Conſtantius* being informed of *Hermogenes's*

(*a*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* had at large deſcribed this Sedition of the *Conſtantinopolitans,* in *thoſe Books of his Hiſtory which are loſt.* But he has by the by mentioned it in his 14th Book, pag. 23. *Edit. Paris.* 1636. *Libanius* means this tumult in *his Oration,* entitled Βασιλικὸς, and ſays it was a moſt violent Sedition. It hapned in the third Conſulate of *Conſtantius,* and in *Conſtans*'s ſecond; which was the year of Chriſt 342. as it is recorded in *Faſt. Idat. Valeſ.* See *Valeſius's Annotat.* on *Amm. Marcellinus,* page 47.

Constantius.

mogenes's murther, rode post on horse-back from *Antioch*, and arrived at *Constantinople*: out of which City he expelled *Paulus*. He also punish'd that City, taking away more than forty thousand [*bushels*] of that bread-corn daily distributed, which was his Father's donation [to those Citizens.] For before that time, near eighty thousand [(*b*) *Bushels*] of wheat, brought thither from the City of *Alexandria*, were bestowed [amongst the Inhabitants of that City.] Moreover, he deferr'd the constituting of *Macedonius* Bishop of that City. (*c*) For he was incensed against him, not only because he had been ordained contrary to his will, but also in regard upon account of the seditions raised betwixt him and *Paulus*, *Hermogenes* his Lieutenant, and many other persons had been slain. Having therefore given him permission to gather assemblies of the people in that Church wherein he was ordained, he departed again to *Antioch*.

(*b*) It is doubtful, whether *Socrates* means here *bushels of Bread-corn*, or *Loaves of Bread*. The Author of the Life of Paulus Bishop of Constantinople

(which occurs in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, pag. 1421. *Edit. David. Hoeschell.* 1611.) supposed, that in this place *Loaves* were meant. For thus he says: ἦν δὲ τὸ ὅλον τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἡμερήσιοι ἄρτοι μυριάδες ὀκτώ· i.e. *the whole donation was, eighty thousand loaves daily* [*distributed.*] But I am rather of opinion, (and so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* understands it,) that *Bushels* are meant. For the term [σῖτος, *of wheat*] imports *bushels of wheat*, rather then *loaves*. Besides, how could eighty thousand loaves be sufficient for that multitude of Citizens which inhabited *Constantinople*? should any one wonder at this vast quantity of bread-corn usually distributed every day, let him hear *Eunapius in the Life of Ædesius*, pag. 38. *Edit. Comm.* 1596. thus: ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, &c. i. e. *But in our age, neither the Ships loaden with Corn which come from Ægypt, nor that vast quantity of Wheat brought out of all Asia, Syria, Phœnicia, and the rest of the Provinces (upon the consideration of tribute) is sufficient to fill and satisfie that drunken multitude of people, which Constantine (by emptying of other Cities) hath transported to Byzantium.* Concerning this prescript about bread-corn for the supply of *Constantinople*, (appointed by *Constantine* of blessed memory, and afterwards increased by *Theodosius*,) See the *second Law* in *Cod. Theod. de frumento urbis Constantinop.* Vales.

(*c*) From the Authority of the *Allat.* M. S. this place is to be amended, thus; ὠρίζετο γὰρ καθ' αὐτὸν, ἃ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ γνώμην, &c. *For he was incensed against him, not only because he had been ordained*, &c. Thus also the reading is in the Life of *Paulus Constantinop.* Vales.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Arians, *having removed* Gregorius *from* [*the See of*] Alexandria, *put* Georgius *into his place.*

(*a*) *Socrates* mistakes here also. For *Gregorius* (who was created Bishop of *Alexandria* in the Synod of *Antioch*) held that Bishoprick six years, until the *Council* of *Serdica*: in which he was deposed, and excommunicated, as it is related in the *Synodical Epistle* of that *Council*. And when he had survived this sentence about six months, he died, as *Athanasius* attests, in *Epistol. ad Solitar.* *Theodoret* has corrected this mistake of *Socrates*'s and *Sozomen*'s, in Book 2. of his *Eccles. Hist.* *Georgius* was made Bishop of *Alexandria* by the *Arians* long after *Gregorius*, in the year of Christ 356. Vales.

AT the same time the *Arians* (*a*) removed *Gregorius* from [the See of] *Alexandria*, (*b*) as being a person odious, both upon account of his burning the Church, and also because he was not zealous enough in defending their opinion. Into his See they sent *Georgius*, a person born in *Cappadocia*, who had gotten the repute of being a very skilful maintainer of their Tenets.

(*b*) This place was corrupted by a transposition of the words; which gave Translators an occasion of mistaking here. But the words might have been easily put into their order, after this manner; ὡς μισάνθρωπον διὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπρησμόν· οὐ ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ ὅτι, &c. *as being a person odious, both upon account of his burning the Church*; *and also because*, &c. *Socrates* does here assign two reasons, why the *Arians* deprived *Gregorius* of his Bishoprick. The first is, because *Gregorius* was a person hated by all Men, upon account of his burning *Dionysius*'s Church; which *Socrates* has mentioned before; *Athanasius* also takes notice of it, in *Epist. ad Solitar.* The other reason is, because he seemed not zealous enough in defending their opinion. The same is confirmed by *Sozomen*, Book 3. Chap. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* Vales.

Constantius.

CHAP. XV.

How Athanasius *and* Paulus *going to* Rome, *and being fortified with Bishop* Julius's *Letters, recovered their own Sees again.*

MOreover, *Athanasius* with much difficulty at last gat over into *Italy*. *Constans* the youngest of *Constantine*'s sons had then the sole power in the Western parts [of the Empire,] his brother *Constantine* having been killed by the Soldiers, as we have before related. (*a*) At the same time also *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Asclepas* of *Gaza*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* a City of *Galatia the Less*, and *Lucius* of *Adrianople*, having been accused, one for one thing, another for another, and driven from their Churches, arrived at the Imperial City *Rome*. They acquaint therefore *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* with their case. He (in regard the Church of *Rome*'s priviledge is such,) fortified them with his Letters, wherein he made use of a great deal of liberty, and sent them back into the East, (*b*) restoring to each of them his own See, and sharply rebuking those who had inconsiderately deposed them. They, having left *Rome*, and confiding in Bishop *Julius*'s Letters, possest themselves of their own Churches, and send the Letters to those whom they were written to. These persons having received [*Julius*'s Letters,] look'd upon his reprehension as an injury and reproach to them. And having assembled themselves in a (*c*) Synod called at *Antioch*, they most severely rebuke *Julius* in a Letter written by the joynt consent of them all, making it apparent, that it ought not to be determined by him, if they should have a mind to expel some [Bishops] from their Churches. For [they said] that they did not make any opposition when *Novatus* was by *them ejected out of the Church. Thus wrote the Eastern Bishops in answer to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*. But in regard, upon (*d*) *Athanasius*'s entry into *Alexandria* there hapned a disturbance, caused by those who were adherents to *Georgius* the *Arian*; upon which disturbance there followed, as they say, seditions and slaughters of men: and [because] the *Arians* ascribe the infamy and blame of all these mischiefs to *Athanasius*, as being the Author thereof;

(*a*) After the murder *Hermogenes* the Emperor, Lieutenant-General, *Constantius* put *Paulus* into Iron Chains, and banish'd him to *Singar* a Town of *Mesopotamia*, whence he removed him afterwards to *Emisa*, as I have remarked out of *Athanasius*, *in my second Book of Ecclesiastick Observations*, *Chap.* 6. Therefore what *Socrates* here says is false, to wit, that *Paulus* was at *Rome* at the same time that *Athanasius* was there.

* The Church of *Rome*. See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 6. chap. 43.

Indeed, *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra* was at *Rome* together with *Athanasius*; as we are informed from *Julius's Letter to the Eastern Bishops*; which is also ascertained from *Marcellus*'s Libel which he presented to *Julius*. But *Julius* speaks not a word concerning *Paulus* in his foresaid Epistle; whom he would doubtless have mentioned, had he been then at *Rome* with *Athanasius* and *Marcellus*. Vales.

(*b*) *Julius* restored not one of the forementioned Bishops, not *Athanasius* himself, to his own See. For, in the *Roman Synod*, wherein *Athanasius*'s and *Marcellus*'s cause was discust, *Athanasius* was only pronounced innocent, and admmitted to communion by *Julius* and the rest of the Bishops. But against *Athanasius*'s accusers, who refused to make their personal appearance in judgment, nothing was determined; as I have observed out of *Athanasius in my first Book of Ecclesiastick Observations*. Nor was *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, *Asclepas*, or *Lucius* restored before the *Synod of Serdica*. Vales.

(*c*) After the *Roman* Synod, wherein *Athanasius* was pronounced innocent, when *Julius* had sent a Letter by *Gabianus* the *Comes* to the Eastern Bishops, who had met in a Synod at *Antioch* at such time as the Church was dedicated; (see Chap 8. of this Book,) the Eastern Bishops, in order to their answering of this Letter, were convened again at *Antioch* in the year of Christ 343. And they wrote back an elegant and sharp Letter to *Julius*, the sense whereof *Sozomen* relates, Book 3. Chap. 8. *Vales.*

(*d*) What *Socrates* here says, to wit, that *Athanasius* returned at that time to *Alexandria*, is false. For *Athanasius* went not back to that City, till after the *Council* at *Serdica*, that is, till after the year of Christ 348. *Vales.*

Conſtantius.

thereof; it is requiſite that we ſpeak briefly concerning theſe things. Indeed, God, the Judge of truth it ſelf, only knows the true cauſes hereof. But, that ſuch accidents do frequently and uſually happen, when the multitude is divided into inteſtine factions, is a thing not unknown to prudent perſons. In vain therefore do *Athanaſius*'s ſlanderers attribute the cauſe hereof to him; and eſpecially *Sabinus* a Biſhop of the *Macedonian* Hereſie. Who (had he conſidered with himſelf, how great miſchiefs the *Arians* have wrought againſt *Athanaſius* and the reſt that embrace the *Homoöuſian* Faith; or (e) how many complaints the Synods convened upon *Athanaſius*'s account have made thereof, or what *Macedonius* himſelf, (f) that Arch-heretick, has practiſed throughout all the Churches) would either have been wholly ſilent; or, if he had ſpoken any thing, (g) would inſtead of theſe [reproaches] have highly commended [*Athanaſius.*] But now, having [deſignedly] paſſed all theſe things over in ſilence, he falſly accuſes the affairs [done by *Athanaſius.*] Nor has he made the leaſt mention of that Arch-heretick [*Macedonius,*] being deſirous wholly to conceal his tragick and audacious villanies. And (which is much more wonderful,) he has not ſpoken ill of the *Arians*, whom notwithſtanding he abhorr'd. But the Ordination of *Macedonius* (whoſe Hereſie he was a follower of,) he has ſilently concealed. For had he mention'd that, he muſt neceſſarily have recorded his impieties, which thoſe things done at that Ordination do ſufficiently demonſtrate. But thus much concerning this perſon.

(e) We follow *Chriſtophorſon*'s and Sir *Henry Savil*'s reading here; which is, ἢ ὅσα αἱ διδάσκαλοι, &c. *or how many complaints the Synods, &c. Valeſ.*

(f) In the *Allat.* M.S. the reading is, [ὁ αὐτὸς αἱρεσιάρχης, *his* [that is, *Sabinus's Arch-heretick.* *Valeſ.*

(g) The amendment of this place we owe to the *Allat.* M. S. wherein 'tis thus written [ἔνφημα ἂν περὶ τούτων ἐφθέγγετο, *would inſtead of theſe reproaches,*] &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

That the Emperor ſent an Order by Philippus *Præfect of the* Prætorium, *that* Paulus *ſhould be ejected and baniſhed, and that* Macedonius *ſhould be enſtalled Biſhop in his See.*

MOreover, the Emperor *Conſtantius* (reſiding at *Antioch*) being informed that *Paulus* had taken poſſeſſion of his See again, was highly incenſed at what was done. He therefore wrote an order, and ſends it to (a) *Philippus Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, who had a greater power than the other Governors of Provinces; and was ſtiled the ſecond perſon from the Emperor; that he ſhould eject *Paulus* out of the Church, and introduce *Macedonius* into it in his room. *Philippus* therefore the *Præfect* being afraid that the multitude would raiſe a tumult, attempted to circumvent *Paulus* by ſubtlety. He keeps the Emperor's Order conceal'd in his own poſſeſſion: and, pretending to take care of ſome publick affairs, he goes to the publick Bath, called *Zeuxippus*. Thither he ſends for *Paulus* with a great ſhew of reſpect and honour, [acquainting him] that he muſt neceſſarily come to him, and he came. After he was come upon his being ſent for, the *Præfect* immediately ſhews him the Emperor's Order. The Biſhop patiently bore his being condemned without having his cauſe heard. But the *Præfect*, fearing the rage of the multitude that ſtood round; (for great numbers of perſons had flock'd together about the publick Bath, [whoſe meeting there was cauſed] by the report of a ſuſpicion) orders one of the Bath doors to be open'd, (b) through which *Paulus* was carried into the Imperial Palace, put into a ſhip provided for that purpoſe, and forthwith ſent away into baniſhment. The *Præfect* commanded him to go to (c) *Theſſalonica* the chief City of *Macedonia*, wherein *Paulus* had had his original extract from his Anceſtors: in that City [he order'd him] to reſide, and gave him the liberty of going to other Cities alſo, [to wit] thoſe in *Illyricum*: but he forbad his paſſage into the Eaſtern parts [of the Empire.] *Paulus* therefore being (contrary to expectation) caſt out of the Church, and at the ſame time alſo [driven] from the City, was immediately carried away. But *Philippus* the Emperor's *Præfect* went forthwith from the publick Bath into the *Church*. *Macedonius* was with him, being * thrown into his preſence by an engine as it were; he ſat with the *Præfect* in his chariot, and was expoſed to the view of all men: they were ſurrounded by a military Guard with their ſwords drawn. [Upon ſight hereof] a dread forthwith ſeiz'd the multitude: and all of them, as well the *Homoöuſians* as the *Arians*, flockt to the †Church; every one earneſtly endeavouring to get in thither. When the *Præfect* together with *Macedonius* came near the Church, an irrational fear ſeized both the multitudes and alſo the ſoldiers themſelves. For, becauſe the perſons preſent were ſo numerous, that there could be no paſſage made for the *Præfect* to bring in *Macedonius*, the ſoldiers began to thruſt away the crowd of people by violence. But when the multitude wedg'd together in a crowd, could not poſſibly retire by reaſon of the places narrowneſs; the ſoldiers, ſuppoſing that the multitude made a reſiſtance, and deſignedly ſtopp'd the paſſage, made uſe of their naked ſwords, as if they had been engaging an enemy, and began to cut thoſe that ſtood in the way. There were deſtroy'd therefore, as report ſays, about three thouſand one hundred and fifty perſons: ſome of whom the ſoldiers ſlew; others were killed by

Conſtantius.

(b) At this place there was wanting this whole line [δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς αὐλὰς ἀπαχθείς, *through which* [*Paulus*] *was carried into the Imperial Palace*] which I have made good from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M.S. In *Leo Allatius*'s M. S. there is ſomething more added here, after this manner: συνελαλήθησαν περὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἐν φήμης ἀπόρῳ συλλεχθέντες, ἐμφερεχῦναι διὰ τὸ φθεσαναι πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς τὸν δῆμον, μίαν τὸ λαὸν συνέδρα κελεύει, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς αὐλὰς ἀχθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος, &c. i.e. *They had flockt about the publick Bath, being gathered together there by the report of a ſuſpicion; becauſe the people environed all the paſſages out, he ordered one of the Bath doors to be opened, thorough which Paulus was conveyed into the Imperial Palace*, &c. *Valeſ.*

(c) How *Philippus* could baniſh *Paulus* to *Theſſalonica*, I ſee not. For *Socrates* relates theſe things as done whilſt *Conſtans* was yet living, and before the *Council* of *Serdica*. But at that time *Theſſalonica* was under the Government of *Conſtans Auguſtus*. How therefore could *Philippus* (who was *Præfect of the Prætorium* to *Conſtantius*) baniſh *Paulus* to *Theſſalonica*, and permit him to live in the Cities of *Illyricum*; but wholly forbid him entring into the Eaſtern parts [of the Empire.] *Valeſ.*

* See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, Book 6. Chap. 43. Note (e.) Pag. 113.

†*Churches*

(a) *Socrates* (as alſo *Sozomen*) is miſtaken here. For *Paulus* was by *Philippus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* baniſhed not to *Theſſalonica*, but to *Cucuſus*, and was there ſtrangled by the *Arians*; as *Athanaſius* informs us, *in his Epiſt. ad Solitar.* But theſe things hapned a long while after this, to wit, when *Conſtans Auguſtus* was dead, in the year of *our Lord* 350, or 351. as *Baronius* will have it, who long ſince perceived this error of *Socrates*'s. Further, 'tis eaſie to confute *Socrates* out of *Athanaſius*. For *Athanaſius* relates, that *Philippus* (after he had baniſhed *Paulus*, and cauſed him to be cruelly murdered by the *Arians*) was within leſs than a year depoſed from his Prefecture, deprived of his Goods, and ended his life miſerably. Now, *Philippus* was *Conſul* in the year of Chriſt 348, and on the year following he bore the Office of *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, as may be collected from the Laws extant in the *Theodoſian Code* directed to him. The ſame *Philippus* was after this ſent Embaſſador by *Conſtantius* to *Magnentius*, a little before the fight at *Murſa*, as *Zoſimus* relates in *his ſecond Book*. Which hapned in the year of Chriſt 351. Let us therefore ſuppoſe that *Philippus* died on the year following, which was the year of Chriſt 352. Then *Paulus* might have been baniſhed by him in the year of *Our Lord* 351; which is *Baronius*'s opinion. And from this year *Macedonius*'s Preſidency over the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church muſt be begun. *Valeſ.*

Constantius.

by the Crowd. After such brave exploits as these, *Macedonius*, as if he had done no mischief at all, but were clear and guiltless of what had hapned, was seated in the Episcopal Chair by the Præfect, rather than by the Ecclesiastick Canon. Thus therefore did *Macedonius* and the *Arians* take possession of Churches by so great and numerous slaughters of men. At the same time also, the Emperor built (*d*) *The Great Church*, which is now called *Sophia*. It was joyned to that Church named *Irene*, which, being before a little one, the Emperor's Father had very much beautified and enlarged. And both of them are to be seen at this present time, encompassed within one and the same wall, and called by the name of one Church.

(*d*) This *Great Church* was consecrated by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, (he that before had been Bishop of *Nicomedia*) if we may credit *Cedrenus*. For at the *ninth year of Constantius* he writes thus: καὶ συνελεσθεῖσαν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ κωνσανλίου, &c. i. e. *And Eusebius consecrated the Church of God, called the Great Church, which was finished by Constantius, according to the order of Constantine the Great in his Will. And he brought the reliques of the holy Martyr Pamphilus, and those of his Companions, Theodulus, Porphyrius, and Paulus, from Antioch, and deposited them therein.* But *Cedrenus* mistakes in his notation of the time. For if this Consecration were performed by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, it must be placed on the third or fourth year of *Constantius*, at which time *Eusebius* governed the See of *Constantinople*. The same *Cedrenus* relates, that this Church, being afterwards ruined, and re-edified by *Constantius*, was consecrated by *Eudoxius*. Vales.

CHAP. XVII.

That Athanasius, *being afraid of the Emperor's Menaces, returned to* Rome *again.*

AT the same time, there was another false accusation patcht together against *Athanasius* by the *Arians*, who invented this occasion for it. The * Father of the *Augusti* had heretofore given a yearly allowance of Bread-corn to the Church of *Alexandria* for the relief of those that were indigent. It was reported by the *Arians*, that *Athanasius* had usually sold this Bread-corn for money, and had converted the money to his own gain. The Emperor therefore, having given credit to this report, threaten'd *Athanasius* with death. He, being made sensible of the Emperor's menaces, made his escape, and absconded. But when *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* understood what the *Arians* had done against *Athanasius*, having also received *Eusebius*'s Letter who was now dead, he (*a*) invites *Athanasius* to come to him; being informed of the place where he lay concealed. At the same time arrived the (*b*) Letter, which those [Bishops] that before that had been convened at *Antioch*, wrote to him. Another (*c*) Letter also was sent to him by the Bishops in *Egypt*, informing him, that those things objected against *Athanasius* were false. These Letters so directly contradicting one another, having been sent to *Julius*, he returned an answer to those [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*, wherein he (*d*) blamed them, first for the bitterness of their Letter: then [he told them] they had done contrary to the Canons, because they had not called him to the Synod; it being commanded by the Ecclesiastick Rule, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Bishop of *Rome*'s sentiment. [He complained] also, that they had clandestinely adulterated the Faith. And moreover, that what was heretofore done at *Tyre*, had been fraudulently and corruptly transacted, in regard the Memorials of the Acts done at *Mareotes* had been made up of one side only. Further, that what had been objected concerning *Arsenius*'s murther, was apparently demonstrated to have been a false accusation. These, and such like passages as these, *Julius* wrote at large to the [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*. Moreover, we had inserted here the Letters to *Julius*, and his answer also; had not the prolixity thereof hindred that design of ours. But *Sabinus*, a follower of the *Macedonian* Heresie, whom we have mention'd before, has not put *Julius*'s Letters into *his Collection [of the Acts] of Synods*. Although, he has not left out that [Epistle] written from those [convened] at *Antioch* to *Julius*. But this is usually done by *Sabinus*. For, such Letters as either make no mention at all of, or reject the term *Homoüsios*, those [Epistles, I say,] he carefully inserts: but the contrary hereto he voluntarily and on set purpose omits. Thus much concerning these things. Not long after this, *Paulus* pretending a journey to *Corinth*, arrived in *Italy*. Both the [* Bishops] therefore make their condition known to the Emperor of those parts.

* *Constantine the Great.*

(*a*) *Socrates* does here confound all things, and repeats the same things twice, as if they had been done again. For he says that *Athanasius* fled to *Rome* twice. The same is asserted by *Baronius* (in *his Annals*) by *Petavius* (in *his Rationarium Temporum*,) and by *Blondellus* in *his Book de primatu.*) But we have sufficiently refuted this mistake, in *our first Book of Ecclesiastick Observations*, Chap. 6. *Socrates* makes the same mistake, in his asserting that *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* came twice to *Rome*. Moreover, *Julius* received *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*'s Letter, before that Council of *Antioch*, which was held at the Consecration of the *New Jerusalem*, as we remarked before. And at the same time he invited *Athanasius* and his adversaries to *Rome*, in order to the discussion of their cause, as 'tis manifest from *Athanasius*'s relation. *Vales.*

(*b*) The Bishops who had been convened at *Antioch* at the Consecration, having received *Julius*'s Letter written to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, (in which he invited him and the rest of the *Eusebians* to *Rome*, in order to the having their cause discussed there on a set day, whereon a Council was there to be held:) detained *Julius*'s Messengers (*Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*,) beyond the day appointed. Then, after they had held their Synod, they dismissed the Messengers, and gave them a Letter to *Julius*. Upon receipt whereof he wrote back that famous Letter, which *Athanasius* hath inserted, in *his second Apology against the Arians*; pag. 739, &c. *Edit. Paris.* 1627. Vales.

Constantius.

(*c*) He means the Synodical Epistle, which the Bishops of *Egypt* wrote to all the Bishops every where: which is inserted in the first place by *Athanasius in his forecited Apology* pag. 722. *Edit. ut prius.* *Julius*, speaks concerning this Synodical Epistle, in that Letter he wrote to the Eastern Bishpps convened at *Antioch*: ἔγραψαν δὲ καὶ πλείονες, &c. *Moreover, many Bishops* (says he) *wrote from Egypt and from other Provinces, in defence of Athanasius.* Vales.

(*d*) I read [ἐμέμψατο, *he blamed*] not [ἐπέμψατο, *he sent:*] Sir *Henry Savil* hath mended this place, in the Margin of his Copy, and made it agreeable to our reading. In the *Allat.* M. S. this place is written thus: ἐπεμέμφετο πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐπαχθὲς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς; i. e. *in the first place he found fault with the bitterness of their Epistle.* This Letter of *Julius*'s is still extant, preserved for us by *Athanasius*, in *his second Apology against the Arians*: pag. 739, &c. *Edit. ut prius.* In that Letter *Julius* reprehends the Insolency and Pride, which the Eastern Bishops had used in their Letters to him. But, that which *Socrates* here adds (to wit, that *Julius* complained, because they had not invited him to the Synod: and that it was the Ecclesiastick rule, that nothing should be determined in the Church without the Bishop of *Rome*'s consent:) is not to be found in that Letter. Indeed, *Julius* complains in that Epistle, because the Eastern Bishops (upon their receipt of his Letter, wherein he invited them to the Synod at *Rome*,) disregarding this his invitation, had ordained *Gregorius* Bishop in *Athanasius*'s See. But he says not one word concerning this Ecclesiastick Rule or Canon. And yet *Sozomen* (Chap. 2. Book 10. *Eccles. History*) says the same that *Socrates* does here *Vales.*

* That is, *Athanasius* and *Paulus.*

CHAP.

Conſtantius.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Emperor of the Weſtern parts requeſted of his Brother, that ſuch perſons might be ſent, as could give an account of [the Depoſition of] Athanaſius and Paulus. And, that they who were ſent publiſhed another Form of the Creed.

BUT the Emperor of the Weſtern parts, being inform'd of *their ſufferings,(a) ſympathized with them. And he ſends a Letter to his Brother, ſignifying his deſire to have three Biſhops ſent to him, who might give an account of *Paulus*'s and *Athanaſius*'s Depoſition. (b) The perſons ſent were *Narciſſus* the *Cilician*, *Theodorus* the *Thracian*, *Maris* the *Chalcedonian*, and *Marcus* the *Syrian*. Who being arrived, would in no wiſe admit of a Congreſs with *Athanaſius*. But, having ſuppreſs'd the Creed publiſh'd at *Antioch*, and patch'd up another Form, they preſented it to the Emperor *Conſtans*; the words whereof were theſe.

* That is, *Paulus* and *Athanaſius*'s ſufferings.

(a) The reading here, and in *Robert Stephens* Edition, is [γνὲς, τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὲς ἰδιοπαθῆ.] But I ſuppoſe it ſhould be thus [γνὲς τὰ καθ' αὐτ'ς, ἰδιοπαθῆ, *underſtanding their ſufferings, ſympathized, with them:*] for the word ἰδιοπαθεῖν has the ſame import with συμπαθεῖν *to ſuffer with.* But the reading may be [διοπαθῆ *was very much troubled at:*] which Emendation is the beſt. *Valeſ.*

(b) Some few months after the Synod at *Antioch*, which was held at the Dedication, the Eaſtern Biſhops made another form of the Creed, and ſent it to *Conſtans Auguſtus*, and to the Weſtern Biſhops, by *Narciſſus*, *Theodorus*, *Maris*, *and Marcus*, as if it had been dictated by the Synod at *Antioch*. So *Athanaſius* atteſts in his Book *de Synod. Arimin. and Seleuc.* This therefore hapned in the year of Chriſt 342. *Socrates* does evidently agree with *Athanaſius*. For he ſays, that thoſe Meſſengers ſent by the Eaſtern Biſhops ſuppreſſed that form of the Creed compoſed by the *Antiochian* Synod; and inſtead thereof produced another, which themſelves had made. *Valeſ.*

[Another Expoſition of the Faith.]

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, * Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. *And in his only begotten Son, our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in Heaven and Earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wiſdom: and the Power, and the Life, and the True Light. Who in the laſt days was for our ſakes made Man, and was born of the Holy Virgin. He was crucified and died: and was buried, and aroſe from the dead on the third day; and aſcended into the Heavens, and was ſeated at the right hand of the Father, and ſhall come at the end of World, to judge the Quick and Dead, and ſhall render to every perſon according to his works; whoſe Kingdom being perpetual, ſhall continue unto infinite ages. For He ſhall ſit at the right hand of the Father, not only in this preſent World, but in that alſo which is to come. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghoſt; that is, in the* † Paraclete: *whom* [Chriſt] *having promiſed to the Apoſtles, after his aſſent into the Heavens, he ſent him,* ‖ That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. *By whom alſo thoſe Souls who have ſincerely believed in him, ſhall be ſanctified. But thoſe who ſay that the Son* [exiſted] *of things which are not, or of another ſubſtance, and not of God; and that there was a time when he was not, theſe perſons the Catholick Church hath determined to be Aliens* [*from it.*]

* Epheſ. 3. 15.

† Or Comforter.

‖ See John 14. 26.

Having delivered theſe things, and exhibited many other to the Emperor, they departed without doing any thing further. Moreover, whilſt there was hitherto an inſeparable Communion between the Weſtern and Eaſtern [Biſhops,] another Hereſie ſprang up at *Sirmium*, which is a City of *Illyricum*. For *Photinus*, (who preſided over the Churches there,) a perſon born in *Galatia the Leſs*, a Diſciple of that * *Marcellus* who had been depoſed, following his Maſter's ſteps, aſſerted the Son [of God] to be a meer Man. But we will ſpeak concerning theſe things in their due place.

Conſtantius.

* See *Socrates*, Book 1. Chap. 36.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the large Explanation [of the Faith.]

(a) THE ſpace of three years being compleatly paſſed after theſe things, the Eaſtern Biſhops having again aſſembled a Synod, and compoſed another [Form of] Faith, ſend it to thoſe in *Italy*, by *Eudoxius* at that time Biſhop of *Germanicia*, *Martyrius* and *Macedonius* who was Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia*. This [Form of the] Creed, being written a great deal more at large, and containing many more additions than thoſe Forms publiſhed before, was ſet forth in theſe very words.

(a) *Athanaſius* (in *his Book de Synodis*) ſays the ſame: his Words are theſe: Ἐπὶ τύτοις ὥσπερ μεταγνόντες, συλλέγυσι πάλιν τὸ συνέδριον ἑωτῶν μετὰ τρία ἔτη τελα, &c. i. e. *Afterwards, repenting as it were* [*of what they had done,*] *they again aſſemble a Synod of their own party, three years after. And they ſend* Eudoxius, Martyrius, *and* Macedonius *of* Cilicia, *and ſome other perſons with them, into the parts of* Italy; *who carried along with them a prolix* [*form of*] *faith*, &c. *Baronius* (in his *Annals*) ſays, that this ſecond Council of *Antioch* (wherein *that prolix form of faith* was promulged) was convened in the year of Chriſt 344. And he thinks that he proves this from *Athanaſius* and *Socrates*. But, in my judgment, he is much miſtaken. For firſt, this expreſſion of *Athanaſius*'s [μετὰ τρία ἔτη τελα, *after three years*] ſignifies the fourth year, not the third. For it denotes, that years were now paſt. In this ſenſe alſo *Socrates* underſtood the paſſage in *Athanaſius*; in regard he ſays [τελείας δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διαφερομένῳ χρόνῳ, i. e. *the ſpace of three years being compleatly paſſed after theſe things.* Since therefore that Synod of *Antioch* which had been convened at the Conſecration, was held in the year of Chriſt 341; this ſecond *Antiochian* Synod ought more truly to be placed on the year of Chriſt 345. Secondly, *Athanaſius* does not ſay, that the ſecond *Antiochian* Synod (wherein the large form of Faith was compoſed,) was aſſembled three years after that Synod at the Conſecration had been convened there: but he ſays, it was aſſembled three years after *Narciſſus*, *Theodorus*, *Maris*, and *Marcus* had brought that new form of Faith to *Conſtans Auguſtus*, pretending it to have been compoſed at *Antioch*. Now, he ſays that this was done ſome few Months after the *Antiochian* Synod held at the Conſecration. From whence that which I have ſaid is made apparent; to wit, that that Council (in which the large form of Faith had been compoſed,) was convened in the year of Chriſt 345; not in the year 344, as *Baronius* would have it. *Valeſ.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, * Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. *And in his only begotten Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *our Lord; begotten of the Father before all ages. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in the Heavens and in Earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, the Wiſdom, the Power, the Life, and the True Light. Who in the laſt days was for our ſakes made Man, and was born of the holy Virgin: He was crucified, and died, and was buried, and roſe again from the dead on the third day, and aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the Father. He ſhall come at the end of the world to judge the Quick and the Dead, and ſhall render to every man according to his works. Whoſe Kingdom being perpetual,*

* Epheſ. 3. 15.

Constantius.

perpetual, shall continue unto infinite Ages. For he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, not only in this present World, but in that also which is to come. We believe likewise in the Holy Ghost, that is, in the * Praclete. Whom [Christ] having promised to the Apostles, after his ascent into Heaven he sent him † That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. By whom also those Souls that sincerely believe in him are sanctified. But those who assert that the Son [existed] of things which are not, or of another substance, and not of God, and that there was a Time or Age when he was not, the Holy Catholick Church hath determined to be aliens [from it.] In like manner also, those that affirm there are three Gods, or that Christ is not God before [all] Ages, or that he is not Christ, or the Son of God, or that the same Person is the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or that the Son is not begotten, or (b) that the Father begat not the Son of his own Will and Pleasure; [these Persons] the Holy and Catholick Church Anathematizes. For neither is it safe to assert, that the Son [existed] of things which are not: in regard this is no where declared concerning him in the divinely inspired Scriptures. Nor have we learned, [that he had his essence] from any other pre-existing substance besides the Father, but that he was truly and genuinely begotten of the Father only. For the Divine Word teacheth, that there is one unbegotten [Principle which is] without beginning, [to wit] the Father of Christ. Nor must they (who without Authority of Scripture do dangerously assert this [proposition,] there was a time when he was not) preconceive in their minds then any foregoing interval of time, but God only who begat him without time. For both times and Ages were made by him. (c) Nor must it be thought, that the Son is without an Original, or unbegotten as the Father is. For no Father, or Son can properly be said to be co-inoriginate and co-unbegotten. But we have determined, that the Father, being alone without an Original and Incomprehensible hath incomprehensibly and in a manner to all men imperceptible begotten: but that the Son was begotten before Ages, and that he is not unbegotten like the Father, but hath a beginning, [to wit,] the Father who begat him. * For the Head of Christ is God. Nor although we acknowledge three things and Persons, [to wit,] of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, according to the Scriptures; do we therefore make three Gods. For we know, that there is one only God, perfect of himself, unbegotten, inoriginate, and invisible, [that is,] the God and Father of the only begotten, who of himself only hath his own existence, and who only does abundantly and freely give existence to all other things. But, although we do assert that there is One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only is unbegotten; we do not therefore deny Christ to be God before Ages, as the Followers of * Paul of Samosata do, who affirm that after his incarnation he was by a promotion deified, whereas by Nature he was a meer Man. For we know that he (although he hath been made subject unto the Father and unto God, yet nevertheless) was begotten of God, and is by nature true and perfect God, and was not afterwards made God of * Man: But was for our sakes made Man of God, and that he hath never ceased to be God. Moreover, we abominate and anathematize those who falsely stile him the bare and meer word of God, [and affirm] that he has no real existence, but hath his Essence in another: One while [terming him] as it were that Word called by some (d) The Word outwardly utter'd by the mouth; at another, as it were the mental or internal Word: Being of Opinion, that before Ages he was not Christ, nor the Son of God, nor the Mediator, nor the Image of God: but that (e) he was made Christ, and the Son of God, from such time as he took our flesh from the Virgin four hundred years ago. For from that time they assert Christ to have had the beginning of his Kingdom, und that it shall have an end after the Consummation and the Judgment. Such manner of Persons as these are the followers of Marcellus and Photinus the Ancyro-Galatians: who reject the Eternal existence and deity of Christ, and his endless Kingdom, in like manner as do (f) the Jews, upon a pretence of seeming to constitute a monarchy. For we understand him to be, not barely The word of God outwardly uttered by the mouth, or his mental or internal Word, but the Living God the Word, and subsisting of himself; and the Son of God, and Christ: who existed with his Father and was conversant with him before Ages, not by fore-knowledge only, and ministred unto him at the Creation of all things whether visible or invisible: But is the Word of God really subsisting, and is the God of God. For it is he to whom the Father said, * Let us make man in our Image, after our likeness: Who in his own Person appeared to the Fathers, gave the Law, and spake by the Prophets; and being at last made Man, he manifested his Father to all men, and reigns unto perpetual Ages. For Christ hath attained no new dignity: But we believe him to have been perfect from the beginning, and in all things like unto his Father. We also deservedly expel out of the Church those who affirm, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the same Person, impiously supposing the three names to mean one and the same Thing and Person; because by an incarnation they make the incomprehensible and impassible Father subject to be comprehended, and to suffer. Of which sort [of Hereticks] are those termed amongst the Romans (g) Patropassians, but

(b) This was the opinion of the *Arians*. The *Easterns* explain this sentiment of theirs better hereafter, towit, that the Father may be understood to have begotten the Son willingly, without compulsion. *Vales.*

(c) In *Robert Stephens*'s Edition of *Socrates* (Fol. 197. Edit. *Paris.* 1594.) these words [ὅτε μὴν συναναρχον, ὅτε συναΐδιον τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ ἔχει, νομιστέον, i. e. *Nor must it be thought, that the Son is without an Original, or unbegotten as the Father is*] are wanting. The said *Robert Stephens*'s Edition does in the following Words also differ something from this Copy of the Creed here. *Athanasius* has inserted this whole Creed, *in his book de Synod. Arimin. & Seleuc.* pag. 896, &c. *Edit. Paris* 1627. *Athanasius*'s copy and this in *Valesius*'s Edition of *Socrates* do agree: whom we have follow'd in our Version.

(d) Instead of [ὡ, τὸ προφορικὸν λεγόμενον] it should be [ὡς τὸν προφορικὸν, &c. and ὡς τὸν ἐνδιάθετον] as it is in the *Allat.* M.S. and in *Athanasius*, in his book *de Synodis*. By [λόγος προφορικὸς] Philosophers mean, *That word which is uttered by the mouth.* Hilarius calls it *Verbum prolativum.* To which is opposed [ὁ ἐνδιάθετος λόγος,] which modern Philosophers do term *the word of the mind.* Vales.

(e) By these words the Eastern Bishops mean, the Heresie of *Marcellus Ancyranus*, who asserted that Christ's Kingdom began from his Nativity, about four hundred years before that time; making use of a certain number for an uncertain. The *Synodick* Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica* informs us hereof; which Epistle *Hilarius* has inserted, *in his fragments.* For these are their words in that Letter. *Extitit namque temporibus nostris Marcellus*, &c. i. e. *For there hath risen up in our days one Marcellus of Galatia, the most execrable pest of all Hereticks, who with a sacrilegious mind, and impious mouth, and a wicked Argument, will needs set bounds to the perpetual, eternal, and timeless Kingdom of our Lord Christ, saying, that he began his reign 400 Years since, and shall end it at the Dissolution of this present World.* Vales.

(f) We made good this place, by adding the Word [*Judæis, the Jews*:] which is not in *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. but it occurs in *Athanasius*, and in the *Allat.* M.S. *Vales.*

(g) The Heresie of the *Patropassians* (or *Patripassians*) was very ancient, and far diffused. *Tertullian* (*Adv. Prax.* cap. 1, and 2.) chargeth this Heresie upon *Praxeas.* The same was maintained by *Hermogenes*, whence they were termed *Hermogeniani.* After whom *Noëtus* maintained the same, who (says *Epiphanius*) lived 130 Years before his time: (See *Epiphan.* Heres. 57.) From *Noëtus* they had the name of *Noëtiani*; and from *Sabellius*, *Noëtus*'s Disciple, they were called *Sabelliani.* After whom succeeded *Friscillianus* in the same Heresie; from him they

Constantius.

* Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, *of men*: but *Valesius* renders it, *ex homine, of Man.*

* Or *Comforter.* † See Joh. 14. 26.

* 1 Cor. 11. 3.

* Gen. 1. 26.

* See Euseb. Eccles. Hist. book 7. chap. 27. &c.

they had the name of *Priſcillianiſtæ*. The ſum and ſubſtance of this Hereſie, thus propagated by theſe ſucceeding aſſertors of it, was this: They affirmed *there was but one Perſon in the Deity, to wit the Father; that he only ſubſiſted, and was the Maker of all Things; that he came not only into the World, and was incarnate, and did all things which we ſay were done by the Son.* In order to the Excluſion of theſe Hereticks, the *Aquileian* Church added theſe two terms [*inviſible* and *impaſſible*] to the firſt Article of the Creed; ſhewing by the firſt, that the Father was not incarnate, and by the ſecond, that he was not crucified.

Conſtantius.

amongſt us they are called * Sabellians. *For we know, that the Father, who ſent, continued in the proper nature of his own immutable Deity: But the Son who was ſent, fulfill'd the* † Oeconomy *of his incarnation. In like manner, we determine thoſe to be Perſons moſt impious and ſtrangers to truth, who irreligiouſly aſſert, that Chriſt was begotten not by the will and pleaſure [of the Father,] to wit, attributing to God an unwilling and involuntary neceſſity, as if he had begotten the Son by conſtraint: Becauſe they have audaciouſly determined ſuch things as theſe concerning the Father, which are contrary both to the common notions of God, and alſo to the ſenſe and meaning of the Scripture given by Divine Inſpiration. For we, knowing God to have free and plenary Power, and to be Lord of himſelf, do piouſly think, that he begat the Son voluntarily and of his own accord. Moreover, although with fear and reverence we do believe this which is ſpoken concerning him,* || The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, upon account of his Works: *yet we ſuppoſe not, that the Son was made in the ſame manner with the reſt of the Creatures and works made by him. For it is impious, and repugnant to the Eccleſiaſtick Faith, to compare the Creator, with the Works created by him, and to think that he hath the ſame manner of Generation with the things of a different nature from him. For the ſacred Scriptures do teach us, that the one and alone-only-begotten Son was genuinely and truely begotten. But, although we do aſſert, that the Son is of himſelf, and that he doth live and ſubſiſt in like manner as the Father doth; yet we do not therefore ſeperate him from the Father, imagining in our minds in a corporal manner any ſpaces or intervalls of place between their conjunction. For we believe that they are conjoyned without any intervening* Medium, *and without any ſpace or diſtance, and that they cannot be ſeparated one from the other: the* (h) *whole Father embracing the Son in his boſome; and the whole Son hanging upon and cleaving cloſe to the Father, in whoſe boſome he alone continually reſteth. Believing therefore the moſt abſolutely perfect and moſt holy Trinity, and aſſerting that the Father is God, and that the Son alſo is God; notwithſtanding this, we do not acknowledge two, but one God, by reaſon of the Majeſty of the Diety, and the one abſolutely-entire conjunction of the Kingdom: the Father ruling over all things in general, and over the Son himſelf alſo: and the Son being made ſubject to the Father, but (excepting him) reigning over all things which were made after him and by him, and by his Fathers will liberally beſtowing the grace of the holy Spirit upon the Saints. For the ſacred Scriptures have informed us, that the manner of the Monarchy which is in Chriſt is thus manifeſted. We were neceſſitated to make a perfect explanation of theſe things at large (after the publication of our ſhorter form of the Creed,) not upon account of our exceſſive ambition: but that we might clear our ſelves from all ſtrange ſuſpicion concerning our ſentiments, amongſt ſuch as are ignorant of our opinions: and that all perſons inhabiting the Weſtern parts might know both the impudent and audacious calumny of thoſe who diſſent from us, and alſo the Eccleſiaſtick ſentiments of the Eaſtern [Biſhops] concerning Chriſt, which is without violence confirmed by the teſtimony of the divinely inſpired Scriptures, (i) amongſt thoſe whoſe minds are not depraved.* *Conſtantius.*

* See Euſeb. Eccle. Hiſt. book. 7. chap. 6 note (b)

† *Diſpenſation.*

|| See Prov. 8. 22. The Eaſtern Biſhops have here quoted the very words of the Septuagint: And we render it accordingly. But in the *Engliſh* Verſion (which follows the Hebrew exactly) the Text is thus rendred; *the Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.*

(h) Inſtead of [ὅλον μὲν τῦ πατρὸς [we muſt neceſſarily read [ὅλε μὲν τῦ παλρὸς, *the whole Father*;] as it is in *Athanaſius*: from whom the reading is to be made good in the words immediately following; thus; καὶ μόνε τοῖς παλρῴοις κόλποις ἀναπαυομένε. *He alone continually reſting in his Fathers boſom.*

(i) Inſtead of [παρ' αἱρέσεις διαστρόφας] the reading in the *Allat.* M. S. and *Athanaſius*'s Book de *Synodis* is this [παρὰ τοῖς ἀδιαστρόφοις. i. e. *amongſt thoſe whoſe minds are not* [perverted, corrupted, or] *depraved.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Synod at Serdica.

(a) THE Biſhops in the Weſtern parts [of the (a) This confeſſion of faith (for ſo *Athanaſius* calls it) the Embaſſadors of the Eaſtern Biſhops preſented to the Weſtern Prelates aſſembled at *Millaine*. For ſome Biſhops together with the Presbyters of the Church of *Rome* had gone thither, to intreat *Conſtans Auguſtus*, that he would write to his brother *Conſtantius* about the aſſembling of a General Synod, in order to the determining of thoſe diſſentions in an Eccleſiaſtick Judicature, which had been raiſed in diverſe Churches: thus we are informed by *Athanaſius in his Apology to Conſtantius*. Moreover, when the *Eaſterns* had preſented this draught of the Creed to thoſe of the *Weſt*, they requeſted them to ſubſcribe it. But the Weſtern Biſhops made anſwer, that, as to what belonged to the Articles of Faith, the *Nicene* Creed was to them ſufficient, to which nothing was to be added, nor any thing to be taken from it. And as concerning the condemnation of thoſe Hereticks who were diſallowed of in that confeſſion, they requeſted of the Eaſtern Biſhops Embaſſadors, that they would in the firſt place condemn the *Arian* Hereſie. But, upon their refuſal to do that, the Eaſtern Embaſſadors being angry went away from the Council; as *Liberius* relates, in *his Epiſtle* to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, in theſe words: *Quæ eſt pax, Clementiſſime Imperator*, &c. *What peace is there, moſt Gracious Emperor, whenas there are four Biſhops of their party, Demofilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius, and Martyrius, who above eight years ſince, when they would not condemn Arius's Heretical opinion at Millaine, departed from the Council in anger?* notwithſtanding, the Weſtern Biſhops condemned *Photinus*'s Hereſie in that Synod. But they pronounced no ſentence againſt *Marcellus*, becauſe he had before been judged clear from all manner of Hereſie in the *Roman* Synod. In the ſame Synod *Urſacius* and *Valens* (who had lain under a ſuſpicion of being *Arians*) having preſented a Libel wherein they condemned *Arius*'s perfidiouſneſs and *Photinus*'s Hereſie, were admitted to communion, as the *Synodick Epiſtle* of the *Ariminum Council* informs us. The ſame is atteſted by *Urſacius* and *Valens* themſelves, in another Libel afterwards preſented to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, in theſe words: *Item Anathema dicimus*, &c. *Alſo we anathematize thoſe, who deny, that Chriſt is God and the Son of God from all eternity, according to our former Libel, which we preſented at Millaine*, &c. We thought good to be more large in theſe remarks of ours concerning the *Millaine Synod*, becauſe the memory thereof is very obſcure in the *Eccleſiaſtick Annals*. *Dionyſius Petavius* is the firſt perſon that hath taken notice of this Synod, who (in *his diſſertation de duplici Synodo Sirmienſi*) hath made many very learned obſervations concerning this Synod. But he hath miſtaken the year whereon it was convened. For he ſays it was held in the year of Chriſt 347, a little before the *Council of Serdica*. Which can in no wiſe be true. Therefore *Jacobus Sirmondus* (in *his ſecond Diatriba*, which he wrote againſt *Petavius*) has in this particular deſervedly reproved him. *Baronius* (who affirms that the *long draught* of the Creed (which *Socrates* has recorded in the foregoing chapter) was drawn up at the *Antiochian Synod* in the year of Chriſt 344,) places this Embaſſie of the Eaſtern Biſhops and the *Millaine Council*, on the ſame year alſo. But *Sirmondus* (in the foremontioned *Diatriba*) aſſigns this Council to the year of Chriſt 346. Which opinion is in my judgment the truer. For, in the firſt place, *Athanaſius* (in *his Apologetick to Conſtantius*,) relates, that on the fourth year after his coming to *Rome* he was by *Conſtans Auguſtus* ſummoned to *Millaine*, whither ſome Biſhops where then gone. Now *Athanaſius* came to *Rome* in the year of Chriſt 341. Secondly, *Hilarius* (*in fragmentis*) relates, that the *Millaine Synod*) wherein *Photinus* was condemned) was held two years before *Urſacius* and *Valens* offered their *Libel of ſatisfaction* to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*. For after he has recorded that Libel,

Libel, he adds these Words, *Hæc Epistola post biennium missa est, quàm hæresis Photini à Romanis damnata est*, i. e. *This Letter was sent two years after the Romans had condemned Photinus's Heresie.* Since therefore *Ursacius* and *Valens* wrote that Letter in the year of Christ 349, as *Petavius* attests; the *Millain Council* must needs have been celebrated on the third year before that: that is, on the year of Christ 346. For that expression [*post biennium, two years after*] imports thus much, to wit, *on the third year after that*; which *Petavius* did not consider. *Vales.*

Constantius. Empire,] both because (*b*) they were unskilled in the *Greek* language, and also in regard they understood not these things, admitted not of them; saying, that the *Nicene Creed* was sufficient, and that there was no necessity of making any further disquisitions. But when, upon the * Emperors writing again, (ordering that *Paulus* and *Athanasius* should be restored to their own Sees,) nothing could be done further in that affair: (For there was a continued Sedition amongst the Populace:) *Paulus* and *Athanasius* requested that another Synod might be convened, that both their cause, and also the matters of faith might be determined by an * *Oecumenical* Synod: and they made it apparent, that they had been deposed for no other reason but this, that the Faith might be subverted. Another *Oecumenical* Synod therefore is summoned [to meet] at *Serdica* (which is a City of *Illyricum*,) by the determination of the two Emperors; the one of them requesting this by his Letters, and the other (to wit, the Emperor of the East) readily complying with him. (*c*) It was then the eleventh year from the death of the Father of the *Augusti*: *Rufinus* and *Eusebius* were Consuls, at such time as the Synod at *Serdica* was assembled. About three hundred Bishops of the Western parts met there, as (*d*) *Athanasius* attests. But from the Eastern parts *Sabinus* says there came but seventy, amongst which number *Ischyras*, Bishop of *Mareotes* was recounted, whom they who had depos'd *Athanasius*, Ordained Bishop of that Country. Some of them pretended infirmity of body: others (*e*) complained of the shortness of the time that was set, laying the blame thereof upon *Julius* Bishop of

(*b*) *Baronius* does deservedly blame *Socrates* here, for his saying that the reason why the Western Bishops rejected this draught of the Dreed was, because they understood not the Greek Tongue. As if there were not then many in *Italy* who were well skilled in the Greek language. Moreover, *Theodorus Lector* has with good reason found fault with this cause of their refusal. For, instead of *Socrates*'s Words here, he has substituted these; διὰ τὸ πρόδηλον τῆς βλασφημίας, *because of its manifest Blasphemy.* Vales.

* He means *Constans.*

* General.

(*c*) From the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, (which was in the year of Christ 337,) to the Consulate of *Rufinus* and *Eusebius*, which was in the year of our Lord 347,) there are Ten years compleat. Therefore, if the *Council* of *Serdica* was convened in the eleventh year after *Constantine*'s death, it must of necessity have been assembled after the twenty second day of *May.* Vales.

(*d*) *Athanasius* does not say, that about three hundred Bishops of the Western Churches met at the Council of *Serdica.* He only says this, that as well those who were present at the Council of *Serdica*, as those who subscribed the Synodick Epistle afterwards sent to them; also those who before the Council at *Serdica* had written Synodick Epistles in his behalf, out of *Phrygia*, *Asia*, and *Isauria*, were in all three hundred and forty. This passage of *Athanasius*'s occurs in *his second defence against the Arians*, pag. 768; Edit. *Paris.* 1627. Moreover, the same *Athanasius* (in *his Epistle ad Solitar.* pag. 818.) does expressly attest, that the Bishops, who met at the *Council* of *Serdica*, as well those out of the Western as the Eastern parts, were no more than 170. His words are these: συνέρχονται τοίνυν, &c. *There met therefore, both from the East and from the West, at the City of* Serdica, 170 *Bishops, neither more nor less.* In the *Mogunt. Edit.* after the *Canons* of the *Synod of* Serdica, there is this note; *& subscripserunt*, &c. i. e. *and all the Bishops of divers Provinces and Cities subscribed, being in number* 121. *Vales.*

(*e*) In this place *Socrates* seems to have been mistaken, in referring those things to the Council of *Serdica*, which belong to the *Roman* Synod. For when *Julius* had invited the Eastern Bishops to a Synod at *Rome*, that *Athanasius*'s case might there be inquired into; the Eastern Bishops refused to come thither, pretending amongst other reasons, the narrowness of the time set; as *Julius* informs us in his Epistle to the said Eastern Bishops, recorded by *Athanasius*, pag. 744. Indeed *Socrates*'s following words, to wit [*although there had passed a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned, and during which space Athanasius made his abode at Rome*, &c.] do manifestly confirm what I have said. For *Athanasius*, invited by *Julius*'s Letters, came to *Rome*; where he abode a whole year and six months expecting his Adversaries, and the Synod which had been summon'd at *Rome*. *Julius* attest this, in his forequoted Epistle. pag. 748. *Vales.*

Rome: altho' there had passed a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned, and during which space *Athanasius* made his abode at *Rome*, expecting the meeting of the Synod. When therefore they were all convened at *Serdica*, the Eastern Bishops refused to come into the presence of the Western, saying, that they would not enter into discourse with them, unless they would banish *Athanasius* and *Paulus* from the convention. But when *Protogenes* Bishop of *Serdica*, and *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* (which is a City in *Spain*, as we said before) would by no means suffer (*f*) *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to be absent [from the Synod, the Eastern Bishops] went away immediately. And returning to *Philippopolis*, a City of *Thracia*, they made up a Synod apart by themselves. Wherein they openly *anathematized* the term *Homoöusios*: and having (*g*) inserted the (*h*) *Anomoian* opinion into their Epistles, they sent them about to all places. But the Bishops at *Serdica* in the first place condemned them for deserting [the *Council.*] Afterwards they divested *Athanasius*'s Accusers of their dignities. And having confirmed that form of the Creed published at *Nice*, and rejected the term * *Anomoios*, they made a more manifest publication of [the term] † *Homoöusious*: concerning which they wrote Letters. and (as the others did) sent them about to all places. Moreover, both parties were of opinion, that they had done what was right and true; the Eastern Bishops [thought so,] because the Western [Prelates] had approved of and entertained those persons whom they had deposed: and the Western Bishops [were of that Opinion,] because they who had deposed these persons, fled away before their cause had been discussed, and because * they were the preservers and defenders of the *Nicene* Faith, but † these had been so audacious as to adulterate it. They therefore restored (*i*) *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to their Sees; as also *Marcellus* [Bishop] of *Ancyra* [a City] in *Galatia the less.* He had been deposed a long time before, as we have made mention in our foregoing || book: but

Constantius.

(*f*) *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* was not present at the Synod of *Serdica*, as *Theodoret* attests, (book 2. chap. 5. *Eccles. Histor.*) which is also confirmed by the Synodick Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica*, which occurs in *Hilarius*'s *Fragments*, at Pag. 434. *Edit. Paris.* 1631. Vales.

(*g*) Instead of [ἐπιστολὰς συγγράψαντες, *having written Letters*] the reading in the *Allat.* M.S. is truer; which is thus, [ἐπιστολαῖς ἐγγράψαντες, *having inserted in their Letters.*] But what *Socrates* here says, (to wit, that the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica* established the Opinion of the *Anomoiani* (see the following note in this chapter) in their Synodick Epistle.) is altogether false. Their Synodick Epistle is extant in *Hilarius*'s *Fragments*, at pag. 434. Edit. *Paris.* 1631; and at the end of it there is a confession of faith added. In which confession there is nothing which in the least savours of the *Anomoians* opinion. The said *Hilarius*, relating (in his book *de Synodis*) the same draught of the Creed published by the Eastern Bishops at *Serdica*, owns it as Catholick, and explains it. And *Hilarius* is so far from believing that they disseminated the *Anomoians* opinion, that he affirms them to have obstructed that opinion on every side. His words are these: *Ex omni autem parte*, &c. *But on all sides, whithersoever sollicitude could turn it self, the passage is stopt up by the wit of the Hereticks, lest it should be Preach'd, that there is any diversity or unlikeliness in the Son* [*from the Father.*] Vales.

(*h*) The *Anomoians* were such as asserted, *that the Son had a substance or essence, different from, or unlike to the Father.*

* That is, *different*, or *unlike.*

† *Co-essential*, or *consubstantial*

* The Western Bishops.

† The Eastern Bishops.

(*f*) In the *Synodick Epistle* of the Council of *Serdica* (which occurs in *Theodoret* B. 2. c. 8. *Eccles. Hist.*) there is not the least mention of *Paulus.* Vales.

|| See *Socrates*, book, 1. chap. 36. *Eccles. Hist.*

Conſtantius.

but then he uſed his utmoſt diligence † to get the ſentence revoked which had been pronounced againſt him; declaring that the expreſſions of the book written by him were not underſtood, and that he therefore lay under a ſuſpicion [of maintaining] *Paul* of *Samoſata*'s Opinion. But you muſt take notice that *Euſebius Pamphilus* confuted *Marcellus*'s book in a diſcourſe againſt him, comprized in * three entire books which he entitled *Againſt Marcellus*. He quotes *Marcellus*'s own words [in thoſe Books,] and in his diſcourſe againſt them maintains, that *Marcellus* does aſſert (in like manner as *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Samoſata* did) that the Lord [Chriſt] is a meer Man.

† Ἀναπαλαῖσαι, *to renew the combat with the ſentence which*, &c.

* Theſe three Books (the Title whereof is *De Eccleſiaſticâ Theologiâ adverſus Marcellum*) of *Euſebius*'s are at this day extant. There are prefixt before them two books, entitled κατὰ μαρκέλλου, that is, *Againſt Marcellus*; wherein he reproves his deſign, malice, and envy. *Euſebius* atteſts (in the cloſe of his ſecond Book againſt *Marcellus*) that he wrote theſe Books by the order of thoſe Biſhops, who had condemned *Marcellus* in the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod*. Further, it is uncertain whether or no *Socrates* had ever ſeen thoſe two former Books againſt *Marcellus*, in regard he has made no mention of them. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

An Apology for Euſebius Phamphilus.

BUt in regard ſome have attempted to reproach this perſon, (I mean *Euſebius Pamphilus*) as if he were an Aſſertor of *Arius*'s Opinion in the books he hath publiſh'd; I judge it not unſeaſonable to ſay ſomething concerning him. In the firſt place therefore, he was preſent at, and conſented to, the *Nicene* Synod, which determin'd that the Son was coeſſential with the Father. Moreover, *in is third* Book concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, he ſays word for word thus: *But the Emperor incited them all to an unity of mind, until he had at that time reduced them all to be of the ſame mind and to have the ſame ſentiments in relation to all thoſe points, concerning which they had before diſagreed.* In ſo much that at *Nice* they did all perfectly agree in the [points] of Faith. Since therefore *Euſebius*, making mention of the *Nicene Synod*, does ſay, that all things about which they diſagreed were compoſed, and that they were all brought to be of one and the ſame mind and opinion; how can any Perſons judge him to be a maintainer of *Arius*'s Opinion? The *Arians* alſo themſelves are miſtaken, in their ſuppoſing him to be a favourer of their Tenets. But ſome body will perhaps ſay, that in his writings he ſeems to **Arianize*, in regard he always ſays † *By Chriſt*. To whom we anſwer, that Eccleſiaſtick Writers have frequently made uſe of this Expreſſion, and many other ſuch like, which do ſignifie the diſpenſation of our Saviours Humanity. And before all theſe [Writers] the *Apoſtle Paul* hath made uſe of theſe very expreſſions; and he was never thought to be the Teacher of a perverſe opinion. Moreover, in regard *Arius* has been ſo audacious, as to ſtile the Son a Creature like unto one of thoſe other [Creatures made by God;] hear what *Euſebius* ſaith (in *his firſt book againſt Marcellus*,) concerning this; theſe are his very words: *He only, and no other, hath been declared to be, and is, the only begotten Son of God; upon which account they are deſervedly to be reprehended, who have audaciouſly ſtiled him a Creature, made of nothing like the reſt of the Creatures. For how ſhould he be a Son? How ſhould he be God's only begotten, who is entitled to the very ſame Nature with the reſt of the Creatures,* (a) *and would be one of thoſe common Creatures, in regard he (like them) is made a partaker of a Creation from nothing? But the ſacred Oracles do not inſtruct us after this manner concerning him.* Then, after the interpoſition of ſome few words, he continues. *Whoſoever therefore doth determine that the Son is made of things which are not, and that he is a* (b) *Creature produced out of nothing, that perſon hath forgotten, that he beſtows upon him a name only, but in reality he denies him to be a Son. For he that is made of nothing, cannot truly be the Son of God, nor can any thing elſe which is made [be his Son.] But the true Son of God, in regard he is begotten of him as of a Father, ought deſervedly to be ſtiled the only begotten and beloved of the Father. And therefore he muſt be God. For what can the offſpring of God be elſe, but moſt exactly like to him that hath begotten him? A King indeed builds a City, but he begets not a City: but he is ſaid to beget, not to build, a Son. And an Artificer may be ſaid to be the Framer, not the Father, of that which he hath made. But he can in no wiſe be ſtiled the Framer of the Son who is begotten by him. So alſo, the ſupream God is the Father of his Son: but he is juſtly to be called the Maker and Framer of the world. And although this ſaying may be once found * ſomewhere in the Scripture,* The Lord created me the beginning of his ways in order to his works, *yet we ought duly to inſpect the meaning of thoſe words, (which I will explain afterwards;) and not (as* Marcellus *doth) ſubvert a principal point [aſſerted by] the Church upon account of one word.* Theſe and many other ſuch like expreſſions *Euſebius Pamphilus* utters, in *his Firſt Book againſt Marcellus*. And in *his Third Book* [of that work,] the ſame Authour, declaring in what ſenſe the term *Creature* is to be taken, ſays thus. *Theſe things therefore having been after this manner proved and confirmed, the conſequence is (agreeable to all things explained by us before,) that theſe words alſo,* The Lord created me the beginning of his ways in order to his works, *muſt have been ſpoken [concerning the ſame perſon.] But, although he ſays he was created, yet he muſt not be ſo underſtood, as if he ſhould ſay, that he had arrived to what he is from things which are not, and that he alſo was made of*

Conſtantius.

(a) Before theſe words there is a whole line wanting, (which (from *the Firſt Book* of *Euſebius de Eccleſiaſtica Theologia*, Chap. 9.) is thus to be made up; ταύτη γὰρ ἀδελφὸς ἂν τούτων γένοιτο μᾶλλον, ἢ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τῶν τε πολλῶν ἓν τῶν ἔσται εἷς. i. e. *For by this means he would be their brother, rather then the Son of God: and would be one of thoſe common Creatures*, &c. *Valeſ.*

(b) Inſtead of [πεποίημένον] the reading ſhould be [ποιούμενον, *produced*] as *Euſebius* words it, at the place before cited. It ſhould alſo be [γενητὸν] not [γεννητὸν.] For theſe two words, although they are diſtinguiſhed but by one Letter, yet do very much differ in their ſignifications. For the term [γεννητὸν] ſignifies *that which is born or begotten*; but [γενητὸν] imports *that which is made*. Valeſ.

* See *Euſeb. concerning the Life of Conſtantine*, book 3. c. 13, 14. *Edit.* Valeſ.

* That is, to aſſert *Arius*'s Opinion.

† *Socrates* means thoſe *Doxologies*, that occur at the end of *Euſebius*'s *Sermons*; which *Euſebius* doth always put into this form: *Glory to be the unborn Father by his only begotten Son*, &c. This may plainly be ſeen in thoſe Tracts of *Euſebius*'s, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath publiſhed. For example, in the end *of his firſt Book againſt Sabellius*, theſe are his words: *Gloria uni non nato Deo*, &c. i. e. *Glory be to the one unborn God, by the one only begotten God the Son of God, in one holy Spirit, both now, and always, and throughout all ages of ages. Amen.* And ſo concerning the reſt. Alſo, in the Oration *Euſebius* made at the Conſecration of the Church at *Tyre*, (which occurs at the *Tenth book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* chap. 4.) we meet with the ſame clauſe, at the cloſe of that Speech; δι' οὗ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα, &c. *by whom be glory to him.* For ſo we have worded that Place, agreeable to three of our M. S.S. Further, 'tis manifeſtly known, that the *Arians* attributed this prepoſition [*per quem, by whom*] to the Son, upon this deſign, that they might make him ſubject to the Father. See *Theodoret upon the firſt chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians.* Valeſ.

* See Prov. 8. 22. and what was remarkt concening that Text, in chap. 19. of this book. note (‖.)

Constantius.

of nothing in the same manner with the other Creatures which some have perversely supposed: but [*he speaks this*] *as being a Person subsisting, living, pre-existing, and being before the Foundation of the whole World; having been constituted the Ruler of the Universe by his Lord and Father: The term* Created *being in that place used instead of* Ordained *or* Constituted. *Indeed, the Apostle hath in express Words stiled the Rulers and Governors amongst Men* a Creature, *saying* * Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as supream; or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him. *And the Prophet (where he saith* † Prepare to invoke thy God, O *Israel.* For behold he that firmeth the thunder, and createth the Spirit, and declarreth his Christ unto men) *hath not taken the Word* Created *in such a sense as to signifie,* That which hath been made when as before it was not. *For God did not then Create his Spirit, when he declared his* ‖ *Christ to all Men by him.* ‖ For there is no new thing under the Sun. *But* [*the Spirit*] *was, and did subsist before. But he was sent at such time as the Apostles were gathered together, when* (*like thunder*) * There came a sound from heaven, as a rushing mighty wind: And they were filled with the holy Ghost. *And thus they declared God's Christ amongst all Men, agreeable to that Prophesie, which saith.* † For behold he that firmeth the thunder, and createth the Spirit, and declareth his Christ unto men: *The term* Createth *being made use of, instead of* Sendeth, *or* Constituteth: *And the Word* Thunder *in another manner signifying the Preaching of the Gospel. And he that saith,* * Create in me a clean heart, O God, *said not that, as if he had had no heart before: but he prayed, that his mind might be made perfectly pure within him. After the same manner this is spoken,* † For to make in himself of twain one new Man, *instead of* to conjoyn. *Consider also, whether or no this saying be of the same sort,* ‖ Put on that new man, which after God is created: *and this,* † Therefore if any man [be] in Christ, [he is] a new Creature: *and whatever other* [*expressions*] *of this sort may be found by him that diligently searcheth the divinely inspired Scripture. You need not wonder therefore, because in this place* * The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, *the term* Created [*is used*] *metaphorically, instead of* Ordained *or* Constituted. After this manner *Eusebius* discourses in *his Books against Marcellus.* We have produced his words here, upon their account, who have attempted causelesly to rail at and revile this Person. Nor can they demonstrate, that *Eusebius* doth attribute a beginning of Essence to the Son of God, although they may find him frequently making use of the expression of dispensation: especially, because he was a great Emulator and Admirer of *Origen*'s Writings, wherein such as are able to understand *Origen*'s Books, will find [this] every where [asserted, to wit,] that the Son is begotten of the Father. Thus much we have said by the by, upon their account who have attempted to reproach *Eusebius.*

* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. Where the expression in the Original is πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει; which may be rendred thus, *to every human Creature.*

† Amos 4. 12, 13. *Euseb.* quotes this Text in the Words of the *Septuagint*: But omits the Word [ἐγὼ, I:] We have rendred them according to his quotation; which is very different from the *Hebrew*, and from our *English* Version.

‖ Eccles. 1. 9.

* Acts 2. 2, 4.

† Amos 4. 13.

* Psal. 51. 10.

† Ephes. 2. 15.

‖ Ephes. 4. 24.

† 2 Cor. 5. 17.

* Prov. 8. 22.

Constantius.

CHAP. XXII.

That the Synod *of* Serdica *restored* Paulus *and* Athanasius *to their Sees; and that upon the Eastern Emperors refusal, to admit them, the Emperor of the* West *threatned him with War.*

BUT the [Bishops,] as well those convened at *Serdica*, as they who made up a particular Synod by themselves at *Philippopolis* [a City] of *Thracia*, having perform'd whatsoever each party thought requisite to be done, return'd to their own Cities. [Thence forward] therefore the Western Church was severed from the Eastern: and the boundary of communion between them, was the mountain call'd (*a*) *Soucis*, which parts the *Illyrians* from the *Thracians.* As far as that mountain there was a promiscuous communion, altho' their Faith was different. But they (*b*) communicated not with those who lived beyond it. Such was the confusion of the Churches Affairs at that time. Soon after this, the Emperor of the Western Parts acquaints his Brother *Constantius* with what had been done at *Serdica*, and entreats him to restore *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to their own Sees. But when *Constantius* made demurrs to what he had written, the Emperor of the Western Parts in another Letter gave him his choice, [to wit,] that he should either admit *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to their own former Dignities, and restore their Churches to them; or else (if he did not this) he must look upon him to be his Enemy, and expect a War.

(*a*) In *our Annotations on the twentyfirst Book of Am. Marcellinus*, we have long since remarked, that this mountains name should be *Soucis*; and that hereby is meant the streights of the *Succi*, which *Am. Marcellinus* describes in his twenty firſt book, pag. 189. *Edit. Paris.* 1635. *Philostorgius* mentions the same streights, (in book 3. *Eccles. Hist.*) and calls them σύκεις, i. e. *Succi*; being scituated between *Dacia* and *Thracia.* He describes them thus: Δίοδοι εἰσὶ στεναὶ μεγίστων ὀρῶν, &c. i. e. *They are streight passages of vast mountains, which are crouded together on each side into one place, in such a manner that they seem to embrace one another.* He means to the mountains, *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, which arising from different places, make an angle in that place, and do as it were kiss one another. Which gave the Ancients an occasion of feigning *Hæmus* to be a young man, and *Rhodope* a maid, and that heretofore they fell in love with one another. You may meet with the story in *Ovid Metamorph.* book 6. at the beginning. *Busbequius* (in 1 *Epist. Legat. Turci.*) says that the *Turks* do now call this narrow passage *Capi deruent*, i. e. *the Gate of narrownesses.* Vales.

(*b*) These words must have a favourable sense put upon them; and are not so to be understood, as if *Socrates* should have said, that after the Synod of *Serdica* the Western Bishops held no communion with the Eastern. For in the Synod of *Sirmium* (which was convened by the Western Bishops against *Photinus*, two years after the Synod at *Serdica*) the Western Bishops sent their determinations to the Eastern upon account of preserving a communion. And the Eastern Bishops wrote back to them, as *Hilarius* informs us, in *his Fragments.* Thus therefore *Socrates*'s words here must be understood: to wit; after the Synod of *Serdica* the *Western* Bishops did (not readily and rashly, but) with a great deal of cautiousness communicate with the *Eastern.* Vales.

The (*c*) Letter he wrote to his Brother was this.

(*c*) *Const. Augustus*'s Letter to his Brother *Constantius*, which is hererecorded by *Socrates*, is in my judgment not to be lookt upon as genuine. For *Athanasius* makes no mention of this Letter: and *Paulus*'s name (which is extant in it) doth upon good grounds render it suspicious. For at that time *Paulus* enjoy'd his Bishoprick: neither was he present at the *Synod* of *Serdica*; nor restor'd by the determination thereof; as we shew'd before. Wherefore, if this Letter of *Constans*'s be genuine,

Paulus *and* Athanasius *are indeed here with Us. But upon enquiry we find that they are Persecuted upon account of their piety. If therefore you will promise to restore them to their Sees, and punish those who have causelesly injur'd them, We will send the Men to you. But if You shall refuse to do as We have said, know for certain, that We Our self will come thither, and restore them to their own Sees whether you will or no.*

it muſt neceſſarily have been written before the *Council* of *Serdica*. Laſtly, *Conſtantius*'s firſt Letter to *Athanaſius* (which *Socrates* has inſerted in the following Chapter) evidently ſhews this to be a forged Letter. For *Conſtantius* in that Epiſtle ſaith, that by a Letter written to his Brother he hath requeſted him to give *Athanaſius* leave to return to his See. *Valeſ.*

Conſtantius.

CHAP. XXIII.

That Conſtantius, *being afraid of his Brothers menaces, by his Letters ordered* Athanaſius *to appear, and ſend him to* Alexandria.

THE Emperor of the Eaſt underſtanding theſe things, was reduced to a very great ſtreight. And having forthwith ſent for moſt of the Eaſtern Biſhops, he made them acquainted with the option his brother had propoſed to him, and enquired of them what was to be done. They made anſwer, that it was better [for him] to grant *Athanaſius* the Churches, than to undertake a Civil War. Wherefore the Emperor, being neceſſitated thereto, ſummoned *Athanaſius* to appear before him. At that very interim the Weſtern Emperor ſends *Paulus* to *Conſtantinople*, accompanied with two Biſhops and other honorary Proviſions, having fortified him both with his own Letters, and alſo with thoſe from the Synod. But whilſt *Athanaſius* was yet fearful, and in doubt whether he ſhould go to *Conſtantius* or not: (For he was afraid of the treacherous attempts of the Sycophants:) the Eaſtern Emperor invited him [to his Court] not only once, but a ſecond and a third time; as it is evident from his Letters, the Contents whereof, being tranſlated out of the *Latin Tongue* [into the *Greek*,] are theſe.

Conſtantius's Epiſtle to *Athanaſius*.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanaſius* the Biſhop.

(a) This, and the two following Letters, are in *Athanaſius*'s *ſecond defence*, pag. 769. *Edit. Paris.* Valeſ.

(a) The humanity of Our clemency hath not permitted you to be any longer toſſed in and diſquieted with the boyſterous ſurges (as it were) of the Sea. Our indefatigable piety hath not neglected you during your being deprived of your native habitation, whilſt you wanted your goods, and wandred up and down in deſert and impaſſable places. And although We have too long deferr'd the acquainting you by Letters with the purpoſe of Our mind, expecting you would of your own accord have come to Us, and requeſted a Remedy for your troubles: Yet becauſe peradventure fear hath hindered that purpoſe of your mind, We have therefore ſent to your Gravity, Letters filled with indulgence, that you ſhould haſten to make your ſudden appearance in Our preſence without fear; whereby you might enjoy your deſire, and, having made experiment of Our humanity, be reſtored to your own habitation For upon this account we made a requeſt for you to Our Lord and Brother Conſtans Victor Auguſtus, *that He would grant you the liberty of coming, to the end that being reſtored to your Country by both Our conſents, you ſhould have this pledge and aſſurance of Our favour.*

Another Epiſtle to *Athanaſius*.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanaſius* the Biſhop.

Although We have made it ſufficiently known to you by Our former Letter, that you might ſecurely come to Our Court, in regard We are earneſtly (a) deſirous to ſend you to your own habitation: yet We have now (b) ſent this Letter to your Gravity. Wherefore We entreat you to take a publick Chariot, and haſten to Us without any miſtruſt or fear, that you may enjoy what you deſire.

Conſtantius.

(a) In *Athanaſius*, inſtead of [βουλεύεσθαι *determined*] the reading is [βούλεσθαι *deſired.*] Valeſ.

(b) In *Athanaſius*, it is [δεδώκαμεν *ſent*] not [δεδηλώκαμεν *manifeſted.*] Valeſ.

Another Letter to the ſame Perſon.

CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSUTS, to *Athanaſius* the Biſhop.

Whilſt we made Our reſidence at Edeſſa, *(your Presbyters being preſent there,) We were pleaſed, by ſending a Presbyter to you, to haſten your coming to Our Court, to the end that after you were come into Our Preſence, you might go immediately to* Alexandria. *But, in regard a conſiderable ſpace of time is now paſt, ſince your receipt of Our Letter, and you have not yet come; We therefore took care to put you in mind by this, that you ſhould now haſten to make your ſudden appearance in Our Preſence, that ſo you may be reſtored to your own Country; and obtain your deſire. And that you might be moſt fully certified hereof, We have ſent* Achetas *the Deacon, from whom you may underſtand both the purpoſe of Our mind, and alſo that you ſhall readily obtain what you deſire.*

Athanaſius having received theſe Letters at *Aquileia*, (for (c) there he abode after his departure from *Serdica*,) haſtned immediately to (d) *Rome*. And having ſhown the Letters to *Julius* the Biſhop, he cauſed great joy in the *Roman* Church. For they ſuppoſed, that the Emperor of the Eaſt had now given his aſſent to their Faith, in regard he invited *Athanaſius* to come to him. But *Julius* wrote this Epiſtle to the Clergy and Laity in *Alexandria* concerning *Athanaſius*.

(c) After the Synod of *Serdica*, *Athanaſius* made his abode firſt at *Naiſſus* in *Dacia*. In which City he received the Letters written to him by *Conſtans Auguſtus*. Afterwards, he left *Naiſſus*, and went to *Aquileia*, as he himſelf atteſts, in his *Apologetick* to *Conſtantius*, pag. 676. *Valeſ.*

(d) *Athanaſius* relates the reaſon of this journey of his to *Rome* in *his Second defence againſt the Arians*; to wit, that he might take his leave of *Julius* the Biſhop, and the *Roman* Church, by whom he had been ſo kindly entertained. For that is the meaning of theſe words of *Athanaſius*: Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐξεδάμουν, ἀνῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σωτάξασθαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· i. e. *But I, upon receipt of theſe Letters, went to Rome, to bid the Roman Church and the Biſhop farewel*: For the term [συντάξασθαι] ſignifies *valedicere, to take leave of*, or to *bid farewel*: As we have obſerv'd and prov'd in our *Annot.* on *Euſebius's Life of Conſtantine*; Book 3. Chap. 21. *Valeſ.*

The Epiſtle of Julius *Biſhop of* Rome, *to thoſe of* Alexandria.

Julius (e) to the Biſhops and Presbyters, and Deacons, and to the Laity inhabiting *Alexandria*, his beloved Brethren, health in the Lord.

(e) In the *Allat.* M.S. and in *Athanaſius* (*in his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians*) theſe words [*the Biſhops and*] are wanting. Inſtead hereof *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* ſeems to have read [*Julius the Biſhop to the Presbyters*, &c.] which reading *Chriſtophorſon* hath followed. *Valeſ.*

I alſo rejoyce with you, beloved Brethren, becauſe you now ſee before your Eyes the fruit of your Faith. For that this is truly ſo, any one may ſee in our Brother and Fellow Biſhop Athanaſius: *Whom God hath reſtored to you, upon account both of his purity of Life, and alſo of your prayers. Hence it is apparent, that you have continually offered up to God Prayers which were pure and full of Charity. For, being mindful of the Celeſtial promiſes, and (f) of the courſe of Life tending thereto, which you have been inſtructed in by the Doctrine of our fore-*

(f) In *Athanaſius* the reading is.

foresaid Brother; you certainly knew, and (according to that true Faith which is implanted in you) were apprehensive of this, that your Bishop could not be perpetually separated from you, whom you carried in your pious Minds, as being continually present. Wherefore, I need not make use of many words in this my Letter to you. For your Faith hath prevented whatever could have been said by me: And by the Grace of Christ those things have been fulfill'd, which you in common prayed for and desired. I rejoyce therefore with you, (for I will say it again,) because you have preserved your Souls inexpugnable in [your defending of] the Faith. Nor do I any whit less rejoyce with my Brother Athanasius, because although he hath undergone many sharp afflictions, yet) he was not one hour unmindful of your Love, and your Desire. For although he seemed to have been withdrawn from you for a time, yet he was continually conversant with you in Spirit. And I am of opinion, Beloved, that all the tryals and troubles which have hapned to him, are not inglorious. For both your, and his Faith hath thereby been made known, and approved amongst all Men. For, had not so many and great afflictions befel him, who would have believed, either that you should have had so great a respect and love for so eminent a Bishop, or that he should have been adorned with such excellent Virtues, by reason of which he is in no wise to be defrauded of his hope in the heavens? He hath therefore obtained a testimony of confession every way glorious, both in this, and in the World to come. For after his many and various sufferings both by Land and Sea, he hath trodden under foot all the treacheries of the Arian Heresie; and after his having been frequently assaulted and brought into danger through envy, he hath despised death, being guarded by Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ: hoping that he should not only avoid his Enemies Plots, but also be restored in order to your consolation, bringing back to you greater Trophies by reason of your being conscious [of having done what was just and good.] Upon which account he hath been rendred glorious even as far as the ends of the whole Earth, being approved for his [integrity of] Life, undauntedly persisting in the defence of his resolution of Mind, and Celestial Doctrine, and evidently declared by your constant and perpetual judgment, to be entirely beloved by you. He returns therefore to you now far more bright and glorious, than when he departed from you. For, if the fire tries and refines pretious Metals, I mean Gold and Silver, what can be said of so eminent a Personage according to his worth, who having vanquished the fire of so great afflictions, and so many (g) Instead of [ἀποδεχθὲς, received] in the Allat. M.S. and in Athanasius, the reading is [ἀποδειχθὲις declared: which I account the better reading. Vales. Perils, is now restored to you, having been (g) declared innocent, not by our determination only, but by that of the whole Synod? Receive therefore (Beloved Brethren) with all Divine Glory and Joy your Bishop Athanasius, (h) together with those who have been his Fellow-sufferers. And rejoyce, in that you enjoy your desires, who have nourished and quenched the thirst of your pastor, hungring (if I may so speak,) and thirsting after your Piety, with your comfortable writings. For you were a consolation to him during his abode in strange Countries: And you have cherished him with your most faithful Souls and Minds, whilst he was persecuted, and assaulted with treacheries. Indeed, I rejoyce already, whilst I consider and foresee in my mind the joy of every one of you at his return, and the most pious meetings [which will be given him] by the Populace, and the glorious Solemnity of those which will be assembled, and what manner of day that will be, wherein our brother shall make his return: When forepast Calamities shall have an end, and his pretious and wish'd for return shall unite all Persons in an alacrity of mind [expresst by] the highest degree of Joy. Such a Joy as this does, as to the greatest part of it, reach even as far as us, to whom Heaven, ('tis manifest) hath granted this favour, that we should be able to come to the Knowledge of so eminent a Personage. It is fit therefore, that we should close this Letter with a Prayer. May God Almighty, and his Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ afford you this perpetual Grace, rendring you the reward of your admirable Faith, which you have demonstrated towards your Bishop by a Glorious Testimony: That better things may await you and your Posterity both in this, and in the World to come, which * Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom Glory be to Almighty God for ever and ever, Amen. I wish you good health, beloved Brethren. * 1. Cor. 2. 9.

Constantius.

Athanasius confiding in these Letters, went into the East. The Emperor Constantius received him not then with an incensed mind. But upon the suggestion of the Arians, he attempted to circumvent him, And speaks to him thus. You have indeed recovered your See by the Synods determination, and our consent. But, in regard there are some of the people in Alexandria, who do (i) refuse to hold communion with you, suffer them to have one Church in the City. To which request Athanasius immediately made this return, and says, It is in your power, O Emperor, to command and do what you will. I also ask and request this favour of you, which I desire you would grant me. When the Emperor had readily promised him to grant it, Athanasius forthwith added, that he desired to receive the same favour, that the Emperor had required should be granted him: For he also requested that throughout every City one Church might be allowed to those who refused to communicate with the Arians. When the Arians understood that Athanasius's opinion would (k) incommode [their party,] they made answer that that business was to be deferred till another time: But they permitted the Emperor to do what pleased him. Wherefore, the Emperor restored Athanasius, Paulus and Marcellus to their own Sees: As also, Asclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Adrianople. For they also had been received by the Synod of Serdica; Asclepas [was received] upon his exhibiting the Acts, whereby it was manifest, that Eusebius Pamphilus (together with many others) having taken cognizance of his cause, had restored him to his dignity, and Lucius, because those that accused him were fled. Therefore, the Emperors Edicts were sent to their Cities, giving order that they should be readily admitted. Upon Basilius's being turn'd out of Ancyra, and Marcellus's entrance into that City, there was no trivial disturbance made, which gave those that were his Adversaries an occasion of reproaching him. But the Gazites willingly received Asclepas. In Constantinople, Macedonius did for some small time give place to Paulus, and convened assemblies by himself separately, in a private Church of that City.

(i) This passage Socrates had from Rufinus. There is no mention of it in Athanasius. Vales.

(k) The reading must be be [ἀλυσιτελῆ, incommode;] which emendaton Rufinus confirms, (book 1. chap. 19. Eccles. Hist.) and so doth Epiphanius, in his Version. Vales.

[Τῆς πρὸς ἀυτὸς ἀγωγῆς,] which I like not. For it must be [πρὸς ἀυτὰς ἀγωγῆς, of the course of life tending to them;] that is, the promises. Or else the reading may be [τῆς πρὸς ἀυτὸς ἀγάπης, of your mutual love:] which reading Epiphan. Scholastic. followed. Vales.

(g) Instead of [ἀποδεχθὲς, received] in the Allat. M.S. and in Athanasius, the reading is [ἀποδειχθὲις declared: which I account the better reading. Vales.

(h) In the Allat. M.S. the reading of this place is thus: μετὰ τότε ᾧ οἵτινες ἀυτῷ ᾗ τῶν τοσούτων καμάτων κοινωνοὶ γεγόνασι, and together with him as many as have been partakers of so great labours with him. The reading in Athanasius is almost the same. But our Copies and Epiphanius Scholasticus do confirm the common reading. Vales.

Conſtantius.

City. But, in behalf of *Athanaſius*, the Emperor wrote to the Biſhops, to the Clergy, and to the Laity, that they ſhould willingly receive him. Moreover, he gave orders by other Letters, that what had been enacted againſt him in the Courts of Judicature, ſhould be abrogated. The contents of his Letters concerning both theſe Particulars are theſe.

Conſtantius's Letter, in behalf of *Athanaſius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the Biſhops and Presbyters of the Catholick Church.

The moſt Reverend Biſhop Athanaſius *hath not been deſerted by the Grace of God. But although he was for a ſhort time ſubjected to human tryal, yet he hath received a juſt ſentence from Divine Providence which inſpects all things: having been reſtored, by the will of God, and our determination, both to his own Country, and Church, over which by Divine permiſſion he preſided. It was meet, that what is agreeable hereto ſhould be performed by our Clemency. That ſo, all things which have heretofore been determined againſt thoſe who have held communion with him, ſhould now wholly be forgotten, and that all ſuſpicion [entertained] againſt him ſhould in future ceaſe, and that the immunity, which thoſe Clergymen that are with him did heretofore enjoy, ſhould (as it is meet) be confirmed to them. Moreover, We thought it equitable to make this addition to Our Indulgence in favour of him, that all Perſons belonging to the ſacred order of the Clergy might underſtand, that ſecurity is granted to all thoſe that have adhered to him, whether they be Biſhops, or Clerks: And a firm Union with him ſhall be a ſufficient teſtimony of every one's good reſolution of mind. For, what Perſons ſoever (making uſe of a better judgment, and becoming followers of a ſounder Opinion,) ſhall embrace his Communion. We have ordered, that all ſuch ſhall enjoy that indulgence (according to the* *Likeneſs. * Pattern *of the preceding providence) which We have now granted agreeable to the will of God.*

Another Letter ſent to the *Alexandrians*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to to the Populace of the Catholick Church in *Alexandria*.

(l) *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* reads [τῶν ἐτέρων, &c. Our *good Government*, &c. *Valeſ.*

In regard We make (l) your good Government Our aim in all things, and knowing that you have for ſome time been deprived of an Epiſcopal Providence, We have thought good to ſend back to you again Athanaſius *the Biſhop, a Perſon well known to all Men for his ſanctity of Life and moral honeſty. When you ſhall have received this Perſon according to your uſual manner, and as it is meet; and ſhall conſtitute him your aſſiſtant in your Prayers to God; make it your buſineſs to preſerve continually a Concord and Peace, befitting your ſelves, and grateful to Us, according to the Sanction of the Church. For it is diſagreeable to reaſon, that there ſhould be any diſſention or faction raiſed amongſt you, contrary to the felicity of Our times. Our deſires and wiſhes are, that you may be wholly freed from this miſchief. And we exhort you to perſiſt continually in your uſual Prayers to God, making uſe of him your Prelate and your aſſiſtant, as was ſaid before. That ſo this reſolution of yours being convey'd to the (m) ears of all Men, even thoſe Gentiles as yet * enſlaved in the erroneous Worſhip of Idols, may with the greateſt alacrity haſten to the knowledge of the ſacred Religion, (moſt dear* Alexandrians*!) We therefore again exhort you to perſiſt in what hath been ſaid before. Do you willingly receive your Biſhop, ſent to you by God's Decree and Our determination, and look upon him as worthy to be embraced (n) with your own Souls and Minds. For that doth both become you, and is alſo manifeſtly agreeable to Our Clemency. And that all manner of (o) diſturbance and occaſion of Sedition may be taken from ſuch as are endow'd with malevolent and factious minds, We have by Our Letters given order to the Judges amongſt you, that they ſhould render all thoſe liable to undergo the Penalty of the Laws, whom upon inquiry they ſhall find to have been Seditious. Taking therefore into your conſideration theſe two things, both God's and Our determination, and alſo the care we have taken about your agreement, and the puniſhment [we have commanded to be inflicted] upon thoſe that are diſorder'd; make it your chief buſineſs to have a diligent regard to whatever doth become and agree with the Sanctions of the ſacred Religion, and with all reverence to honor the * foreſaid [Prelate,] that ſo you together with him may offer up Prayers to the ſupream God and Father, both for your Selves, and alſo for the good Government and Concord of Mankind in general.*

(m) I doubt, not but inſtead of [εὐχὰς, *prayers*] it ſhould be [ἀκοὰς, *ears*, or *hearing*:] and ſo we have render'd it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *eminently addicted to.*

Conſtantius.

(n) In the *Allat.* M.S. and in *Athanaſius*, the reading here is [πᾶσι ψυχῇ ὑγιεῖ γνώμῃ *with your whole ſouls & minds.*] Valeſ.

(o) Inſtead of [πᾶσαν ἀνασκευὴν, *all manner of confutation*] the reading in the *Allat.* and *Sfortian* M.SS. is [ἀνασκευὴν πᾶσαν, *all manner of diſturbance.*] Valeſ.

* *Athanaſius.*

An Epiſtle concerning the abrogating what had been enacted againſt *Athanaſius*.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS, to *Neſtorius*. And in the ſame Copy, to the Preſidents of (p) *Auguſtamnica*, *Thebais*, and *Lybia*.

(p) In the *Allat.* MS. it is *Auguſtonica*: in *Athanaſius* it is called *Auguſtamnica*. The name of this Province is uſually writtendivers ways. For ſome term it *Auguſtamnica*, others *Augustanica*: ſo I found it written in many both Greek and Latin M.SS. Others call'd it *Auguſtonica*, to wit, from *Auguſtus*'s Victory. In the ſubſcriptions of the Biſhops, who approved of *Acacius*'s draught of the Creed, (which the Reader will meet withat at the 40*th* Chapter of this ſecond Book,) whoſe names *Epiphanius* has recorded, (in Hereſ. *Semiarian.*) we read amongſt others; Πτολεμαῖος ἐπίσκοπος Δημούεως Αυσκονίκης, i. e. *Ptolemeus Biſhop of Thmuis* [a City] *of Auguſtonica*. Valeſ.

If any thing be found to have been heretofore done to the detriment and injury of thoſe who communicate with Athanaſius *the Biſhop, Our Will is, that that be now wholly abrogated. For Our Pleaſure is, that thoſe of his Clergy ſhould again have the ſame immunity, which they formerly had. And We command, that this Order of Ours be kept: That ſo* (Athanaſius *the Biſhop having been reſtored to his Church,*) *they who communicate with him may have the ſame Priviledge which they always had, and which the other Clergymen now have: Whereby their Affairs being thus ſetled, they alſo may rejoyce.*

CHAP. XXIV.

That Athanaſius, *paſſing through* Jeruſalem *in his return to* Alexandria, *was received into Communion by* Maximus, *and convened a Synod of Biſhops which confirmed the* Nicene *Faith.*

ATHANASIUS the Biſhop being fortified with theſe Letters, paſſed thorow *Syria*, and came into *Paleſtine*. And arriving at *Jeruſalem*, he made known to *Maximus* the Biſhop, both what

Constantius. what had been done in the Synod of *Serdica*, and also that *Constantius* the Emperor had consented to their determination: and he makes it his business to have a Synod of Bishops convened in that City. *Maximus* without any delay sent for some of the Bishops in *Syria* and *Palestine*: and having constituted a Synod, he also restored to *Athanasius* communion, and his [former] dignity. Moreover, this Synod † wrote to the *Alexandrians*, and to all the Bishops in *Egypt* and *Lybia*, declaring to them what had been Determined and Decreed concerning *Athanasius*. Upon which Account, those who were *Athanasius*'s Enemies egregiously derided *Maximus*, because he had before deposed *Athanasius*; but then altering his mind again, (as if nothing had been done before,) he gave his Suffrage for *Athanasius*, and restored to him communion and his dignity. *Ursacius* and *Valens* (who had before been hot maintainers of Arianism,) understanding these thing, having at that time rejected their former industry [in asserting that Opinion,] went to *Rome*. And presented a penitentiary Libel to *Julius* the Bishop, after which they embraced the *Homoöusian* Faith. And having written Letters to *Athanasius*, they professed they would in future hold communion with him. *Ursacius* therefore and *Valens* were at that time in such a manner vanquish'd by *Athanasius*'s prosperous Success, that (as I said) they gave their consent to the *Homoöusian* Faith. But *Athanasius* passed thro' *Pelusium* in his Journey to *Alexandria*. And he admonished all the Cities through which he passed, to have an aversion for the *Arians*, and to embrace those that professed the *Homoöusian* Faith. He ordained also in some of the Churches. Which gave beginning to another accusation against him, * because he attempted to ordain in other [Bishops] Dioceses. Such was the posture of *Athanasius*'s Affairs at that Time.

† This Epistle of the *Jerusalem* Synod is extant in *Athanasius*'s *second defence against the Arians*; together with the names of those Bishops who subscribed to that Synod. But we may here by the by take notice of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*'s Authority, who (although he was no *Metropolitane* yet) summoned the neighbouring Bishops to a Synod, without the Permission of the Bishop of *Cæsarea*. *Vales.*

* *Socrates* speaks here concerning the Ordinations performed by *Athanasius* in *Egypt*. For he says that was done after he arrived at *Pelusium*; which is the first City of *Egypt* to those that come out of *Syria*. If this be so, that Opinion can no ways be maintained, which some now a days assert, to wit, that all Ordinations (as well of Bishops as of Presbyters) throughout *Egypt* belonged to the Bishop of *Alexandria*: But we have sufficiently refuted this Opinion in *our Third Book of Ecclesiastick Observations*, published at the close of *our Annotations on Socrates and Sozomen*. Vales.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Tyrants Magnentius *and* Vetranio.

BUT in the interim a disturbance in no wise trivial seized the publick affairs of the Empire. It is necessary that we should give a summary account only concerning it, by running over the chief heads thereof. When the * Builder of the City of *Constantinople* was dead, his three Sons succeeded him in the Empire, as we have mentioned in our First Book. (*a*) But you must know, that together with them reigned their

* *Constantine the Great.*

(*a*) The emendation of this place, (which is very corrupt in *Robert Stephens*'s *Edition*) we owe to the Allat. M. S. where the reading is [ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι συνεβασίλευσε τούτοις ἀνεψιὸς αὐτῶν, ᾧ ὄνομα Δαλμάτιος ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρί· i. e. *But you must know, that together with them reigned their Cousin-german, whose name was Dalmatius of the same name with his own Father.*] See *Socrat.* Book 1. chap. 27. note (*g*.) The *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. S. S. alter not the Vulgar reading here. But the reading of the *Allat.* M.S. is evidently confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. Only he calls *Dalmatius*, *Constantius*'s Cousin-german by the Mother's side. But *Dalmatius* was *Constantius*'s Cousin german by the Father's side; for he was son to *Dalmatius*, *Constantine* the *Great*'s Brother. *Vales.*

Constantius. Cousin-german, whose name was *Dalmatius* of the same name with his own Father. After he had been Colleague with them in the Empire some small time, the Soldiers slew him; *Constantius* neither (*b*) commanding him to be murdered, nor yet forbidding it. After what manner *Constantius Junior* (invading those parts of the Empire which belonged to his Brother,) was also slain in an engagement with the Soldiers, we have more than once mentioned * before. After his slaughter, the *Persian* War was raised against the *Romans*, wherein *Constantius* performed no Action that was fortunate. For, there hapning an † Engagement by night about the limits of the *Romans* and *Persians*, the latter seem'd then for some little time to have been Conquerors. At the same time, the posture of the *Christians* affairs was little less sedate: but upon *Athanasius*'s account, and by reason of the term *Homoöusios*, there was a War throughout the Churches. During this state of Affairs, there arose a Tyrant in the Western Parts [of the Empire,] one *Magmentius*. Who by treachery slew *Constans* the Emperor of the Western Parts, residing at that time in the *Gallia's*. After which there was a mighty Civil War kindled. For the Tyrant *Magnentius* conquer'd all *Italy*, he also reduc'd *Africa* and *Lybia* under his own Dominion, and had possession even of the *Gallia's*. In *Illyricum* likewise at the City *Sirmium*, another Tyrant was * set up by the Soldiers; his name *Vetranio*. Moreover, *Rome* was involv'd in a disturbance. For † *Constantine* had a Sisters Son, by name *Nepotianus*, who being guarded by a Party of the *Gladiators*, had by violence seized upon the Empire. This *Nepotianus* was slain by *Magnentius*'s Forces. But *Magnentius* himself invaded the rest of the Western Provinces, and made all Places desolate.

(*b*) *Eutropius* relates the same: *Dalmatius Cæsar* (says he,) *Haud multò post oppressus est factione Militari, Constantio patruele suo finente potius quam jubente*: i. e. *Not long after, Dalmatius Cæsar was slain by a faction of the Soldiers, Constantius his Cosin-german by the Father's side suffering, rather than commanding, it.* Vales.

* See *Socrat.* Book 2. Chap. 5.

† He means the fight by night between the *Romans* and *Persians*, at *Singar*, a fortress of *Mesopotamia*, wherein the Son of *Sapor* King of *Persia* was slain: but the *Romans* had a very great slaughter made amongst them, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates, book 18. pag. 122. *Edit. Paris.* 1636. See *our Annotations on that* passage; pag. 156. This Engagement hapned in the year of Christ 348, when *Philippus* and *Salias* were Consuls; as *Idatius* relates, in *his Fasti*. Vales.

* Or *crept up by the Soldiers means.*

† In the Greek the reading is [*Constantius had a Sister's Son*, &c.] But it must be [*Constantine had* &c.] For *Nepotianus* was Son to *Eutropia Constantine*'s Sister; as *Victor* tells us, in *his Epitome*: and, as we are inform'd by *Eutropius*, *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s reading agrees with our emendation; but he mistakes in calling *Nepotianus* [*fratuelem Constantini*. i. e. *Constantine*'s *Brothers Son*,] in regard he was his Sisters Son. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How, after the death of [Constans] *the Western Emperor,* Paulus *and* Athanasius *were Ejected out of their own Sees again. And, that* Paulus, *after his being carried into banishment, was slain. But* Athanasius *made his escape by flight.*

A Conflux of all these mischiefs hapned almost at one and the same time. For these things were done on the fourth year after the Synod

Constantius.

Synod at *Serdica* in the (*a*) Consulate of *Sergius* and * *Nigrinianus*. Upon the relation hereof, the whole *Roman* Empire seemed to be devolved upon *Constantius* only: who being proclaimed (*b*) Emperor in the Eastern parts, was wholly intent in making preparations against the Tyrants. In the interim, *Athanasius*'s adversaries, supposing they had gotten a very seasonable opportunity, did again frame mosthorid false accusations against him, he having not yet entred *Alexandria*: they inform the Emperor *Constantius*, that he would subvert all *Egypt* and *Libya*. That which made the greatest addition to their calumny was that *Athanasius* had Ordained in other [Bishops] Dioceses, *Athanasius* arriving at *Alexandria* during this troublesome posture of affairs, assembled a Synod of Bishops in *Egypt*. Who by an unanimous consent made the same determinations with those convened at *Serdica*, and with that Synod assembled at *Jerusalem* by *Maximus*. But the Emperor, who had long before embraced the *Arian* opinion, wholly altered all things which he had a little before decreed. And in the first place, he gave order, that *Paulus* the Bishop of *Constantinople* should be banished, who was strangled by those that carried him into banishment, at (*c*) *Cucusus* in *Cappadocia*. *Marcellus* also being ejected, *Basilius* was again put into possession of the Church of *Ancyra*. *Lucius* of *Adrianpole* was bound in iron chains, and died in Prison. Moreover, what was reported concerning *Athanasius* made so prevalent an impression upon the Emperor, that he fell into an unmeasurable rage, and gave order that he should be slain whenever he could be found: and together with him, (*d*) *Theodulus* and *Olympius*, Prelates of Churches in *Thracia*. But *Athanasius* was not ignorant of what Orders the Emperour had given. But, having been made sensible thereof before-hand, he betook himself to flight again, and so avoided the Emperors menaces. The *Arians* calumniated him for this his escape, especially *Narcissus* Bishop of *Neroniades* a City of *Cilicia*, *Georgius* of *Laodicæa*, and (*e*) *Leontius* who then presided over the Church at *Antioch*. This *Leontius*, when he was a Presbyter, was divested of that dignity, because he lived continually with a woman whose name was *Eustolium*, and endeavouring to conceal the suspicion of his unclean converse with her, he cut of his own genitals; after which he was conversant with her, with a greater confidence and liberty, in regard he wanted those things upon account whereof he had fallen into that suspicion. But by the Decree and Diligence of the Emperor *Constantius* he was promoted to the Bishoprick of the *Antiochian* Church after *Stephanus*, who had before succeeded *Flaccillus*. Thus far concerning this Person.

Constantius.

* Or *Nigrianus.*

(*a*) The same is recorded in *Idatius*'s *Fasti*; in those words: *Sergio & Nigriniano Coss. his Consulibus Constans occisus est in Gallijs a Magnentio, & levatus est Magnentius die 15. Kal. Februar. Et Vetranio apud Sirmium Kal. Martii. Eo anno, & Nepotianus Romæ tertio Nonas Junias. Et pugna magna fuit cum Romanis & Magnentianis*: i. e. *Sergius and Nigrinianus being Consuls, Constans was slain in the Gallia's by Magnentius, and Magnentius was set up on the 15th of the Kalends of February. And Vetranio at Sirmium on the Kalends of March. On the same year, Nepotianus also at Rome on the third of the Nones of June. And there was a great battle between the Romans and Magnentians.* The same is recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but there, these passages are placed on the Consulate of *Limenius* and *Catullinus*, when as they hapned on the year following. Which was the year of Christ, 350. *Vales.*

(*b*) *Constantius* was long before Emperor of the East. But when *Constans* was dead, who Governed the Western Empire; he was by the Soldiers filed Emperor of the whole *Roman* world. *Vales.*

(*c*) In the *Florent.* M.S. this Towns name is written with a double *s*, thus *Cucusſus*. Vales.

(*d*) *Olympius* was Bishop of *Aenum* a City of *Thracia*: *Theodulus* was Bishop of *Trajanople*, as *Athanasius* attests, (*in Epist. ad Solitar.*) He mentions the same Bishops, in *his Apologetick de Fuga sua*, pag. 703. But these passages are preposterously related by *Socrates*. For they were not done before the *Magnentian* war, as *Socrates* says, but when that war was ended, in the year of Christ 356; as *Baronius* hath truly remarked. *Vales.*

(*e*) This person has a great Elogue given him in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the Consulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*: which commedation was taken out of some *Semi-Arian* writer. *Athanasius* doth every where speak sharply concerning this *Leontius*. His crafty disposition is incomparably well described by *Theodoret*; book 2. chap. 24. *Eccles. Histor.* Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

That Macedonius, *having got possession of the See* [*of* Constantinople,] *did much mischief to those that in opinion dissented from him.*

MOreover, at that time *Macedonius* was put into the possession of the Churches in *Constantinople*, *Paulus* being dispatch'd in the forementioned manner. And having procured a very great interest in the Emperor, he raised a war amongst the *Christians*, not inferior to that waged by the Tyrants at the same time. For, having by his perswasions induced the Emperor to countenance him with his assistance in destroying of the Churches, he procur'd whatever wicked acts he had a mind to do, to be establish'd by Law. From that time therefore an Edict was publickly proposed throughout every City. And a military force appointed to see the Emperors Decrees put in execution. Those who asserted the *Homoöusian* Faith were driven not only out of the Churches, but from the Cities also. At first indeed they made it their business to expel them only. But afterwards, the mischief growing worse and worse, they betook themselves to a forcing of them to communicate with them, being very little sollicitous about the Churches. And this forcible constraint was nothing inferior to that heretofore made use of by them, who necessitated the *Christians* to worship Idols. For they made use of all manner of scourgings, various tortures, and proscriptions of their goods. Many were punish'd with exile. Some died under their tortures, others were murdered, during their being led away to banishment. These things were done throughout all the Eastern Cities, but more especially at *Constantinople*. This intestine Persecution therefore, being but small before, was much increased by *Macedonius*, after he had gotten the Bishoprick. But the Cities of *Achaia* and *Illyricum*, and the Western parts of the Empire, continued as yet undisturbed, in regard they both mutually agreed, and also retained the Rule of Faith delivered by the *Nicene* Synod.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning what was done at Alexandria *by* Georgius *the* Arian; *from* Athanasius's *own Relation.*

BUT what [Villanies] *Georgius* during the same time committed at *Alexandria*, you may understand from *Athanasius*'s own relation, who was present at, and a sufferer in those [miseries.] For, in *his Apologetick concerning his own flight*, he speaks word for word thus, concerning what had been done there. *For they came from thence to* Alexandria, *making search for me again, that they might murder me. And what hapned then was worse than that they had done before. For on a suddain the Soldiers surrounded*

Conſtantius. ſurrounded the Church, and inſtead of going to prayers, there hapned a fight. After this, Georgius (ſent by them out of Cappadocia, (arriving in Lent, increaſed thoſe miſchiefs which he had learnt from them. For after Easter-week, the Virgins were caſt into Priſon: The Biſhops, bound in chains, were led away by the Soldiers: The Houſes of Orphans and Widows were plunder'd, and the ſtock of Bread-corn [was pillaged:] they broke into Houſes. And the Chriſtians were carried out [to burial] in the night. The Houſes were ſeal'd up: And the Brethren of thoſe that were Clergy-men, were in danger upon their Brethrens Account. Theſe things were horrid: but thoſe afterwards committed were much more horrid. For the week after the Holy Pentecoſt, the People, after they had faſted, went out to the Cœmetery to pray, becauſe they all abominated Georgius's Communion. But that Villanous wretch underſtanding this, inſtigated Sebaſtianus the Captain, who was a Manichæan, againſt them. He with a company of Soldiers, carrying Armour, naked Swords, Bows, and Darts, made a violent attack upon the People on the very Lords Day. And finding ſome few at their Prayers (for moſt of them were gone away by reaſon of the time of the day;) he did ſuch exploits as became the Arians to have performed amongſt them. For having kindled a fire, he ſet the Virgins cloſe to it, forced them to ſay that they profeſſed the Arian Faith. But when he perceived they were not to be vanquiſh'd, and that they deſpiſed the fire, he afterwards ſtript them, and beat them on the face in ſuch a manner, that for a time they could ſcarce be known. And having ſeized forty men, he beat them after a new and unuſual manner. For he forthwith cut Rods from off Palm-trees, which yet had their pricks on them, and flea'd their backs after ſuch manner, that ſome of them by reaſon of the pricks that ſtuck in their fleſh, were forced to make frequent uſe of Chirurgeons: others of them, not able to endure [the pain,] died. Immediately he took all the reſt, that were left, and together with them a Virgin, and (a) baniſhed them into Oaſis the Great. Moreover, they would not at firſt ſuffer the bodies of thoſe that were dead to be given to their relations: but caſting them forth unburied, they hid them as they thought good, that they might ſeem not to know of ſo barbarous a cruelty. And this theſe madmen did, having a blindneſs upon their minds. For, in as much as the Relations of thoſe that were dead, rejoyced upon account of their confeſſion, but mourned becauſe their Bodies lay unburied; their impiety and barbarity was ſo much the more plainly detected and divulged. Soon after this, they carried away into baniſhment out of Egypt and both the Libya's theſe Biſhops, Ammonius, Thmuis, Cajus, Philo, Hermes, Plinius, Pſenoſiris, Nilammon, Agatho, Anagamphus, Ammonius, Marcus, Dracontius, Adelphius, another Ammonius, another Marcus, and Athenodorus: and theſe Presbyters, Hierax, and Dioſcorus. And they treated them ſo cruelly in their conveying them into baniſhment, that ſome of them died in the Journey, and others in the very place of their exile. They (b) drove away more then thirty Biſhops. For it was their earneſt deſire, according as Ahab did, wholly, if poſſible, to deſtroy the truth. Thus much Athanaſius hath related in his own words concerning the Villanies committed by Georgius at Alexandria. But the Emperor marcht his Army into Illyricum. For the neceſſity of the publick affairs required his preſence there; more eſpecially, becauſe Vetranio was proclaimed Emperor there by the Soldiers. Being come to Sirmium, he made a League with Vetranio, after which he diſcourſed with him, and brought Affairs to ſuch a paſs, that thoſe Soldiers, who had proclaimed Vetranio, revolted from him to Conſtantius's ſide. Having therefore deſerted Vetranio, they cryed out that only Conſtantius was Auguſtus, King and Emperor. No mention was made of Vetranio in their acclamation. Vetranio, becoming ſenſible immediately that he was betrayed, laid himſelf proſtrate at the feet of the Emperor. Conſtantius took his Imperial Crown and Purple from him, and treated him kindly, exhorting him to lead a more ſedate and quiet life in the habit of a private perſon. For [he told him] that a life void of diſquietude was much more ſutable for a man of his years, than to have a name full of care and ſollicitude. Such was the concluſion of Vetranio's Affairs. But the Emperor ordered, that he ſhould be allowed an ample revenue out of the publick tribute. Afterwards he wrote frequently to the Emperor whilſt he made his reſidence at Pruſa in Bithynia, declaring to him, that he had been the Author of the greateſt happineſs to him, in that he had freed him from cares, and the troubles that accompany a Crown: and ſaid, that he himſelf did not do well, becauſe he would not enjoy that happineſs which he had beſtow'd upon him. Thus far concerning theſe things. At the ſame time the Emperor Conſtantius, having created Gallus, his Father's Brother's Son, Cæſar, and giving him his own name, ſent him to Antioch of Syria, deſigning that he ſhould guard the Eaſtern parts. Whilſt he was making his entry into Antioch, the † Sign of our Saviour appeared in the Eaſt. For a Pillar in the form of a Croſs appearing in the heavens, ſtruck the beholders with a great amazement. The reſt of his chief Commanders he ſent againſt Magnentius, at the head of a very great Army. In the interim, he himſelf made his reſidence at Sirmium, expecting the iſſue of affairs.

Conſtantius.

† The ſame is recorded In Idatius's Faſti, after the Conſulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus, in theſe words: His Coſſ. *Levatus eſt Conſtantius Cæſar Id. Martii, & apparuit in Oriente Signum Salvatoris die 3. Kal. Februar. Lunæ 28. i. e. During theſe mens conſulate, Conſtantius [Gallus] was created Cæſar on the Ides of March, and the Sign of our Saviour appeared in the Eaſt, on the third of the Kalends of February, on the 28th. of the Moon.* But the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle ſays, this Sign was ſeen in the Eaſt, on the *Nones* of *May* about the day of *Pentecoſt*. To whom agrees *Cyrillus*, *Philoſtorgius* and *Cedrenus*. And *Socrates* ſeems to confirm the ſame in this place. For he ſaith, that this Sign appeared in the *Eaſt*, when *Gallus Cæſar* entered *Antioch*. Now *Gallus* was created *Cæſar* on the *Ides* of *March* as (beſides *Idatius*) the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* doth affirm. *Valeſ.*

(a) In *Athanaſius* the reading is [ἐξώρισαν *they baniſhed.*] But in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M.SS. the reading (which I like better) is [ἐξώρισεν *he baniſhed.*] To ſhew, that this is to be underſtood of *Sebaſtianus* the Captain of *Egypt*, who then adjudged Matters in a deteſtable courſe. Moreover, all theſe things are (as I have ſaid) related in a prepoſterous manner by *Socrates*; in regard they were done in the Year of Chriſt, 356. *Valeſ.*

(b) The reading is the ſame in *Athanaſius*. But in *Theodoret* (book 2. chap. 14. where this paſſage of *Athanaſius*'s is inſerted) the reading is [*They murdered.*] *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX

Concerning Photinus *the Arch-Heretick.*

MOreover, at that time *Photinus* who preſided over the Church in that * City, did more openly divulge that opinion which he had invented. Wherefore, when there aroſe a diſturbance occaſioned thereby, the Emperor order'd, that

* That is, *Sirmium.*

Conſtantius.

that a(a) Synod of Biſhops ſhould be convened at *Sirmium*. Therefore, there met together in that City, of the Eaſtern [Biſhops,] (*b*) *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*, (*c*] *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, whom the *Arian* party (having remov'd *Gregorius*, as we ſaid * before) put into his See; alſo *Baſilius*, (who preſided over the Church at *Ancyra*, *Marcellus* having been ejected,) *Pancratius* [Biſhop] of *Peleucium*, and (*d*) *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*. Of the Weſtern Biſhops, [there met there] *Valens* [Biſhop] of *Murſa*, and *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain* (a Perſon eminently famous at that time) was preſent againſt his Will. Theſe [Prelates] being convened at *Sirmium*, after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, (in which year, by reaſon of the tumults cauſed by the Wars, no Conſul publiſh'd the ſolemn (*e*) Shews and Plays uſually exhibited at their entrance upon their Conſulate,) and having upon examination found, that *Photinus* aſſerted the Opinion of *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Samoſata*; they immediately depoſed him. And this determination of theirs was by all Men, both then and afterwards, approved of as good and equitable. (*f*) But thoſe [Biſhops] who ſtaid behind [at *Sirmium*] did that which was not grateful to all Men.

(a) It is not agreed amongſt the Learn'd, in what year the Synod of *Sirmium* (wherein *Photinus* was deprived of his Biſhoprick) was held. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* affirm it to have been celebrated after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*: in which Year, by reaſon of the diſturbances cauſed by the

* See chap. 14. of this Book.

Yivil War, there were no Conſuls in the Eaſt; but in the Weſtern parts *Magnentius Auguſtus* as Conſul with *Gaiſo*. *Baronius* (in *his Eccleſiaſtick Annals* aſſerts, that that Synod was convened in the year of Chriſt, 357. when *Conſtantius Auguſtus* was the *Ninth time Conſul*, and *Julianus Cæſar* the *Second time*. But *Dionyſius Petavius* (Firſt in *his Animadverſions on Epiphanius*, and Secondly in *his diſertation de duplici Synodo Sirmienſi*,) doth by moſt evident arguments demonſtrate, that the year of that Synod is truly aſſigned by *Socrates*, after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, which was the year of Chriſt 351. I know *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath written two books, wherein he has endeavoured to maintain *Baronius*'s opinion againſt *Dionyſius Petavius*. But in regard he himſelf did not publiſh thoſe books, that is an evidence ſufficient, that at length he acknowledged his own opinion to be falſe. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) The Biſhops here named by *Socrates*, ſat not in that Synod of *Sirmium*, which was convened againſt *Photinus*, after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, in the year of Chriſt 351: but in that other Synod which was convened there when *Euſebius* and *Hypatius* were Conſuls, in the year of Chriſt 359. a little before the *Council* of *Ariminum*: which Latter Synod at *Sirmium* did alſo ſet forth that draught of the Creed, which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*; before which the Conſuls names were perfixt. And this is evidently made out by *Germinius*, in *his Epiſtle* to *Valens*, which is recorded in *Hilarius's Fragments*; and by *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.* In the former *Sirmium-Synod*, aſſembled againſt *Photinus*, the Eaſtern Biſhops only were preſent this is atteſted by *Hilarius*, in *his book de Synodis*, and by *Vigilus* Biſhop of *Tapſis* in his *Fifth Book againſt Eutyches*. Valeſ.

(*c*) *Georgius* was not at this time (*viz.* after the Conſulate of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*) Biſhop of *Alexandria*. For he was created Biſhop there in the *eighth Conſulate* of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, and in the *Firſt Conſulate* of *Julianus Cæſar*, which was in the year of Chriſt 356. Wherefore, he could not ſit in the former *Sirmium Synod*, which depoſed *Photinus* in the year of Chriſt 351. The ſame muſt be ſaid of *Hoſius* alſo who at that time lived under *Magnentius*'s juriſdiction: nor was he as yet baniſhed to *Sirmium*. Valeſ.

(*d*) *Theodorus* continued to be Biſhop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia* in the year of Chriſt 356, as it is manifeſt from *Athanaſius*'s *Cicular Epiſtle* to the Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, pag. 290: which Epiſtle *Athanaſius* wrote in the year of Chriſt 356, after *Georgius*'s entrance into the See of *Alexandria*. Wherefore, *Hypatianus* muſt neceſſarily have been made Biſhop of *Heraclea* after the year 356. *Sozomen* hath made mention of the ſame *Hypatianus*, book 6. chap. 7. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Valeſ.

(*e*) *Socrates* here means by ὑπαλείας, the *Ludi Circenſes*, which the *Conſuls*, exhibited at their entrance upon their Conſulate: which by the *Latines* is termed *Conſulatum dare*. Some Conſuls, beſides the *Ludi Circenſes*, entertained the people with *Scenical* Plays, and with hunting of wild beaſts in the *Amphitheatre*. Valeſ.

(*f*) At this place we follow the *Sfortian* M. S. in which Copy this paſſage is more fully expreſt, thus: Οἱδὲ ἐπιμείναντες ἔπραξαν ὅπερ ἅπασιν ἦν ἄριστον; i. e. *But thoſe* [*Biſhops*] *who ſtaid behind*, &c.] Incomparably well in my Judgment. Indeed, that draught of the Creed, which was publiſh'd in the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*, is approved of by *Hilarius*, (in *his Book de Synodis*,) as being Catholick: But *Athanaſius* (in his Book *de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*) condemns and rejects it, in the ſame manner with the other Creeds compoſed by the *Arians*. Nor do *Hilarius* and *Athanaſius* diſagree with one another concerning this one form of the Creed, but about other draughts of it alſo; for example, about the *Antiochian* draught. For *Hilarius* confeſſeth, that the Eaſtern Biſhops had good reaſon to compoſe new forms of the Creed, when new *Hereſies* aroſe againſt the Church. But *Athanaſius* doth maintain, that thoſe new draughts of the Creed were craftily compoſed by the *Arians* with a deſign to deſtroy the *Nicene Creed*. Further, at this place of *Socrates*, inſtead of [ὃ πᾶσιν ἦν ἄριστον, *that which was not beſt for all Men*] I had rather read [ὃ πᾶσιν ἦν ἄρεστον, *that which was not grateful to all Men.*] And ſo I have render'd it. *Valeſ.*

Conſtantius.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the [*forms of the*] *Creed publiſhed at* Sirmium, *in the preſence of the Emperor* Conſtantius.

FOr, as if they would condemn what they had heretofore determined concerning the Faith, they again compoſed, ratified, and publiſhed other * draughts of the Creed: (*a*) one whereof was dictated in the *Greek* Tongue by *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*: (*b*) two more were drawn up in the *Latin* Tongue, which neither agreed one with the other (either in the expreſſions, or in the compoſure,) nor yet with that *Greek* one, which the Biſhop of *Arethuſa* dictated. Moreover, the one of thoſe Creeds drawn up in *Latin*, I will here ſubjoin to that compoſed by *Marcus*: the other (which they afterwards recited at (*c*) *Sirmium*,) we will ſet at it's proper place, where we ſhall declare what was done at *Ariminum*. But you muſt know that they were both tranſlated into the *Greek* Language. The Draught of the Creed dictated by *Marcus*, runs thus.

* Or, *other explanations concerning the Faith.*

(*a*) *Socrates* (and with him *Sozomen*,) is here doubly miſtaken. Firſt, becauſe he ſuppoſed, that there were three forms of the Creed drawn up in the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*; whereas there was one form only compoſed in that Synod; which (beſides *Socrates*) is recorded by *Athanaſius*, Pag. 900. and by *Hilarius*, in *his Book de Synodis* 338. *Edit. Paris.* 1631. Secondly, in regard he aſſerts, that that form of the Creed, which was publiſh'd in the *Greek* Tongue at the *Synod* of *Sirmium* againſt *Photinus*, was dictated by *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*. *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* did not dictate that Form I have mention'd. But another; before which the Conſuls Names were prefixt, and which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*, as *Nickolaus Faber* hath already obſerved (in *the Preface he wrote to Hilarius's Fragments*) from *Germinius's Epiſtle*. We muſt therefore diſtinguiſh between the *three Synods* of *Sirmium*, each of which publiſh'd their Form of the Creed. The *firſt* was *convened* againſt *Photinus*, in the year of Chriſt 351. The *ſecond* was aſſembled in the Year of our Lord 357: wherein the Blaſphemy of *Hoſius* and *Potamius* was compoſed. The *third* was celebrated when *Euſebius* and *Hypatius* were Conſuls, in the Year of Chriſt 359; wherein that Creed was drawn up, which *Marcus* of *Arethuſa* dictated. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Inſtead of [ἀλλὴν *another*] the reading muſt be [ἀλλὰς δὲ, *the other two, or two more*] as it is in the *Allat.* M.S, For *Socrates* here recounts three draughts of the Creed compoſed at *Sirmium*; the two latter whereof he ſaith were written at firſt in *Latin*, and afterwards tranſlated into *Greek*. Which in my judgment is not true. I grant indeed, that that Creed, which by *Hilarius* is termed *Hoſius's Blaſphemy*, was at firſt publiſhed in *Latine*. But the other which had the Conſuls name prefix'd before it, was undoubtedly at firſt dictated in the *Greek* Tongue. For he that dictated it, (*viz.* *Marcus* of *Arethuſa*) and the reſt of the Biſhops then aſſembled were almoſt all *Grecians*. Laſtly, the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops, who ſubſcrib'd this form, are extant in *Greek*, in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.*) *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Without doubt it muſt be [*Ariminum.*] not [*Sirmium*:] which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* followed, as appears from his Verſion. See chap. 37. of this ſecond Book.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Framer of all things: * Of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named: *and in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, born of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things, which are in the Heavens, and which are upon the Earth, viſible and inviſible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wiſdom, and the true Light, and the Life. Who in the laſt days was for our ſakes incarnate.*

* Epheſ 3. 15.

Constantius. carnate, and born of the holy Virgin, and was crucified and died, and was buried, and arose again from the dead on the third day, and was taken up into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come at the end of the world to judge the Quick and Dead, and render to every man according to his works. Whose Kingdom being perpetual continueth unto infinite ages. For he shall sit on the right hand of the Father, not only in this present world, but in that also which is to come. And [We believe] in the Holy Ghost, that is the Paraclete; whom [our Lord,] (having promised he would send him to the Apostles after his ascent into the Heavens, that he might teach and put them in mind of all things,) sent. By whom also those Souls, which have sincerely believed in him, are sanctified. But those who affirm, that the Son [exists] of things * Are not. which * were not, or of another substance, and not of God; and that there was a time or an age when he was not, the Holy and Catholick Church hath certainly known to be Aliens [from her.] We say it therefore again, if any one doth affirm the Father and the Son to be two Gods, let him be Anathema. (d) And if any one, affirming Christ to be God the Son of God before ages, shall not profess him to have ministred to the Father, in order to the framing of all things, let him be Anathema. If any one be so audacious as to say, that the unbegotten, or part of him, was born of Mary, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say that the Son was of Mary according to prescience, and that he was not with God, born of the Father before all ages, and that all things were made by him, let him be Anathema. If any one † Enlarged. shall affirm the Essence of God to be † dilated or contracted, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the dilated Essence of God to make the Son, or shall term the Son the Enlargement of his Essence, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the internal or outwardly-utter'd Word to be the Son of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm the Son, who was [born] of Mary, to be Man only, let him be Anathema. If any one asserting him that was [born] of Mary to be God and Man, shall understand the unbegotten God himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall un- * Esai. 44. 6. derstand this Text, * I am the first God, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God, (which is spoken in order to the destruction of Idols, and those which are not Gods) in the same sense which the Jews take it in, [to wit, as if it were spoken] upon account of the subversion of the only begotten God before ages, let him be Anathe- † John 1. 14. ma. If any one hearing these words, † The Word was made flesh, shall suppose that the Word was changed into flesh, or that he assumed flesh by having undergone any change, let him be Anathema. (e) If any one hearing that the only begotten Son of God was crucified, shall assert that his Deity underwent any corruption, or passion, or mutation, or diminution, or destruction, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father spake not these words, † Let us make man to the Son, but shall assert that God himself spake to himself, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that it was not the Son who appeared to Abraham, but the unbegotten God, or part of him, let him be Anathema. (f) If any one shall say, that it was not the Son who as a man wrestled with Jacob, but the unbegotten God, or part of him, let him be Anathema. If any one shall understand these words, † The Lord rained from the Lord, not of the Father and the Son, but shall say, † Gen. 19. 24. that God rained from himself, let him be Anathema. For the Lord the Son rained from the Lord the Father. (g) If any one hearing [these words,] The Lord the Father, and the Lord the Son, shall term both the Father Lord, and the Son also Lord, and saying, The Lord from the Lord, shall assert that there are two Gods, let him be Anathema. For we place not the Son in the same degree with the Father, but [understand] him to be inferior to the Father. For neither did he come down to (h) Sodom without his Fathers will: nor did he rain from himself, but from the Lord, that is from the Father, who hath the supream authority. Nor does he sit at his Fathers right hand of himself, but he hears the Father, saying, * Sit thou at my right hand, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one person, let him be Anathema. If any terming the Holy Ghost the Paraclete, shall call him the unbegotten God, let him be Anathema. If any one does say that the Paraclete is no other [person] than the Son, (as the Son himself hath taught us; for he has said, † the Father, whom I will ask, shall send you another Comforter,) let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Spirit is part of the Father and of the Son, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are three Gods, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son of God was made like one of the Creatures, by the will of God, let him be Anathema. If any one shall affirm, that the Son was begotten against the will of the Father, let him be Anathema. (i) For the Father was not forced by a physical necessity, nor did he beget the Son as if he were unwilling: but as soon as he was willing, he has declared that he begat him of himself without time and without passion, let him be Anathema. If any one shall say, that the Son is unborn and without a beginning, affirming as it were that there are two [Principles] without a beginning and unborn, and so making two Gods, let him be Anathema. For the Son is the Head and Beginning of all things. * But the Head of Christ is God. For thus we piously refer all things by the Son to One who is without a beginning,

Constantius.

(d) *Hilarius* seems to have read otherwise. For in *his Book de Synodis*, where he records this Creed, he renders this passage thus: *& si quis, &c. and if any one affirming one God, but shall not profess Christ to be God the Son of God before ages, &c.* Valesius.

(e) In the Allat. MS. and in *Athanasius's Book de Synodis*, this *Anathema* is thus worded: εἴ τις τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσταυρωμένον ἀκέαν, τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ φθορὰν ἢ πάθος, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly: After the same manner *Hilarius* read this passage, as from his Version appears. *Valesius.*

† Gen. 1. 26.

(f) This whole *Anathematism* was omitted here: it occurs in *Anathasius's* and *Hilarius's* Copy of this Creed; and therefore we inserted it. *Valesius.* The Learned Reader will find it in *Robert Stephens's* Edition also.

(g) This *Anathematism* is differently worded in all the Authors (we have seen) wherein this Creed occurs. *Valesius* says, that he has published it according to the reading of the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M.SS. which Copies we have followed in our *English* Version: where it is thus worded in the *Greek*: εἴτις οὐκ λέγων κύριον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κύριον; καὶ κύριον τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἶπεν, καὶ κύριος ἐκ κυρίου λέγων δύο λέγει θεούς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. The reading in *Robert Stephens* is different from this; and so is that in *Athanasius*, pag. 901: where 'tis thus worded: εἴτις οὐκ λέγων κύριον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κύριον, καὶ κύριον, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν· ἐπεὶ κύριος ἐκ κυρίου, δύο λέγει θεούς, &c. *Hilarius* has translated otherwise, as appears from his Version, at pag. 339. Edit. *Paris.* 1631. His words are these: *Si quis dominum & dominum patrem & filium quasi dominum à domino intelligat: quia dominum & dominum duos dicat deos: Anathema sit.* Thus variously is this *Anathematism* represented. The Learned Reader may take the liberty (as we have done,) to follow which Copy he pleases.

(h) We follow the reading in *Hilarius*, and in *Athanasius*; where it is [ἐπὶ σόδομα to *Sodom.*] In *Robert Stephens* the reading is [οὔτε γὰρ κατῆλθεν εἰς σῶμα, *For neither did he descend into the body.*] † See John 14. 16.

(i) Here we follow the reading in *Athanasius*, which is thus: ἐπεὶ βιασθεὶς ὁ πατὴρ, &c. *For the Father was not forced*, &c. which reading is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, and by *Hilarius.* Valesius.

* 1 Cor. 11. 3.

Conſtantius.

ning, the beginning of all things. Furthermore, we, making an accurate explanation of [*their*] *ſentiments* [*who profeſt*] *the Chriſtian Religion, do aſſert, that if any one ſhall not affirm Chriſt Jeſus to have been the Son of God before ages, and to have miniſtred to the Father at the framing of all things, but* [*ſhall ſay*] *that he was called the Son and Chriſt from ſuch time only as he was born of* Mary, *and that he then received the beginning of his Deity; let him be* Anathema, *like* [Paul] *of* Samoſata.

(k) Athanaſius has the ſame Words in his Book *de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*: where, after he had inſerted this foregoing Creed, he adds theſe Words concerning this which follows;

(k) Another [Draught of the] Creed publiſhed at *Sirmium* in the *Latin* tongue, and rendred into *Greek*.

In regard there ſeemeth to have been ſome difference concerning the Faith, all things were diligently inquired into and diſcuſs'd at Sirmium, *in the preſence of* Valens, Urſacius, Germinius (*l*) *and the reſt. It is manifeſt that there is one God the Father Almighty, according as it is declared over the whole world: and his one only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord* (*m*) *and God and Saviour, begotten of his Father before ages. But it muſt not be aſſerted that there are two Gods, becauſe the Lord himſelf hath ſaid,* * I go unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. *Therefore he is God even of*

* John 20. 17.

ταῦτα πάντα παρωσάμενοι, &c. *Having rejected all theſe things, as if they had invented better, they promulge another Creed, which they wrote at* Sirmium *in* Latin, *but it was tranſlated into* Greek. But *Hilarius* recording this Creed in *his Book de Synodis*, prefixes this title before it: *Exemplum Blaſphemiæ*, &c. *A Copy of the Blaſphemy compoſed at* Sirmium *by* Hoſius *and* Potamius. Which title *Hilarius* made himſelf, and deſervedly calls this Creed Blaſphemy. Who this *Potamius*, here joyned with *Hoſius* was, *Marcellinus Presbyter* informs us in the *Supplicatory Libel* which he preſented to the Emperor *Theodoſius*. Where, amongſt the corrupters of the Divine and Apoſtolick Faith, after *Arius*, he in the firſt place names this perſon: His Words are theſe: *Potamius Odyſſiponæ civitatis Epiſcopus*, &c. i. e. Potamius *Biſhop of* Lisbon *was at firſt a Defender of the Catholick Faith, but afterwards induced by the reward of a Farm belonging to the Emperor's Revenue* (*which he was very deſirous of,*) *he corrupted the Faith.* Hoſius *of* Corduba *amongſt the Churches in* Spain *detected this Man, and repelled him as being an impious Heretick. But, even* Hoſius *himſelf, ſummoned before the Emperor* Conſtantius *by the complaint of this* Potamius, *and terrified with threats, was fearful* (*being old and rich*) *of baniſhment, or proſcription, and ſo yielded to the impiety.* Valeſ

(*l*) Theſe three words [καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, *and the reſt*] occur not in the *Latin* Copy of this Draught of the Creed. But they are extant in *Athanaſius*, and in all our M. SS. Copies. Hence 'tis manifeſt that many Biſhops were at that time convened at *Sirmium*. Indeed *Phœbadius* Biſhop of *Angoleſm* [in *France*,] *in the Epiſtle he wrote againſt this Draught of the Creed*, does expreſly affirm that it was publiſhed in a Synod of Biſhops. The ſame is ſufficiently confirmed by *Athanaſius*, in the forequoted place. Laſtly, in regard *Hilarius* (in his foreſaid Book) does atteſt, that this Creed, after it had been dictated at *Sirmium*, was forthwith ſent to all the Eaſtern and Weſtern Biſhops to be approved by them; he evidently ſhews it to have been dictated in a Synod. Nor can the Draught of a Creed be any where dictated but in a Synod of Biſhops. Further, that *Germinius* here mentioned, was Biſhop of *Sirmium*, put into *Photinus*'s See upon his being ejected, in the year of Chriſt 351. *Nicolaus Faber* (in his Preface to *Hilarius's Fragments*,) ſays that this *Germinius* had before been Biſhop of *Cyzicum*: which I do not believe. That place in *Athanaſius* (in *his Epiſt. ad Solitar.* pag. 860; where he reproves the Emperor *Conſtantius*, becauſe, contrary to the Eccleſiaſtick Canons, he would ſend obſcure fellows, born in remote Countries, to be Biſhops in the Cities;) deceived that Learned Man: *Athanaſius*'s words there are theſe: ἔτω γεηγόειον ἀπὸ καππαδοκίας ἔπεμψεν εἰς ἀλεξανδρείαν, &c. *So he ſent Gregorius from Cappadocia to Alexandria. And Germinius was by him ſent from the City Cyzicum to Sirmium. From Laodicea he ſent Cecropius to Nicomedia.* From theſe Words of *Athanaſius* it cannot be concluded, that *Germinius* had been Biſhop of *Cyzicum* before. Otherwiſe the ſame muſt be ſaid concerning *Gregorius* and *Cecropius*, that the latter had been before Biſhop of *Laodicea*, and the former in *Cappadocia*, which, in regard 'tis evidently falſe in theſe two, cannot be ſaid of *Germinius*. This *Germinius* was preferred to the Epiſcopate of *Sirmium* by the *Arians*, becauſe he was a moſt eager defender of their opinion. This we are informed of by *Athanaſius*, in *his circular Letter to the Biſhops of Egypt and Libya*, pag. 290. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) In the *Allat. and Sfortian* M. SS. and in *Epiphanius's Verſion* theſe words [καὶ θεὸν, *and God*] occur; in *Athanaſius* and *Hilarius* they are wanting. *Valeſ.*

Conſtantius.

all, as the Apoſtle alſo hath taught, † Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not alſo of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles alſo: Seeing it is one God who ſhall juſtifie the Circumciſion by Faith. *Moreover, all other things agree, nor have they any ambiguity. But whereas very many are diſturbed about that term which in Latin is called* * Subſtantia, *and in Greek* Ouſia; (*that is, that it may be more accurately underſtood, the word* † Homoöuſion *or* * Homoiöuſion,) *theſe terms ought in no wiſe to be mentioned, nor diſcourſed of publickly in the Church, for this reaſon, and upon this account, becauſe there is nothing recorded concerning them in the Divine Scriptures, and in regard theſe things are above the reach of human knowledge and mind of man; nor can any one declare the Son's generation, according as it is written,* || And who ſhall declare his generation? *For 'tis manifeſt that only the Father knows how he begat the Son; and again, that the Son* [*only knows*] *how he was begotten of the Father. It cannot be doubtful to any man that the Father is greater in honour, dignity, and divinity; and that he is greater in that very name of a Father: the Son himſelf atteſting,* † The Father who ſent me is greater than I. *No man is ignorant that this is Catholick* [*Doctrine,*] *that there are two perſons of the Father and of the Son, and that the Father is the greater: but that the Son is made ſubject, together with all other things which the Father hath ſubjected to himſelf. That the Father hath no beginning, and is inviſible, immortal, and impaſſible: but that the Son was born of the Father, God of God, Light of Light. And that no man knows his generation,* (*as was ſaid before,*) *but only the Father. That the Son himſelf our Lord and God, took fleſh, or a body, that is* [*was made*] *man, acccording as the Angel evangelized. And according as all the Scriptures do teach, and eſpecially the Apoſtle himſelf, the Teacher of the* Gentiles, *Chriſt received Humanity of the Virgin* Mary, *by which he ſuffered. This is the principal Head of the whole Faith, and its Confirmation, that the Trinity muſt be always preſerved according as we read in the Goſpel:* † Go ye and diſciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. *The number of the Trinity is entire and perfect. But the* Paraclete, *the Holy Ghoſt, was ſent by the Son, and he came according to promiſe, that he might ſanctifie and* (*n*) *teach the Apoſtles and all Believers.*

† Rom. 3. 29, 30.

* Subſtance or Eſſence.

† That is, of the ſame Subſtance, or Eſſence.

* That is, of like Subſtance, or Eſſence.

|| Eſai. 53. 8.

† Matth. 28. 19.

(n) In *Athanaſius* it is, ἀναδιδάξῃ *that he might teach.* Valeſ.

They attempted to perſwade *Photinus* to give his *conſent to, and ſubſcribe theſe things, even after his depoſition, promiſing that they would reſtore him his *Biſhoprick*, in caſe by altering his mind he would *anathematize* the opinion which he had invented, and conſent to their ſentiments. But he accepted not of that propoſition, but challeng'd them to diſpute. A day therefore being ſet, by the Emperor's own appointment, the Biſhops there preſent met, and alſo not a few of the (*o*) *Senatorian* Order, whom the Emperor commanded to be preſent at the diſpute.

† See John 14. 28.

* See Chap. 29. note (*b*.)

(o) *Epiphanius* (in *Hæreſ. Photinian.*) relates, that *Photinus*, after he had been condemned and depoſed in the Synod of *Sirmium*, (for ſo the reading muſt be, not, *in the Synod of Serdica*,) went to *Conſtantius*, and requeſted that he might diſpute concerning the Faith before Judges by him nominated: and that *Conſtantius* enjoyned *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Ancyra* to undertake the diſputation againſt *Photinus*, and gave leave, that *Thalaſſius*, *Datianus*, *Cerealis*, and *Taurus*, who were *Counts*, ſhould be Judges or Auditors of that diſputation. Amongſt theſe *Thalaſſius* was the chief perſon in favour and authority with the Emperor (as *Zoſimus* tells us in *his ſecond Book.*) And was ſent *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* into the Eaſt together with *Gallus Cæſar*, in the year of Chriſt 351. He died in the year of our Lord 353. in the *ſixth Conſulate* of *Conſtantius Auguſtus*, and in the ſecond of *Gallus Cæſar*; as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates Book 14. Therefore the Synod of *Sirmium*, and the diſputation

tation of *Basilius* against *Photinus* cannot fall on the year of Christ 357, as *Baronius* asserts, Besides, *Epiphanius* says further, that in *Basilius*'s disputation against *Photinus*, *Callicrates* was a *Notary*, who had before been *Notary* to *Rufinus Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. Now, *Rufinus* was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the *Gallia's*, in the *sixth Consulate* of *Constantius Augustus*, and in the *second* of *Gallus Cæsar*, as *Amm. Marcellinus* tells us Book 14. But, two years before he had been *Præfect* of *Illyricum*. Now, in the year of Christ 357, *Anatolius*, not *Rufinus*, bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium* in *Illyricum*. Further, it may be evidently concluded from *Germinius*'s being made Bishop, that the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus* (wherein *Photinus* was ejected out of his Bishoprick,) was not held in the year of Christ 357. For, *Germinius* was Bishop of *Sirmium*, before *Georgius* intruded himself into the See of *Alexandria* upon *Athanasius*'s Ejectment, as *Athanasius* relates in the *Circular Letter* he wrote to the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, at such time as *Georgius* was in possession of the *Alexandrian See*. Moreover, *Georgius* entred upon the See of *Alexandria* in the beginning of the year 356, as it is evident from *the protestation* of the *Alexandrians*, which is extant at the close of *Athanasius's Epistle ad Solitar.* Seeing therefore *Germinius* was Bishop of *Sirmium* before the year of our Lord 356, *Photinus* also (whom *Germinius* succeeded) must necessarily have been deposed before this year. *Athanasius (in Epist. ad Solitar.* pag. 860, where he recounts the Ordinations of extraneous Persons made by *Constantius*;) does in the first place mention *Gregorius*'s Ordination; then, *Germinius*'s and *Cecropius*'s; afterwards *Auxentius*'s; and at last *Georgius*'s. Amongst these Persons, *Gregorius* was made Bishop of *Alexandria* in the year of Christ 341. *Germinius* succeeded *Photinus* in the Episcopate of *Sirmium* in the year 351: After he had been sent for by *Constantius* then residing at *Sirmium*, as *Athanasius* relates in the fore-quoted place; which the Latin Translator has rendred ill. On the same year *Cecropius* was made Bishop of *Nicomedia*, as it may be concluded from the foresaid passage in *Athanasius*. Lastly, *Auxentius* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Millain* in the year of our Lord 355: and on the year following *Georgius* thrust himself into the See of *Alexandria*. Vales.

Constantius.

In their presence, *Basilius*, who at that time presided over the Church at *Ancyra*, opposed *Photinus*, the *Notaries* taking their words in writing. There was a very great contest on both sides during their dispute; wherein *Photinus* being vanquish'd, was condemned. Spending the residue of his life in exile, he wrote a (*p*) Book in † both Languages, for he was not unskill'd in the *Latin* tongue. He wrote also against all Heresies, asserting his own Opinion only. Let thus much be said concerning *Photinus*. Moreover, you must know, that the Bishops convened at *Sirmium* were afterwards (*q*) displeas'd with that Draught of the Creed publish'd by them in *Latin*. For it seem'd to them, after its publication, to contain many contradictions. Wherefore they earnestly endeavour'd to get it out of their hands who had transcribed it. But, in regard many hid it, the Emperor by his Edicts order'd, that all the Copies of it should be diligently searched for and gather'd up, threatning to punish those that should be found concealing of it. But his menaces were unable to suppress it when once published, in regard it had fallen into many mens hands. Thus far concerning this.

(*p*) In the Allat. M. S. it is [λόγους συνέγραψεν, *he wrote Books*] which reading is confirm'd by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

† That is, in *Greek*, and *Latin*.

(*q*) *Socrates* borrow'd this passage out of *Athanasius's Book de Synodis Arimin. & Seleucia.* But herein he mistakes; *viz.* what *Athanasius* has said concerning the third form of the Creed drawn up at *Sirmium*, (before which the Consuls names were prefixt,) *Socrates* attributes to the second, composed by *Hosius* and *Potamius*. The place in *Athanasius* is extant at pag. 904. But in regard of its length we forbear quoting the words here. *Petavius* (*in his Animadversions* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 318.) has followed this mistake of *Socrates*'s. Vales.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning Hosius *Bishop of* Corduba.

BUT, in regard we have mention'd *Hosius* the *Spaniard*, as being against his will present [at *Sirmium*,] we must say something very briefly concerning him. For a little before, this person had been sent into (*a*) Banishment by the fraudulent practices of the *Arians*. But then, through the earnest desire of those convened at *Sirmium*, the Emperor sent for him, being desirous either to perswade, or else by force to compel him to give consent with those [Bishops] present there. For if this could be accomplish'd, an evident testimony would seem to be given to their Faith. For this reason therefore, he was present (as I said) being necessitated thereto against his will. But when he refused to give his consent, they inflicted stripes and tortures upon the old man. Upon which account he was necessitated both to consent to, and subscribe those Expositions of the Faith then publish'd. Such was the conclusion of affairs at that time transacted at *Sirmium*. Moreover, the Emperor *Constantius* continued at *Sirmium*, expecting the event of the War against *Magnentius*, of Christ 357, as *Baronius* has truly observed.

Constantius.

(*a*) I noted before, that *Hosius*'s banishment to *Sirmium*, and the form of the Creed drawn up by him, are here preposterously related by *Socrates*. For *Hosius*'s lapse hapned in the year *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Overthrow of Magnentius *the Tyrant.*

IN the interim, *Magnentius* having possessed himself of the Imperial City *Rome*, slew many of the *Senatorian* Order, and destroy'd several of the Populace. But as soon as *Constantius*'s Commanders, having got together a body of *Romans*, marched out against him, he left *Rome*, and went into the *Gallia's*. Where there hapned continual engagements; and sometimes one side, sometimes the other got the better. But in fine, *Magnentius* having been worsted about *Mursa*, which is a Fort of the *Gallia's*, was besieged there. In which Fort such a miraculous accident as this is said to have hapned. *Magnentius* attempting to encourage his Soldiers disheartned at their overthrow, ascended a lofty tribunal. His men, desirous to receive him with the shouts and acclamations usually given to the Emperors, contrary to their intent diverted them to *Constantius*. For by a general consent they all cried out, not *Magnentius*, but *Constantius Augustus*. *Magnentius* looking upon this to be an * *Omen* of his imminent ruin, departed immediately out of the Garrison, and fled to the further parts of the *Gallia's*. *Constantius*'s Commanders follow'd him with very close pursuit. Whereupon there hapned another engagement at a place called (*a*) *The Mountain Seleucus*: wherein *Magnentius* being totally routed, fled alone to *Lyons* a City of *Gallia*, three days journey distant from the Fort at *Mursa*. *Magnentius* having got into *Lyons*, in the first place killed his own mother. Then he slew his brother, whom he had created *Cæsar*; and at last laid violent hands upon himself. This was done in the sixth Consulate of *Constantius*, and in *Constantius Gallus*'s second Consulate, (*b*) about the fifteenth of the month *August*. Not long after, another of *Magnentius*'s brothers, his name *Decentius*, finished his own life, by hang-

* Sign.

(*a*) In the Allat. M. S. this place is called [μονλοσέλευκ, *Montoselecus.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* terms it *The Mountain Seleucus*. We have the site of this place in the *Jerusalem Itinerary*. Vales.

(*b*) It is something otherwise in *Idatius*'s *Fasti*: thus; *in the sixth Consulate of Constantius the second of Constantius Gallus, Magnentius killed himself in the Gallia's at Lyons, on the third of the Ides of August; and Decentius, brother to Magnentius, hanged himself on the fifteenth of the Kalends of September.* In the *Alexandr. Chronicle*, the year of *Magnentius*'s death is falsely set down; but the day is noted to have been on the fourteenth of the *Ides* of *August*. Vales.

Conſtantius. ing of himſelf. Such was *Magnentius*'s Exit. But the publick Affairs of the Empire return'd not to a perfect degree of tranquility: For ſoon after this another Tyrant aroſe, by name *Silvanus*. But *Conſtantius*'s Commanders quickly deſtroy'd him, whiſt he was making diſturbances in the *Gallia's*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Jews *inhabiting* Dio-Cæſarea *in* Paleſtine.

AT the ſame time alſo that theſe things hapned, there aroſe another inteſtine War in the *Eaſt*. For the *Jews* who inhabited *Dio-Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, took arms againſt the *Romans*, and over-ran and deſtroy'd the adjacent places. But *Gallus* (who was alſo named *Conſtantius*, whom the Emperor, having created him *Cæſar*, had ſent into the *Eaſt*) ſent an Army againſt them, and routed them. And by his order their City *Dio-Cæſarea* was totally deſtroy'd.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning Gallus Cæſar.

Gallus having done this, was unable [with moderation] to bear his proſperous ſucceſs: but immediately attempted to raiſe innovations againſt him by whom he had been created *Cæſar*, and he himſelf was alſo reſolv'd to play the Tyrant. But, whereas his deſign was ſoon diſcover'd by *Conſtantius*: (For *Gallus* had upon his own authority order'd *Domitianus*, at that time Præfect of the *Prætorium* in the *Eaſt*, and *Magnus* the Quæſtor to be ſlain, becauſe they had (*a*) acquainted the Emperor with his deſign.) *Conſtantius* highly incenſed thereat, ſent for *Gallus* to him. He, being in a very great fear, went unwillingly. When he arrived in the Weſtern parts, and was come as far as the Iſland *Flanona*, *Conſtantius* order'd he ſhould be ſlain. Not long after, he created *Julianus*, *Gallus*'s Brother, *Cæſar*, and ſent him againſt the *Barbarians* in *Gallia*. Moreover, *Gallus* (called alſo *Conſtantius*) was ſlain in the *ſeventh Conſulate* of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, when he himſelf was Conſul the third time. On the year following, in the Conſulate of *Arbetion* and *Lollianus*, *Julianus* was created *Cæſar*, on the ſixth of the month *November*. Concerning *Julianus* we ſhall make a further mention in our following Book. But *Conſtantius* having got rid of his preſent miſchiefs and diſquietudes, bent his mind again to an Eccleſiaſtick War. For going from *Sirmium* to the Imperial City *Rome*, he again ſummon'd a Synod of Biſhops, and ordered ſome of the Eaſtern Biſhops to haſten into (*b*) *Italy*; and at the ſame time commanded the Weſtern Biſhops to meet there alſo. But in the interim that they were making preparation to go into *Italy*, this accident hapned: (*c*) *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* died, having preſided over the Church there fifteen years: *Liberius* ſucceeded him in his Biſhoprick.

Conſtantius.

(*c*) *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome* died on the *twelfth* of *April*, when *Conſtantius Auguſtus* was *Conſul* the fifth time, and *Conſtantius Cæſar* the firſt time; which was the year of Chriſt 352: after he had ſat Biſhop fifteen years, one month, and eleven days; as it is recorded in *the Antient Book concerning the Roman* Biſhops, which is publiſhed together with *Victorius Aquitanus*'s *Cycle*. Valeſ.

(*a*) I corrected this place by the aſſiſtance of the Allat. M. S. of *Sozomen*, and *Cedrenus*. In the Allat. M. S. the reading is [ἀνεῖλε μηνύσαντας βασιλεῖ τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶ. *He ſlew them becauſe they had acquainted the Emperor with his deſign.*] *Sozomen*'s words Book 4. Chap. 7.) are almoſt the ſame. But *Epiphanius*, our M. SS. Copies, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* retain the Vulgar reading, to wit, μὴ μηνύσας τῷ βασιλεῖ, *He* (that is) *Gallus*) *having not acquainted the Emperor with his deſign of ſlaying Domitianus*, &c. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Inſtead of [ὅπι τὴν Γαλλίαν, *into Gallia*] the reading in the Allat. M. S. is truer; which is [ὅπι τὴν Ἰταλίαν *into Italy*:] which reading we have followed in our Verſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning Aëtius *the* Syrian, Eunomius's *Maſter.*

AT *Antioch* in *Syria* there aroſe another Arch-Heretick, *Aëtius*, ſirnamed *Atheus*. He had the ſame Sentiments with *Arius*, and maintained the ſame Opinion: but he ſeparated himſelf from the *Arian* Party, becauſe they had admitted *Arius* into communion. For *Arius* (as I ſaid * before) eſpouſing one Opinion in his mind, made an open profeſſion of another with his mouth, when he hypocritically conſented to and ſubſcribed the Form of the Creed [drawn up] at the Synod of *Nice*, that he might deceive the then Emperor. Upon this account therefore *Aëtius* ſeparated himſelf from the *Arians*. Moreover, *Aëtius* had formerly been an heretical perſon, and a very zealous defender of *Arius*'s Opinion. For after he had been a little inſtructed at *Alexandria*, he returned from thence: And arriving at *Antioch* in *Syria* (for there he was born) he was ordained Deacon by *Leontius*, at that time Biſhop of *Antioch*. Immediately therefore he aſtoniſh'd thoſe that diſcourſed him with the novelty of his Speeches. And this he did, truſting in *Ariſtotle*'s *Categories*; (that Book is ſo entitled by its Author,) from the Rules whereof he diſcourſed, but was inſenſible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to deceiving of his own ſelf, nor had he learned the ſcope of *Ariſtotle* from knowing perſons. For *Ariſtotle*, upon account of the Sophiſters who at that time derided Philoſophy, wrote that *Exercitation* for Young men, and oppoſed the Sophiſters with the art of diſcourſe by ſubtil reaſonings. Wherefore the (*a*) *Ephecticks* who expound *Plato*'s and *Plotinus*'s works, do find fault with what *Ariſtotle* has ſubtilly and artificially aſſerted [in that work.] But *Aëtius*, having never had an *Academick* Maſter, ſtuck cloſe to the Sophiſms of the *Categories*. Upon which account he could neither underſtand how there could be a Generation (*b*) without a beginning, nor how he that was begotten could be coeternal with him who begat him. Yea, *Aëtius* was a man of ſo little learning, ſo unſkilled in the ſacred Scriptures, and ſo wholly exerciſed in and addicted to a contentious and diſputative humour, (which every Ruſtick may eaſily do;) that he was not in

* Book 1. Chap. 38.

(*a*) Who theſe *Ephecticks* were, we may know from *Diogenes Laërtius*: Τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων, διιμὴ γένασι, δογματικοί εἰσὶ καὶ ἐφεκτικοί, &c. *Philoſophers* (ſays he) *were generally divided into two ſorts; ſome were termed* Dogmatici, *who diſcourſed concerning things as they might be comprehended: others were called* Ephecticí, *who define nothing, and diſpute of things ſo as they cannot be comprehended.* See *Diogen Laërt.* in *Proëm. de Vit. Philoſ.* pag. 10. *Edit. Colon. Allobrog.* 1616. of theſe *Ephecticks* (whom we may in Engliſh call *Doubters*) the *Scepticks* were one *Species*.

(*b*) In the original, the term is [ἀγένητον, *unbegotten*] which is uſed inſtead of [ἄναρχος *without a beginning*,] wherefore, we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

Constantius.

in the least studious in the perusal of those ancient Writers who have explained the Sacred Books of the Christian Religion, but wholly rejected *Clemens*, *Africanus*, and *Origen*, persons expert in all manner of knowledge and literature. But he patch'd together Epistles, both to the Emperor *Constantius*, and to some other persons, knitting together therein trifling and contentious disputes, and inventing subtil and fallacious arguments. Upon which account he was surnamed * *Atheus*. But altho' his assertions were the same with those of the *Arians*; yet because they were unable to understand his difficult and perplexed † *Syllogisms*, he who had the same Sentiments with them, was by those of his own party judg'd to be an Heretick. And for this reason he was driven from their Church; but he himself pretended that he would not communicate with them. There are at this present some Hereticks propagated from him, [to wit,] those who were heretofore called *Aëtians*, but now they are termed *Eunomians*. For *Eunomius* (who had been *Aëtius*'s *Notary*,) having been instructed in that (*c*) Heretical Opinion by him, afterwards headed that Sect. But we shall speak concerning *Eunomius* in due place.

* That is, *one that believes there is no God.*

† Or, *methods of arguing.*

(*c*) In the Allatian M.S. instead of [τὴν αἱρετικὴν λέξιν, *that Hæretical opinion*] the reading is [τὴν ἐριστικὴν λέξιν, *that contentious and verbose way of disputing:*] But *Epiphanius Scholasticus* follows the vulgar reading, and so does *Suidas*, in the word [ἀέτιος] where he transcribes this passage of our *Socrates*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the Synod at Millain.

AT that time the Bishops met in *Italy*; there came not very many of the Eastern Bishops, in regard most of them were hindred from coming, either by their great age, or by the length of the journey: but of the Western Bishops there met above (*a*) three hundred. For it was the Emperor's order, that a Synod should be held at the City of *Millain*. Where being met together, the Eastern Bishops requested that in the first place sentence might by a general consent be pronounced against *Athanasius*: that so, that having been effected, he might in future be perfectly disabled from returning to *Alexandria*. But when (*b*) *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* in *Gallia*, and *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius*, (the former of whom was Bishop of (*c*) *Alba* the Metropolis of *Italy*, and the latter of *Vercellæ* which is a City of *Liguria* in *Italy*,) were sensible, that the Eastern Bishops, by a ratification of the sentence against *Athanasius*, attempted the subversion of the Faith, they arose, and with great earnestness cry'd out, that deceit and fraud was covertly design'd against the Christian Religion by what was transacted: for they said, that the accusation against *Athanasius* was not true, but that these things were invented by them in order to the depravation of the Faith. After they had with loud voices spoken all this, the Congress of Bishops was for that time dissolv'd.

(*a*) We meet with the same number in *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 9. But 'tis scarce credible that so great a number of Bishops should have been convened at this *Council of Millain*: I should rather think that the copies of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* were false; and that instead of [τριακοσίοις *three hundred*] it should be [τριάκοντα *thirty*.] In the Epistle of the Council of *Millain* sent to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellæ*, there are the names of thirty Bishops only, who consented to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, and *Photinus*. Amongst whom some Eastern Bishops are recounted, as you may see in *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 355. *Vales.*

(*b*) *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* was not present at the *Council* of *Millain*, but at that of *Orleance*, which had been convened two years before, in the year of Christ 353. See *Baronius*. Vales.

(*c*) The reading is the same in *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 9. But *Baronius* has long since remarked, that *Alba* is here put instead of *Millain*. For *Millain* (not *Alba*) was the *Metropolis* of *Italy*. And *Dionysius*, who then opposed *Constantius* and the *Arians*, was not Bishop of *Alba*, but of *Millain*, as *Athanasius* attests in *his Epistle ad Solitar*. Vales.

Constantius.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the Synod at Ariminum, *and concerning the* [*Draught of the*] *Creed which was published there.*

WHen the Emperor understood this, he removed * them out of the way by banishment. And resolved to convene a General Council, that so, by drawing all the Eastern Bishops into the West, he might (if it were possible) reduce them all to an agreement in opinion. But in regard the tediousness of the Journey rendred this design of his difficult, he order'd the Synod should be divided into two parts, permitting those then present to meet at *Ariminum* [a City] of *Italy*. But by his Letters he gave the Eastern Bishops order to assemble at *Nicomedia* [a City] of *Bithynia*. (*a*) The Emperor issued out these orders with a design to unite them in opinion. But, this design of his had not a successful event. For neither of the Synods agreed among themselves, but each of them was divided into contrary factions. For neither could they convened at *Ariminum* be brought to agree in one and the same opinion: and those Eastern Bishops gather'd together at *Seleucia* of *Isauria* raised another Schism. Moreover, after what manner all these matters were transacted we will declare in the procedure of our History, having first made mention of some few passages concerning *Eudoxius*. For about that time (*b*) *Leontius* (who had ordain'd *Aëtius* the Heretick Deacon) departing this life, *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Germanicia*, a *City* of *Syria*, being then present at *Rome*, consider'd with himself that he was to make haste. And having framed a cunning discourse with the Emperor, as if the City *Germanicia* stood in need of his consolation and defence, he requested that leave might be granted him to make a sudden return. The Emperor foreseeing nothing [of a design,] sent him away. But he, having procured the chiefest Persons of the Bedchamber to the Emperor to be his assistants, left his own City [*Germanicia*,] and * clancularly possest himself of the Episcopate of *Antioch*: immediately after which he attempted to favour *Aëtius*, and made it his business to assemble a Synod of Bishops, and (*c*) restore him to his dignity, [to wit,] his † *Diaconate*. But he was in no wise able to effect this, because the hatred conceived against *Aëtius* was more prevalent than *Eudoxius*'s earnestness for him. Thus much concerning these things. But when the Bishops were assembled at *Ariminum*,

* That is, *Paulinus*, *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius*.

(*a*) These words [ταῦτα μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκοπτῷ τῆς ὁμοφωνίας ἐκέλευσεν. i. e. *The Emperor issued out these orders with a design to unite them in opinion*] are wanting in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition: we have inserted them, upon the authority of the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. *Vales.*

(*b*) The death of *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch* hapned in the year of Christ 356; *Constantius* residing then at *Rome*, as *Baronius* has truly remarked. *Vales.*

* Ὑποφύξας, *undermined, or burrowed into the Bishoprick of Antioch.*

† *Deaconship.*

(*c*) *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch*, had at first preferr'd *Aëtius* to a *Diaconate*: but being afterwards reproved by *Diodorus* and *Flavianus*, because he had advanced a person to Sacred Orders who had been bred up in ill studies, and was an assertor of impious Tenets; he divested him of his Deaconship, as *Theodoret* relates (*Eccles. Hist.* Book 2. Chap. 24.) *Eudoxius* therefore, as soon as he had gotten the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, attempted to restore *Aëtius* to his former preferment. *Vales.*

Conſtantius. the Eaſtern Prelates affirmed that they were come to the Council with a deſign wholly to omit the mention of the accuſations againſt *Athanaſius*. This deſire and reſolution of theirs was aſſiſted by *Urſacius* and *Valens*, who at the beginning had been defenders of *Arius*'s Opinion: but [afterwards] they publickly conſented to the term *Homoöuſi s*, by their Libel given in to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as we ſaid * before. For theſe perſons always inclined to the ſtrongeſt ſide. They were aſſiſted by *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*. When therefore ſome were ready to propoſe one thing in the Congreſs of Biſhops then preſent, and ſome another; *Urſacius* and *Valens* ſaid, that all Forms of the Creed heretofore publiſh'd were to be accounted null and void; and that that laſt draught was to be admitted and approved of, which they had a little before publiſhed in their Convention at *Sirmium*. Having ſaid this, they cauſed a paper, which they had in their hands, to be read; [wherein was contained] another Form of the Creed (which they had drawn up before at *Sirmium*, but concealed it there, as I ſaid * before) which they then made publick at *Ariminum*. This (*d*) Creed was tranſlated out of *Latin* [into *Greek*;] the Contents thereof are theſe.

* Book 2. Chap. 12.

* Chap. 30.

(*d*) We remark'd before, (Book 2. Chap. 30.

note (*b*.) that this third Expoſition of Faith was not tranſlated out of *Latin*; but was at firſt dictated in *Greek* by *Marcus Arethuſius*. *Athanaſius*, who has recorded this Creed in his Book *de Synodis*, does not ſay it was tranſlated out of *Latin*; and yet, where-ever he produceth any monument rendred into *Greek* out of the *Latin* tongue, his continual uſage is to give the Reader warning of it. Further, theſe words [ἢ τὶς ἐκ ῥωμαϊκῆ μὲν ἡρμηνεύθη, ὅτι δὲ ἐν τέλοις τοῖς ῥήμασι, i.e. *This Creed was tranſlated out of Latin* [*into Greek,*] *the contents thereof are theſe*] are wanting in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition; nor are they in *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s *Verſion*. Valeſ.

This Catholick Creed was publiſhed in the preſence of our Lord Conſtantius, *in the Conſulate of the moſt Eminent* Flavius Euſebius *and* Hypatius, *at* Sirmium, *on the eleventh of the* Kalends *of* June.

We believe in One Only and True God, the Father Almighty, Creator and Framer of all things. And in One Only begotten Son of God, who was begotten of God, without paſſion, before all Ages, and before every Beginning, and before all time conceivable in the mind, and before every comprehenſible (e) *Notion: by whom the Ages were framed, and all things were made. Who was begotten the only Begotten of the Father, the Only of the Only, God of God, like to the Father who begat him, according to the Scriptures. Whoſe Generation no perſon knoweth, but only the Father who begat him. We know that this Only Begotten Son of God, by his Father's appointment, came down from Heaven in order to the aboliſhing of Sin: And was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and converſed with the Diſciples, and fulfilled every Diſpenſation according to his Father's Will: and was crucified, and died, and deſcended into the Infernal parts, and ſet in order what was to be done there: At the ſight of whom the Doorkeepers of Hell trembled. He aroſe again on the third day, and converſed with his Diſciples: and after the completion of forty days, he aſcended into the Heavens, and ſits at the Right Hand of his Father. And he ſhall come in the laſt day in his Father's Glory, and render to every man according to his works. And* [*we believe*] *in the Holy Ghoſt, whom the Only Begotten Son of God* Jeſus Chriſt *himſelf promiſed to ſend as a* Comforter *to Mankind, according as it is written:* I go away to my Father, and I will pray my Father, and he ſhall ſend you another Comforter, the Spirit of truth. He ſhall receive of mine, and ſhall teach you, and bring all things to your remembrance. *But for the term* * Ouſia, *in regard it has been uſed by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary ſenſe, and, being not underſtood by the people, gives an offence to many, in as much as it is not contained in the Scriptures, we thought good to have it wholly removed, and in future to make no mention at all of this term* Ouſia, *when God is ſpoken of, in regard the ſacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the Subſtance of the Father and of the Son. But* (f) *we do aſſert, that the Son is in all things like the Father, as the ſacred Scriptures do affirm and teach.*

Conſtantius.

* Subſtance.

(f) The latter part of this *Sirmian*

(e) In *Athanaſius*'s Book *de Synodis* pag. 875. the reading is [περὶ πάσης κατανοήσεως ἁγίας, before every comprehenſible ſubſtance.] Valeſ.

Creed is ſet down by *Germinius in his Epiſtle to Rufianus*, *Palladius*, and others, in theſe words: *Nam ſub bonæ memoriæ Conſtantio Imperatore*, &c. *For under the Emperor Conſtantius of good memory, when there began to be a diſſention amongſt ſome concerning the Faith; in the preſence of the ſaid Empeor, there being alſo preſent* Georgius *Biſhop of the* Alexandrian *Church*, Pancratius *of* Peluſum, Baſilius *at that time Biſhop of* Anquiritum, Valens, Urſacius, *and our ſlenderneſs; after a diſpute had concerning the Faith until night, when it was reduced to a certain Rule*, Marcus *was choſen by us all to dictate it: In which Creed it is thus written, The Son is in all things like the Father, as the divine Scriptures do affirm and teach. To which entire Profeſſion of Faith we all gave our conſent, and ſubſcribed it with our hands.* The ſubſcriptions are extant in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.* Chap. 22.) which ought to be annexed to this draught of the Creed. The ſame form of the *Sirmian* Creed is mentioned in the *Expoſition of the Faith at Seleucia*, which *Epiphanius* hath recorded in the *foreſaid Hereſie*, Chap. 25. in theſe Words: ὅτι δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει ἰσοδυναμεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐν σιρμίῳ πρώην ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις, &c. i. e. *Moreover, that that Draught of the Creed heretofore publiſhed at* Sirmium *in the preſence of the piety of our Emperor* [Conſtantius] *does exactly agree with this form of the Creed, is very well known by them who have read that Creed; which was ſubſcribed by them that were then preſent, to wit,* Baſilius, Marcus, Georgius *Biſhop of* Alexandria, Pancratius, Hypatianus, *and moſt of the Weſtern Biſhops.* Valeſ.

After the reading of this Paper, thoſe who were diſpleaſed with the contents thereof, roſe up and ſaid; We came not hither becauſe we wanted a Creed: For we keep that entire, which we have received from our Anceſtors. But [we are met,] that if any innovation hath hapned concerning it, we might repreſs it. If therefore what hath been recited doth contain nothing of novelty in it, do you now openly *Anathematize* the *Arian* Hereſie, in ſuch ſort as the ancient Rule of the Church hath rejected other Hereſies, as being blaſphemous. For it has been made manifeſt to the whole World, that *Arius*'s impious opinion hath been the occaſion of thoſe tumults and diſturbances, which have hapned in the Church until this preſent time. This propoſal, being not admitted of by *Urſacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*, wholly rent in ſunder the Church. For theſe perſons adhered to what had been recited in the Synod of *Ariminum*. But the others did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed. Moreover, they derided the inſcription prefixt before the Creed which had been read. And eſpecially (*g*) *Athanaſius*, in the Epiſtle he ſent to his acqaintance, where he writes word for word thus.

(*g*) The paſſage in *Athanaſius* here quoted by *Socrates*, occurs at the beginning of *his Epiſtle de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*. Valeſ.

For what was wanting to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church as concerning Piety, that Diſquiſitions ſhould now be made about the the Faith, and that they ſhould prefix the Conſulate of the preſent times before that Draught of the Creed (forſooth!) which they have publiſhed? For Urſacius, Valens, *and* Germinius, *have done that which never was done, or ſo much as ever heard of amongſt* Chriſtians. *For having compoſed ſuch a form*

Constantius.

form of the Creed as they were willing to admit of, they prefix'd before it the Consulate, the Month, and the Day of the present Year, in order to their making it manifest to all prudent persons, that their Faith had not its beginning before, but now under the Reign of Constantius. For, they have written (b) all things with a respect had to their own Heresie. Besides, pretending to write concerning the Lord, they name another to be their Lord, [to wit,] Constantius. For he it was, who influenced and authorized their Impiety. And they who deny the Son to be eternal, have stiled him (i) Eternal Emperor: Such bitter Enemies are they against Christ, by reason of their Impiety! But perhaps, the Holy Prophets specifying of the time [wherein they propheſied,] gave them an occasion of assigning the Consulate. Now, should they be so audacious as to assert this, they would most egregiously betray their own ignorance. For the Propheſies of those holy persons do indeed contain a mention of the times. Isaiah and Hosea lived * in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Jeremiah, † in the days of Josiah. Ezekiel and Daniel [flourished] under Cyrus and Darius. And others propheſied in other times: But they did not then lay the Foundations of Religion: for that was in being before their times, and always was, even before the Foundation of the World, God having prepared it for us by Christ. Nor did they thereby manifest the times of their own Faith. For even before those times they themselves were Believers. But the times [which they mention] were the times of the Promise [which God made] by them. Now, the chief and principal Head of the Promise was concerning our Saviour's Advent. And by way of * Appendix those things were added which should in future happen to Israel and to the Gentiles. These were the times manifested [by them, whereby was declared] not the beginning of Faith, as we said before, but the times wherein those Prophets themselves lived and foretold these things. But these † Wise Men in our days (whenas they neither compose Histories, nor predict future things, but) having written [those words,] The Catholick Faith was published, immediately add the Consulate, the Month, and the Day. And, as those holy persons wrote the History of Affairs [in their age, and noted] the times of their own ministration; so these men do manifest the time of their own Faith. And would to God they had written concerning their own Faith only; (for now they first began to believe:) and had not attempted [to write] concerning the Catholick [Faith!] For they have not written, Thus we believe: But after this manner, The Catholick Faith was published. The audaciousneſs therefore of this design does reprehend their Impiety: But the novelty of the * Expression by them invented is altogether like the Arian Heresie. For by their writing after this manner they have informed [all persons,] when they themselves began first to believe; and from what instant they are desirous their Faith should be preached. And according to that saying of Luke the Evangelist, * A Decree [of Enrolment] was published; (which [Edict] was not before, but it began from those times, and was published by him that wrote it:) So these persons by writing thus, The Faith is now published, have demonstrated, that the Tenets of their Heresie are novitious, and were not in former times. But, in as much as they add the term Catholick, they are insensible of their falling into the (k) impious Opinion of the † Cataphrygæ: and as they did, so do these assert, [saying,] The Faith of the Christians was first reveal'd to us, and took its beginning from us. And, as they stiled Maximilla and Montanus, so these term Constantius their Lord and Master, instead of Christ. But if, according to them, the Faith took its beginning from this Consulate, what will the Fathers, and the blessed Martyrs do? Moreover, what will they themselves do with such persons as were catechized and instructed by them, and died before this Consulate? How will they raise them to life again, that they may root out of their minds what they seemed to have taught them, and implant in them those [Sentiments,] which, as they write, are newly invented by them? To such a degree of ignorance are they arrived, being only well skilled in framing Pretexts, and they such as are undecent and improbable, and which may be presently confuted.

Constantius.

* See Luk. 2. 1.

Thus wrote Athanasius to those of his acquaintance. Such as are lovers of learning (after they have found out this letter) may understand the powerful expressions therein contained. For we, having an aversion for prolixity, have inserted but part thereof here. Further, you are to take notice, that the Synod deposed Valens, Ursacius, Auxentius, Germinius, Caius, and Demophilus, because they would not anathematize the Arian Opinion. Wherefore they highly resenting their Deposition, hastned forthwith to the Emperor, carrying along with them that Draught of the Creed which had been read in the Synod. And the Synod acquainted the Emperor with their determinations, by their letter: the purport whereof, being translated out of Latin into Greek, is this.

The Letter of the *Ariminum* Synod to the Emperor *Constantius*.

(l) *By God's Will, and the Command of your Piety, we believe order has been taken, that we Western*

(l) This Letter of the *Ariminum* Synod is extant in *Latin*, in *Hilarius*, amongst *the Fragments of his Book de Synodis*, pag. 451. *Edit. Paris*, 1631. out of whom we have transcribed it, and placed it here instead of a Version. It ought not to seem strange to any Person, to see so great a disagreement between the *Greek* Version and the original *Latin* Copy of this Epistle. For this is an usual thing with *Greek* Translators, as often as they render *Latin* into *Greek*; which may be easily perceived from the Emperor's Rescripts, which occur in *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*. But, we need not fetch examples hereof from any other place, than from this Letter: in which do occur almost as many mistakes in the *Greek* translation of it, as there are periods in the Letter. But, the beginning of this Letter is commonly thus worded in *Hilarius*: *Lubente Deo ex præcepto pietatis Tuæ credimus fuisse dispositum, &c. By Gods pleasure we believe it hath been ordered by the Command of your Piety*, &c. But in the M.S. Copy made use of by *Jacobus Sirmondus*, the reading is thus: *Jubente Deo*, &c. *By God's will*, &c. So the *Greek Translator* reads it: whom we have followed in this place. Any one may with good reason conjecture, that [*Jubente Deo, By God's will*] *is written instead of* [*Juvante Deo, By God's assistance.*] Vales.

(i) For this is the title prefixt before the exposition of Faith at *Sirmium* [Ἐξετέθη ἡ πίστις· ἡ καθολικὴ ὧδε παρουσίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου μοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ καλλινίκου Σεβαστοῦ, &c. *This Catholick Creed was expounded and published in the presence of our Lord the most Pious and Victorious Emperor* Constantius Augustus, *Eternal Augustus*, &c.] as it is extant in *Athanasius*, at the forequoted place. Which Words I therefore annext here, because our *Socrates*, in his recitation of that Draught of the Creed, has omitted these titles. Indeed *Constantius* did so readily give credence to such Flatteries as these, that speaking of himself in his Edicts and Letters, he would sometimes assert *his own eternity*. This is attested by *Amm. Marcellinus*, not far from the beginning of *his fifteenth Book*, in these Words: *Quo ille* (speaking of *Constantius*) *studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatus immunemq; se deinde fore ab omni mortalitatis incommodo fidenter existimans, confestim à justitia declinavit ita intemperanter, ut* ÆTERNITATEM MEAM *aliquoties subsereret ipse dictando*, &c. *Vales.*

(b) We read [πάντα, *all things*] as it is in *Athanasius*: See the forequoted passage. *Vales.*

(k) In *Athanasius* the reading is [εἰς τὴν παραφροσύνην, *into the madness*:] which is the better reading: for he means the *Montanists*, to whom madness is deservedly attributed. The term here, in *Socrates*, is [παραφροσύνην, *impious opinion.*] Vales.

† See *Eusebius Eccles.* Hist. Book 4. Chap. 27. note (c.) and Book 5. Chap. 18.

See Isai. 1. 1. and Hosea 1. 1.

† Jerem. 1. 2.

* Addition.

† He speaks Ironically.

* Writing.

Conſtantius. Biſhops ſhould come out of divers Provinces to the * City of Ariminum: That the Faith of the Catholick Church might be made apparent to all men, and that Hereticks might be notified. For whilſt all of us (who entertain ſuch ſentiments as are true) could review and conſider matters, our determination was to hold the Faith which hath continued from [all] antiquity, which we have received by (the Prophets, Goſpels, and Apoſtles, by God himſelf and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Preſerver of your Empire and Donor of your † Safety. For we accounted it a thing deteſtable to maim any of thoſe matters which have been rightly and juſtly determined; and [to take away any thing] from thoſe perſons, who were Aſſeſſors in the Nicene * Treaty, together with Conſtantine of glorious memory, the Father of your Piety. Which Treaty hath been manifeſted and inſinuated into the minds of the people, and is found to have been then oppoſed to the Arian Hereſie, in ſuch manner that not only that, but other Hereſies alſo have thereby been vanquiſhed. From which Treaty ſhould any thing be taken away, a paſſage would be opened to the Poiſon of Hereticks. (m) Therefore Urſacius and Valens ſome time lay under a ſuſpicion of [being adherents to] the ſame Arian Hereſie, and they were ſuſpended from communion. They alſo begged pardon, as the Contents of their Libel do manifeſt. Which they procured at that time from the (n) Council of Millain, the Embaſſadors of the Church of Rome alſo aſſiſting. Conſtantine being preſent in this [Conſult,] in regard after a ſearching Diſquiſition, that [Creed] had been drawn up, (which he believing, and being baptized, departed to God's reſt,) we look upon it as a thing deteſtable, to make any † Mutilations therein, or in any thing to ſet aſide ſo many Saints, Confeſſors, and Succeſſors of the Martyrs, who were Compoſers of that Treaty; in regard they have kept all things [aſſerted by] the paſt Writers of the Catholick Church. And it hath continued to theſe very times, wherein your Piety hath received the power of ruling the World from God the Father by God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But [theſe] wretched Men, endued with an unhappy * Senſe, have again by a temerarious attempt proclaimed themſelves the ſetters forth of impious Doctrine: and even now they endeavour to ſhake what had been founded in reaſon. For when the Letters of Your Piety ordered that the Faith ſhould be treated of, there was propoſed to us by the forenamed Diſturbers of the Churches (Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius having joyned themſelves to them,) a new [Creed] to be conſidered of, which contained much perverſe Doctrine. But when the Creed they propoſed publickly in the Council ſeemed to diſpleaſe, their ſentiments were that it was to be drawn up otherwiſe. And it is manifeſt, that they (p) have in a ſhort time often (p) altered theſe things. But leſt the Churches ſhould be frequently diſturbed, we have determined that the ancient Sanctions ought to be kept ratified and inviolable; and that the foremention'd Perſons ſhould be removed from our Communion. In order therefore to the informing of Your Clemency, we have directed our Legates, who by our Letter will declare the Opinion of the Council. To whom we have given this Particular only in charge, that they ſhould diſpatch their Embaſſie no otherwiſe, than that the ancient Sanctions may continue firm and inviolable: As alſo that your Wiſdom might know, that Peace cannot be accompliſhed by this which the forenamed Valens, Urſacius, Germinius, and Caius have promiſed, if any thing had been * altered. For how can peace be kept by thoſe who ſubvert peace? For all Regions, and eſpecially the Roman Church hath been involved in greater diſturbances. Upon which account we beſeech your Clemency, that you would hear and look upon all our Legates with favourable Ears, and a ſerene Countenance: (q) and that your Clemency would not permit any thing to be reverſed to the injury of the Ancients, but that all things may continue which we have received from our Anceſtors, who (we are confident) were prudent Perſons, and acted not without the Holy Spirit of God. Becauſe, not only the believing Populace are diſquieted by that novelty, but alſo Infidels are prohibited from making their approaches to a (r) credulity. We alſo intreat, that You would give order, that as many Biſhops as are detained at Ariminum (amongſt which there are many that are enfeebled with age and poverty,) may return to their Province; leſt the Populace of the Churches ſuffer damage by being deſtitute of their Biſhops. But we do with more earneſtneſs petition for this, that no innovation may be made, nothing may be diminiſhed; but thoſe things may remain uncorrupted which have continued in the times of the Father of your holy Piety, and in your own religious days. And, that your Holy Prudence would not ſuffer us to be wearied out, and raviſht from our Sees: but that the Biſhops with their Laity, free from diſquietude, may always attend the [putting up their] Petitions, which they * make for your Health, for your Empire, and for Peace, which may the Divinity grant You to be profound and perpetual, according to your deſerts. Our Embaſſadors will bring both the Subſcriptions and alſo the Names of the Biſhops or Legates; as they will inform your (ſ) Holy and Religious Prudence by another writing.

Conſtantius.

Thus wrote the Synod, and ſent it by the Biſhops. But *Urſacius* and *Valens* having prevented their arrival, did before-hand calumniate the Synod, ſhewing [the Emperor] the Draught of the Creed, which they had brought along with them. The Emperor, whoſe mind had been long ſince wholly addicted to the *Arian* opinion, was highly incenſed againſt the Synod: but had a great eſteem and honour for *Valens* and *Urſacius*. Wherefore the perſons ſent by the Synod ſtaid a long while, being unable to get an

* Or, place of the Arminenſians.

† Salvation.

* Or, Conſult.

(m) Theſe words have no very good coherence with the preceding ſentence. I conjecture that this place was tranſpoſed in the *Latin* Copies. Therefore, next theſe words [*a paſſage would be opened to the Poiſons of Hereticks,*] thoſe, in my judgment, are to be placed, which follow a little after; in this manner: *Conſtantine being preſent in this* [*Conſult,*] *in regard, after a ſearching diſquiſition,* &c. unto theſe words [*our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*] To which are to be ſubjoyn'd theſe [*Therefore Urſacius and Valens,* &c.] *Valeſ.*

(n) At Chap. 20. of this Book, Note (a) we have remarkt many things concerning this firſt Synod of *Millain*, wherein *Urſacius* and *Valens*, having preſented a Libel of ſatisfaction, condemned the *Arian* Hereſie. The ſaid perſons confirm the ſame in another Libel, which they preſented afterwards to *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, at *Rome*; in theſe words: *Hæreticum vero Arium,* &c. *ſicut per priorem noſtrum Libellum, quem apud Mediolanum porreximus, & nunc & ſemper anathematizaſſe profitemur.* Valeſ.

† *Maimings.*

* Underſtanding.

(p) Theſe Words are ſpoken againſt *Urſacius* and *Valens*, and their followers; who daily promulged new forms of the Creed, hereby demonſtrating that they had no certain Faith; as *Athanaſius* frequently objects againſt them. *Valeſ.*

(q) Here I followed the Greek Tranſlator of this Epiſtle; and corrected the Latin Copy. For in *Hilarius*'s *Fragments*, the common reading of this place is this [*Ne vel permittat Clementia tua jura vetera convelli*, that *Your Clemency would not permit the ancient Laws to be reverſed.*] In the M. S. Copy, which *Sirmondus* had ſeen, the reading is [*Ne vel aliquid permittat clementia tua injuriam veterum convelli.*] Whence we ſmelt out the true reading, which we have expreſt in our Verſion. *Valeſ.*

(r) Here the Greek tranſlator was grievouſly out; for inſtead of *Credulity* he has rendred it *Cruelty.* Valeſ.

* Or, have.

(ſ) The Greek Tranſlator of this Letter makes uſe of the term θειότης, *Divinity*, here: but in *Athanaſius* 'tis ὁσιότης, *Sanctity.* It is improbable that the Biſhops ſhould have ſaid, *The Divinity of the Emperor.* Valeſ.

Constantius.

an anſwer. But at length the Emperor wrote back to the Synod by thoſe that were preſent, after this manner.

(t) This Letter of *Conſtantius's*, together with the anſwer of the Biſhops at *Ariminum* is extant in *Athanaſius's Book de Synodis*, near the cloſe of it. *Valeſ.*

(t) CONSTANTIUS VICTOR and TRIUMPHATOR AUGUSTUS, to all the Biſhops convened at *Ariminum*.

That our chiefeſt care is always employ'd about the Divine and Venerable Law, even your Goodneſs is not ignorant. Notwithſtanding, We could not hitherto ſee the twenty Biſhops ſent from your Prudence, who undertook the diſpatch of the Embaſſie from you. For we are wholly intent upon an Expedition againſt the Barbarians. *And, as you know, 'tis fit that a mind exerciſed about the Divine Law, ſhould be vacated from all care and ſollicitude. Wherefore We have order'd the Biſhops to expect Our return to* Adrianople, *that, after the publick affairs ſhould be put into a good and ſettled poſture, we may at length hear and deliberate upon what they ſhall propoſe. In the interim, let it not ſeem troubleſome to your Gravity to wait for their return, in regard, when they ſhall come back and bring you our anſwer, you will be enabled to bring to a concluſion ſuch things as appertain to the utility of the Catholick Church.* When the Biſhops had received this Letter, they return'd an anſwer after this manner.

*We have received Your Clemencies Letter, (Lord Emperor moſt dear to God!) wherein is contained, that by reaſon of the preſſing neceſſity of publick buſineſs, You could not hitherto ſee our Embaſſadors. And You order us to expect their return, till ſuch time as Your Piety ſhall underſtand from them what hath been determined by us agreeable to [the Tradition of] our Anceſtors. But we do by this Letter profeſs and affirm, that we do in no wiſe recede from our reſolution. And this we have given in charge to our Embaſſadors. We deſire therefore, that with a ſerene countenance You would order this preſent Letter of our Meanneſs to be read; and alſo graciouſly admit of thoſe things which we have given in charge to our Embaſſadors. Undoubtedly Your Mildneſs, as well as we, doth perceive, how great the grief and ſadneſs at preſent is [every where,] in regard ſo many Churches are deſtitute of their Biſhops in theſe moſt bleſſed times of Yours. And therefore we again beſeech Your Clemency, (Lord Emperor moſt dear to God!) that before the ſharpneſs of Winter (if it may pleaſe Your Piety,) You would command us to return to our Churches, in order to our being enabled to * put up our uſual Prayers together with the People, to Almighty God, and to our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his only begotten Son, in behalf of Your Empire, in ſuch manner as we have always done, and now moſt earneſtly deſire to do.*

* Or, perform.

After they had written this Letter, and continued together ſome ſmall time; in regard the Emperor would not vouchſafe them an anſwer, they departed every one to his own City. But the Emperor had long before had a deſign of diſſeminating the *Arian* Opinion throughout the Churches: Which he then earneſtly endeavouring to effect, made their departure a pretext of contumely, ſaying, that he was deſpiſed by them, in regard they had diſſolved [the Council] contrary to his will. Wherefore, he gave *Urſacius's* party free liberty of doing what they pleaſed againſt the Churches. He alſo commanded, that the Draught of the Creed which had been read at *Ariminum*, ſhould be ſent to the Churches throughout *Italy*, giving order that ſuch as would not ſubſcribe it, ſhould be put out of the Churches, and others ſubſtituted in their places. And in the firſt place (u) *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*, having refuſed to give his conſent to that *Creed*, is baniſh'd, the * *Urſacians* having ſubſtituted *Felix* in his place. This *Felix* being a Deacon in the Church of *Rome*, (x) embraced the *Arian* Opinion, and was prefer'd to that Biſhoprick. But there are ſome who affirm, that he was not addicted to the *Arian* Opinion, but was by force neceſſitated to be ordain'd Biſhop. At that time therefore all places in the Weſt were filled with innovations and diſturbances, ſome being ejected and baniſh'd, and others put into their places. And theſe things were tranſacted by force, and the authority of the Imperial Edicts, which were alſo ſent into the Eaſtern parts. Indeed, not long after *Liberius* was recalled from baniſhment, and recover'd his own See; the people of *Rome* having raiſed a ſedition, and ejected *Felix* out of the Church: At which time the Emperor gave them his conſent thereto againſt his will. But the *Urſacians* left *Italy*, went into the Eaſtern parts, and arriv'd at a City of *Thracia*, the name whereof was *Nice*. Wherein after they had continued ſome ſmall time, they made up (y) another Synod there. And having tranſlated that Form of the Creed, read at *Ariminum*, into the *Greek* tongue, (as it has been before related,) they publiſh'd and confirm'd it, giving out that that *Creed*, which was made publick by them at *Nice*, had been dictated by an *Oecumenical* Synod; their deſign being to impoſe upon the ſimpler ſort of people by the likeneſs of the [Cities] name. For ſuch perſons were ready to think that it was the Creed publiſh'd at *Nicæa* a City of *Bithynia*. But this cheat was not at all advantagious to them: for it was ſoon detected; and they themſelves continued to be expoſed to the reproach and laughter of all men. Let thus much be ſaid concerning what was tranfacted in the Weſtern parts. We muſt now paſs to the relation of what was done at the ſame time in the Eaſt: And our Narrative muſt begin from hence.

Conſtantius.

(u) *Socrates* is here miſtaken. For *Liberius* was not baniſhed, and *Felix* the *Deacon* put into his See, after the *Synod* of *Ariminum*; but long before, in the year of Chriſt, 356. *Valeſ.*

* That is, *Urſacius's party.*

(x) In the King's M. S. (which Copy *Robert Stephens* followed,) and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, there are ſeveral Words wanting in the text at this place: we have made up this *chaſm* from the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M.SS. after this manner [ἐν τῇ Ἀειμινῇ δόξῃ προσπεθεὶς, εἰς τὸν Ἐπισκοπὴν προσελήλυθη· εἰσὶ δὲοἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι ὁ προσπέθετο μὲν τῇ ἀειμινῇ δόξῃ, βίᾳ, δε, i. e. *embraced the Arian opinion, and was preferred to that Biſhoprick. But there are ſome who affirm, that he was not addicted to the Arian opinion, but was by force.*] Moreover, *Baronius* maintains, that *Felix* the Deacon, preferred by *Acacius* to *Liberius's* See, never was an *Arian*, but was defiled with the Communion only of the *Arians*. *Theodoret* affirms the ſame, in the ſecond Book, Chap. 17. of his *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* And ſo does *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 11. *Valeſ.*

(y) The Embaſſadors of the Synod of *Ariminum* (who were ſent to *Conſtantius*,) having been corrupted by *Urſacius* and *Valens*, held a Council at *Nice* a Town of *Thracia*, on the ſixth of the *Ides* of *October*, in the Conſulate of *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*. In which Council they in the firſt place reſcinded the ſentence of Excommunication, which the *Ariminum* Biſhops had pronounced againſt *Urſacius*, *Valens*, and the reſt: and pronounced them to be, and always to have been Catholicks. Then they publiſhed an Hæretical Form of the Creed. Part of their *Acts* are extant in *Hillarius's Fragments*, pag. 452, &c. where are recounted fourteen names of thoſe that were Embaſſadors. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Cruelty of Macedonius, *and the Tumults by him raiſed.*

THE Biſhops of the *Arian* party aſſumed a greater degree of boldneſs from the Imperial Edicts. And upon what account they attempted to convene a Synod, we will relate a little afterwards. But we will firſt briefly recite thoſe things done by them before the Synod, *Acacius* and *Patrophilus* having ejected *Maximus* Biſhop

Conſtantius. Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, placed *Cyrillus* in his See. *Macedonius* ſubverted the Provinces and Cities (*a*) lying near to *Conſtantinople*, preferring thoſe that were embarqu'd in the ſame wicked deſign with him againſt the Churches. He ordained *Eleuſius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*; and *Marathonius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, who had before been a Deacon, placed under *Macedonius*: he was alſo very diligent in founding *Monaſteries* of men and women. But after what manner *Macedonius* ſubverted the Provinces and Cities which lay round *Conſtantinople*, we are now to declare. This perſon therefore, having poſſeſt himſelf of the Biſhoprick in ſuch a manner as is * before related, did innumerable miſchiefs to thoſe who would not entertain the ſame ſentiments with him. Nor did he perſecute thoſe only who were diſcerned [to be Members] of the Church, but the *Novatians* alſo, knowing that they alſo embraced the *Homoöuſian* Faith. Theſe therefore were together with the others diſquieted, undergoing moſt deplorable ſufferings. † Their Biſhop, by name *Agelius*, made his eſcape by flight: But many of them, eminent for their piety, were taken and tortured, becauſe they wou'd not communicate with him. And after their tortures they forcibly conſtrained the men to partake of the Holy * Myſteries. For they wreſted their mouths open with a piece of wood, and thruſt the Sacrament into them. Such perſons as underwent this uſage, look'd upon it to be a puniſhment far exceeding all other tortures. Moreover, they ſnatch'd up the women and children, and forc'd them to be initiated [by Baptiſm.] And if any one refuſed, or otherwiſe ſpoke againſt this ſtripes immediately follow'd, and after ſtripes bonds, impriſonments, and other acute tortures. One or two [inſtances] whereof I will mention, that I may render the hearers ſenſible of the apparent barbarity and cruelty of *Macedonius* and thoſe perſons who were then in power. They ſqueez'd the breaſts of thoſe women who refuſed to be communicants with them in the *Sacrament*, between [the doors of] † Preſſes, and cut them off with a Saw. They burnt the ſame members of other women, partly with iron, and partly with eggs exceedingly heated in the fire. This new ſort of torture, which even the Heathens never uſed towards us, was invented by thoſe who profeſt themſelves *Chriſtians*. Theſe things I heard from the long-liv'd *Auxano*, of whom I have made mention in the *firſt Book*. He was a Presbyter in the Church of the *Novatians*. And he reported that he himſelf endured not a few miſeries [inflicted upon him] by the *Arians*, before he received the dignity of a Presbyter. For he ſaid that he was caſt into priſon together with *Alexander Paphlagon*, (who with him led a Monaſtick life,) and ſuſtain'd innumerable ſtripes. Which tortures [as he related] he was enabled to indure: but *Alexander* died in priſon by reaſon of his ſtripes. His Sepulchre is now [to be ſeen,] on the right hand as you ſail into the *Byzantine* Bay, which is named (*b*) *Ceras*, near the *Rivers*: where there is a Church of the *Novatians*, which bears *Alexander*'s name. Moreover, the *Arians*, by *Macedonius*'s order, demoliſh'd many other *Churches* in divers Cities; as alſo a Church of the *Novatians*, ſituate in *Conſtantinople* near *Pelargus*. Why I have made particular mention of this Church, I will here declare as I heard it from the very aged (*c*) *Auxano*. The Emperor's Edict and *Macedonius*'s violence gave order for the demoliſhing of their Churches who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion. This Edict and Violence * threatned this Church alſo with ruin, and they were at hand, to whom the execution hereof was committed. I can't chooſe but admire, when I reflect upon the great zeal and earneſtneſs of the *Novatians* towards their *Church*, and the kindneſs which they had for thoſe perſons, who at that time were ejected out of the Church by the *Arians*, but do now peaceably and quietly enjoy their Churches! When therefore they, to whom the execution hereof was enjoyn'd, were urgent to demoliſh this Church alſo, a great multitude of people that were *Novatians*, and others who embraced the ſame ſentiments with them, flockt together thither. And when they had pull'd down their Church, they conveyed it to another place. This place is ſituate over-againſt the City [*Conſtantinople*;] the name of it is *Sycæ*, and 'tis the *thirteenth Ward* of the City. Moreover, the removal of the Church was perform'd in a very ſhort time, it being carried away by a numerous multitude of people with an incredible alacrity of mind: for one carried Tiles; another Stones; a third Timber. Some took up one thing, ſome another, and carried it to *Sycæ*. Yea, the very women and little children aſſiſted in this buſineſs, looking upon it as an accompliſhment of their deſires, and eſteeming it as a great gain, that they were vouchſafed to be pure and faithful preſervers of the things conſecrated to God. In this manner therefore was the *Church* of the *Novatians* at that time remov'd to *Sycæ*. But afterwards, when *Conſtantius* was dead, the Emperor *Julian* ordered the place to be reſtored to them, and permitted them to rebuild their Church. At which time

Conſtantius.

(*a*) This place is in an eſpecial manner to be taken notice of. For from it we conclude, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had even then a right of ordaining throughout *Helleſpont* and *Bithynia*, before the *Council* of *Conſtantinople* [was held.] The ſame is confirmed from the *Acts* of *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who made *Eutomius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*. Indeed, the Biſhops of *Byzantium* had a very great addition of authority and power, from the time that the Emperor *Conſtantine* gave that City his own name, and ordered it ſhould be equal to the *Senior Rome*. Alſo, *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, after his tranſlation to that See, brought no ſmall increaſe [of juriſdiction] to it. For he was the moſt potent Prelate of his own times. Further, the Reader is to take notice, that the reading ſhould be [τὰς γειτνιαζούσας τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, *lying near to Conſtantinople*;] ſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* reads it. Unleſs we ſhould ſay, that the words are tranſpoſed here, (as it frequently happens in theſe Books,) and that the place is thus to be conſtrued [Μακεδόνιος δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὰς γειτνιαζούσας ἐπαρχίας, &c. *Macedonius in Conſtantinople ſubverted the neighbouring Provinces*, &c. Valeſ.

*See *chap.* 16. of this *book.*

*That is, *the Biſhop of the Novatians.*

*That is, *the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt.*

† Or, *Cheſts.*

(*b*) *Polybius* ſays the ſame, in the *fourth Book of his Hiſtory*, and *Strabo*, in *his ſixth Book*, to wit, that *Ceras* is a Bay near *Byzantium*, ſo termed from its likeneſs to an *Harts-horn*. But *Pliny* calls a promontory by this name, ſcituated in that Bay. To whom agrees *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 212. *Edit. Paris.* 1636. which place (becauſe the common reading of it is very corrupt, and is not yet mended in *our Edition*,) ſhall be here ſet down by me, as it ought to be read; thus: *Et promontorium Ceras, prælucentem navibus vehens conſtructam celſius turrim: quapropter Ceratas appellatur ventus inde ſuetus oriri prægelidus*: i. e. *and the promontory Ceras, on which ſtands a Tower built very high, which gives light to the Ships: Wherefore, that extream cold Wind, which uſually ariſes from thence, is termed Ceratas.* Thus I have corrected this place, having followed the footſteps of the written reading: for the common reading, (which is this, *Et promontorium Ceras prælucentem navibus vehens conſtructam celſius turrim, quapropter pharos appellatur: Et vetus inde fons Euripus prægelidus.*) The Author whereof was *Petrus Caſtellus*, is without any ſenſe. It was the uſage of the ancients to name the Winds from thoſe places whence they blew. Thus, the *Athenians* called the *North-Weſt* Wind *Scironites*, becauſe it blew from the promontory *Sciron*, as *Strabo* relates. After the ſame manner therefore, that Wind was by the *Conſtantinopolitans* called *Ceratas*, which blew from the promontory *Ceras*. Valeſ.

(*c*) In the Allat. M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, this old Man is called *Auxonius*. But at the beginning of this Chapter, and in *Socrates*'s firſt Book, he is named *Auxano*. From this *Auxano Socrates* ſeems to me to have had all the ſtories throughout his Hiſtory, which he relates concerning the *Novatians*, of whom he tells very many. *Valeſ.*

*Or, *bring ruin upon this Church alſo.*

Conſtantius.

Constantius.

time the people, in the same manner as before, carried the materials back again, and built the Church in its former place: and having made it more beautiful and stately, they would have it call'd * *Anastasia*, a name apposite and significative. This Church therefore was afterwards erected again, as I said, in the Reign of *Julian*. But then both parties, as well the *Catholicks* as the *Novatians*, were after the same manner persecuted. Wherefore the *Catholicks* abhor'd to (*d*) pray in those Oratories, wherein the *Arians* assembled themselves. But, in the other three Churches (for so many Oratories the *Novatians* had within the City [*Constantinople*]) the Catholicks assembled with them, and pray'd together. And there wanted but little of their being entirely united, had not the *Novatians*, who observ'd their old injunction, refused to do that. But as to other *matters*, they preserv'd such a singular benevolence and kindness mutually, that * Or, they were ready to die for one another. Therefore both parties were at the same time persecuted, not only in the City *Constantinople*, but in other Provinces and Cities also. For in *Cyzicum*, *Eleusius* the Bishop there did the same things against the Christians that were acted by *Macedonius*, putting them to flight, and disquieting them every where. He also totally demolish'd the Church of the *Novatians* at *Cyzicum*. But *Macedonius* finish'd the enormous *Villanies* he had perpetrated, after this manner. Being inform'd that in the Province of *Paphlagonia*, and especially at *Mantinium*, there were very many persons of the *Novatian* Sect, and perceiving that so great a multitude could not be driven [from their habitations] by Ecclesiastick persons, he procured four *Companies of Soldiers to be by the Emperor's order sent into *Paphlagonia*, that being terrified by those armed men, they might be induced to embrace the *Arian* Opinion. But they who inhabited *Mantinium*, out of a zeal to [defend] their Sect, made use of desperation against the Soldiers. And many of them getting together in one body, and providing themselves with long Hooks and Hatchets, and whatever weapon they could lay hands on, they march'd out to meet the Soldiers. An Engagement therefore hapning, many of the *Paphlagonians* were therein slain: but all the Soldiers (except a very few) were cut off. This I heard from a Countryman of *Paphlagonia*, who said he was present at that action. But many other *Paphlagonians* do affirm the same. Of this sort were *Macedonius*'s brave exploits in defence of Christianity, [to wit,] Murthers, Fights, Captivities, and intestine Wars. But these practices of *Macedonius*'s raised a deserved † *Odium* against him, not only amongst those he had injured, but amongst them also who were his adherents. Yea, the Emperor himself was offended at him, both upon this account, and also for another reason, which was this. The Church, wherein lay the Coffin that contain'd the body of the Emperor *Constantine*, was threatened with ruin. (*e*) Wherefore for this reason, as well they who had entred that Church, as those that continued in it and pray'd, were in a great fear. *Macedonius* therefore resolv'd to remove the Emperor's bones, that the Coffin might not be (*f*) spoiled by the ruin [of the Church.] The people understanding this, attempted to hinder it, saying, that the Emperor's Bones ought not to be removed; in regard that would be the same, as if they were dug up again. Immediately the people were divided into two parties: the one affirmed, that no hurt could be done to the dead body by its being removed: the other side asserted it to be an impious thing. Those of the *Homoöusian* Opinion met together also, and opposed the doing hereof. But *Macedonius*, disregarding those that resisted him, removes the body of the Emperor into that Church, wherein lies *Acacius* the Martyr's body. This being done, the multitude, divided into two parties, ran forthwith to that Church: and when the two Factions were drawn up against each other, immediately an engagement followed; wherein so great a number of men were slain, that that Church-yard was full of blood; (*g*) and the Well therein overflowed with blood, which ran even into the adjacent *Portico*, and from thence into the very Street. The Emperor, inform'd of this calamitous accident, was incensed against *Macedonius*, both upon account of those that were slain, and also because he had been so audacious as to remove his Father's body without his consent. Having therefore left *Julianus* the *Cæsar* to take care of the Western parts of the Empire, he himself went into the East. But, how *Macedonius* was soon after deposed, and underwent a punishment short of his enormous impieties, I will relate a little afterwards.

Constantius.

(*d*) Instead of [ἔυχεσθαι] the reading must undoubtedly be [εὐχεσθαι, *to pray*;] which I wonder *Christophorson* did not perceive. Further, what *Socrates* relates here, to wit, that the *Catholicks* prayed in the Churches of the *Novatians*, seems to me incredible. Our *Socrates* was, in my judgment imposed upon by old *Auxano*, who fixed that upon all the *Catholicks*, which was perhaps done by some few Christians, who were less cautious. For there is nothing more contrary to Ecclesiastick Discipline, than to communicate with Hereticks, either in the Sacraments, or in Prayer. But in my opinion they are mistaken, who from this relation do conclude *Socrates* to have been a *Novatian*: yea, it is evidently manifest from this place, that he was a Catholick. For in this Chapter he frequently terms the *Catholicks*, τὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *those of the Church*; and opposes them to the *Novatians*. Therefore he lookt upon the *Novatians* to be without the Church. *Vales.*

* That is, *the Resurrection*, a fit name; in regard it rose again, as it were, in the same place it stood in before.

† *Hatred.*

*Ἀριθμὸς, *numbers.*

(*e*) The Amendment of this place is to be acknowledged as due to the Allatian M. S. wherein 'tis thus written [ἦσαν ἓν διὰ τοῦτο ὅτε τε οἰκοῦντες ῥώμωσι καὶ τε προεδρεύοντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι, &c. *Wherefore for this reason, as well they who had entred that Church, as those that continued in it and prayed,* &c.] For in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. S. this place is enlarged but by one word only, thus [ἦσαν ἓν διὰ τοῦτο ὅτε προεδρεύοντες, &c. *Wherefore for this reason they who presided over,* &c.] But this *Chasm* is made up by the Allatian M. S. to which agrees *Epiphan. Scholasticus*'s Version. But his rendring [προεδρεύοντες, *Custodes, Keepers*] I like not, I should rather translate the term thus, *those that made their abode for some time in the Church, upon account of praying there.* Vales.

(*f*) In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading is [συληθῇ, *spoiled.*] which I think to be better than [συλληφθῇ, *comprehended*, or *contained.*] Vales.

(*g*) I made good this place from the incomparable Allat. M. S. Our other M.SS. make no alteration here: but when I perceived the vulgar reading (which is this, ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην στοὰν, ἄχετο πλησίας αὐτῆς, i. e. *and it ran to the adjacent Porch, even to the (street)* to be wholly uncouth, I was not scrupulous of admitting the reading of the Allat. M. S. which is this [καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ φρεὰρ ὑπερῤῥύσαι τῷ αἵματι, ἐκχεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ, &c. *and the Well therein overflowed with Blood, which ran even into,* &c. *Socrates* says, there was so great a slaughter of Men, that the Church-yard of Saint *Acacius* was filled with Man's Blood, and the Well therein overflowed with Blood, in such sort that it ran into the neighbouring Porch, and from thence into the Street. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Synod at Seleucia [*a City*] *of* Isauria.

BUT at present, I must give an account of the other Synod, which by the Emperor's Edict was to emulate that at *Ariminum* in the East. At first it was determined, that the Bishops should be convened at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*. But, a great earthquake, whereby the City *Nicomedia* hapned to be ruin'd, hindred their being convened at that place. This hapned in the Con-

Conſtantius.

Conſulate of (a) *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*, about the eight and twentieth day of the month *Auguſt*. They reſolved therefore upon removing the Synod to the City *Nicæa* which was near to it. But this reſolution was again altered: and it ſeemed [more convenient] to meet at *Tarſus* a City of *Cilicia*. When this diſpleaſed them alſo, they were aſſembled at *Seleucia* [a City] of *Iſauria*, which is ſirnamed *Aſpera*. This they did on the (b) ſame year [wherebn the *Ariminum Council* was held,] in the Conſulate of *Eu-*

(a) This perſons name ſhould not be *Tatianus*, but *Dacianus*. For ſo he is called in the *Faſti Conſulares*, and in *Ammianus Marcellinus*. This Man was one of *Libanius*'s chiefeſt Friends: to whom *Libanius* wrote very many of *his Epiſtles*, which are extant in the fourth Book of *his Epiſtles*. In the 71 *Epiſtle of that Book* he mentions his Conſulate, and ſays he was Scholar to one of the Emperors, and Maſter to the other: His words are theſe: τὸ δὲ σὸν λαμπρόν τε καὶ κρεῖττον ἢ σβεσθῆναι, &c. i. e. *But your actions are illuſtrious, and better than that they ſhould be extinguiſh'd. For your Conſulate, and the honours beſtowed upon you by the Emperors, and your having been one of the Emperor's Scholars, and the others Maſter: Moreover, the ſtatelineſs of your Houſes, and the numerouſneſs, largeneſs, and handſomeneſs of your Bathes: All theſe things will for ever retain your name, although your body does depart.* In the 146 Epiſtle of the ſame Book, there is extant this Elogue of *Datianus*: τὸ γὰρ τοσαῦτ' ἀνδρὸς, &c. *For, to hear ſuch and ſo many brave exploits of a perſon, who has erected ſo many Kingdoms, and has been beneficial to ſo many Men, nor has ever hurt any body, who is eminent for prudence, and has filled the Earth and Sea with the Glory of his name; is, to a Man of diſcretion greater than all preſent or future wealth.* And, at the cloſe of the ſame Epiſtle, he intimates, that the ſame *Datianus* had a Seat at *Conſtantinople*; and that in *Antioch* and the Suburbs thereof, he had Houſes and Palaces beautified with Fountains and Baths; to take a view thereof he invites him, *Valeſ.*

(b) At this place occurs no trivial difficulty. For the deſtruction of the City *Nicomedia* hapned when *Datianus* and *Cerealis* were Conſuls, in the year of Chriſt 358, on the month of *Auguſt*. But the Council of *Seleucia* was held on the year following, in the Conſulate of *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*, in the month of *September*. Theſe things therefore hapned not in one and the ſame year. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that the reading at this place ſhould be [τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, *on the year following.*] Or, if the common reading muſt be retained, we muſt underſtand our Author's meaning to be, that the Council of Biſhops at *Seleucia* was held on the ſame year with the *Ariminum Council*. Valeſ.

ſebius and *Hypatius*. The perſons convened were in number an hundred and ſixty. There was preſent with them a perſonage eminent in the Imperial Palace, his name (c) *Leonas*; in whoſe preſence, as the Emperor had given order by his Edict, the diſquiſition about the Faith was to be propoſed. *Lauricius* alſo the Commander in chief of the Soldiers throughout *Iſauria*, was order'd to be there, to provide the Biſhops with what neceſſaries they might ſtand in need of. At this place therefore [the Biſhops] were convened in the preſence of theſe perſons, on the twenty ſeventh of the month *September*, and began to diſpute about making of publick Acts. For there were Notaries preſent alſo, who were to take in writing what was ſpoken by every one of them. A particular account of all matters then tranſacted, the ſtudious Readers may find in *Sabinus's Collection*, where they are ſet forth at large. But we ſhall only curſorily relate the chief Heads thereof. On the firſt day of their being convened, *Leonas* order'd every one to propoſe what they would. But ſuch as were preſent ſaid, that no diſpute ought to be raiſed, before the perſons abſent were come. For theſe Biſhops were wanting, *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Baſilius* of *Ancyra*, and ſome others, who ſuſpected they ſhould be accuſed. *Macedonius* excuſed his abſence by ſaying he was ſick. *Patrophilus* affirmed he had a diſtemper in his eyes, and was therefore neceſſitated to continue in the Suburbs of *Seleucia*. All the reſt propoſed one occaſion or other of their being abſent. But, in regard *Leonas* ſaid, that, notwithſtanding the abſence of theſe perſons, the queſtion was to be propoſed; thoſe

(c) This *Leonas* was *Queſtor* of the *ſacred* Palace: and *Lauricius* was *Comes* of *Iſauria*, as *Ammianus Marcellinas* doth atteſt. *Valeſ.*

that were preſent made anſwer again, that they would in no wiſe enter into any debate, before the * Morals of thoſe accuſed were enquired into. For *Cyrillus* of *Jeruſalem*, *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, and ſome others had been accuſed ſome time before. Hereupon aroſe a ſharp conteſt amongſt thoſe that were preſent. For ſome affirmed, that the Morals of ſuch as had been accuſed were in the firſt place to be look'd into: others were of opinion, that no controverſie ought to be diſcuſs'd before [that concerning] the Faith. This conteſt was rais'd by the different opinion of the Emperor. For his Letter was produced, in one paſſage whereof he gave order for the debating of this matter in the firſt place, in another for that. A diſagreement therefore hapning concerning this matter, a Schiſm was made amongſt the perſons preſent. And this was the original cauſe of the *Seleucian*-Synods being divided into two parties. The one Faction was headed by *Acacius* [Biſhop] of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, and *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*: of the ſame mind with whom there were only two and thirty other [Biſhops.] The principal perſons of the other Faction were *Georgius* of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, and *Eleuſius* of *Cyzicum*; who were followed by the major part. When therefore that ſide prevailed, which was for debating in the firſt place concerning the Faith, *Acacius*'s party manifeſtly rejected the *Nicene* Creed, and intimated the publication of another. But thoſe of the other Faction, who were ſuperior in number, approved of all other matters [determined] in the *Nicene* Synod; excepting only the term *Homoöuſios*, which they found fault with. Therefore, after a very ſharp conteſt amongſt one another until evening, at length *Silvanus* (who preſided over the Church at *Tarſus*) ſpake aloud, ſaying, there was no neceſſity of publiſhing a new Draught of the Creed, but that they ought rather to confirm that ſet forth at *Antioch*, at the Conſecration of the Church. When he ſaid this, *Acacius*'s party ſecretly withdrew [out of the Council:] but the other Faction produced the Creed [compoſed] at *Antioch*; after the reading whereof the Council broke up for that day. On the next day they met in a Church in *Seleucia*, and having ſhut the doors, they red that Creed, and confirmed it by their Subſcriptions. Inſtead of ſome [Biſhops] who were abſent, the Readers and Deacons there preſent ſubſcribed, by whom the abſent perſons had profeſs'd, that they would acquieſce in that Draught [of the Creed.]

Conſtantius.

* Or lives.

CHAP. XL.

That Acacius [*Biſhop*] *of* Cæſarea *dictated another Draught of the Creed, in the Synod at* Seleucia.

BUT *Acacius*, and thoſe of his party found fault with what was done, becauſe they had ſubſcrib'd covertly when the Church-doors were ſhut. For matters, ſaid he, tranſacted in ſecret were naught, and to be ſuſpected. He made theſe objections, becauſe he was deſirous of publiſhing another Draught of the Creed inſtead of that [ſubſcribed by them,] which [Form] he had about him, ready drawn up, and had before recited it to *Lauricius* and *Leonas* the Governours: and he made it his whole buſineſs to get that Draught only eſtabliſh'd and confirmed. Theſe were the tranſactions of the ſecond day when nothing elſe was done. On the third

day

Constantius. day, *Leonas* was again very earneſt to procure a meeting of both Parties. At which time neither *Macedonius* of *Conſtantinople*, nor *Baſilius* of *Ancyra* were abſent. When therefore both theſe perſons had joyn'd themſelves to one and the ſame Faction, the *Acacians* were again unwilling to meet, ſaying, that as well thoſe who had before been depoſed, as them at preſent accuſed, ought in the firſt place to be put out of the Aſſembly. After a great conteſt on both ſides, at length this opinion was prevalent, the perſons charged with an accuſation went out; and the *Acacians* came in. Then *Leonas* ſaid, that *Acacius* had deliver'd a Libel unto him; [*Leonas*] not diſcovering it to be a Draught of the Creed, which in ſome paſſages ſecretly, in others openly contradicted the former. When ſilence was made amongſt thoſe that were preſent, (they ſuppoſing the Libel to contain any thing elſe, rather than a Form of the Creed;) *Acacius*'s compoſure of the Creed with a Preface thereto was then recited, the Contents whereof are theſe.

We having met together at Seleucia [*a City*] *of* Iſauria (*according to the Emperor's command*) *yeſterday, which was before the fifth of the* Calends *of* October, *uſed our utmoſt endeavour with all modeſty to preſerve the peace of the Church, ſtedfaſtly to determine concerning the Faith* (*as our Emperor* Conſtantius *moſt dear to God hath ordered*) *according to the Prophetick and Evangelick expreſſions, and to introduce nothing into the Eccleſiaſtick Faith contrary to the Divine Scriptures. But in regard certain perſons in the Synod have injured ſome of us; have ſtopt the mouths of others, not permitting them to ſpeak; have excluded other-ſome againſt their wills; have brought along with them out of divers Provinces perſons depoſed; and have in their company ſuch as have been ordained contrary to the Canon* [*of the Church:*] *in ſo much that the Synod is on all ſides filled with tumult,* (*a*) *of which the moſt eminent* Lauricius, *Preſident of the Province, and the moſt Illuſtrious* Leonas *the* Comes, *have been eye-witneſſes: upon this account we interpoſe theſe things. Not that we forſake the authentick Faith publiſh'd at the Conſecration at* Antioch, *but we give that the preference, eſpecially in regard our Fathers concurred about the propoſition at that time in controverſie. But whereas the terms* Homoöuſion *and* * Homoiöuſion *have in times paſt diſturbed very many, and do ſtill diſquiet them: and moreover, whereas 'tis ſaid, that there is an Innovation lately coyn'd by ſome, who aſſert a* diſſimilitude of the Son to the Father. *Upon this account we reject* Homoöuſion *and* Homoiöuſion, *as being terms not to be met with in the Scriptures; but we* anathematize *the term* † Anomoion: *and do look upon all ſuch, as are aſſertors thereof, to be perſons alienated from the Church. But we do manifeſtly profeſs the likeneſs of the Son to the Father, agreeable to the Apoſtle that hath ſaid concerning the Son,* || Who is the Image of the Inviſible God.

We acknowledge therefore, and believe in one God, the Father Almighty; the Maker of Heaven and Earth, of things viſible and inviſible. Moreover, We believe in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his Son, begotten of him without any paſſion before all ages; God the Word, the only begotten of God, the Light, the Life, the Truth, the Wiſdom; by whom all things were made, which are in the Heavens, and which are on the Earth, whether viſible or inviſible. We believe him to have aſſumed Fleſh from the Holy Virgin Mary, *at the Conſummation of Ages, in order to the abolition of Sin: and that he was made Man, that he ſuffer'd for our Sins, and roſe again, and was taken up into the Heavens, and ſitteth at the Right Hand of the Father: and that he ſhall come again in Glory to judge the Quick and Dead. We believe alſo in the Holy Ghoſt, whom our Lord and Saviour hath termed* The Paraclete, *having promiſed, after his departure, to ſend him to his Diſciples, and he ſent him. By whom alſo he ſanctifies* [*all*] *Believers in the Church, who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. But thoſe who preach any thing contrary to this Creed,* [(*b*) *we look upon*] *to be alienated from the Catholick Church.* *Conſtantius.*

(*a*) The reading of this place is in the Allat. M. S. more full, thus, [καθὼς καὶ ὁ λαμπρότατος ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἐπαρχίας λαυείσιος, καὶ ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης λεωνᾶς παρέλαβον αὐτοψία] which we have expreſt in our Verſion; it being confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, (only he puts *Leonas* before *Lauricius*, which is undoubtedly trueſt:) and by *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.* cap. 25. where this profeſſion of Faith is recorded entire. *Valeſ.* See *Epiphanius*, *Edit. Petav.* pag. 872, &c.

* See this term explained at Chap. 30. of this Book, note (*b*).

† See Chap. 20. of this Book, note (*b*.)

|| Coloſ. 1. 15.

(*b*) This word [νομίζομεν, *we look upon*, or *account*] is wanting in our M. SS. It was firſt inſerted by the *Publiſhers of the Geneva Edition*, from *Chriſtophorſon's Verſion*. But in regard we found not this reading in any *Manuſcript Copy*, we took the boldneſs to expunge it. In *Epiphanius*, (in *Hæreſ. Semiarian*, pag. 872.) and in *Athanaſius* (in *his Book de Synod. Arimini & Seleuciæ*;) the reading of this place is thus [ἀλλοτρίους ὅτι ἐν ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, *The Catholick Church hath determined them to be alienated* [*from it.*] I found the ſame reading in the Allat. M. S. After theſe words there follow (in *Epiphanius*) the names of thoſe Biſhops, who ſubſcribed this Draught of the Creed; being in number about forty. But before thoſe Subſcriptions, ſomething is added there, which deſerves to be ſet down here. The words therefore in *Dionyſius Petavius's Edition* are theſe: ὅτι δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει ἰσοδυναμεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐν σιρμίῳ πρόσφατος ἐκτεθεῖσα πίστις, ἐπὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, γνωρίζουσιν οἱ ἐντυγχανόντες τῇ πίστει· i. e. *now, that that Creed lately publiſhed at Sirmium, in the preſence of the piety of our Emperor, does exactly agree with this Creed, is a thing manifeſtly known to thoſe who have read that Creed.* Then follows another Chapter, after this manner; Καὶ ἔγραψαν οἱ παρόντες Βασίλειος, μάρκος καὶ γεώργιος ὁ τῆς ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος παγκράτιος καὶ ὑπατιανὸς καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς δύσεως; (I doubt not but the reading ſhould be ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν, *to which ſubſcribed.*) i. e. *To which they who were preſent ſubſcribed, Baſilius, Marcus, Georgius Biſhop of Alexandria, Pancratius. Hypatianus, and moſt of the Weſtern Biſhops.* Valeſ.

This is the Draught of the Creed publiſhed by *Acacius*. The perſons who ſubſcribed it were *Acacius* himſelf, and ſuch as adhered to his opinion, being as many in number, as we have mentioned a little before. After the recitation hereof, *Sophronius* [Biſhop] of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia* ſpake theſe words aloud: If to explain our own particular opinion every day be the expoſition of the Faith, we ſhall be deſtitute of the exact diſcuſſion of the truth. Theſe words were ſpoken by *Sophronius*. And I do affirm, that if as well thoſe who lived before theſe men, as they that ſucceeded them, had at firſt entertained ſuch ſentiments concerning the *Nicene* Creed; all contentious diſputes would have ceaſed, nor would a violent and irrational diſturbance have been prevalent in the Churches. But let ſuch as are prudent paſs their judgment concerning the ſtate of theſe matters. After they had mutually ſpoken and heard many things concerning this buſineſs, and concerning the perſons accuſed, the Convention was for that time diſſolved. On the fourth day they all met again in the ſame place, and with the ſame contentiouſneſs began to diſpute again. Amongſt whom *Acacius* explained his opinion in theſe words: in as much as the *Nicene* Creed has been once, and after that frequently altered, nothing hinders, but a new Creed may be now publiſhed. Hereto *Eleuſius* [Biſhop] of *Cyzicum* made a return, and ſaid; the Synod is at preſent convened, not that it ſhould learn (*c*) what it had not the knowledge of before, nor to receive a Creed

(*c*) In the *Florent.* and *Allat.* M. SS as ſays *Valeſ.* the reading is [ἃ μὴ μεμάθηκεν] which we have expreſt in our Verſion. But *Valeſius* follows the other reading, which is [ἃ μεμάθηκεν, *what it had the knowledge of before.*]

Conſtantius.

which it was not heretofore in poſſeſſion of: but that, proceeding on in the Creed of the Fathers, it ſhould never recede from it, either during life, or at the time of death. With theſe words *Eleuſius* oppoſed *Acacius*'s Opinion, terming that Creed publiſh'd at *Antioch* the Father's Creed. But any one might have anſwer'd him alſo, in theſe words: How is it, that you ſtile thoſe convened at *Antioch* the Fathers, O *Eleuſius*, whereas you acknowledge not their Fathers? For they who were aſſembled at *Nice*, and by their conſent firmed the *Homoöuſian* Faith, ought more properly to be term'd the Fathers, both becauſe they preceded in time, and alſo in regard thoſe convened at *Antioch* were by them promoted to the Sacerdotal Dignity. Now, if thoſe [aſſembled] at *Antioch* have rejected their own Fathers, they who come after them do not perceive themſelves to be followers of Parricides. Moreover, how can they have admitted their Ordination to be legitimate, whoſe Faith they have rejected as impious? For if thoſe perſons had not the Holy Ghoſt, which is infuſed by Ordination, theſe have not received the Prieſthood. For how could theſe have received [it] from them, who had it not to give? Theſe words might have been ſpoken in oppoſition to what was ſaid by *Eleuſius*. After this they proceeded to another queſtion. For, in regard the *Acacians* aſſerted in that Draught of the Creed which had been recited, that the Son was like the Father, they enquired of one another, in what reſpect the Son was like the Father. The *Acacians* aſſerted, that the Son was like the Father in reſpect of his Will only, not as to his Eſſence. But all the reſt maintained, [that he was like the Father] in reſpect of his Eſſence alſo. They ſpent the whole day in their Altercations about this Query; and they confuted *Acacius*, becauſe in the Books by him compoſed and publiſh'd, he had aſſerted that the Son is in all things like the Father. And how can you (ſaid they) now deny the likeneſs of the Son to the Father as to his Eſſence? *Acacius* made this anſwer, no modern or ancient Author was ever condemned out of his own Writings. When they had maintain'd a tedious, fierce, and ſubtle diſpute againſt one another concerning this queſtion, and could in no wiſe be brought to an agreement, *Leonas* aroſe and diſſolved the Council. And this was the concluſion, which the Synod held at *Seleucia* had. For on the day after, *Leonas* being intreated, refuſed to come any more into the Congreſs, ſaying, that he had been ſent by the Emperor, to be preſent at an unanimous Synod. But in regard ſome of you do diſagree, I cannot (ſaid he) be there; go therefore and prate in the Church. The *Acacians* looking upon what had been done to be a great advantage to them, refuſed to meet alſo. But thoſe of the other party met together in the Church, and ſent for the *Acacians*, that cognizance might be taken of the Caſe of *Cyrillus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. For you muſt know that *Cyrillus* had been accuſed before; upon what account, I cannot tell. But he was depoſed, becauſe having been frequently ſummon'd in order to the examination of his cauſe, he had not made his appearance during the ſpace of two whole years. Nevertheleſs when he was depoſed, he ſent an *Appellatory Libel* to them who had depoſed him, and appealed to an higher Court of Judicature. To which appeal of his the Emperor *Conſtantius* gave his aſſent. Indeed, *Cyrillus* was the (*d*) firſt and only perſon, who (contrary to the uſage of the Eccleſiaſtick Canon) did this, [to wit,] made uſe of appeals, as 'tis uſually done in the publick [ſecular] Courts of Judicature. He was at that time preſent at *Seleucia*, ready to put himſelf upon his tryal: and therefore the Biſhops called the *Acacians* into the aſſembly, (as we have ſaid a little before,) that (*e*) by a general conſent they might paſs a definitive ſentence againſt perſons accuſed. For they had cited ſome other perſons beſides, that were accuſed, who for refuge had joyn'd themſelves to *Acacius*'s party. But in regard, after their being frequently ſummon'd, they refuſed to meet, [the Biſhops] depoſed both *Acacius* himſelf, and alſo *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, (*f*) *Uranius* of *Tyre*, (*g*) *Theodulus* of *Chæretapi* in *Phrygia*, *Theodoſius* of *Philadelphia* in *Lydia*, *Evagrius* of the Iſland *Mytilene*, *Leontius* of *Tripolis* in *Lydia*, and *Eudoxius* who had heretofore been Biſhop of *Germanicia*, but had afterwards crept into the Biſhoprick of *Antioch* in *Syria*. Moreover, they depoſed (*h*) *Patrophilus*, becauſe being accuſed by *Dorotheus* a Presbyter, and ſummoned by them to make his defence, he was contumacious. Theſe perſons they depoſed. But they Excommunicated *Aſterius*, *Euſebius*, *Abgarus*, *Baſilicus*, *Phœbus*, *Fidelis*, *Eutychius*, *Magnus*, and *Euſtathius*: determining they ſhould continue excommunicate, till ſuch time as by *making ſatisfaction they had cleared themſelves of their Accuſations. Having done this, and written Letters concerning thoſe Biſhops they had depoſed, to each of their Churches, they conſtitute a Biſhop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eudoxius*, whoſe name was *Annianus*: Whom the *Acacians* [ſoon after] apprehended, and delivered him to *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by whom he was baniſhed. Thoſe Biſhops who had ordained *Annianus* [being incenſed] hereat, depoſited (*i*) *Conteſtatory Libels* againſt the *Acacians* with *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by which they openly declared, that the determination of the Synod was injured. And when nothing further could be done, they went to *Conſtantinople*, to inform the Emperor concerning the matters determined by them.

* Or, *by making their defence.*

Conſtantius.

(*d*) Nay; long before *Cyril*, the *Donatiſts* appealed from the determination of the Council of *Orleans*. For thus the Emperor *Conſtantine* ſpeaks concerning them *in his Epiſtle: O rabida furoris audacia! Sicut in cauſis Gentilium ſolet, appellationem interpoſuerunt*: i. e. *O the outragious audaciouſneſs of fury! As 'tis uſually done in the caſes of the Heathens, they have put in an appeal.* Valeſ.

(*e*) Theſe two lines [Διαγιόντες κοινὴν ἐξενέγκωσι ψῆφον· ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τινας ἄλλους πρὸ κατηγορείων, *by a general conſent they might paſs a definitive ſentence againſt the perſons accuſed. For they had cited ſome other perſons beſides, that were accuſed,*] were at this place, wanting in the common Editions; we have inſerted them from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. To which agrees *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion. But *Chriſtophorſon* made up the chaſm at this place very unhappily by conjecture: whence it appears, that he had no Manuſcript Copies of *Socrates*, but various readings only, gathered from the Margins of Printed Copies. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) This Perſons name ſhould be *Uranius* (not *Urſacius*; ſo he is called in *Athanaſius*'s Book, *de Synod. Arimin. & Seleuciæ.* pag. 880. which name alſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* gives him; as does likewiſe *Epiphanius*, (*in Hæreſ. Semiarian.*) who names him among the Biſhops that ſubſcribed the *Acacian* Creed. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) In the *Florentine* and *Allatian* M. SS. this perſon is named (not *Theodorus*, but more truly) *Theodulus*. For that is his name in *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Philoſtorgius*. When this *Theodulus* had been diveſted of the Biſhoprick of *Chæretapi*, in the Council held at *Seleucia*, he was afterwards ordained Biſhop of *Paleſtina* by the *Eunomians*, as *Philoſtorgius* relates. Concerning *Leontius* of *Tripolis* you may meet with many paſſages in *Philoſtorgius*. Valeſ.

(*h*) Into his See they put one *Philippus* a Presbyter of *Scythopolis*, as *Epiphanius* atteſts, in *Hæreſ. Semiarian.* Valeſ.

(*i*) It ſhould be but one word, thus, *Διαμαρτυρίας*, ſo the Greeks term the *Libels of proteſtation*, (or, *proteſts*,) which were uſually depoſited with the *Acts*. We meet with a form of one of theſe *Libels*, at the cloſe of *Athanaſius's Epiſtle ad Solitarios*. I ſuppoſe, that two *Libels of proteſtation* were delivered by the Council; one to *Leonas* the *Comes*; another to *Lauricius* Preſident of *Iſauria*. Valeſ.

CHAP.

Constantius.

CHAP. XLI.

That, upon the Emperor's return from the Western Parts, the Acacians *were convened in the City of* Constantinople, *and firmed the* Ariminum *Creed, making some Additions to it.*

FOR the Emperor, being return'd from the Western parts, resided [in that City :] at which time also he made a person whose name was (*a*) *Honoratus*, the first Præfect of *Constantinople*; having (*b*) abolish'd the Proconsul's Office. But the *Acacians* prevented and calumniated them before-hand to the Emperor, having inform'd him, that the (*c*) Creed which they had set forth was not admitted by them. Whereupon the Emperor was highly incensed, and resolved to disperse them, having commanded by an Edict [which he publish'd,] that such of them as were subject to publick Offices, should be reduced to their former condition. For several of them were liable to [publick] Offices; some [were subject to the bearing of those Offices belonging] to the City Magistracy; others [to them appertaining] to the (*d*) *Sodalities* of *Officials* or *Apparitors* in several Provinces. These persons being after this manner disturb'd, the *Acacians* abode for some time at *Constantinople*, and assembled another Synod, to which they sent for the Bishops of *Bithynia*. When therefore they were all met together, being (*e*) fifty in number, amongst whom was *Maris* of *Chalcedon*, they confirmed the Creed publish'd at *Ariminum*, which had the Consuls names prefixt. Which Creed it would have been superflous to have inserted here, had they made no additions to it. But in regard they added some words thereto, we thought it necessary to set it down at this place again. The Contents of it are these.

(*a*) In the *Old Fasti* (put forth by *Jacobus Sirmondus* under the name of *Idatius*,) there is this Recorded concerning this thing: *Eusebio & Hypatio, his consulibus primum processit Constantinopoli præfectus Urbis, nomine Honoratus, die tertio Idûs Decembris*: i. e. *in the Consulate of Eusebius and Hypatius a Præfect of Constantinople was first made, his name Honoratus, on the third of the Ides of December.* Valesius.

(*b*) Before the Emperor *Constantius* had made a *Præfect of the City* at *Constantinople*) the Province *Europa* (the chief City whereof was *Constantinople*) was governed by a *Proconsul*, as *Socrates* here attests. *Athanasius* mentions this *Proconsul*, in *his Apologetick de Fugâ suâ*, not far from the beginning; where he says that the Emperor *Constantius* wrote Letters to *Donatus* the *Proconsul*, against *Olympius* Bishop of *Thracia*. In the Emperor *Constantius*'s Epistle also, which he wrote to the *Senate* and *Constantinopolitan-people* concerning the praises of *Themistius*, there is mention of this *Proconsul*; at the close of that Epistle. *Valesius.*

(*c*) That is, the *Creed* which had the Consuls names præfixt. *Valesius.*

(*d*) Τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τάξεων· So this place is worded in the Original. What the τάξεις were, I have long since explained in *my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*: to wit, *the Bodies or Sodalities of Officials or Apparitors who attended upon the Presidents and Governours of Provinces.* It was their duty to collect the tribute from the Inhabitants of the Provinces, and to put in execution the Presidents Orders. Further, as they who had lifted themselves in the *Camp-milice*, stood obliged by a Military-oath, and enjoyed not a compleat liberty, but were bound in a servitude as it were, till such time as they were disbanded, (as *Suidas* declares, in the word βέλεαρος·) so those *Officials*, who followed the *City-milice*, were bound to this employment as it were, and lyable to the Offices of their *Milice*; and their Farms, as well as those of the *Decurions*, were incumbred with these burdens, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodosian Code*. Valesius.

(*e*) In the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, seventy two Bishops are said to have been present at the *Constantinopolitan* Synod, in the year of Christ, 360. *Valesius.*

We believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things. And in the only begotten Son of God, begotten of God before all ages, and before every beginning: by whom all things, visible and invisible, were made. * *Who is the only begotten born of the Father, the only of the only, God of God, like to the Father (who begat him) according to the Scriptures. Whose generation no person knoweth, but the Father only, who begat him. We know this Person [to be] the only begotten Son of God, who upon his Father's sending of him, came down from the Heavens, according as 'tis written, upon account of the destruction of Sin and Death: and was born of the Holy Ghost, and of the Virgin* Mary *according to the flesh, as 'tis written, and conversed with the Disciples; and having fulfilled every dispensation according to his Fathers will, he was crucified and died, and was buried, and descended into the parts beneath the Earth. At whom Hell it self trembled. Who arose from the Dead on the third day, and was conversant with the Disciples: and after the completion of forty days, he was taken up into the Heavens, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father; he shall come in the last day of the Resurrection in his Fathers Glory, that he may render to every Man according to his works. And [we believe in] the Holy Ghost, whom he himself the only Begotten of God, Christ our Lord and God, promised to send as an Advocate to Mankind, according as 'tis written, the Spirit of Truth; whom he sent unto them, after he was assumed into the Heavens. But we thought good to remove the term* * Ousia, *(which was used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense; and being not understood by the People, has given offence,) in regard 'tis not contained in the Sacred Scriptures; and that in future not the least mention should be made thereof, for as much as the Sacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the Substance of the Father and of the Son.* (*f*) *Nor ought the Subsistence of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to be so much as named. But we assert the Son to be like the Father, in such a manner as the Sacred Scriptures do affirm and teach. Moreover, let all the Heresies, which have been heretofore condemned, and which may have risen of late, being opposite to this Creed published [by us,] be* Anathema.

Constantius.

* Or, *who is the only begotten born, the only of the only Father*, &c.

* *Substance.*

(*f*) In *Athanasius*'s Book *de Synodis*, pag. 906. the reading is [οὐδὲ ὀφείλει, *Nor ought*, &c.] to which agrees the Version of the *Latin Translator*. Which is also confirmed by *Athanasius* himself, in the same Book, pag. 905. the place we will quote by and by. *Valesius.*

This Creed was at that time recited at *Constantinople*. Having now at length passed through the Labyrinth of the Expositions of Faith, we will reckon up their number. After the Creed [publish'd] at *Nice*, they set forth two Epositions of the Faith at *Antioch*, at the Dedication. A third was that delivered to the Emperor *Constans* in the *Gallia's*, by *Narcissus* and those that accompanied him. The fourth was that sent by *Eudoxius* into *Italy*. Three [Draughts of the Creed were publish'd at *Sirmium*, one whereof was recited at *Ariminum*, which had the name of the Consuls prefixt. The eighth was that which the *Acacians* promulged at *Seleucia*. The last was set forth at the City *Constantinople*, with an addition. For hereto was annex'd, that neither *substance* nor *subsistence* ought to be mention'd in relation to God. Moreover, *Ulfila* Bishop of the *Goths* did at that time first agree to this Creed. For before this he had embraced the *Nicene* Creed; being *Theophilus*'s Follower, who was Bishop of the *Goths*, and had been present at, and subscribed the *Nicene* Synod. Thus far concerning these things.

CHAP. XLII.

That upon Macedonius's *being deposed,* Eudoxius *obtained the Bishoprick of* Constantinople.

BUT *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, and those that were with them at *Constantinople*, made it wholly their business. that they also might on the other

Constantius.

side depose some persons of the contrary party. Now, you must know, that neither of the factions decreed these depositions upon account of Religion, but for other pretences. For, tho' they dissented about the Faith, yet they found not fault with one another's Faith in their mutual depositions of one another. Those therefore of *Acacius*'s party, making use of the Emperor's indignation, (which he had kept [concealed in his mind,] and earnestly endeavour'd to wreak it against others, but most especially against *Macedonius*) do in the first place depose *Macedonius*, both because he had been the occasion of many murders, and also in regard he had admitted a Deacon taken in Fornication to Communion. Then, [they depose] *Eleusius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum*, because he had baptiz'd one *Heraclius*, *Hercules*'s Priest at *Tyre*, a person known to be a Conjurer, and ordain'd him Deacon. [In the next place they depose] *Basilius*, (or *Basilas*, for so he was also called) who had been constituted [Bishop] of *Ancyra* in the room of *Marcellus*, as having unjustly tortured a certain person, bound him with iron-chains, and confined him to prison; also, because he had fastned calumnies upon some persons; and moreover, in regard by his Letters he had disturbed the Churches in *Africa*. *Dracontius* [was deposed by them,] because he had remov'd from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*. Moreover, they deposed *Neonas* [Bishop] of *Seleucia*, in which City the Synod had been convened, as also *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, *Elpidius* of (*a*) *Satala* in *Macedonia*, and *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*; and others were ejected by them for other reasons.

(*a*) *Satala* was a Town in *Armenia*; of which there is frequent mention amongst the Ancients. But in *Macedonia*, no mention is made of a City of this name by the Ancients. Wherefore I judge, that instead of *Macedonia*, it should be *Armenia*, here in the Greek Text. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Eustathius *Bishop of* Sebastia.

BUT *Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, was not so much as admitted to make his defence, because he had been long before deposed by *Eulalius* his own Father, who was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, in regard he wore a garment misbecoming the Sacerdotal function. You are to know, that in *Eustathius*'s room *Meletius* was constituted Bishop, concerning whom we will speak hereafter. But *Eustathius* was afterwards condemn'd in a Synod convened upon his account at *Gangra* [a City] of *Paphlagonia*, because, after his deposition in the Synod at (*a*) *Cæsarea*, he had done many things repugnant to the Ecclesiastick Laws. For he had forbidden marriage, and maintain'd that meats were to be abstain'd from; and upon this account he separated many who had contracted marriages, from their Wives, and perswaded (*b*) those who had an aversion for the Churches, to communicate at home. He also entic'd away servants from their masters by a pretext of piety. He himself wore the habit of a Philosopher, and caused his followers to make use of a new and unusual garb, and gave order that women should

(*a*) *Sozomen*, Book 4. chap. 24. says 'twas at *Neocæsarea*. Vales.

(*b*) These words of *Socrates* [ἀπεχομένους, *those who had an aversion for*, or, *detested the Churches*] are not to be understood of all those who declined the Churches; but they must be joined to the foregoing words, and are to be meant of those persons, who by *Eustathius*'s perswasion had separated themselves from the converse of their Wives. *Eustathius* perswaded these men to avoid the Churches assemblies, and not to communicate with other believers; but that, being as it were pure and perfect, they should participate of the sacred Mysteries by themselves at home. See what *Epiphanius* has related concerning this *Eustathius*, in *his Hæresie* of the *Aëriani*; and *Basilius*, in *his Epistles*. Vales.

be shorn. He [asserted] that set Fasts were to be avoided; but maintain'd fasting on *Sundays*. He forbad prayers to be made in the houses of those who were married; and taught, that the Blessing and Communion of a *Presbyter* who had a wife (whom he had lawfully married during his being a *Laick*) ought to be declined as a thing most detestable. Upon his doing and teaching these and several other such-like things as these, a Synod (as I have said) convened at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia* deposed him, and *anathematized* his opinions. (*c*) These things were done afterwards. But *Macedonius* being then ejected, *Eudoxius*, despising the See of *Antioch*, is constituted [Bishop] of *Constantinople*, being consecrated by the *Acacians*; who forgot themselves, in that they decreed what was contradictory to their former determinations. For they who had deposed *Dracontius* because of his translation from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*, consider'd not with themselves, that by ordaining *Eudoxius*, who then made a second remove [to another Bishoprick,] they did what was contrary to their own Sanctions. Having done these things, they sent the Creed which had been read (*d*) to *Ariminum*, together with its *Supplement*, corrected by them; and gave order, that such as would not subscribe it, should be banished, according to the Emperor's Edict. [Lastly,] they made known what they had done both to others in the *East*, who entertain'd the same sentiments with them, and also to *Patrophilus* [Bishop] of *Scythopolis*. For he went from *Seleucia* forthwith to his own City. Further, *Eudoxius* having been constituted [Bishop] of the * *Great City*, the (*e*) Great Church named *Sophia* was at that time consecrated, in *Constantius*'s Tenth, and *Julianus Cæsar*'s third Consulate, on the fifteenth of the month *February*. As soon as *Eudoxius* was seated in that See, he was the first that utter'd this sentence which is [still]

Constantius.

(*c*) I am not of *Socrates*'s opinion, who makes the *Synod* of *Gangra* (wherein *Eustathius* was condemned) to have been after that assembled at *Seleucia*, and after the *Constantinopolitan* Synod. *Sozomen* (Book 4. Chap. 24. makes the Synod of *Gangra* to be ancienter than the *Council* of *Antioch*, which was held at the *Dedication* in the year of Christ 341. Indeed *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 361.) places the *Synod* of *Gangra* in the Reign of *Constantine* the *Great*. But he is confuted both by *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. For *Socrates* makes that Synod to be later than the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod. But *Sozomen* places it after *Eustathius*'s deposition, which was done by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Now, *Eusebius* thrust himself into the *Constantinopolitan* See in *Constantius*'s reign, as 'tis agreed amongst all Men. Lastly, *Basilius* (in his seventy fourth Epistle, which he wrote to the Western Bishops against *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*) makes no mention of the *Council* of *Gangra*. Whence 'tis manifest, that at such time as *Basilius* wrote that Epistle (which he did in *Valens*'s reign,) the Council of *Gangra*, wherein *Eustathius* was condemned, had not been held. Some one will peradventure say, (which is objected by *Baronius*) that that *Eustathius* condemned in the Synod of *Gangra* was a different Person from *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. But this is *gratis dictum*, nor is it founded on the authority of any Author. *Vales.*

(*d*) I have rendred this place so, as to refer these Words [*to Ariminum*] to these [*they sent:*] which Version of ours is confirmed by *Athanasius*, in *his Book de Synodis*, pag. 905. his Words are these: ταῦτα γεγράφασι ἐν τῇ Ἰσαυρίᾳ, &c. *Having written these things in Isauria, they departed to Constantinople, and repenting as it were* [*of what they had done,*] *according to their usual manner they altered their Draught: And when they had added some words,* [*to wit*] *that* [*the term*] *subsistence should not be used in relation to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they sent this* [*form of*] *the Creed to those at Ariminum*, &c. Which passage in *Athanasius*, *Socrates* does seem to transcribe here. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* and *Christophorson* have rendred this place to this effect; *Having done this, they sent the Creed read at Ariminum together with its supplement*, &c. Vales.

(*e*) I perfected and mended this place from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* Copies. Concerning the Consecration of this Church, it is thus recorded in *Idatius*'s *Fasti*: *Constantii decimo*, &c. *In Constantius's Tenth and Julianus's Third Consulate, the Great Church at Constantinople was consecrated, on the fifteenth of the Kalends of March.* *Cedrenus* (in *his Chronicon*) says this was the second Consecration of this Church. For it was first consecrated, says he, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. But being afterwards ruined, it was re-edified by *Constantius Augustus*, and consecrated by *Eudoxius*. See the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, where many passages (in no wise trivial) occur concerning this Consecration. *Vales.*

* *Constantinople.*

in

Constantius. in every bodies mouth, saying, *the Father is irreligious; the Son is religious.* When a tumult and a disturbance arose thereupon, Be not troubled (says he) at what has been spoken by me, for, the Father is irreligious, because he worships no person; but the Son is religious, because he worships the Father. When *Eudoxius* had spoken these words, the tumult was appeased; but instead of the disturbance, there was a great laughter raised in the Church. And this saying of his continues to be a ridicule even to this day. Such Cavils the Arch-Hereticks made use of, and busied themselves about such expressions as these, rending the Church in sunder [thereby.] This was the conclusion that the Synod had, which was convened at *Constantinople.*

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning Meletius *Bishop of* Antioch.

IT now remains, that we speak concerning *Meletius:* For he (as we said a little before) was made Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, after *Eustathius*'s deposition. He was afterwards translated from *Sebastia* to (*a*) *Berœa* [a City] of *Syria.* When he had been present at the Synod in *Seleucia*, and subscrib'd the Creed publish'd there by *Acacius*, he went directly from thence to *Berœa.* Upon the Convention of the Synod at *Constantinople*, when the *Antiochians* understood that *Eudoxius* had despised [the Presidency over their Church, and removed to the wealth of the *Constantinopolitan* See, they sent for (*b*) *Meletius* from *Berœa*, and instal him [Bishop] over the Church of *Antioch.* At first he superseded making any discourses about points of Faith, and deliver'd moral Doctrine only to his hearers. But after his continuance there some time, he expounded the *Nicene Creed*, and asserted the *Homoüsian* opinion. Which when the Emperor understood, he gave order that he should be banish'd: and caused *Euzoius* (who had before been deposed together with *Arius*) to be ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch.* But as many as reserv'd an affection for *Meletius*, left the *Arian* congregation, and made assemblies apart by themselves; [altho'] those who originally embraced the *Homoüsian* opinion, would not communicate with them, because *Meletius* had receiv'd his Ordination from the Suffrages of the *Arians*, and because his followers had been baptized by them. After this manner was the *Antiochian* Church affected towards the other party, altho' they agreed with them in the points of Faith. But the Emperor understanding that the *Persians* were raising another War against the *Romans*, went in great haste to *Antioch.*

(*a*) I can scarce believe, that *Meletius* was translated from *Sebastia* in *Armenia* to the Episcopate of *Berœa.* For *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, and (before them) *Jerome* do affirm, that he was translated from *Sebastia* in *Armenia* to the See of *Antioch*, making no mention of his being Bishop of *Berœa.* *Theodoret* says only thus much; that upon *Meletius*'s being promoted to the Bishoprick of *Sebastia*, perceiving a contumacy in those under his charge, he retired from thence to some other place. Then therefore he went to *Berœa*, as I conjecture; but he presided not over the City of *Berœa.* This mistake of *Socrates*'s was perceived by *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 360. Which he corrects so, as to affirm, that *Meletius* was translated from *Berœa* to *Sebastia*, not from *Sebastia* to *Berœa.* Which, as I suppose, is not true, in regard neither *Theodoret* nor *Sozomen* have affirmed that concerning *Meletius.* Vales.

(*b*) This Person's name is written sometimes with an [*e*] thus *Meletius*; sometimes with an [*i*] thus *Melitius.* See *Eusebius*'s *Eccles. Histor.* Book 7. Chap. 32. Note (*a*) pag. 138.

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning Macedonius's *Heresie.*

BUT *Macedonius*, who had been ejected out of *Constantinople*, being unable to bear his condemnation, could by no means endure to be at quiet. But joyn'd himself to those of the other party, who had deposed *Acacius* and his followers at *Seleucia.* He therefore sent an Embassy to *Sophronius* and *Eleusius*, exhorting them to adhere to that Creed which was at first publish'd at *Antioch*, and afterwards confirm'd at *Seleucia*, and that they should give it an (*a*) adulterate name, [to wit] the *Homoiöusian Creed.* Wherefore many of his acquaintance and friends flock'd to him, who are now from him call'd *Macedoniani.* And as many as dissented from the *Acacians* at the Synod of *Seleucia*, from thence forward manifestly asserted the term * *Homoiöusios*, (*b*) whereas, before this they had not openly own'd it. But there is a report, which has been prevalent amongst many men, that this [term *Homoiöusios*] was not *Macedonius*'s invention; but *Marathonius*'s rather, whom they had made Bishop of *Nicomedia* a little before. Upon which account they call the followers of this opinion *Marathoniani* also. In like manner *Eustathius* (who had been ejected out of *Sebastia* for that reason which we have mention'd a little before) joyn'd himself to that party. But after *Macedonius* refused to include the Holy Ghost in the Divinity of the Trinity, then *Eustathius* said, I cannot assent to the terming of the Holy Ghost God, nor dare I call him a Creature. Upon which account, those that embrace the *Homoüsian* opinion, give these persons the name of * *Pneumatomachi.* The reason why these *Macedoniani* are so numerous in (*c*) *Hellespont*, I will declare in its due place. Now, the *Acacians* used their utmost endeavours that they might be convened again at *Antioch*, in regard they repented their having asserted the Son to be wholly like the Father. On the year following therefore, wherein *Taurus* and *Florentius* were *Consuls*, they met at *Antioch* in *Syria*, (over which Church *Euzoius* presided, in which City the Emperor also resided [at that time]) when some few of them resumed a debate of those points which they had determin'd before, saying, that the term † *Homoios* ought to be expung'd out of the Creed, which had been publish'd both at *Ariminum* and at *Constantinople.* Nor did they any longer keep their Vizors on, but affirm'd bare-fac'd, that the Son was in all respects unlike the Father, not only as to his Essence, but in relation to his Will also. And they openly asserted (according as *Arius* had affirm'd) that he was made of nothing. To this opinion those, who at that time were followers of *Aetius*'s Heresie at *Antioch*, gave their assent. Wherefore, besides their having the appellation of *Arians*, they were also called * *Anomoei*, and

Constantius.

(*a*) Translators understood not this place. And yet they might have been informed from *Harpocration's Lexicon*, that παράσημος (the term here used,) does signifie *adulterate*, or *counterfeit*; by a Metaphor taken from money which has a false stamp. *Socrates* therefore calls *Homoiöusios.* (For so 'tis to be written, agreeable to the *Florentine* and *Sfortian Manuscripts*; and the import of the term is, *that the Son is of a substance*, or *Essence like to the Father*:) an adulterate name, because 'tis corrupted, and counterfeitly put instead of *Homoüsios* (i. e. *that the Son is of the same Substance*, or *Essence with the Father*:) which is the name of the true and uncorrupted Creed. Further, the *Acacians* rejected as well the term *Homoiousios*, as *Homoüsios*; and retained only *Homoios* (i. e. *like the Father*;) and wholly abhorred the term *Ousia* (i. e. *Substance.*) Vales.

* That is, that *the Son is of a Substance*, or *Essence like to the Father.*

(*b*) This place is corrupted by a transposition of the Words; which may easily be rectified thus; ἤδη μὲν φανερῶς τὸ ὁμοιούσιον ἐδογμάτισαν, τὸ πρότερον οὐκ ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτό, *from thence forward manifestly asserted the term Homoiousios, whereas before this they had not openly owned it.* Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Christophorson* and *Musculus* apprehended not the meaning of this place. But *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Rendition of it agrees with our Version: only instead of [ὅσοι τε, *and as many as*;] the reading in his Copy seems to have been [ὅσοι γὲ, for as many as] which displeaseth us not. *Vales.*

* That is, *Adversaries*, or *Opposers of the Holy Spirit.*

(*c*) In the *Allatian Manuscript*, the reading is [περὶ τὸν ἑλλήσποντον, *about Hellespont*] Vales.

† That is, *Like the Father.*

* They termed them *Anomoei*, because of their asserting *the Son to be unlike the Father*,

Constantius.

and †Exucontii, by those at Antioch who embrac'd the Homoöusian opinion, who [notwithstanding] were at that time divided amongst themselves upon Meletius's account, as has been said before. When therefore they were ask'd by the Homoöusians, why they were so audacious, as to term the Son to be unlike the Father, and to affirm that he exists of nothing; whenas in the Creed publish'd by them they had said he was God of God; they attempted to elude this objection by such fallacious artifices as these: The phrase God of God (said they) has the same import with those words of the Apostle, * but all things of God. Wherefore, the Son is of God, he being one of those all things. And upon this account, in the Editions of the Creed, these words, according to the Scriptures are added. Georgius Bishop of Laodicea was the Author of this † Sophism: Who being a person unskill'd in such expressions, was ignorant after what manner Origen had in former times discuss'd and interpreted such peculiar phrases of the Apostle. But, notwithstanding their attempt to cavil after this manner, yet in regard of their inability to bear the reproaches and contempt [thrown upon them,] they recited the same Creed, which they had before [publish'd] at Constantinople; and so departed every one to his own City. Georgius therefore returning to Alexandria, continued his Presidency over the Churches there, (Athanasius as yet absconding) and persecuted those in Alexandria who embraced not his sentiments. He was also cruel and severe towards the Populace of that City; to most of whom he was very odious. At Jerusalem, (d) Harrenius was ordain'd in Cyrillus's room. You must also know, that after him (e) Heraclius was constituted [Bishop there,] who was succeeded by Hilarius. But at length Cyrillus return'd to Jerusalem, and recover'd the Presidency over the Church there. Moreover, at the same time there sprang up another Heresie, upon this account.

† They had this name, in regard they maintained *the Son to be made of nothing*, or, *of things which are not*. See Athanasius, pag. 906. Edit. Paris; whence Socrates borrowed these names for these Heretick.

* 1 Cor. 11. 12.

† Or, Fallacy.

(d) In the Allatian M. S. he is called Erennius; where this whole passage is thus worded: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις κυρίλλου καθαιρεθέντος, ὡς εἴρηται, παραλαμβάνει τὴν ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίαν Ἐρέννιος· ὃν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐβδόμης· ἐπ' ἕξης δὲ τούτῳ Ἰλάριος, i. e. At Jerusalem, Cyrillus *having been deposed, as has been said*, Erennius *succeeded in that Church*; *after whom, Erracius: and after him Hilarius.* But Jerome (in his Chronicon) calls him Irenius: For this is the reading in the most correct Copies, and in Johannes Miræus's Edition; *Maximus Hierosolymorum Episcopus moritur. Post quem, Ecclesiam* Ariani *invadunt, id est* Cyrillus, Eutychius, *rursum* Cyrillus, Irenius, *tertio* Cyrillus, Hilarius, *quarto* Cyrillus: *id est, Maximus Bishop of* Jerusalem *dies*; *after whom, the* Arians *invade that Church, that is,* Cyrillus, Eutychius, Cyrillus *the second*, Irenius, Cyrillus *the third*, Hilarius, Cyrillus *the fourth.* In Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus's Chronicon, he is very corruptly called Arsenius. Vales.

(e) Maximus Bishop of Jerusalem had at his death ordained Heraclius to be his Successor. But Acacius Bishop of Cæsarea, together with some other Arian Bishops, slighting his Ordination, substituted Cyrillus in the room of Maximus being now dead. This Cyrillus degraded Heraclius from his Episcopal dignity, and reduced him to the degree of a Presbyter; as Jerome relates in his Chronicon. Vales.

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning the Apollinaristæ, *and their Heresie.*

AT Laodicea in Syria, there were two men of the same name, the Father and the Son: For each of their names was Apollinaris. The Father was dignified with a Presbyterate in that Church; the Son had a Readers place. They were both Teachers of Grecian Literature; the Father taught Grammar, the Son Rhetorick. The Father was by birth an Alexandrian, and having at first taught at Berytus, he removed afterwards to Laodicea, where he married, and begat his son Apollinaris. They both flourish'd at the same time with Epiphanius the Sophista, and being very intimate friends, they conversed together with him. But Theodotus Bishop of Laodicea, fearing that by their continual converse with that person they should be perverted to Gentilism, forbad their going to him. They regarding the Bishop's [prohibition] very little, continued their intimacy with Epiphanius. After this, Georgius, Successor to Theodotus, endeavour'd to reform [and wean] them from conversing with Epiphanius; but being unable to perswade them by any means, he punish'd them both with Excommunication. Apollinaris the son look'd upon what was done to be an injury, and confiding in the fluentness of his Sophistick faculty of speaking, he also framed a new Heresie, which flourisheth at this present, and bears the name of its Inventor. But some do report, that they dissented from Georgius, not so much upon account of the foremention'd reason, but because they saw he maintain'd absurdities; sometimes professing the Son to be like the Father (according as it had been determined [in the Synod] at Seleucia;) at others inclining to the Arian opinion. Laying hold therefore of this specious pretext, they made a separation [from him.] But when they saw no body adhered to them, they introduce a [new] Scheme of Religion: and at first asserted that (a) Humanity was assumed by God the Word in the Oeconomy of his Incarnation, without the Soul. But afterward, rectifying their former error, by repentance as it were, they added, that that the Soul was indeed assumed; but that it had not a Mind, but that God the Word was in the place of a Mind, in his assumption of Humanity. As to this point only these [Hereticks] do affirm that they dissent [from Catholicks] who from them are now called Apollinaristæ. For they assert that the Trinity is Consubstantial. But we shall mention the two Apollinaris's again in due place.

Constantius.

(a) The Arians asserted a tenet near of kin to this of the Apollinaristæ, or Apollinarians. Ἀρειομανῖται δὲ ἐκφανῶς μόνην, &c. Arius (says Athanasius de Adv. Christi,) *professes the flesh only to be the Cover of the Deity; and asserts the Word to have been in the flesh, in the stead of our Inner man, that is, the soul.* In this opinion he was followed by Eunomius, as Theodoret informs us, Contr. Hæres. Book 5. Chap. 11. But the Apollinarians differed from him: for they distinguished (as we may see from this passage in our Socrates) between the Soul and Mind of Man; acknowledging (in the second Edition of their Heresie) that God the Word assumed an humane Body and a Soul; (which latter Arius and his Crew denied) but not the Mind, or Spirit of Man; the place whereof was supplied, said they, by the Word it self. This Philosophick notion (making Man consist of three parts, a Body, a Soul, and a Mind;) they borrowed from Plotinus; so says Nemesius in his de Nat. Hom.

CHAP. XLVII.

Concerning the Death of the Emperor Constantius.

MOreover, whilst the Emperor Constantius resided at Antioch, Julianus Cæsar engages with a numerous army of Barbarians in the Gallia's. And having obtain'd a victory, was for that reason greatly belov'd by all the Soldiers, by whom he is proclaim'd Emperor. This being told to the Emperor Constantius put him into an agony. He was therfore baptiz'd by Euzoius, and * undertakes an expedition against Julianus. But arriving between Cappadocia and Cilicia, he ended his life at Mopsucrenæ, (being seiz'd with an Apoplexy by reason of his too great solicitude) in the Consulate of Taurus and Florentius, on the third of November. This was the first year of the *two hundred eighty fifth Olympiad.* Constantius lived forty five years, and reigned thirty eight. He was his Fathers Colleague in the Empire thirteen years: after whose death [he govern'd] twenty five; which space of years this Book doth contain.

* Or, Proceeded to a War against, &c.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

Concerning Julianus, *his Extract and Education. And how, upon his being made Emperor, he revolted to* Gentiliſm.

Julianus. THE Emperor *Conſtantius* ended his life on the Confines of *Cilicia*, about the third of *November*, in the Conſulate of *Taurus* and *Florentius*. During the ſame perſons Conſulate, *Julianus* arriving from the Weſtern parts (*a*) about the eleventh of *December* next enſuing, made his Entry into *Conſtantinople*, where he was proclaimed Emperor. Now whereas 'tis our deſign to ſay ſomething concerning the Emperor *Julianus*, a perſon famed for his eloquence; let none of thoſe who were his *Intimado's*, expect we ſhould do it in a pompous and majeſtick ſtyle, as if it were neceſſary, that a character of ſo eminent a perſon ſhould in every particular *Correſpond* with his greatneſs of whom 'tis given. But, the compoſure of an Hiſtory of the *Chriſtian Religion* being our buſineſs, we will continue making uſe of a low, plain, and mean ſtyle for perſpicuity's ſake. And this we promiſed [to do] at the beginning. Being therefore to ſpeak concerning him, his Extract, Education, and how he came to the Empire; in order to our performing hereof, we muſt begin a little higher. *Conſtantius*, he who gave *Byzantium* his own name, had two Brothers begotten by the ſame Father, but not born of the ſame Mother. The name of the one was *Dalmatius*, the other was called *Conſtantinus*. *Dalmatius* had a Son who bore his own name. *Conſtantius* begat two Sons, *Gallus* and *Julianus*. After the death of [*Conſtantine*] the Builder of *Conſtantinople*, when the Soldiers had murther'd *Dalmatius the younger*, at that time theſe * two alſo being Orphans, wanted but a little of falling into the ſame danger with *Dalmatius*; had not a diſtemper which ſeem'd to be mortal deliver'd *Gallus* [from their violence:] and the tenderneſs of *Julianus*'s age (for he was not then eight years old compleat) protected him. But, after the Emperor's rage againſt them was mollified, *Gallus* frequented the Schools at *Epheſus* in *Ionia*, in which Country they had large poſſeſſions left them by their Anceſtors. And *Julianus* being grown up, was an Auditor in the Schools at *Conſtantinople*; going into the Palace (where there were then Schools) in a private habit, and was tutor'd by *Macedonius* the Eunuch. (*b*) *Nicocles* the *Laconian* taught him the Grammar; he had for his *Rhetoric*-maſter *Ecebolius* the *Sophiſta*, who was at that time a *Chriſtian*. For the Emperor *Conſtantius* took great care, leſt by his being an hearer of a *Pagan*-maſter, he ſhould revolt to the ſuperſtition [of the *Gentiles*:] For *Julianus* was at firſt a *Chriſtian*. Upon his making a great progreſs in Literature, a rumour [began] to be ſpread amongſt the people, that he was fit to govern the *Roman* Empire. Which report being more openly divulged, much diſturb'd the Emperor's mind. Wherefore, he removed him from the * *Great City* to *Nicomedia*, ordering him not to frequent [the School] of *Libanius* the *Syrian Sophiſta*. For at that time *Libanius*, having been expelled *Conſtantinople* by the School-maſters, had opened a School at *Nicomedia*. Wherefore, he vented his gall againſt the School-maſters, in an (*c*) *Oration* which he wrote againſt them. But *Julianus* was forbidden to go to him, becauſe *Libanius* was as to his Religion a *Pagan*. Nevertheleſs, being a great admirer of *Libanius*'s Orations, he procured them privately, and peruſed them frequently and ſtudiouſly. When he had made a great proficiency in *Rhetorick*, there came to *Nicomedia*, *Maximus* the Philoſopher, not

Julianus. * That is, *Gallus* and *Julianus*.

* That is, *Conſtantinople*.

(*a*) We have the ſame account in *Idatius's Faſti*: *Tauro & Florentio his Coſſ.* &c. *in the Conſulate of Taurus and Florentius, Conſtantius Auguſtus died at Mopſucrinæ in the confines of Cilicia a Province of Phœnicia, on the third of November. And Julianus made his entry into Conſtantinople on the eleventh of December.* But, what *Socrates* adds, to wit, that *Julian* was proclaimed Emperor in that City, muſt be ſo underſtood, not as if that were the firſt time of his being ſaluted Emperor: For he had been proclaimed Emperor in the *Gallia's* a long while before, whilſt *Conſtantius* was alive: But, upon his entry into *Conſtantinople*, he was declared Emperor by the Senate and *Conſtantinopolitans*, and took poſſeſſion of the Empire of the Eaſt. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) There are ſeveral Epiſtles of *Libanius*'s extant, written to this *Nicocles*; particularly the ſeventh Epiſtle of his 4th Book, wherein *Libanius* excuſes the inſolency of a Citizen of *Antioch*, who had abuſed him: Amongſt other paſſages he ſays, *that the fault of one Citizen was not to be aſcribed to the whole City. For in a City containing an hundred and fifty thouſand Inhabitants, 'tis not to be wondred at, if one bad Citizen be found: Whereas, neither in your Sparta (which yet has Lycurgus for its Law-giver) all are alike good and generous.* Valeſ.

(*c*) This Oration of *Libanius's againſt the School-maſters*, is not (to my knowledge) now extant. *Valeſ.*

Julianus. (d) *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, *Euclid*'s Father, but *Maximus* the *Epheſian*, whom the Emperor *Valentinianus* order'd to be ſlain afterwards, as being a practiſer of Magick. But this hapned a long while after. At that time, his coming to *Nicomedia* was occaſion'd by nothing elſe but *Julianus*'s fame, which induc'd him to go thither. *Julianus* having had a taſte of *Philoſophick Literature* from him, began forthwith to imitate his Maſter's Religion, who alſo inſtill'd into his mind a deſire of the Empire. When the Emperor was made acquainted with theſe things, *Julianus* being betwixt hope and fear, became very deſirous of avoiding ſuſpicion; and he who had before been a ſincere *Chriſtian*, then began to act the Hypocrite. Being therefore ſhav'd to the very skin, he pretended to lead a Monaſtick life. Privately he employ'd himſelf about the ſtudy of Philoſophy; but in publick he read the Sacred Writings of the *Chriſtians*. Moreover, he was made a Reader in the Church of *Nicomedia*; and by this ſpecious pretext he avoided the Emperor's fury. All this he did out of fear. But [in the interim] he receded not from his hope, but told many of his friends, that thoſe would be happy times, when he ſhould be poſſeſt of the Empire. Whilſt his affairs were in this poſture, his Brother *Gallus* was created *Cæſar*, and in his journey into the Eaſt came to *Nicomedia*, to give him a viſit. Not long after this *Gallus* was ſlain, immediately upon which the Emperor grew ſuſpicious of *Julianus*. Wherefore he order'd a guard ſhould be ſet upon him. But as ſoon as he could get an opportunity of ſlipping away from his Keepers, he removed from place to place, and by that means made his eſcape. At length the Emperor's Wife *Euſebia*, having found him out during his abſconding, perſwades the Emperor to do him no harm, but to allow him a liberty of going to *Athens*, to ſtudy Philoſophy. From whence (that I may be brief) the Emperor ſent for him, and created him *Cæſar*. After which he married him to his Siſter *Helena*, and ſent him into the *Gallia's* againſt the *Barbarians*. For the *Barbarians* (whom the Emperor *Conſtantius* had a little before hired to be his Auxiliaries againſt *Magnentius*,) having been employ'd in no ſervice againſt the Tyrant, fell to deſtroying the *Roman* Cities. And in regard *Julianus* was as yet but young, he ordered him not to enter upon any thing of action without the advice of the Commanders of the Army. Who having receiv'd ſo large a Commiſſion, grew negligent in their management of affairs; upon which account the *Barbarians* increaſed in ſtrength. *Julianus* permitted the Commanders to ſpend their time in luxury and drinking; but he made the Soldiers more couragious, by promiſing a ſet reward to him who ſhould kill a *Barbarian*. This was the original cauſe, whereby both the *Barbarians* Forces were diminiſh'd, and alſo he himſelf was rendred more acceptable to the Soldiers. There is a report, that as he was entring into a Town, a (e) Crown, with which they [uſually] adorn the Cities, being hung up by Ropes between two pillars, fell down upon his head, and fitted it exactly, at which all that were preſent gave a ſhout; for by this ſign [it ſeem'd] to be portended, that he ſhould be Emperor. There are thoſe who ſay, that *Conſtantius* therefore ſent him againſt the *Barbarians*, that he might periſh there, in an engagement with them. But I know not whether they who report this, ſpeak the truth. For ſhould he have framed ſuch a deſign againſt him, after he had joyn'd him in marriage to his own Siſter, it would have been no other than a conſpiracy againſt himſelf. But let every one judge of this matter according to his own pleaſure. Moreover, upon *Julianus*'s making a complaint to the Emperor of the ſlothfulneſs of his Military Officers, there was another Commander ſent to him, exactly agreeable to *Julianus*'s courage. Having got ſuch an aſſiſtant, he made a bold attack upon the *Barbarians*. They diſpatch'd away an Embaſſador to him, informing him, that they were order'd by the Emperor's Letters to march into the *Roman* Territories, and the Letters were produced to him. But he clapt their Embaſſador into priſon; and having engaged their forces, routed them totally. He alſo took the King of the *Barbarians* priſoner, and ſent him to *Conſtantius*. Upon this fortunate ſucceſs, he is proclaim'd Emperor by the Soldiers. But becauſe they wanted an Imperial Crown, one of his Guards took the Chain which he wore about his own neck, and put it upon *Julianus*'s head. After this manner therefore *Julianus* came to be Emperor. But what he did afterwards, let the hearers judge, whether or no they became a Philoſopher: For he neither ſent an Embaſſador to *Conſtantius*, nor did he ſhew him that reverence which was due to him, as being his Benefactor, but managed all affairs according to his own arbitrement. He changed the Governours of Provinces, and reproach'd *Conſtantius* in every City, by reciting in publick his Letters ſent to the *Barbarians*. Whereupon [thoſe inhabitants] revolted from *Conſtantius*, and came over to him. At that time he manifeſtly pull'd off his Mask of *Chriſtianity*. For he went from City to City, open'd the *Heathen* Temples, offer'd ſacrifice to idols, and term'd himſelf the * *Pontifex Maximus*. And ſuch as profeſſed *Gentiliſm* celebrated their heatheniſh Feſtivals [after their own manner.] By theſe proceedings of his he (f) takes an occaſion of raiſing a Civil War againſt *Conſtantius*. And, as far as in him lay, [he took care] that all thoſe Calamities ſhould have hapned, which are the conſequents of a War. For this Philoſopher's deſire could not have been (g) fulfilled without much blood-ſhed.

(d) *Maximus* of *Epirus*, or the Philoſopher of *Byzantium* is mentioned by *Suidas*: he wrote *concerning inſoluble Queſtions*, and *concerning numbers*; as alſo *a Comment upon Ariſtotle*, which he dedicated to *Julianus* the Emperor, his Scholar. Now, if this be true, *Julianus* had two *Maximus*'s his maſters in Philoſophy, the one an *Epirote*, or a *Byzantine*; the other an *Epheſian*. There is extant an Elegie of *Maximus* the *Epheſian* in *Libanius's forty firſt Epiſtle of his fifth Book*, his words are theſe: χὴ φιλοσοφίας ἣν ἐδέξατο παρὰ μαξίμου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀυξήσαντος τὲ ἡνίκα ἔζη, καὶ σβέσαντος τῇ τελευτῇ· i. e. *and the Philoſophy, which he received from Maximus the Improver of Philoſophy whilſt he lived, and its Extinguiſher when he died.* Valeſ.

(e) *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* renders thus ὅρους φοίνικος, *a Crown of Laurel, with which the Cities were uſually adorned.* Indeed the Provinces of the Roman Empire were wont to be repreſented in this habit, wearing Crowns like Towers upon their heads; as may be ſeen in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Yet any one may conjecture, that this place ſhould be thus worded: ἀφ' ὧν αἱ πόλεις τὰς βασιλέας κοσμοῦσι, *with which the Cities adorn the Emperors.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Chief-Prieſt.*

(f) Πολυπραγμονῶν τὰς ἀφορμὰς, (which is the phraſe here in the original) is by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* rendred thus; *quæſitâ occaſione, he took an occaſion*, &c. But there may be another rendition of theſe words, thus: *By doing hereof, he raiſed a Civil War againſt* Conſtantius, *having undertaken an expedition againſt him.* Valeſ.

(g) The term διανύεσθαι muſt ſignifie here, to be *fulfilled, compleated*, or *perfected*, *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* therefore renders it thus: *Non enim ſine multo ſanguine ſtudium ejus Philoſophi poterat adimpleri*, i. e. *for the deſire of this Philoſopher could not have been accompliſhed without much blood.* *Muſculus*'s Verſion (which is, *declarari, could not have been declared*) and alſo *Chriſtophorſon*'s (which is, *internoſci, could not have been diſcerned*) are in my judgment abſurd. *Valeſ.*

But

Julianus. But God the *Arbiter* of his own Counſels, repreſs'd the * *Impetus* of one of theſe two *Antagoniſts* without any †damage to the Republick. For when *Julianus* arriv'd amongſt the *Thracians*, news was brought him, that *Conſtantius* was dead. And thus the *Roman* Empire at that time eſcaped a Civil War. But *Julianus* having made his entry into *Conſtantinople*, began immediately to conſider with himſelf, after what manner he might win the favour of the people, and procure their benevolence towards himſelf. He makes uſe therefore of this artifice. He very well underſtood, that *Conſtantius* was odious to all ſuch as embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion, both becauſe he had driven them from their Churches, and alſo in regard he had proſcribed and baniſh'd the Biſhops belonging to them. He aſſuredly knew alſo, that the Heathens were ſorely vexed, becauſe they were prohibited ſacrificing to their Gods; and that they were very deſirous of getting an opportunity, wherein their Temples might be open'd, and they have a liberty of offering ſacrifices to their Idols. He was ſenſible, that for theſe reaſons both thoſe ſorts of people had privately rancor'd minds againſt his Predeceſſor [*Conſtantius.*] He alſo found, that all people in general highly reſented the violence of the Eunuchs, and the rapines (*h*) of *Euſebius* the principal perſon of the Bed-chamber to him. He therefore treated them all with a great deal of craft and ſubtlety. With ſome he diſſembled: Others he obliged by kindneſſes, being a great affecter of vain-glory. But he made it evident to all in general how he was affected towards the ſuperſtition [of the Heathens.] And firſt, that he might make *Conſtantius* odious for his cruelty towards his Subjects, and render him infamous amongſt the Vulgar, he commanded that the exiled Biſhops ſhould be recalled; and reſtored to them their Eſtates which had been confiſcated. Then he iſſued out an Order to his Confidents, that the Heathen-Temples ſhould be forthwith open'd. He alſo order'd, that ſuch perſons as had been injured by the Eunuchs, ſhould be repoſſeſſed of their goods which were unjuſtly taken from them. He puniſh'd *Euſebius* the principal perſon of the Imperial Bed-chamber with death, not only becauſe many perſons had been wronged by him, but alſo in regard he was aſſured, that his Brother *Gallus* had been murther'd upon account of his calumny [againſt him.] He took care that *Conſtantius*'s body ſhould be honour'd with an Imperial funeral. He expelled the Eunuchs, Barbers, and Cooks out of his Palace: The Eunuchs, becauſe he had loſt his Wife, after whoſe death he reſolv'd not to marry any other; the Cooks, in regard he fed upon a very ſlender and mean diet: And the Barbers, becauſe, ſaid he, one is ſufficient for a great many. For theſe reaſons he put theſe ſorts of men out [of the Palace.] Moſt of the Notaries he reduced to their former condition, and ordered that the reſt ſhould be allow'd a ſalary befitting a Notary. He alſo retrenched the (*i*) publick way of conveyance of neceſſaries for [publick] uſes. *Julianus.* For example, [the uſe] of Mules, Oxen, and Aſſes; and permitted Horſes only to ſerve for ſuch publick conveniences. Theſe Acts of his are commended by ſome few perſons; but moſt men diſcommend them, becauſe the grandeur and magnificence of the Imperial riches being loſt, which creates an admiration in the minds of the Vulgar, he thereby rendred the dignity of an Emperor deſpicable, and obnoxious to contempt. Moreover he ſat up all night, compoſing Orations, which he recited at his going into the Senate-houſe: For he was the firſt and only Emperor ſince *Julius Cæſar*'s times, that made Speeches in the Senate-houſe. He had an high eſteem for ſuch as were ſtudious about [any part of] Literature; but more eſpecially for thoſe who profeſſed Philoſophy. Wherefore, the report hereof brought ſuch as were pretenders to this ſort of Learning from all parts to the Palace, who wore their * *Palliums*, and were moſt of them more conſpicuous for their Garb, than their Learning. But they were all troubleſome to the Chriſtians, being perſons that were Impoſtors, and who always own'd the ſame Religion with the Emperor. He himſelf alſo was ſo exceſſively vain-glorious, that he reviled all his Predeceſſors in the Empire, in a Book he compoſed, which he entitled *The Cæſars*. The ſame proud temper of mind excited him to write Books againſt the Chriſtians alſo. His expulſion of the Cooks and Barbers was an act [befitting] a Philoſopher indeed, but not an Emperor. But in his reproaching and reviling [of others,] he did neither like a Philoſopher, nor an Emperor. For both thoſe ſorts of perſons are to be [of a temper of mind] ſuperior to all detraction and envy. An Emperor may indeed be a Philoſopher, in what bears a reſpect to modeſty and temperance: But a Philoſopher, ſhould he imitate an Emperor in all things, would tranſgreſs his Rules. Let thus much be curſorily ſaid concerning the Emperor *Julianus*, his Extract, Education, and Diſpoſition, and after what manner he came to the Empire.

* Or, *Force.* † Or, *without the damage of others.*

(*h*) Tranſlators perceived not that this place was faulty. I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote thus: [Εὐσεβίῳ τὲ τῷ πραιποσίτῳ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς, *and the rapines of* Euſebius *the principal Perſon of the Bed-chamber to him.*] For πραιπόσιτος ſignifies the *Provoſt*, or *chief Officer of the ſacred Bed-chamber*, which Office *Euſebius* then bore. *Socrates* does frequently uſe this word in this ſenſe; as we may ſee in his ſecond Book, Chap. 2. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) *Gregory Nazianzen*, in *his former Invective againſt Julian*, does confeſs alſo that the publick way, or manner of travelling and conveying of neceſſaries from place to place, was well rectified by *Julian*. For *Conſtantius* had impaired it much, by allowing the Biſhops every-where the uſe thereof, that they might come to the Synods convened by him. But, what regulations *Julianus* made in this matter, 'tis hard to determine. And yet we may conjecture from *Socrates*'s words, that the way of travelling by Chariots (which was alſo called the *Curſus Clavularis*,) was put down by him, and that travelling on Horſe-back (upon Horſes provided for publick uſes) remained only in uſe. *Johannes Lydus* has treated at large *de publico Curſu*, in his Book *de Menſibus*. Valeſ.

* See *Euſebius*' *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 6. Chap. 19. Note (*p.*)

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Sedition which hapned at Alexandria, *and after what manner* Georgius *was ſlain.*

WE come now to mention what was tranſacted in the Churches at that time. In the great City *Alexandria* there hapned a diſturbance upon this account. There was a place in that City, which had for a long time lain waſte and neglected, (being filled with a great deal of filth,) wherein the Heathens had formerly celebrated their Myſteries to || *Mithra*, and had ſacrificed men. This place being vacant

|| The *Perſians* ſuppoſe *Mithra* to be the Sun to whom they offer many ſacrifices. No Perſon was initiated into the Myſteries hereof, before he had arrived to them by certain degrees of torture, and had declared himſelf holy, and approved by ſufferings.

and

Julianus.

and uſeleſs, *Conſtantius* had ſome time before beſtow'd upon the Church of the *Alexandrians*. *Georgius*, deſirous to erect an Oratory therein, gave order that the place ſhould be cleanſed. Whilſt they were clearing of it, there was an † *Adytum* diſcover'd, of a vaſt depth, wherein were hid the Myſteries of the Heathens. Which were the Skulls of many Men, young and old, who, as report ſays, had heretofore been ſlain, at ſuch time as the Heathens made uſe of Divinations by the inſpection of entrails, and performed Magick ſacrifices in order to the inchantment of Mens Souls. The Chriſtians therefore, upon their diſcovery of theſe things in the *Adytum* of the Temple of *Mithra*, made it their buſineſs to expoſe theſe Heatheniſh myſteries to the view and deriſion of all men. And they began forthwith to carry them in triumph as 'twere about the City, ſhewing the multitude mens bare Skulls. When the Heathens that were at *Alexandria* beheld this, being unable to endure this ignominious affront, they became highly enraged: and making uſe of what came next to hand for a weapon, they fell with great violence upon the Chriſtians, and deſtroy'd many of them (*a*) by various ſorts of death. Some of them they killed with ſwords, others with clubs and ſtones: Others they ſtrangled with ropes: Some they crucified, inflicting this ſort of death on them deſignedly, in contumely to the Croſs [of Chriſt.] They wounded moſt of them. At which time, as it uſually happens in ſuch [Riots,] they ſpared not their neareſt Friends and Relatives. But one Friend ſlew another; Brother [murther'd] Brother; Parents their Children, outragiouſly embrueing their hands in one anothers blood. For which reaſon the Chriſtians left off cleanſing *Mithra*'s Temple: But the Heathens dragg'd *Georgius* out of the Church, and having bound him to a Camel, tore him to pieces, after which they burnt him, together with the Camel.

† That is, *A ſecret place in the Heathen Temples, to which none but their Prieſts had acceſs.*

(*a*) Or, *by all manner of treacheries*; for that's the reading in the *Sfortian* M. S. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. III.

That the Emperor, incenſed at Georgius's *Murther, ſharply rebuked the* Alexandrians *by his Letter.*

BUT the Emperor highly reſented *Georgius*'s murther, and by his Letter ſeverely reprehended the Citizens of *Alexandria*. There was a report ſpread abroad, as if they had done this to *Georgius*, who hated him upon *Athanaſius*'s account. But my opinion is, that ſuch as entertain malice and hatred in their minds, do uſually put themſelves into their company who make inſurrections againſt unjuſt perſons. The Emperor's Letter, 'tis certain, lays the blame upon the Populace, rather than upon the Chriſtians. But *Georgius* was then, and had before (*a*) appear'd, troubleſome and offenſive to all perſons. And for this reaſon the multitude was incenſed againſt him in ſuch an high degree. But, that the Emperor [as I ſaid] does rather blame the People, you may hear from the Letter it ſelf.

(*a*) For an account of the reaſons of the *Alexandrians* hatred towards *Georgius*, conſult *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 223, &c. *Edit. Pariſ.* 1631. See alſo *Epiphanius*, in *Hereſ.* 76, to wit, that of the *Anomœi*. Valeſ.

EMPEROR CÆSAR JULIANUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Citizens of *Alexandria*.

Although you have no reverence for Alexander *the Builder of your City, and (which is more) for that Great God the moſt holy* Serapis; *yet how is it that you have forgot both that Humanity and* * Decorum, *due to mankind in general? We will add, [which is due] to Us alſo, to whom all the Gods, eſpecially the Great* Serapis, *have aſſigned the Empire of the World. For whom it was fit you ſhould have reſerved the Cognizance of their caſe who had injured you. But perhaps, you were impoſed upon by anger and rage, which where it inhabits the mind, does uſually perpetrate moſt enormous facts. (b) But when you had repreſſed your fury, you afterwards added the commiſſion of an unjuſt act to what had on a ſudden been adviſedly reſolved by you. Nor were you of the Commonalty aſhamed of perpetrating thoſe things, for which you deſervedly hated them. For, declare to Us, [We adjure you] by* Serapis, *for what unjuſt acts were you incenſed againſt* Georgius? *You will undoubtedly make anſwer, becauſe he exaſperated* Conſtantius, *of bleſſed memory, againſt us: Alſo, becauſe he brought an Army into the ſacred City, and the (c) King of* Egypt *poſſeſt himſelf of God's moſt Holy Temple, and took away from thence the Images, the conſecrated Gifts, and the Furniture in thoſe ſacred places. At which when (as it was meet) you were highly incenſed, and attempted to defend God, (or rather his Goods and Poſſeſſions,) from violence; He, contrary to Juſtice, Law, and Piety, audaciouſly ſent armed men againſt you. [But] perhaps (in regard he was more afraid of* Georgius *than* Conſtantius *(d) He had made better proviſion for his own ſafety, had he at firſt behaved himſelf more moderately and civilly towards you, and not ſo tyrannically. You being therefore for theſe reaſons enraged againſt* Georgius *the enemy of the Gods, have again polluted your ſacred City, whenas you might have brought him to his Tryal before the Judges. For by this means neither murther, nor any other unlawful fact had been committed: but juſtice had been equitably and exactly done, which would have preſerv'd you guiltleſs from all manner of wickedneſs, and would have puniſh'd him who had impiouſly committed ſuch enormous crimes, and [laſtly] would have curbed all thoſe who contemn the Gods, and diſrepect ſo great Cities and ſuch a flouriſhing people; making the barbarity they practiſed againſt them the* Præludium *[as it were of]*

Julianus.

* Or, good-behaviour.

(*b*) In the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. inſtead of [ἀναστέλας] the reading is [ἀναστέλαντες] wherefore, I doubt not but this whole place is to be thus reſtored: εἶτα τῆς ὀεμῆς ἀναστέλαντες, τοῖς παρ' χρήμα βεβουλευμένοις καλῶς, ὕστερον ἐπηγάγετε τὴν παρανομίαν; *But when you had repreſſed your fury, &c.* Valeſ.

(*c*) He means *Artemius, Commander in chief of the Forces in Egypt*; as he is ſtiled by *Theodoret*, (Book 3. Chap. 17. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.*) who relates, that he was deprived of his eſtate, and beheaded by *Julian*; becauſe, being Captain of *Egypt* in the reign of *Conſtantius*, he had broken many Images. It was he, who allowed *Georgius* the *Arian* a guard of Soldiers for his aſſiſtance, whilſt he deſtroyed the heathen Temples in *Alexandria*. See *our notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 228. The Martrydom of this *Artemius* is extant in *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, in which many things are contained that do much illuſtrate the Hiſtory of theſe times. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *In that Edition of* Julianus's *works publiſhed by* Petavius, *printed at Paris* 1630, (where this Letter of *Julianus*'s to the *Alexandrians* is reckoned to be *his tenth Epiſtle*:) and in *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 7.) the reading and punctation of this paſſage is thus: ἑαυτὸν παρεφύλαττεν, εἰ μετειώτερον ὑμῖν ἢ πόλιτικώτερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννικώτερον πόρρωθεν προσεφέρετο. The beſt Verſion of which paſſage (for no leſs than four have rendred it into *Latin*) is *Langus*'s; who has rendred it thus: *Qui melius ſibi ipſi conſuluiſſet, ſi moderate vobiſcum & civiliter, nec tam tyrannicè ab initio egiſſet.* We have followed the ſame ſenſe in our Rendition. But *Chriſtophorſon*'s Verſion is reprovable, both for his inſerting the word [γὰρ, *for*] contrary to the authority of all Copies; and alſo, becauſe he excuſes *Artemius* Commander of the Forces in *Egypt*, as if he had carried himſelf civilly and moderately at the beginning of his Government. It would certainly have been moſt abſurd, ſhould *Julian* have excus'd him, whom he had ordered to be executed as a Criminal. If any one therefore has a mind to follow our Verſion, 'tis but inſerting one Particle only thus: ἴσως δέ.

But perhaps, &c. But *Petavius (in his notes on this Epiſtle of Julianus*, ſee the forementiond Edition) has produced another Emendation from ſome M. SS. Copies; after this manner, ὃς αὐτὸν παρεφύλαττεν, *who had preſerved himſelf*, &c. *Valeſ.*

their

Julianus.

their power. Compare therefore this Our Letter (e) with that We sent a while since, and consider the difference between them. How highly did We then commend you? But now, by the [immortal] Gods! When We should praise you, We cannot, by reason of your heinous Offence. The People are so audacious as to tear a Man piece-meal like Dogs. Nor are they afterwards abashed or careful of preserving their Hands pure, that they * may stretch them out undefiled with Blood in the presence of the Gods. But Georgius deserved to undergo these Sufferings. We might perhaps grant, [that he deserved] more horrid and acute Tortures. And should you say, [he deserved them] upon your account, We also assent to that. But should you add, [he deserved to have this inflicted on him] by you; that We can in no wise allow. For you have Laws, which ought to be observ'd and revered by you all, as well privately, as in publick. Now, suppose it happens, that some private persons do violate these Laws, yet the Community must be regulated by good Laws, and you are to pay obedience to those Laws, and not transgress what has from the beginning been well and prudently constituted. It has hapned very fortunately for you, O ye Alexandrians! that you have perpetrated such a Fact as this in Our Reign; Who, by reason of Our Reverence towards God, and upon account of Our (f) Grandfather and Uncle whose name We bear, (who governed Egypt and your City,) do retain a fraternal Affection for you. Certainly, that Power which suffers not it self to be disrespected, and such a Government as is severe, entire, and of an healthy Constitution, (g) could not connive at such an audacious insolence in its Subjects, but would diligently purge out that deadly Distemper as it were by a more acute Medicine. But We, for the reasons now mentioned, make use of that most mild and gentle Remedy in your Case, [to wit,] Exhortation and Discourse. To which, We are confident, We shall find you more readily submissive, because, (as We are informed) you are not only Grecians by original extract, (h) but do also still retain in your Minds and Endeavours a splendid and generous Character of that your Noble Descent. (i) Let it be published to Our Citizens of Alexandria. Thus wrote the Emperor.

(r) The reading in the *Florent.* M.S. and in *Nicephorus* is better than that in the vulgar Editions: it is thus [τῷ μικρῷ πρώην ἐπιστείλα, with that we sent, &c.] *Vale.*

* Or, produce them undefiled with blood before the Gods.

(f) In *Nicephorus* the reading is truer; where the term [πάππου *Grandfather*] is left out; and the clause is thus worded [διὰ τὸν θεῖον ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμώνυμον, *upon account of our Uncle whose name we bear*] He means *Julian Exprefect of Egypt*; concerning whom *Amm. Marcellinus* relates much. In *Julianus*'s *Epistles*, both readings are retained thus: διὰ τὸν πάππον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν θεῖον ὁμώνυμον, *upon account of our Grandfather and Uncle whose name we bear.* But this reading is not to be endured; for, what reason has *Julianus* to mention his Grandfather here? *Sozomen* does confirm *Nicephorus*'s reading, as we may see, Book 5. Chap. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* Vales.

(g) I doubt not but this place should be thus worded; ἵνα δὴ μὴ θαῤῥοῦσιν τόλμημα; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

(h) The reading should doubtless be [καὶ ταυτὸν ἔτι, τῆς εὐγενείας ἐκείνης, &c. *but do also still*, &c.

(i) It must be [προσταττέσθω *Let it be published.*] We have spoken concerning this clause (which was usually annext to the Emperors Edicts) in *our Annotations on Eusebius*, and think it superfluous to repeat it here. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

How, upon Georgius's *being murthered,* Athanasius *returned to* Alexandria, *and recovered his own Church.*

NOT long after, *Athanasius* returning from his Exile, was kindly received by the people of *Alexandria*, who at that time expelled the *Arians* out of the Churches; and gave *Athanasius* possession of the Oratories. But the *Arians* assembled themselves in some obscure and mean Houses, and Ordained *Lucius* in the place of *Georgius*. Such was the state of affairs then at *Alexandria*.

Julianus.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Lucifer, *and* Eusebius.

AT the same time *Lucifer* and *Eusebius* were by an Imperial Order recalled from banishment. *Lucifer* was Bishop of *Caralis*, a City of *Sardinia*: *Eusebius* of *Vercellæ*, which is a City of the *Lygurians* in *Italy*, as we have said before. Both these persons therefore returning from Exile out of the *Upper Thebais*, (a) held a consult how they might hinder the impaired Laws of the Church from being violated and despised.

(a) *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were not the only Persons who entred into a consult about repairing the decayed state of the Church, and establishing the Canon of Faith; but other Bishops besides them, who by *Julianus*'s Edict were at that time recalled from Exile: to wit, *Hilarius*, *Asterius*, and the rest, as *Theodoret* truly remarks, Book 3. Chap. 4. *Eccles. Histor.* These Prelates, moved thereto by a Zeal to the Catholick Faith, took in hand to reduce Hereticks and Schismaticks to the path of Truth, and recal them to their former Concord. Therefore, what *Baronius* says, to wit, that *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were created Legates of the Apostolick See by *Liberius*, in order to their repairing the state of the Church, can in no wise be true. For the same must have been said concerning *Hilarius* and the other Prelates. Besides, *Rufinus* does expresly disprove this. For he relates, that *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were Commissionated with this *Legantine* power by the *Alexandrian* Synod. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

How Lucifer *arriving at* Antioch, *Ordained* Paulinus.

IT was concluded therefore, that *Lucifer* should go to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and *Eusebius* to *Alexandria*: that, by assembling a Synod together with *Athanasius*, they might confirm the opinions of the Church. (a) *Lucifer* sent a Deacon as his Substitute, by whom he promised his assent to what should be determined by the Synod. But he himself went to *Antioch*, and finds that Church in a great disturbance: for the People disagreed amongst themselves. For, not only the *Arian* Heresie, which had been inttoduc'd by *Euzoïus*, divided the Church: but (as we have said * before) *Meletius*'s followers also, by reason of their affection towards their Master, differ'd from those who embraced the same sentiments with them. *Lucifer* therefore, when he had constituted *Paulinus* Bishop over them, departed from thence again.

(a) *Socrates* borrow'd this out of *Rufinus*; who (in Book 1. Chap. 27. *Eccles. Histor.*) has these words: *Lucifer autem cùm exoraretur ab Eusebio,* &c. *But Lucifer being entreated by Eusebius, that they might go together to see Athanasius at Alexandria, and in a general Consult with those Prelates that were left, determine concerning the state of the Church; refused to be present himself, but sends his Deacon as his Deputy.* But from the *Synodick Epistle*, which *Athanasius* wrote in the name of the *Alexandrian* Synod to the Catholick Bishops which were in the City of *Antioch*, we are informed that *Lucifer* sent two of his Deacons to the Synod of *Alexandria*, *Herennius* and *Agapetus*; whom he sent after he had Ordained *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For the Legates of *Paulinus* himself were present at this Synod, and subscribed *Athanasius*'s *Synodick Epistle*. For these things were transacted thus. Soon after *Eusebius*'s going to the *Alexandrian* Synod, *Lucifer* together with these two Bishops *Cymatius* and *Anatolius* (the one whereof was Bishop of *Paltus*, the other of *Beræa*,) created *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*. Who, immediately after his Ordination, sent his Legates *Maximus* and *Calamerus* to the *Alexandrian* Synod. Also, *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Laodicea* (who had a peculiar Sect, and a Bishop of his own faction, at *Antioch*) sent his Legates at the same time. The Bishops

* Book 2. Chap. 44.

of

of *Egypt* therefore who were met at *Alexandria*, when they had heard that *Euſebius*, *Aſterius*, and *Lucifer*'s Legates were ſent by *Lucifer*, *Cymatius*, and *Anatolius*, and when they had admitted the Legates ſent by *Paulinus* and *Apollinaris*; departed every one to their own Sees, and gave order to *Athanaſius* and ſome other Biſhops who continued at *Alexandria*, that they ſhould write a Letter to the Biſhops convened at *Antioch*, concerning receiving the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks into communion, how they ought to behave themſelves in that affair. In obedience to their Order, *Athanaſius* wrote a Letter to the Biſhops convened at *Antioch*, to wit, to *Lucifer*, *Euſebius*, and *Aſterius*, (for theſe were now returned from the *Alexandrian* Synod:) *Cymatius*, and *Anatolius*. This Letter is extant in *Athanaſius*'s works, which *Baronius* ſuppoſed to be the *Synodick* Epiſtle of the *Alexandrian Synod*. But 'tis manifeſt from the Contents of that Letter, that it was not written from the Synod it ſelf, but from *Athanaſius*; nor was it ſent to all the Biſhops, but to thoſe of *Antioch* in particular. Which may be concluded both from the inſcription it ſelf, and alſo from the Text of the whole Letter. For he treats therein concerning the affairs of the *Antiochian* Church only, as (beſides others) we are informed from this paſſage: Πάντας τοίνυν τοὺς ἐκλομβύους εἰρηνεύειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συναγομβύους, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν, προσαλέπτεσθε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς. Which place *Athanaſius*'s Tranſlator has rendred ill: The import of it in *Engliſh* is this; *Invite therefore to you all thoſe that are deſirous of continuing in peace with you, eſpecially thoſe who celebrate their Conventions in the Old City, and ſuch as* [come] *from the Arians*. *Athanaſius* means thoſe that adhered to *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. For they, being Separatiſts from the *Euſtathians*, had their Religious Meetings in the *Palæa* (that is, in the *Old City*,) as *Theodoret* atteſts, Book 2. Chap. 31. and Book 3. Chap. 4. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* *Athanaſius* ſpeaks of the ſame Perſons afterwards in the ſaid Epiſtle; [and diſtinguiſhes thoſe that had their meetings in the *Old City*, from the followers of *Paulinus*, that is, the *Euſtathians*. For *Paulinus* was one of their number. Thoſe therefore that had their Aſſemblies in the *Palæa* can be no other than *Meletius*'s favourers, whom *Athanaſius* does moſt eſpecially commend. *Valeſ.*

Julianus.

CHAP. VII.

How Euſebius *and* Athanaſius *accorded together, and aſſembled a Synod of Biſhops at* Alexandria, *wherein they expreſly declared, that the Trinity is* Conſubſtantial.

BUT, as ſoon as *Euſebius* arrived at *Alexandria*, he, together with *Athanaſius*, was very diligent about convening a Synod. There aſſembled Biſhops out of ſeveral Cities, and conferred amongſt themſelves concerning many and moſt weighty matters. In this Synod they aſſerted the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and included him in the Conſubſtantial Trinity. They likewiſe determined that Chriſt at his Incarnation aſſumed not only fleſh but an Human Soul, which was alſo the opinion of the primitive Eccleſiaſticks. For they introduced not any new Doctrine, invented by them, into the Church, but [confirmed] thoſe points which Eccleſiaſtick tradition had from the beginning aſſerted, and which the learneſt perſons amongſt the *Chriſtians* had demonſtratively affirm'd. For ſuch ſentiments as theſe all the Antients in their Diſputations concerning this Point have left us in their Writings. *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, and *Serapion* Preſident of the Church in *Antioch*, do aſſert this in the Books by them compoſed, (*a*) as an opinion by general conſent acknowledg'd, [to wit,] that Chriſt at his aſſumption of Fleſh was endow'd with a [Human] Soul. Moreover, the Synod convened upon (*b*) *Berillus*'s account, who was Biſhop of *Philadelphia* in *Arabia*, in their Letter to the ſaid *Berillus* hath maintain'd the ſame Doctrine. *Origen* alſo doth acknowledge every where, in his Works which are extant, that *Chriſt* at his Incarnation aſſum'd an Human Soul: but more particularly, in the *ninth Tome of his Comments upon Geneſis*, he has explain'd the myſtery hereof; where he hath copiouſly prov'd, that *Adam* is a Type of *Chriſt*, and *Eve* of the Church. Holy *Pamphilus*, and *Euſebius* who borrow'd his ſirname from him, perſons worthy to be credited, do atteſt this. For both theſe perſons (who club'd in their drawing up the Life of *Origen* in writing, and anſwered ſuch as were prepoſſeſt with a prejudice againſt that perſon, in thoſe famous Books, wherein they made *an Apology in defence of him*,) do affirm, that *Origen* was not the firſt perſon engaged in this ſubject, but that he interpreted the myſtical Tradition of the Church. But, thoſe Biſhops preſent at the Synod of *Alexandria*, omitted not their reſearches into this queſtion, to wit, concerning * *Ouſia* and † *Hypoſtaſis*. For *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba* in *Spain* (whom we formerly mention'd) who was ſent before by *Conſtantine* the Emperor, to compoſe the diſturbance at that time raiſed by *Arius*, being deſirous to root out the opinion of || *Sabellius* the *Libyan*, raiſed a diſpute concerning *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis*, which was the occaſion of another diſſention. But the *Nicene* Synod, which was ſoon after convened, made not the leaſt mention of this diſpute. Notwithſtanding, in regard ſome perſons were afterwards deſirous of contending about this matter, for that reaſon theſe determinations were made in this Synod concerning *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis*. (*c*) It was reſolved by them, that theſe terms ought not to be uſed concerning God. For, [they ſaid that] the

Julianus.

* *Eſſence*, or *Subſtance*.
† *Subſiſtence*, *Exiſtence*, or *Perſonality*.
|| See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 7. Chap. 6. note (*b*.) This was the difference betwixt the *Sabellian* and *Arian* Hereſie; *Sabellius confounded the perſons in the ſacred Trinity, Arius divided the ſubſtance.*

(*a*) This clauſe is thus worded in the Greek [ὡς ὁμολογούμενον αὐτοῖς;] where the term [αὐτοῖς] ought in my judgment to be expunged, as being unneceſſarily inſerted here by ſome careleſs Tranſcriber out of the foregoing line, where it occurs. But *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 14. where he writes out this paſſage of *Socrates*) makes uſe of the term [ὁμούσιον,] inſtead of [ὁμολογούμενον;] either becauſe that was the reading in his Copy; or elſe in regard he thought [ὁμολογούμενον] was to be ſo explained, *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Nicephorus* (at the Book and Chapter now mentioned) calls this perſon *Cyrillus*. But, from the authority of the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. we have termed him *Berillus*. Our emendation is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion. *Berillus* was not Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, as *Socrates* ſays here, but of *Boſtra* (or of *Boſtri*) in *Arabia*: he denied Chriſt to have been God before his Incarnation, as *Euſebius* informs us, Book 6. Chap. 33. of *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; where ſee note (*a*.) That paſſage of *Origen*'s muſt be underſtood concerning this Hereſie of *Berillus*'s, which occurs in *his Comment on the Epiſtle to Titus*: where his words are theſe: *Sed & eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jeſum*, &c. *Alſo thoſe, who affirm the Lord Jeſus to be a Man fore known, and predeſigned, who before his coming in the fleſh had no peculiar exiſtence of his own, but that being born Man he had the Deity of the Father only in him; theſe perſons, I ſay, cannot, without great danger, be accounted members of the Church.* This paſſage occurs alſo in *Pamphilus's Apologetick in defence of Origen*. And *Gennadius* has mentioned it, in *his Book De Dogmatibus Eccleſiaſticis*, Cap. 4. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) The *Acts* of the Synod of *Alexandria* are not now extant; but 'tis ſufficiently apparent, both from that Synodick Epiſtle which *Athanaſius* wrote in the name of that Council, and alſo from hence, becauſe the *Great Athanaſius* was preſent at that Synod, that what *Socrates* here ſays is falſe. For, as to the Synodick Epiſtle, there occurs no ſuch paſſage in that, as this, *that the terms Ouſia and Hypoſtaſis are not to be uſed as often as we ſpeak concerning God*. Nor, would *Athanaſius* ever have ſuffered that to have been determined in his Synod, which does manifeſtly contradict the *Nicene Creed*. For in that Creed the term *Ouſia* does occur. *Socrates* ſeems to have been deceived by this paſſage in the Synodick Epiſtle: Πάντες τε τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι, &c. *And, by the grace of God, all perſons, after ſuch interpretations of thoſe terms, unanimouſly agreed, that that Creed, which the Fathers made profeſſion of at Nice, was better and more accurate, and that in future, it was ſufficient, that the terms thereof ſhould be made uſe of.* In which words, the terms *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* are not condemned: But this only is aſſerted, that it is more ſafe to uſe the terms of the *Nicene* Creed, than theſe, *of three Hypoſtaſis's and of one Hypoſtaſis*. For the debate at that time was only concerning theſe words; ſome affirming there were three *Hypoſtaſis's* in the ſacred Trinity, as did the followers of *Meletius*: Others, with *Paulinus*, profeſſing there was but one *Hypoſtaſis*. But no queſtion was then ſtarted concerning the term *Ouſia*. For both ſides aſſerted that there was one ſubſtance in the Trinity. How therefore can that which *Socrates* here ſays ſtand good, to wit, that it was Decreed in the *Alexandrian Synod*, that theſe terms *Ouſia* and *Hypoſtaſis* were not to be uſed concerning God? Perhaps alſo *Sabinus* (whoſe *Collection Socrates* had diligently peruſed) had led him into this miſtake. *Valeſ.*

term

Julianus. term *Ousia* was not so much as mention'd in the sacred Scriptures: and, that the * Apostle, obliged thereto upon a necessity of [delivering some] Opinions, had not rightly used the word *Hypostasis*. But they decreed, that these terms were to be admitted of upon another account, to wit, when they refute *Sabellius*'s Opinion, lest, for want of expressive words, we should suppose [the Trinity to be] one thing called by a triple name; but we must rather believe every one (*d*) of those named in the Trinity, to be truly God in his proper person. These were the determinations of the Synod at that time. But nothing hinders, but we may briefly declare our knowledge concerning [the terms] *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*. Such persons amongst the *Greeks* as were Expositors of their Philosophy, have given various definitions of *Ousia*; but they have not made the least mention of *Hypostasis*. (*e*) *Irenæus Grammaticus*, in *his Alphabetical Lexicon*, entitled *Atticistes*, affirms this word [*Hypostasis*] to be a barbarous term: for it is not, [says he,] used by any of the Antients: but should it be any where found occurring, it is not taken in that sense wherein 'tis now used. For, in *Sophocles* (in [his Tragedy entitled] *Phœnix*) the term *Hypostasis* signifies *Treachery*. In *Menander* it imports] *Sauces*; (*f*) as if any one should term *the Lees in any Hogshead of Wine Hypostasis*. But, you must know, that altho' the ancient Philosophers did not make use of this term *Hypostasis*, yet the more modern Philosophick Writers used it frequently instead of * *Ousia*. Moreover, they have given us (as we said) various definitions of *Ousia*. But if *Ousia* may be circumscribed by a definition, how can we properly make use of this term in reference to God, who is incomprehensible? *Evagrius*, [in his piece intitled] *Monachicus*, dissuades us from discoursing rashly and inconsiderately concerning God. But he altogether forbids the defining of the Divinity, in regard it is a most † simple thing. For definitions, says he, belong to things that are compounded. The same Author delivers these very words. *Every position, says he, has either a* Genus *which is prædicated, or a* Species, *or a* Differentia, *or a* Proprium, *or an* Accidens, *or what is compounded of these; but none of these can be supposed to be in the Sacred Trinity. Let that therefore which is inexplicable, be adored with silence.* Thus [argues] *Evagrius*, concerning whom we shall speak hereafter. But, altho' we may seem to have made a digression by relating these things; yet we have mention'd them here, in regard they are useful and pertinent to the subject of our History.

They mean, I suppose those words of the Apostle at *Hebr.* 1. 3. Χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ, *the Character of his Subsistence*, or (as our *English* Version words it) *the express image of his person.* Some of the *Antients* were very cautious about acknowledging *three Hypostases* in the Deity. Particularly St. *Jerome*, who thought that the term *Hypostasis* in this Text signified *Substantia*: and therefore in *his Version* 'tis thus rendred, *figura substantiæ ejus, the figure of his substance.* See Dr. *Owen*'s account of this phrase, in *his Exposition on the Hebrews*, p. 55. &c. *Edit. London.* 1668.

* That is, *Substance.*

† *Unmixt* or *uncompounded.*

Julianus.

CHAP. VIII.

[*Some Passages quoted*] *out of* Athanasius's Apologetick, *concerning his own Flight.*

AT the same time *Athanasius* recited *the Apologetick* he had formerly made *concerning his own Flight*, in the audience of those that were present. Some passages whereof, being useful and profitable, I will here insert, and leave the whole Book, in regard 'tis large, to be enquired out and perused by the studious. *Behold* [says he] *these are the audacious Villanies of those impious wretches. These are their practises, and yet they blush not at the mischiefs they have formerly* (*a*) *contrived against us, but do even at this time accuse us, because we were able to escape their murdering hands. Yea rather, they are sorely troubled, because they have not quite dispatch'd us. In fine, under a pretence and colour they upbraid us with fear, but are ignorant that whilst they make a noise about this, they retort the crime upon themselves. For, if it be bad to fly, it is much worse to pursue. For the one absconds that he may not be murdered: but the other pursues with a design to murder. Yea, the Scripture informs us, that we must fly. But, he that seeks an occasion to murder, violates the Law, and does himself give* [*others*] *an occasion of flying. If therefore they upbraid us with our flight, they should rather be ashamed of their own pursuit. Let them leave plotting, and those that fly will soon desist from making their escape. But they cease not from acting their own Villanies; but do all they can to apprehend: being very sensible, that the flight of such as are pursued is a great evidence against them that pursue: For no body flies from a meek and good-natured person, but rather from one that is of a barbarous and malicious disposition. And therefore,* * Every one that was discontented and in debt, *fled from* Saul *to* David. *Wherefore, these persons also endeavour to slay such as conceal themselves, that there may seem to be no evidence to convince them of their wickedness. But in this case also these mistaken persons seem to be blinded. For by how much the more manifest the flight is, by so much will the slaughters caused by their treacheries, and the banishments be more evidently exposed to the view of all men. For, whether they kill, death will make a greater noise against them; or again, whether they banish, they do in every place † erect monuments of their own injustice against themselves. Were they therefore sound as to their Intellectuals, they might perceive themselves intangled herein, and egregiously mistaken in their own measures. But in regard they are infatuated, for that reason they are incited to persecute, and whilst they*

(*a*) In *Athanasius*, pag. 705. the reading is [καθ' ἡμῶν ἐτυράννησαν, *Tyrannically acted against us:*] But I do rather approve of *Nicephorus*'s reading, to wit, [καθ' ἡμῶν ἐτύρευσαν, *contrived against us*;] which *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has followed in his Version. *Vales.*

* 1 Sam. 22. 2.

† Or, *send forth.*

(*d*) Instead of [τῶν ὀνομάτων, *of the names,*] which is the common reading; the *Florentine* M. S. words it thus [τῶν ὀνομαζομένων, *of those named.*] But *Nicephorus* maintains the common reading; for he has recorded this passage of *Socrates* thus: ἀλλὰ ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τῇ τειάδι παραλαμβανομένων ὀνομάτων ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει θεολογοῖτο τειχῆ διαιρούμενον. Which his Learned Translator *Langus* has thus rendred: *Sed tribus usurpatis nominibus, res quæque in Trinitate tripliciter distincta peculiari subsistentiâ suâ intelligatur.* But I cannot approve of this Rendition, in regard it recedes too far from the Authors words. *Langus* was puzled with these Words [τῶν ὀνομάτων, *of the names,*] and not without reason. For the bare name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is neither believed, nor asserted to be God; but the things [or persons] signified by those names. Wherefore, the reading in the *Florentine* M. S. is, in my judgment, to be preferred before the vulgar reading; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

(*e*) *Irenæus Grammaticus* was an *Alexandrian*, the Scholar of *Heliodorus Metricus*, who by a *Latin* name was called *Minucius Pacatus*. He wrote many Books *concerning the propriety of the Attick Language.* For he compiled three Books *of Attick names*, and as many more *de Atticâ consuetudine in dictione & in prosodia*, which were alphabetically digested: he composed one Book also *de Atticismo*, as *Suidas* relates in *his Lexicon.* Vales.

(*f*) *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 15.) reads this passage otherwise. For, instead of [ὅτι εἴ τις λέγοι, *as if any one should term*] he words it thus [ᾗ ἄλλος τῶν ἐν πίθῳ τρύγα φησίν· *And another stiles it the Lees in an Hogshead.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* translates this place thus: *Apud Menandrum vero veluti fæces quæ ex vino colliguntur in dolio,* ὑπόστασιν, *id est, substantiam designare dicit.* But, I think that there is another sense of these words; to wit, that *Menander* should term *Sauce Hypostasis*, because it settles in the bottom of the dish, like *Lees*, or *Sediment*, in an Hogshead. *Vales.*

Julianus. *ſeek to murder others, perceive not their own impiety. For, if they reproach ſuch as conceal themſelves from thoſe that ſeek to murder them, and calumniate ſuch as fly from their purſuers, what will they do when they ſee* Jacob *flying from his Brother* Eſau; *and* Moſes *retreating into* [*the Country*] *of* * Madian *for fear of* Pharaoh? *What anſwer will theſe Bablers make to* David *who fled from* Saul, (*when he* † *ſent* [*Meſſengers*] *from his own Houſe to murder him,*) *hid himſelf in a Cave, and changed his Countenance, until he had paſſed by* * Abimelech, *and avoided the Treachery? Or, what will theſe Fellows, who are ready to utter any thing, ſay, when they ſee the Great* Elias *(who called upon God and raiſed a Dead Man) hiding himſelf for fear of* Ahab, *and flying becauſe of* Jezebel's *Menaces? At which time the Sons of the Prophets alſo, being ſought for* [*to be ſlain,*] *abſconded, concealing themſelves in Caves with* † Abdia. *Or have they not read theſe Paſſages, in regard they are ancient? But they have alſo quite forgot what is related in the Goſpel. For the Diſciples for fear of the* Jews *retreated and hid themſelves. And* Paul, || *when he was ſought for at* Damaſcus *by the Governour, was let down from the Wall in a Basket, and eſcaped the hands of him that ſought him. Since therefore the Scripture records theſe things concerning the Saints, what excuſe can they invent for their raſh precipitancy? For, if they upbraid* [*them*] *with timidity, that audacious reproach recoils upon themſelves, being Mad-men as it were. But if they calumniate thoſe* [*Holy*] *Perſons, as having done thus contrary to the will of God, they* [*demonſtrate themſelves*] *to be altogether unskill'd in the Scriptures. For in the Law there was a Command that* * Cities of refuge ſhould be appointed, *to the intent that ſuch as were ſought for to be put to death, might ſome way or other be enabled to ſecure themſelves. But, in the conſummation of Ages, when the Word of the Father (he who ſpake to* Moſes,) *came himſelf into the World, he did again give this command, ſaying,* † But when they perſecute you, flee from this City to another. *And a little after he ſays;* * When ye therefore ſhall ſee the abomination of deſolation, ſpoken of by *Daniel* the Prophet, ſtand in the Holy place, (who ſo readeth, let him underſtand:) Then let them who be in *Judea* flee into the mountains. Let him who is on the houſe-top, not come down to take any thing out of his houſe. Let not him who is in the field, return back to take his cloaths. *When therefore the Saints underſtood theſe things, they entred upon ſuch a courſe of life as was agreeable hereto. For, the ſame commands which the Lord has now given, he had delivered by the Saints before his coming in the fleſh. And this is a rule for* [*all*] *Men, which leads them to perfection,* [*that is*] *to do what ever God hath commanded. Upon this account, the Word himſelf alſo, (made Man for our ſakes,) when he was ſought for, vouchſafed to conceal himſelf, as we do; and being perſecuted again, he* [*was pleaſed*] *to fly, and avoid the Conſpiracy. For, it became Him, that as by hungring, thirſting, and undergoing theſe afflictions, ſo by this means alſo he ſhould demonſtrate himſelf to be made Man. At the very beginning, as ſoon as he was made Man, he himſelf, being as yet but a Child, gave this command to* Joſeph *by an Angel,* * Ariſe, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into *Egypt:* for *Herod* will ſeek the youg childs life. *And after the death of* Herod, *it appears, that (for fear of his Son* Archelaus,) *he retired to* Nazareth. *Afterwards, when he had demonſtrated himſelf to be God, and had healed the withered Hand, the* Phariſees *went out and entred into a conſult againſt him,* * how they might deſtroy him. But when Jeſus knew it, he withdrew himſelf from thence. *Moreover, when he had raiſed* Lazarus *from the dead,* † From that day forth (*ſays the Evangeliſt*) they took counſel for to put him to death. Jeſus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence unto a country near to the wilderneſs. *Further, when our Saviour had ſaid,* || Before *Abraham* was, I am; the Jews took up ſtones to caſt at him: but Jeſus hid himſelf, and went out of the temple. And going thorow the midſt of them, went away, and ſo eſcaped. *When therefore they ſee theſe things,* (*b*) *or rather hear them,* (*for they ſee them not,*) *ought they not, according as 'tis written, to be burnt with fire, in regard they deſign and ſpeak the contrary to what our Saviour did and taught. In fine, when* John *had ſuffered Martyrdom, and his Diſciples had buried his Body;* * When Jeſus heard of it, he departed thence by Ship into a deſart place apart. *Theſe things our Lord did, and thus he taught. But I wiſh theſe perſons could be perſwaded to*] *be even in ſuch a manner aſhamed, that they would confine their raſhneſs to men only, and not proceed to ſuch an heighth of madneſs, as to charge our Saviour with fearfulneſs,* (*c*) *againſt whom they have once already deſignedly invented Blaſphemies. But no Man will ever tolerate this their madneſs: but rather by their ignorance in the Goſpels they will be confuted by all Men. For, there is a rational and true cauſe for ſuch a retreat and flight as this is: which, as the Evangeliſts have recorded,* * *was made uſe of by our Saviour. And from hence we ought to ſuppoſe, that the very ſame* [*cauſe of flight*] † *was made uſe of by all the Saints. For what ever is recorded concerning our Saviour as Man, the ſame ought to be referred to Mankind in general. For he aſſumed our Nature, and demonſtrated in himſelf* † *ſuch affections and diſpoſitions of Mind as are agreeable to our infirmity. Which* John *has ſet forth in theſe words:* * Then they ſought to take him: but no man laid hands on him, becauſe his hour was not yet come. *Yea, before that hour came, he himſelf ſaid to his Mother,* † Mine hour is not yet come. *And to thoſe who were called his Brethren* [*he ſaid*] * My time is not yet come. *Again, when the time was come, he ſaid to his Diſciples,* || Sleep on now, and take your reſt: for behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man ſhall be betrayed into the hands of ſinners. *Neither therefore permitted he himſelf*

Julianus. *when he had demonſtrated himſelf to be God, and had healed the withered Hand, the* Phariſees *went out and entred into a conſult againſt him,*

* See Matt. 12. 14, 15.

† John 11. 53, 54.

|| John 10. 58, 59.

(*b*) Inſtead of [μᾶλλον δὲ καταγινώσκοντες, *or rather conſider them*] we follow the reading in the Edition of *Athanaſius*, which is thus [μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀκούοντες ἐπεὶ μὴ βλέπουσι, πῶς κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ὃ θελήσουσι φλέγεσθαι πυρὶ κακοῦσοι, &c. *or rather hear them, (for they ſee them not,) ought they not, according as 'tis written, to be burnt with fire,* &c. Which reading *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* followed, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. But *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* join theſe words [*according as 'tis written*] with theſe [*for they ſee not;*] as if *Athanaſius* had alluded to that ſaying of the Goſpel, *Matt.* 13. 13; *they ſeeing, ſee not*: Which Repetition I like not. For the *Arians* could not then ſee thoſe things, which had been done long before their age. I am alſo of the ſame opinion with *Langus*, that the term [πυρὶ κακοῦσοι, *burnt with fire*] is to be underſtood of *eternal fire*, or *of fire ſent from* heaven. Laſtly, the word [θέλουσι] ſeems to be uſed here inſtead of [μέλλουσι, *ſhall they not,*] or [ὀφείλουσι, *ought they not,*] and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) All Tranſlators have rendred this place ill; excepting *Langus* only, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlator: whoſe Reading of it is this: *Qui ſemel blaſphemare, & maledictis eum inceſſere conſulto inſtituerunt*, i. e. *who have once already with deliberation undertaken to blaſpheme and aſſail him with ſlanderous reproaches.* For he means the *Arians*, who ranked Chriſt amongſt the Creatures. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *was in our Saviour.*

† Or, *was in the Saints.*

† Τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀδυναμίας πάθη, *the paſſions, or, affections of our infirmity.*

* Or, *Midian*; See Exod. 2. 15.

† 1 Sam. 19. 11, &c.

* See 1 Sam. 21. the *Septuagint* (the words of which Verſion *Athanaſius* quotes here) call this Man *Abimelech*: but in the *Hebrew* his name is *Abimelech.*

† Or, *Obadiah.* See 1 Kings 18. 13.

|| 2 Cor. 11. 32, 33.

* Numb. 35. 11.

† Matt. 10. 23.

* Matt. 24. 15, 16, 17, 18.

* Matt. 2. 13.

* Matt. 14. 13.

† John 11. 53, 54.

|| John 10. 58, 59.

* John 7. 30.

† John 2. 4.

* John 7. 6.

|| Matt. 26. 45.

to

Julianus. *to be apprehended before the time came; nor, when the time was come, did he conceal himself: but voluntarily resigned up himself to the Traytors. After the same manner also did the blessed Martyrs consult their own preservation in the Persecutions which now and then hapned. When they were persecuted they fled, and continued in places of concealment: But when found out, they suffer'd Martyrdom.* Thus has *Athanasius* discoursed in *his Apologetick concerning his own Flight.*

CHAP. IX.

How (after the Synod at Alexandria [*made up*] *of those who asserted the* Homoöusian *Faith,*) Eusebius, *returning to* Antioch, *found the* Catholicks *disagreeing there upon account of* Paulinus's *Ordination; and being unable to bring them to an agreement, he departed from thence.*

BUT *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellæ*, immediately after the Synod, went from *Alexandria* to *Antioch:* Where finding *Paulinus* ordained by *Lucifer*, and the Populace disagreeing amongst themselves, (for the followers of *Meletius* had their assemblies apart by themselves:) he was troubled, because all people did not unanimously agree to the Ordination that had been made, and in his own thoughts disapprov'd of what was done. But, by reason of the reverence and respect he bore to *Lucifer*, he held his peace, and went away, having promised, that he would rectifie what had been done, in a Synod of Bishops. Afterwards, he used his utmost diligence to unite the Dissenters, but could not effect it. In the interim, *Meletius* returned from his Exile. And finding his followers celebrating their assemblies apart by themselves, he headed them. But *Euzoïus*, a Prelate who embraced the *Arian* Tenets, was possess'd of the Churches. *Paulinus* had only one of the lesser Churches within the City, out of which *Euzoïus* had not ejected him, by reason of the reverential respect he had for him. But *Meletius* had his meetings without the gates of the City. After this manner therefore did *Eusebius* depart from *Antioch* at that time. But when *Lucifer* understood that his Ordination was not approved by *Eusebius*, he lookt upon it as an injury, and was highly incensed. Wherefore he separated himself from *Eusebius*'s Communion, and out of a pertinacious Contentiousness, presumed to reprove what had been determined by the Synod. These things being transacted in a time of sadness and discord, caused many persons to separate from the Church. For there sprung up another new Heresie, [the followers whereof were termed] *Luciferians*. But *Lucifer* was not in a capacity of satisfying his anger. For he was bound by his own (*a*) promises, by which

(*a*) The term here in the original is [ἀπολογίαις, *defences,*] which is in no wise agreeable here. Therefore, instead thereof, *Nicephorus* substituted these words [ταῖς ἰδίαις πάλαις, *by his own Nets.*] In my judgment, it should be [ταῖς ὁμολογίαις, *by his own promises*;] and so *Epiphanius* read it, as appears by his Version. But *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 30. *Eccles. Hist.*) has this passage only; *sed constringebatur*, &c. *But he was bound by the bond of his Legate, who by his authority had subscribed in the Council.* Afterwards, *Rufinus* adds these Words concerning *Lucifer*, *si vero recepisset Alexandrini decreta concilii*, &c. *But, had he admitted of the determinations of the Alexandrian Council, he saw that all his attempts must have been frustrated.* But I see no reason why *Lucifer* should reject the *Alexandrian Synods* determinations. For that Synod had approved of *Paulinus*'s Ordination, as I have remark'd before from *Athanasius's Synodick Epistle.* And whereas *Eusebius* subscribed that Epistle, he also may seem to have approved of *Lucifer's* Ordination of *Paulinus.* Yet, the same *Eusebius* coming to *Antioch* after the *Alexandrian* Council, and perceiving the disagreement between the *Catholicks*, would communicate with neither party, as *Rufinus* attests in the fore-quoted Book and Chapter: that is, he abstained as well from *Paulinus*'s as *Meletius*'s Communion. *Vales.*

(being sent by his Deacon) he had engaged that he would assent to the Synod's determinations. Wherefore, he retained the Ecclesiastick Faith, and departed into *Sardinia* to his own See. But such as at first were aggriev'd together with him, do hitherto continue Separatists from the Church. Further, *Eusebius*, like, a good Physician, travelled over the Eestern Provinces, where he perfectly recovered those that were weak in the Faith, teaching and instructing them in the Doctrines of the Church. Departing from thence, he arriv'd in *Illyricum* and afterwards went into *Italy*, where he took the same course. Julianus.

CHAP. X.

Concerning Hilarius *Bishop of* Poictiers.

BUT *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poictiers* (which is a City ~~of the second Aquitania~~) had prevented him, having before-hand laid the foundations of such points as were agreeable to the Catholick Faith [in the minds] of the Bishops in *Italy* and *Gallia*. For he, returning first from banishment, arrived in those Countries before him. Both of them therefore vigorously defended the Faith. But *Hilarius*, being a person endow'd with a great stock of eloquence, asserted the *Homoöusian* opinion in Books which he wrote in the *Latin* tongue: wherein he sufficiently confirmed * that Faith, and powerfully confuted the *Arian* Tenets. These things hapned a little after the recalling of those that had been banished. But you must know, that at the same time *Macedonius, Eleusius, Eustathius, and Sophronius,* (and [the rest of that Sect] who were all called by one general name *Macedoniani*) held frequent (*a*) Synods in various places. And having called together those who in *Seleucia* were followers of their opinion, they *Anathematized* the Prelates of the other party; I mean, the *Acacians*. They also rejected the *Ariminum* Creed, and confirmed that which had been recited at *Seleucia*. Which Creed was the same that had before been set forth at *Antioch*, according as we have remark'd in our foregoing * Book. And when by some persons they were asked this question: You who are termed *Macedoniani*; if you differ in your sentiments from the *Acacians*, how comes it to pass, that you have (*b*) communicated with them (*c*) until now, as

* That is, *the Homoöusian Faith.*

(*a*) Concerning these little Synods, or Conventicles, of the *Macedoniani*, this passage in *Basilius*'s 72 Epistle, *Ad Evæsenos* is to be understood; πίστις παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλη μὲν ἐν σελευκείᾳ, &c. *There is not amongst us one faith at Seleucia, another at Constantinople: a third at Zela, a fourth at Lampsacum, and a fifth at Rome.* Vales.

* See Book 2. Chap. 39.

(*b*) This was with good reason objected against the *Macedonians*, that whereas they dissented from the *Acacians* in the Draught of the Creed, and were deposed by them in the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod; yet notwithstanding this, they communicated with them. *Basilius*, 'tis certain, accuses them upon this account in *his* 73 *Epistle ad suos Monachos. Basilius*'s words there are to be understood concerning *Eustathius* and the *Macedonians*, who blamed *Basilius*, because he had heretofore communicated with *Eudoxius*, as 'tis apparent from his 79th Epistle to *Eustathius*. Vales.

(*c*) *Nicephorus* understood this passage of *Socrates* otherwise; he words it thus: τίδη πολὺ τῶν τοῖς περὶ ἀκάκιον διαφέρονται, ὁμόφρονες αὐτοῖς τὸ πρότερον καὶ κοινωνοὶ καθεστῶτες, i.e. *Why do you now dissent from the Acacians, with whom you have heretofore agreed and communicated?* *Nicephorus* therefore seems to have taken these words [ἄχει νῦν *until now*] for [ἄχει τότε, *hitherto.*] But I like not this exposition, and am of opinion, that [ἐκοινωνεῖτε, *did communicate*] is by *Socrates* used instead of [κοινωνεῖτε, *do communicate.*

Which *Basilius* does mightily confirm in his fore-quoted Epistle, and *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Semiarian.*) Where he says, that although the *Semiarians* were divided into several Factions, yet they dissented in words only, but in reality agreed in the same opinion: in so much that it would be very difficult to assign the point wherein they disagreed amongst themselves. But upon a more mature consideration of the matter, I judge *Nicephorus*'s sense of these words to be truer. For *Socrates* says, that *Eleusius*, *Eustathius*, and the rest of the *Macedonians* did at this time (that is, in the Reign of *Julian*) first make up a Body of their own Sect, and, having covened Synods, did confirm the Creed of the *Antiochian* Synod, and *anathematize Acacius* with his Followers: and that when they were questioned by some, why they had communicated with the *Acacians* (whose Creed they did reject) so long after the *Seleucian Synod*; they returned this answer by *Sophronius*; to wit, *The Western Prelates erred, in regard they asserted the Homoöusian Faith: the Easterns, being followers of Aëtius's opinion, professed the Son to be dislike the Father: but we keeping the middle way, do affirm the Son to be like the Father according to his subsistence.* This is *Sophronius*'s answer. Which that it may satisfie the question proposed, this must necessarily be understood, to wit; *Since therefore the Acacians entertained the same Sentiments, it need not be wondred at, that we have hitherto held communion with them.* *Acacius*, 'tis certain, did profess the Son to be like the Father, in the same manner as the *Macedonians* did. See *Sozomen*, Book 5. Chap. 14. *Vales.*

Julianus. being of the same opinion with you? To this demand they return'd an answer by *Sophronius* Bishop of *Popeiopolis* a City of *Paphlagonia*, after this manner: The Western Bishops, says he, were infected (as it were with a disease) with the *Homoöusian* opinion. *Aëtius* in the East, having adulterated [the Doctrine of the Faith,] introduced [an opinion, whereby he maintained] a dissimilitude of substance [between the Son and the Father.] Both these opinions were impious. For, the Western Bishops did rashly knit together in one the distinct persons of the Father and Son, binding them together with that Cord of iniquity, the term *Homoöusios*. *Aëtius* wholly separated that affinity of nature which the Son hath to the Father, by [introducing] this expression, *Unlike according to* * *Essence.* Since therefore, [the Assertors of] both these opinions fall into the highest extreams of opposition, the middle way between these two assertions seem'd to us to be more agreeable to truth an piety, whereby 'tis affirmed, that the Son is like to the Father † *according to Subsistence.* (*d*) This is the answer which the *Macedoniani* return'd by *Sophronius* to that question, as *Sabinus* says in *his Collection of the Acts of Synods.* But, whereas they accuse *Aëtius* as being the Author of the † *Anomoian* opinion, and not *Acacius*, 'tis apparent, they do fallaciously corrupt the truth, thinking to avoid the *Arians* on the one side, and the *Homoöusians* on the other. For they are confuted by their own words, that through a desire of innovating they have made a separation from them both. But let thus much be said concerning these [persons.]

* Or, *Substance.*

† Καθ' ὑπόστασιν; See Chap. 7. of this Book.

(*d*) This place is very intricate. The answer of the *Macedoniani* (which *Socrates* has related above, out of *Sabinus*) is obscure enough. But the censure and reprehension of that answer (which *Socrates* now subjoins,) seems to be much more obscure. Nor does *Nicephorus* give us any assistance here; for he has transcribed this passage of *Socrates*'s almost word for word. Notwithstanding, we will endeavour to produce something in order to the illustration of this place. This therefore is our Sentiment. The *Macedoniani* were asked, why they dissented from *Acacius*, with whom they had before held Communion. In their answer they blamed the *Homoöusians* and *Aëtius*. *This is nothing to the purpose, says* Socrates. *For you were not questioned concerning Aëtius, but concerning Acacius; you do meerly sophisticate: For Acacius, as well as you, does condemn Aëtius's opinion. Now, whereas you condemn Aëtius's opinion, you are not for that reason any whit less Hereticks. For by your own words you are convinced of a Novelty or Heresie, whilst you assert the Son to be like the Father according to subsistence. Wherein you dissent as well from the Catholick followers of the Nicene Creed, (who profess him to be of the same substance with the Father,) as from the Arians, who asserted him to be a Creature, or dislike in respect of his Substance.* 'Tis certain, Theodoret (Book 4. *Hæret. Fabul.*) does say, that *Macedonius* asserted the Son of God to be every way like to the Father, and that he was the first who invented the term *Homoiöusios*. He was therefore one of the *Semiarians*, as well as *Acacius*. *Vales.*

† See book 2. chap. 20. note (*h.*)

Julianus.

CHAP. XI.

How the Emperor Julianus *exacted Money from the* Christians.

BUT, the Emperor *Julianus*, having at the beginning of his Reign shown himself mild and gracious to all persons, in process of time did not demonstrate himself to be of such a like temper towards every one. For whenever there hapned any occasion of calumniating *Constantius*, he most readily granted the Christians requests. But when no such [reflections] were to be made, he made all men apparently sensible of that private hatred which he had conceiv'd against the Christians in general. Forthwith therefore he issues out an Order, that the Church of the *Novatians* in *Cyzicum*, which had been totally demolished by (*a*) *Euzoius*, should be rebuilt; imposing a most burthemsome penalty upon *Eleusius* Bishop of that City, if he did not perfect that building at his own charge within the space of two months. He also promoted *Gentilism* with his utmost endeavour: And (as we have said before) he opened the *Pagan* Temples. Yea, he himself did publickly offer sacrifice to the *Genius* of the City *Constantinople* in the (*b*) *Basilica*, where the Image of the *Publick Genius* was erected.

(*a*) It must be [ὑπὸ Ἐλδοσίου, *by Eleusius*] as 'tis apparent from the following words. So *Christophorson* found the reading to be, as is evident from his Version. See *Sozomen.* Vales.

(*b*) He means I suppose, that *Basilica* [or Cathedral] which was in the fourth Ward of the City *Constantinople*. For this was simply and absolutely called *The Cathedral*. The other was termed the *Theodosian Cathedral*, which stood in the seventh Ward of the City, as we are informed from *the old description of that City*. In the former *Basilica* therefore, *the Image of the City Constantinople's publick Genius* had heretofore been placed. For so these words of *Socrates* [τῆς Κωνσταντίου πόλεως τύχη δημοσία] must be rendrd. For the *Greeks* do usually call that τύχη, which the *Latines* term *Genius*; and τυχία are *the Temples of the publick Genius*; see *Euseb. Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, Chap. 11. note (*q.*) Vales.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Maris *Bishop of* Chalcedon.

MOreover, at this time, *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia* being led by the hand into the Emperor's presence, (for he was very aged, and had that distemper in his eyes termed the *Pin and Web*:) when he came before him, he reproved him sharply, terming him an Impious person, an Apostate, and an Atheist. The Emperor returned him opprobrious language for his reproaches, calling him blind fellow. And your *Galilæan* God (said he) will never cure you. (For *Julianus* did usually term Christ *The Galilæan*; and *Christians Galilæans.*) But *Maris* answer'd the Emperor with a greater confidence: I thank God (said he) for depriving me of mine eyes, that I might not behold your face, who have fal'n into such horrid impieties. The Emperor made no return hereto, (*b*) but was severely revenged on him [afterwards.] For when he perceived, that those who suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of *Diocletian*, were honour'd by the Christians; and having observ'd that many persons were very desirous of being made Martyrs, as if he resolved to be

(*b*) In the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M.SS. the reading here is [ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μεθήρχετο, *but revenged it afterwards*:] which reading pleases me best. For *Julianus* was not afterwards in any instance revenged upon *Maris* in particular; but he persecuted all the *Christians* in general, with that sort of persecution which *Socrates* relates. *Nicephorus* met with the same reading in his Copy: For thus he has expresst this passage in *Socrates*: Δεινῶς δὲ λίαν τὸ ἐγκλημα μεθήρχετο, *but he was in a very horrid manner revenged for that thing.* Vales.

revenged

Julianus. revenged on the Christians, upon this very account he took another course. He declined indeed that extremity of cruelty [practised] in the Reign of *Diocletian*: Nevertheless, he did not wholly abstain from [raising] a Persecution. For I call that a Persecution, when those who live peaceably, are by any means whatever disquieted and molested. Now, he disturbed them after this manner: He made a Law, that the Christians should not be allow'd an education in Humane Literature; *Lest* (said he) *when they have sharpned their Tongues, they should with a greater readiness answer the* * *Disputants amongst the Heathens.*

* Or, *Logicians.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Tumult raised by the Heathens *against the* Christians.

HE also issued out an Order, that those who would not relinquish the Christian Religion, and come and offer sacrifice to Idols, should not hold any Military employ about Court. Nor would he permit the Christians to be Governours of Provinces, saying, that their Law forbad the use of the sword against such Delinquents as had deserv'd a capital punishment. Moreover, he induced many persons, partly by flatteries, and partly by gifts, to sacrifice. Immediately therefore both those who were true Christians, and also they who pretended [the profession of that Religion, being try'd] in a furnace as it were, were apparently manifested to all men. For such as sincerely and cordially professed Christianity, willingly left their Military Offices, being resolv'd to suffer any thing, rather than renounce Christ. Amongst whom were *Jovianus*, *Valentinianus*, and *Valens*, all which persons afterwards wore the Imperial Crown. But others, who were not found Christians, (*a*) who preferred riches and secular honours before the true felicity, without the least delay submitted and offer'd sacrifice. One of which number was *Ecebolius*, a *Sophista* of *Constantinople*. Who making himself conform to the dispositions and humours of the Emperors, was in *Constantius*'s time pretendedly a very zealous Christian. In *Julianus*'s Reign he seem'd a very fierce assertor of *Gentilism*. After *Julianus*'s death, he would needs profess Christianity again: For having prostrated himself before the Door of the Oratory, he cried out, *Trample upon me who am salt without savour.* This is the true character of *Ecebolius*, a person, as at first, so afterwards, light and inconstant. At that time the Emperor, desirous to be revenged upon the *Persians* for the frequent incursions they had made into the *Roman* Territories in the Reign of *Constantius*, went in great haste through *Asia* into the East. But being sensible of the many mischiefs which accompany a War, and that a vast Treasure is required [to carry it on,] without which it cannot be commodiously managed; he craftily devised a way to extort money from the Christians. For he imposed a pecuniary mulct upon those that refused to sacrifice: and the exaction was very severe upon such as were sincere Christians. For every one was compelled to pay proportionably to his estate. And thus the Emperor, by an unjust collection of ill-gotten money, was in a short time mightily enrich'd. For that Law was put in execution, not only where the Emperor was present, but in those places also to which he came not. At the same time also the *Pagans* made incursions upon the professors of Christianity: and there was a great conflux of such as termed themselves Philosophers. Moreover, they constituted certain detestable Rites; in so much that they sacrificed young Children, as well males, as females, inspected their entrails, and tasted of their flesh. And these were their practices, both in other Cities, and also at *Athens* and *Alexandria*. At which City likewise they framed calumnious accusation against *Athanasius* the Bishop, acquainting the Emperor that he would destroy that City and all *Egypt*, and therefore that it was requisite he should be driven from that City. The (*b*) Prefect also of *Alexandria*, according to the Emperor's command, made an attempt against him.

Julianus.

(*b*) The name of this Prefect of *Egypt* [who in the Greek is called *Prefect of Alexandria*] was *Hermogenes*, as we are informed from *Julian*'s 23d Epistle. *Vales.*

(*a*) Instead of [ὅσοι τὰ χρήματα, *who preferred riches*, &c.] I suppose it should be] ὡς τὰ χρήματα, *in regard they preferred*, &c.] Which emendation is confirmed by *Epiphan. Scholasticus*'s Version; and by *Nicephorus*'s expressing of this passage, in his tenth Book, Chap. 23. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning Athanasius's *Flight.*

BUT *he fled again, saying these words to his intimate acquaintance; Friends, let us recede a little while; for 'tis a small cloud, which will soon vanish. Having spoken these words, with all possible celerity he went aboard of a ship, and passing over the *Nile*, fled into *Egypt*. They who endeavour'd to apprehend him, made a close pursuit after him. When he understood that his pursuers were not far behind, those that accompanied him, perswaded him to fly into the Wilderness again. But by making use of prudent advice, he escaped those that pursued him. For he perswaded his followers to turn back and meet the pursuers, which was done with all possible speed. When therefore they, who a little before fled, approach'd the pursuers (*a*) the persons who sought [for *Athanasius*,] ask'd his followers nothing [but this,] whether they had seen *Athanasius*. They gave them notice, that he was not far off, and said, that if they made haste, they would soon apprehend him. Being after this manner imposed upon, they pursued him very hotly, but in vain. *Athanasius* having made his escape, came privately to *Alexandria*, and absconded there till such time as the persecution ceased. Such were the miseries which befel the Bishop of *Alexandria*, after his frequent persecutions and troubles, occasion'd partly by the Christians, and partly by the Heathens. Moreover the Presidents of Provinces, supposing the Emperor's superstition to be a fair opportunity of [increasing] their private gain, treated the Christians very ill, beyond [what] the Imperial Order [commission'd them to do:] one while exacting greater sums of money from them than they ought to have done; at other times inflicting on them corporal punishments. These things the Emperor was sensible of, but conniv'd at them. And to the Christians, making their addresses to him upon this account, his answer was, *'Tis your duty, when you are afflicted, to bear it patiently: for this is the command of your God.*

* *Athanasius.*

(*a*) In my judgment, this passage should be worded thus [εἰ ζητοῦντες παρὰ τῶν διωκόντων τὸν ἀθανάσιον, εἴ που ἀθανάσιον τεθέανται, *Those who sought for him, ask'd his followers, whether they had seen Athanasius:*] the term [οὐδέν, *nothing*] being expunged; which is superfluous. *Nicephorus* confirms our emendation; in whom this word [*nothing*] occurs not; either because he found it not in his Copy, or else in regard he disliked that expression. Further, this whole story is taken out of *Rufinus*. Vales.

Julianus.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning thoſe who in the Reign of Julianus *ſuffer'd Martyrdom at* Merus *a City of* Phrygia.

AT the City *Merus*, *Amachius* Preſident of the Province of *Phrygia*, gave order for the opening of the Temple there, and commanded it ſhould be cleanſed from the filth heapt up therein by length of time, and that the Images in it ſhould be poliſh'd and trim'd up. This fact did ſorely trouble the Chriſtians. One *Macedonius*, *Theodulus*, and *Tatianus*, out of their zeal to the Chriſtian Religion, were unable to bear that indignity. But, having acquired a warmth and fervency of affection towards Vertue, they ruſh'd into the Temple by night, and brake the Images in pieces. The Governour, highly incenſed at what was done, reſolv'd to deſtroy many in that City who were guiltleſs: whereupon the Authors of this fact rendred themſelves on their own accord; and choſe rather to die themſelves in defence of the Truth, than to ſee others put to death in their ſtead. The Governour having ſeized theſe perſons, order'd them to expiate the crime they had committed, by ſacrificing. Upon their refuſal to do that, he threatned them with puniſhment: But, being perſons endow'd with a great courage of mind, they diſregarded his menaces, and ſhew'd themſelves prepared to undergo any ſufferings whatever. And choſe to die, rather than be polluted by ſacrificing. When therefore he had made theſe Men undergo all manner of tortures, at laſt he gave order they ſhould be laid on Grid-irons, under which he commanded fire to be put, and ſo deſtroyed them. At which time they gave the higheſt and moſt heroick demonſtration of their fortitude, by theſe words of theirs to the Preſident: *Amachius, if you deſire to eat broyled fleſh, turn us on the other ſide, leſt we ſhould ſeem half broyled to your taſte.* After this manner theſe perſons ended their lives.

CHAP. XVI.

How (when the Emperor prohibited the Chriſtians *from being educated in the* Grecian *Literature,) the two* Apollinaris's *betook themſelves to writing of Books.*

BUT, that Imperial Law, which prohibited the *Chriſtians* from being educated in the *Grecian* Literature, made the two * above-mentioned *Apollinaris*'s far more eminent than they had been before. For, whereas both of them were perſons well skill'd in Human Learning, the Father in *Grammar*, the Son in *Rhetorick*, they ſhew'd themſelves very uſeful to the *Chriſtians* at that juncture of time. For, the Father, being an exquiſite *Grammarian*, † compoſed a *Grammar* agreeable to the form of the *Chriſtian* Religion: He alſo turn'd *the Books of Moſes* into that term'd *Heroick Verſe*: and likewiſe paraphraſed upon all the Hiſtorical Books of the *Old Teſtament*; putting them partly into † *Dactylick Verſe*, and partly reducing them into the form of * *Dramatick Tragedy*. He [deſignedly] made uſe of all ſorts of Verſe, that no mode of expreſſion [peculiar to] the *Grecian* Language, might be unknown, or un-heard-of amongſt the *Chriſtians*. But the Younger *Apollinaris*, a perſon provided with a good ſtock of eloquence, explain'd the *Goſpels* and Apoſtolick Writings, by way of Dialogue, as *Plato* amongſt the *Grecians* [had done.] Having rendred themſelves uſeful after this manner to the Chriſtian Religion, by their own labours they vanquiſh'd the Emperor's ſubtlety. But Divine Providence was more prevalent and powerful, than either theſe perſons induſtry, or the Emperor's attempt. For that Law quickly became extinct, together with the Emperor [who made it,] as we will manifeſt in the procedure [of our Hiſtory.] And theſe Mens Works are reputed no otherwiſe, than if they had never been written. But ſome one will perhaps make this formidable objection againſt us; How can you affirm theſe things to have been effected by Divine Providence? For, it is indeed evident, that the Emperor's ſudden death proved very advantagious to the Chriſtian Religion. But certainly, the rejecting of the Chriſtian Writings compoſed by the two *Apollinaris's*, and the Chriſtians beginning again to be cultivated with an education in the *Grecian* Literature, can in no wiſe be of advantage to Chriſtianity. For, the *Grecian* Literature, in regard it aſſerts **Polytheiſm*, is very pernicious. To this objection we will (according to our ability) make ſuch a return as at preſent comes into our mind. The *Grecian* Learning was not admitted of, either by *Chriſt*, or his Diſciples, as being divinely inſpired; nor was wholly rejected, as hurtful. And this, in my opinion, was not inconſiderately done by them. For, many of the Philoſophers amongſt the *Grecians* were not far from the knowledge of God. For, [being furniſh'd] with a diſcurſive knowledge, they ſtrenuouſly oppoſed thoſe that denied God's Providence, of which ſort were the *Epicureans*, and other contentious [Cavillers;] and confuted their ignorance. And by theſe Books they rendred themſelves very uſeful to the Lovers of piety: but they apprehended not the principal Head of Religion, becauſe they were ignorant of the Myſtery of Chriſt, †*Which has been hid from generations and ages.* And that this is ſo, the Apoſtle in *his Epiſtle to the Romans* does declare, in theſe words: **For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs, and unrighteouſneſs of men, who hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs. Becauſe that which may be known of God, is manifeſt in them. For God had ſhewed it unto them. For the inviſible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made,* even *his eternal Power and Godhead, that they may be without excuſe: becauſe, that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.* From theſe words 'tis apparent, that they had the knowledge of the Truth, which God manifeſted unto them. But they were obnoxious, in regard when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. Whereas, therefore [the Apoſtles] prohibited not an education in the *Grecian* Learning, they left it to the choice of ſuch as were deſirous of it. Let this be one argument, in anſwer to the objection made againſt us. Another is this, The divinely inſpired Scriptures do indeed deliver Doctrines that are admirable and truly divine: they do likewiſe infuſe into [the minds of] thoſe that hear them, both an eminent piety, and exact courſe of life; and alſo exhibit to perſons that are ſtudious a Faith acceptable to God. But they teach not an Art of reaſoning, whereby we may be enabled to anſwer thoſe that reſolutely oppoſe the truth.

Beſides,

* Book 2. Chap. 46.

† Τὴν τέχνην γραμματικὴν χριστιανικῷ τύπῳ συντάξας, *compiled an art of Grammar conform to the Chriſtian mode.*

† See *Scaliger. Poet.* Book 2. Chap. 6.

* Or, *Tragedy that might be repreſented by Actors.*

* Or, *a multitude of Gods.*

† Col. 1. 26.

* Rom. 1. 18, 19, 20, 21.

Julianus. Besides, the adversaries are then most effectually baffled, when we make use of their own weapons against them. (But, the Christians could not be furnish'd herewith, from the Books written by the *Apollinaris's.*) Which when the Emperor *Julianus* had accurately considered, he by a law prohibited the Christians from being instructed in the *Grecian* Literature. For he very well knew, that the Fables [therein contain'd] would render the Opinion he had imbibed obnoxious to reproach. Which fabulous stories when *Socrates* (the eminentest of the Philosophers amongst them) contemn'd; as if he had been a person that attempted to violate their Deities, he was condemn'd. Further, both (*a*) Christ, and also his Apostle do give order, *that we should be skilful Exchangers of* * 1 Thes. 5. 21. *money, that we should prove all things, holding fast that which is good*; and † Colos. 2. 8. *to beware, lest any man spoil you thro' Philosophy and vain deceit.* But, we shall never obey this [Precept,] unless we can possess our selves of the Adversaries weapons; and whilst we are in possession of them, we are not to entertain the same sentiments with our Adversaries, but must abominate the evil, and retaining what is good and true, examine all things we embrace. For good, where-ever it is, is the property of truth. But if any one suppose, that by asserting these things we use violence [towards the Scriptures, by wresting of them,] let such a one consider, that the Apostle does not only not forbid our being instructed in the *Grecian* Learning; but he himself seems not to have neglected it, in regard he knew many sayings which were spoken by the *Grecians.* For, whence took he an occasion of using this saying; * *The Cretians are always lyers, evil beasts, slow-bellies,* except it were from his perusal of the (*b*) *Oracles of Epimenides* the *Cretian,* a person that was an *Initiator*? Or whence knew he this, * *For we are also his off-spring,* unless he had been acquainted with the *Phænomena* of *Aratus* the *Astronomer.* Moreover, this, † *Evil communications corrupt good manners,* is a sufficient evidence that he was not unacquainted with *Euripides's Tragedies.* But, what need is there of making a large discourse concerning these things? For, 'tis evident, that anciently, by an uninterrupted usage as it were, the Ecclesiastick Doctors studied the *Grecian* Arts and Sciences, until they arriv'd at a very great age: and this [they did,] partly upon account of [gaining] eloquence, and of * polishing the mind; and partly in order to a confutation of those things, concerning which [the Heathens] were mistaken. Let thus much be said by us, according to our capacity, upon account of the two *Apollinaris's.*

(*a*) At what place this precept of our Saviour's [*that we should be skilful Mony-changers*] does occur, is uncertain. For 'tis not to be met with in the Gospels. But, in as much as *Origen* and *Jerome* do agree, that this command was given by our Saviour, and was afterwards inculcated by the Apostle; I am of the same opinion with the Learned *Usher,* who supposes, that that saying of our Saviour was recorded *in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.* Further, this saying is frequently mentioned amongst the Antients. Amongst the rest, *Palladius* makes mention of it *in the Life of John Chrysostome.* See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* Book 7. Chap. 7. Note (*a.*) and the following remark. *Vales.*

* Titus 1. 12. (*b*) *Epimenides* did indeed predict many things, partly to the *Athenians,* partly to the *Lacedæmonians,* and partly to the *Cretians,* as may be seen in *Diogenes Laërtius*: (See *Laërtius in Epimenid.*) But I never read, that Oracles were written by him. *Suidas* affirms, that he wrote some *mystical and expiatory Poems,* and *some other obscure things.* These therefore must be stiled *Oracles. Epimenides* was a person incomparably well skilled in *Lustrations* and *Consecrations.* In his *Lustrations* or purgations, he made great use of the *Sea Onyon*: and therefore one kind of it was from him called the *Epimenidian Sea-Onyon.* So *Theophrastus,* Book 7. Chap. 10. Hence it appears, why *Socrates* termed *Epimenides* ἀρχηγὸν τελετῶν, *an Initiator.* Vales.

* Acts 17. 28.

† 1 Cor. 15. 33.

* Or, *exercising.*

Julianus.

CHAP. XVII.

How the Emperor, making Preparations for an Expedition against the Persians, *arrived at* Antioch: *and being derided by the* Antiochians, *he* [*published*] *an Oration* [*against them*] *entitled* * Misopogon.

* That is, *Beard-hater.*

BUT, the Emperor, having extorted a vast treasure from the *Christians,* and hastning his Expedition against the *Persians,* goes to *Antioch* in *Syria.* When he was come thither, being desirous to demonstrate to the *Antiochians* how superabundantly he affected glory, he depressed the prizes of vendible commodities lower than was fitting: [for] he respected not the present time, nor considered with himself, that the presence of a numerous Army does necessarily endamage the Inhabitants of a Province, and cut off plenty [of provisions] from the Cities. Wherefore, the (*a*) petty Merchants and Provision-sellers, unable to endure the loss they sustain'd by the Imperial Edict, at that time left off trading. Whereupon, [the Markets] were unfurnish'd with Provisions. The *Antiochians* could not tolerate this violence [used towards them;] (for they are persons naturally prone to revile:) but presently brake forth [into invectives] against the Emperor, and cried out upon him. They also derided his Beard; (for he wore a very large one:) saying, it ought to be shaved, and Ropes made of it. [They said] likewise, that he had the stamp of a Bull on his Coyn; [which was an Emblem] that he had turned the World upside down. For the Emperor, extreamly addicted to superstition, and continually * sacrificing Bulls upon the Altars of his Idols, had commanded, that an Altar and a Bull should be stampt upon his Coyn. The Emperor, enraged at these scoffs, threatned that he would most severely punish the City of *Antioch*; (*b*) and that he would return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia* [and reside there.] And having given order for a provision of necessaries to be made there, he prepared for his departure thence. Upon which account, *Libanius* the *Sophista* took an occasion of writing two Orations; the one he composed by way of address to the Emperor, in behalf of the *Antiochians*; the (*c*) other he wrote to the *Antiochians* giving a Character of him, says thus: *Præsagiorum scisitationi nimiæ deditus, ut æquiparare videretur in hac parte principem Hadrianum: superstitiosus magis, quàm sacrorum legitimus observator innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes Mactans: ut æstimaretur si revertisset de Parthis boves jam defuturos: Marci illius similis Cæsaris, in quem id accepimus dictum,* ὁι λευκοὶ βόες Μαρκῷ πῶ καίσαει· Ἂν σὺ νικήσῃς, ἡμεῖς ἀπολόμεθα.

(*a*) Οἱ μεταβολεῖς. So the *Greeks* do in general term all *small* and *minute-Merchants,* because they barter'd their Wares for a mean value. For μεταβάλλειν signifies *to buy and sell for gain*; and μεταβολὴ imports *a Merchandizeing Trade,* as *Julius Pollux* informs us, Book 3. Chap. 25. Hence, *he was termed* παλιμβολ- ὁ πολλάκις ἐμπολῇ μεταβεβλημένος, (says *Harpocration*) *who had been frequently sold.* These Traders are in *Latin* termed *Cociones, Arilatores,* and *Dardanarii.* But *Nicephorus* calls them παλινκαπήλους, whom *Socrates* here terms μεταβολεῖς; παλινκάπηλοι may in *English* be termed *Retailers,* such as the *Dardanarii* heretofore were. *Vales.*

* Hence 'tis that *Gregor. Nazianzen* (in *his first Invective against Julian,*) stiles him ταυροκαυσίτην, *Bull-burner.* And *Amm. Marcellinus* (Book 25. p. 294. Ed. *Paris,* 1636;)

(*b*) In the original, the reading here is [καὶ ἐπὶ ταρσὸν τῆς κιλικίας ἐξυποστρέφει; *And returns to Tarsus in Cilicia:*] which reading *Nicephorus* has followed. But in my opinion it should be thus [καὶ ὅπως ταρσὸν τῆς κιλικίας ἐξυποστρέψειεν, *and that he would return to Tarsus in Cilicia* [*and reside there.*] For *Julian* threatned, that when he returned from *Persia,* he would go to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia,* and would not Winter any more at *Antioch.* See *Amm. Marcellinus,* Book 23. pag. 239. *of our Edition.* Vales.

(*c*) This Oration of *Libanius's* is in my hands; 'tis transcribed from two M.SS. Copies, the one belonging to *Johannes Altinus,* the other to the *most eminent Cardinal Francis Barberini.* We will (God willing) translate this, and more than twenty other Orations of the same *Sophista's* into *Latin,* and publish them within a little while. *Vales.*

Julianus. concerning the Emperor's diſpleaſure. But, 'tis ſaid, this *Sophiſta* wrote theſe Orations only, and did not recite them in publick. Moreover, the Emperor, relinquiſhing his reſolution of revenging himſelf upon thoſe Revilers by deeds, diſcharged his rage by reciprocal Taunts and Scoffs: For he compiled a Book [againſt them,] which he entitled *Antiochicus*, or *Miſopogon*, wherein he has left a perpetual brand upon the City of *Antioch*. Thus much concerning theſe things. We muſt now relate what [miſchiefs] the Emperor then did to the *Chriſtians* in *Antioch*.

CHAP. XVIII.

How, when the Emperor was deſirous to conſult the Oracle, the Dæmon *gave no anſwer, being afraid of* Babylas *the Martyr.*

FOR, having given order, that the Heathen Temples in *Antioch* ſhould be opened, he was very deſirous of receiving an Oracle from *Apollo* * *Daphnæus*. But, in regard the *Dæmon* inhabiting that Temple, feared his Neighbour (I mean (*a*) *Babylas* the Martyr,) he gave no anſwer: For the Coffin lay hard by, wherein was incloſed the Body of that Martyr. When the Emperor underſtood the reaſon thereof, he forthwith iſſued out an order for the immediate tranſlation of the Coffin. The Chriſtians of *Antioch* underſtanding this, [flock'd together all of them,] as well Women, as young Children, and carried the Coffin from *Daphne* into the City with great rejoycings and ſinging of Pſalms. [The contents of] thoſe Pſalms were reproachful reflections upon the Heatheniſh Gods, and upon thoſe who confided in them, and in their Images.

* There was a Grove in the ſuburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphne*, which was conſecrated to *Apollo*; whence he was termed *Apollo Daphnæus*. *Sozomen* ſpends a great many words in deſcribing this Grove, at Chap. 19. Book 5. of *his Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* (*a*) He ſucceeded *Zabinus* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, ſays *Euſebius*, Book 6. Chap. 2. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* The ſame Author (Chap. 39. Book 6.) ſays that he died in priſon (but *Chryſoſtome*, Lib. de S. *Babyl.* Tom. 9. pag. 659. tells us he was beheaded,) in *Decius*'s Reign. Where his body was firſt buried, is not known: but wherever it was, there it reſted, till *Gallus*, *Julian*'s brother, built a Church over againſt the Temple of *Apollo Daphnæus*, (ſee *Sozom.* Book 5. Chap. 19.) into which he cauſed S. *Babylas*'s body to be tranſlated. After this removal of it, mentioned in this Chapter, 'twas intombed within the City *Antioch*, in a Church dedicated to his name and memory.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Emperor's Wrath, and concerning Theodorus *the Confeſſor.*

MOreover, the Emperor's *Genius* and Diſpoſition, which he had [hitherto] kept concealed, was at that time clearly diſcover'd and manifeſted. For he who before profeſt himſelf to be a Philoſopher, could not moderate himſelf any longer. But being very eaſily provok'd to anger by thoſe reproachful Hymns, was ready to inflict the ſame puniſhments upon the *Chriſtians*, which *Diocletian* heretofore laid on them. But in regard his ſollicitude about the *Perſian Expedition* afforded him not a convenient opportunity of proſecuting this deſign, he order'd *Saluſtius Prefect* of the *Pretorium*, to apprehend thoſe perſons that had been moſt zealous and buſie in ſinging Pſalms, in order to their being puniſhed. The *Prefect* (altho' as to his Religion he was an Heathen, yet) did not willingly receive that order. But, in regard he could not contradict it, he commands many of the *Chriſtians* to be apprehended, and confines ſome of them to priſon. Upon one young man (whoſe name was *Theodorus*, whom the Heathens brought before him,) he inflicted Tortures, and various ſorts of puniſhment, ordering that his body ſhould be lacerated all over; and then, when 'twas ſuppoſed he could live no longer, he releaſed him from his tortures. But God preſerved this perſon: for he ſurvived that confeſſion a long time. *Rufinus*, who wrote *an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory in Latin*, * ſays, that he converſed with this *Theodorus* a long while after this, and enquired of him, whether, during his being ſcourged and racked, he felt an acuteneſs of pain: And that his anſwer was, that the pain [proceeding] from his tortures was very little: and that there ſtood by him a certain young man, who both wiped off the ſweat cauſed by his agony, and alſo corroborated his mind, and that he cauſed that ſpace of time wherein he was tortured, to be a delight to him, rather than a conflict. Let thus much be ſaid concerning the admirable *Theodorus*. At the ſame time arrived Embaſſadors from the *Perſians*, requeſting [the Emperor] to put an end to the War (*a*) upon certain expreſs Articles and Conditions. But he diſmiſt them, with theſe words, *You ſhall ere long ſee Us in perſon, and ſo there will be no need of an Embaſſy.*

Julianus.

* See *Rufinus*'s *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 1. Chap. 36.

(*a*) Ἐπὶ φανερᾷ, is the phraſe in the Original; which neither *Muſculus*, nor *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood, as appears from their Verſions. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

How the Emperor perſwaded the Jews *to ſacrifice, and concerning the utter Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

WHilſt the Emperor was very deſirous to endamage the *Chriſtians* ſome other way beſides this, he betrayed his own Superſtition. For, being much addicted to ſacrificing, he not only delighted in the Blood [of Sacrifices] himſelf, but thought himſelf wrong'd unleſs others would do ſo too. But, in regard he found but few ſuch men as thoſe, he ſent for the *Jews*, and enquired of them, upon what account they abſtained from ſacrificing, when as the Law of *Moſes* enjoyned it. Upon their anſwering him, that they could not ſacrifice in any other place, but only at *Jeruſalem*, he gave order, that *Solomon*'s Temple ſhould be forthwith re-edified. [In the interim] he himſelf proceeds in his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*. But the *Jews* (who for a long time had been deſirous of getting an opportune time, wherein their Temple might be rebuilt, in order to their offering ſacrifice,) were then very induſtrious about that work. They alſo ſhew'd themſelves very formidable to the *Chriſtians*, and their behaviour towards them was proud and inſolent, threatning they would do them as much miſchief, as they themſelves had formerly ſuffered from the *Romans*. In regard therefore the Emperor had given order, that the charge [of that Structure] ſhould be paid out of his Exchequer, all things were ſoon provided; [to wit,] Timber, Stone, burnt Brick, Clay, Lime, and all other materials neceſſary for building. At which time, *Cyrillus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* called to mind the Prophecy of *Daniel*, (which Chriſt alſo has confirmed in the holy Goſpels,)

Julianus. Gospels,) and (*a*) predicted in the presence of many persons, that that time would come very shortly, wherein one stone should not be left upon another in that Temple, but that our Saviour's prophecy should be fulfilled. These were the Bishop's words: And in the night there hapned a great earthquake, * which tore up the stones of the old foundation of the Temple, and dispersed them all, together with the adjacent edifices. By reason of this accident, the *Jews* were extreamly terrified. And the fame of it brought many persons, who lived at a great distance, to that place. When therefore a numerous multitude were gathered together, there hapned another prodigy. For there came down a fire from Heaven, which consumed all the Builders Tools. You might have seen Mallets, Irons to smooth and polish stones with, Saws, Hatchets, Axes; in short, all things the Workmen had, which were to be used about that work, destroy'd by the flames. The fire prey'd upon these things for a whole day together. The *Jews*, being in the greatest fear imaginable, acknowledged (tho' unwillingly) that Christ was God. But they obey'd not his will, but were prepossess'd with an opinion of their own Religion, and continued firm thereto. For neither did a third Miracle, which hapned afterwards, induce them to a belief of the truth. For, the night following, the impressions of a Cross, which cast forth beams of brightness, appeared printed upon their garments. Which impressions when they saw the next day, they endeavour'd to wash and rub them out, but could not. They were blinded therefore, as the Apostle says, and cast away that good they had in their hands. Thus was the Temple, instead of being rebuilt, at that time totally demolish'd.

(*a*) That is, *Cyrillus predicted in the presence*, &c. For the term [περιλειφθῇ] must not be referred to *Christ*; tho' *Musculus* and *Christophorson* both tender it so. *Nicephorus* does evidently confirm our Version, at Book 10. Chap. 33. *Eccles. Histor.* Vales.

* Ἀνέβρασε τὰς λίθους τῷ πάλαι θεμελίων τῷ ναῷ, *which made the stones of the old foundation of the Temple seeth*, or *boyle.*

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Emperor's Inroad into Persia, *and concerning his Death.*

MOreover, the Emperor made an irruption into *Persia*, a little before the Spring, being informed that the *Persians* were a people that were weakest, and of the least courage in the Winter. For, being unable to endure the cold, they abstain from undertaking any military action at that time. But, according to the Proverb, *A Mede will not pull so much as his hands from under his Cloak at that time.* [On the contrary,] in regard he very well knew, that the *Romans* were able to endure a Winter Campaign, he pour'd his Army into the *Persian* Territories. When therefore they had depopulated a large tract of Ground, [laid waste] many Villages, and Garrisons, they then [began] to take Cities. And, having invested the great City *Ctesiphon*, he reduced the *Persian* King to such straights, that he dispatcht frequent Embassies to *Julian*, entreating him that he might be punish'd with the loss of some part of his Country only, provided he would depart out of his Territories, and put an end to the War. But *Julianus* was not in the least affected in his mind, nor shew'd any compassion towards these suppliants. Neither did he take into his consideration this common saying, to wit, *To conquer is famous, but to * be more than Conqueror, is odious.* But, giving credit to certain Divinations, which *Maximus* the Philosopher (with whom he conversed continually) suggested to him; and imagining, that he should not only equal, but exceed the glory of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*; [for these reasons, I say,] he rejected the humble addresses of the *Persians*. And he supposed, agreeable to the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, that by a *Transmigration* of Souls he was possest of *Alexander*'s Soul; or rather, that he himself was *Alexander* in another Body. This opinion deceived him, and was the cause of his not admitting of the *Persian* King's humble address at that time. The King of *Persia* therefore, perceiving his Embassy to be ineffectual, was reduc'd to a necessity [of fighting.] Whereupon, the next day after he had sent his Embassy, he draws out all the Forces he had against the *Roman* Army, in order to his giving them battel. The *Romans* did indeed blame the Emperor, in regard he would not avoid an engagement, when as he might have done it with advantage. Nevertheless, they gave the Enemy battel, and routed them again. The Emperor was in the engagement in person, on Horseback, and encourag'd his men: but he had no Armour on, in regard he solely confided in his hope of success. But [on a sudden] a Dart is cast at him from an unknown place, which pierced through his Arm, and entred his Side: (*a*) of which wound he died, the person that killed him being unknown. For some say, [the Dart] was thrown by a certain *Persian* who fled: others, [that it was cast] by one of his own men, which is the strongest and most common report. But *Callistus* (who had a military imploy in this (*b*) Emperor's Guards, and recorded his Acts in *Heroick Verse*,) in his Narrative of this War, says, that *Julian* was wounded by a *Dæmon*, of which he died. This was perhaps a poetical fiction of his; peradventure 'twas really true: For revengeful Furies have destroy'd many persons. But, however that matter was, this is not unknown, that [this Emperor] was a person, by reason of his too great heat and ardency of mind, unwary; because of his learning, vain-glorious; upon account of his counterfeit mildness, obnoxious to contempt. *Julianus* therefore ended his life in *Persia* (as we have said in his fourth Consulate, which he bore with *Salustius* [his Colleague,] about the twenty sixth of *June*. This was the third year of his Empire, the seventh from his having been created *Cæsar* by *Constantius*; and the thirty first year of his Age.

* Ὑπερνικᾶν; the term occurs, *Rom.* 8. 37; where our *English* Version renders it *more than Conqueror.*

(*a*) *Theodoret* (*Eccles. Hist.* Book 3. Chap. 25.) has recorded this passage of *Julian*: Ἐκεῖνον δὲ γε φασὶ δεξάμενον τὴν πληγὴν, ἐυθὺς πλῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ τοῦτο ῥῖψαι εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ φάναι, Νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαῖε, &c. 'Tis reported, that upon the receipt of his wound, he filled his hand with blood, and threw it up into the air, and said, O Galilean: [so he termed our Saviour, and the Christians he called *Galileans*] Thou hast overcome, &c.

(*b*) The *Greek* term ὀυηέτοι, signifies in this place *Protectores Domesticos, The Emperors Guards*; concerning whom we have spoken at large, in *our Notes* on Book 14. of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 33. In this sense *Socrates* uses this term, Book 4. Chap. 1. This is that *Callistus* (if I mistake not) whom *Libanius* (Epist. 120. Book 4.) calls *Callistio*, friend to *Sallustius Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. For *Libanius* attests there (as well as *Socrates* does here) that he was a Poet. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Jovianus's *being proclaim'd Emperor.*

Jovianus. THE *Roman* Army, reduced to the greatest streight imaginable, without delay, on the day after, proclaim *Jovianus* Emperor, a person

Jovianus. ſon courageous and nobly deſcended. He being *Tribune of the Soldiers*, * when *Julianus* by publiſhing of an Edict, gave the Soldiers their choice, whether they would ſacrifice, or leave their Military Employments; choſe rather to lay down his Commiſſion, than obey the command of the impious Emperor. But *Julianus*, neceſſitated thereto by the imminent War, had continued him in Commiſſion, amongſt his chief Commanders. Being at that time elected to the Empire, he refuſed it. And when he was forcibly drawn forth by the Soldiers, he cried out, ſaying, that being himſelf a *Chriſtian*, he would not reign over men firmly addicted to *Gentiliſm*. But, after all of them with one voice anſwer'd, profeſſing that they alſo were *Chriſtians*, he accepted of the Empire. Moreover, in regard he was on a ſudden left in very great ſtreights † in an Enemy's Country, and his men being deſtroy'd by a famine, upon terms he put an end to the War. The Conditions were indeed miſbecoming the *Roman* glory; but they were neceſſary in that conjuncture. For, being puniſh'd with the loſs of the (*a*) Borders of the Empire, and having ſurrendred *Nicibis* (a City in *Meſopotamia*,) to the *Perſians*, he departed out of *Perſia*. At the relation of theſe things the *Chriſtians* were encouraged (*b*): But the *Pagans* bewailed *Julianus*'s death. Further, the whole Army blamed his imprudent heat and raſhneſs, and aſcribed the diſgrace of the loſs of their Borders to him; becauſe, being impoſed upon by a *Perſian* Deſerter, he had burnt the Ships, which ſupplied them with proviſion by water, whereupon the Army was reduced to a great extremity by a Famine. Further, at that time *Libanius* the *Sophiſta* compoſed a Funeral Oration upon *Julian*, which he entitled *Julianum*, or *The Epitaph*. In which Oration he does at large recite and extol almoſt all his actions: he has alſo mention'd the Books which *Julian* wrote againſt the *Chriſtians*, wherein he ſays, the Emperor has demonſtrated the Books of the *Chriſtians* to be ridiculous, and ſtuft with trifles. Had it ſufficed this *Sophiſta*, to have commended the Emperor's other actions only, I ſhould quietly have proceeded to the following part of my Hiſtory. But whenas, being a ſharp Orator, by mentioning *Julian*'s Books he does inveigh againſt the *Chriſtian* Religion; for this reaſon we are reſolv'd to ſpeak ſomething concerning this matter: and in the firſt place we will produce his own words.

* See Chap. 13.

† Or, *in the Country of the* Perſians.

(*a*) In the original, the reading is [Ζημιωθεὶς δὲ τὰς σύρας τῆς ἀρχῆς, *Fo-, being puniſhed with the loſs of the dominion over the Syrians:*] which reading is retained in all our copies. Agreeable to which is *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion; who renders it thus: *Amiſſâ namque Syriâ, & traditâ Perſis Niſibi, For having loſt Syria, and ſurrendred Niſibis to the Perſians:* And *Nicephorus* words this paſſage thus: Καὶ δή τινα τῆς ὑποδελῶν ῥωμαίοις παρεδὸς Πέρσαις, τὴν σύρων ἀρχὴν λέγω καὶ τὴν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ νίσιβιν, &c. *Moreover, ſurrendring ſome places to the Perſians, that were tributary to the Romans, I mean the Government of the Syrians, and, Niſibis in Meſopotamia.* But, *Jovianus* ſurrendred not *Syria* to the *Perſians*. He gave them *Niſibis* only, and the Countries beyond the *Tigris*. Wherefore, I doubt not, but inſtead of [τὰς σύρας, *the Syrians*] it ſhould be [τὰς ὅρους τῆς ἀρχῆς, *the Borders of the Empire*; and accordingly we have rendred it. Than which Emendation, there is nothing more certain. *Socrates* himſelf confirms it, who ſpeaking concerning this matter a little after, in this Chapter, ſays thus, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ζημίας τῷ ὁραν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέφερον, *and aſcribed the diſgrace of the loſs of the Borders to him.* Valeſ.

(*b*) Between theſe two words [*encouraged*] and [*death*,] there was wanting in the printed Copies of *Socrates* this whole line [οἱ δὲ τὴν θρησκείαν ἕλληνες, πένθος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἰουλιανοῦ, *But the Pagans bewailed Julianus*'s;] which we have inſerted from the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M SS. Further, from this very one place 'tis evident, that *Chriſtophorſon* made uſe of no M. S. Copies, in his tranſlation of *Socrates*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Confutation of what Libanius *the* Sophiſta *has ſaid concerning* Julianus.

THE Winter (ſays he) *having lengthened the Nights, the Emperor undertook thoſe Books, which make the Man of* Paleſtine *God, and the Son of God; and by a long diſpute and validity of Arguments he evinced, that thoſe* [*Records*] *revered and honoured* [*by the Chriſtians*] *are ridiculous and meer trifles: having in this matter demonſtrated himſelf to be more ſkilful and wiſer, than the* * Tyrian *Old Man. But, may that* Tyrian *be propitious to me, and not be diſguſted at what is ſaid,* (*a*) *in regard he was out-done by his Son!* *Jovianus.*

* Porphy.

(*a*) In the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. the reading is [ὡς ἂν ὑφ' υἱοῦ ἡττώμενος, *in regard he was out-done by his Son.*] But in *Libanius*'s *Oration*, which I have read in Manuſcript, it is thus worded [ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ υἱοῦ ἡττώμενος,] which reading pleaſes me beſt. This *Funeral Oration* of *Libanius*'s concerning the praiſes of *Julian* the Emperor, is publiſhed indeed by *Morellus*, in the *Second Tome* of the ſaid *Libanius*'s works; but very corruptly. For, two parts in four of it are tranſpoſed; and beſides, there are ſome pages of it wanting. We have ſome time ſince found out the tranſpoſition of this Oration; and made up its defects from *Johannes Altinus*'s Manuſcript; in which Copy this paſſage is extant, which *Socrates* does here quote. *Valeſ.*

Theſe are *Libanius* the *Sophiſta*'s words. I am indeed of opinion, that he was a moſt incomparable *Sophiſta*: but, I am confident, had he not entertained the ſame ſentiments with the Emperor, as to Religion, he would have ſpoken againſt him all that hath been ſaid by *Chriſtians*, and (as 'tis very likely,) being a *Sophiſta*, would have enlarged upon that ſubject. For, whilſt *Conſtantius* was living, he wrote * *Encomiums* upon him; but after his death, he loaded him with reproaches and abuſive accuſations. Wherefore, had *Porphyrius* been an Emperor, he had undoubtedly prefer'd his Books before *Julian*'s: and, had *Julianus* been a *Sophiſta*, he would have termed him an ill *Sophiſta*, as he does *Ecebolius*, in *his Epitaph upon Julian*. Since therefore he, as being of the ſame Religion with the Emperor, as a *Sophiſta*, and as the Emperor's Friend, has related what he thought good; we, according to our ability, will anſwer what he has written. In the firſt place therefore, he ſays, that the Emperor undertook thoſe Books, when Winter had lengthen'd the Nights. This term, *to undertake*, or *attempt*, imports, that he made it wholly his buſineſs to write a diſcommendation, as the *Sophiſtæ* uſually do, when they inſtruct young Men in the rudiments of their Art. For he had been acquainted with thoſe Books long before, but then he made his attempts againſt them. And, having ſpent a great deal of time in a tedious conteſt, he did not [oppoſe them] (as *Libanius* ſays) with ſolid arguments; but for want of truth betook himſelf to Jeſts and Drollery, (whereof he was a great admirer,) by which means he derided what is firmly eſtabliſhed in thoſe Books. For, whoſoever undertakes a conteſt againſt another, does uſually belie him againſt him whom he manages the diſpute; one while by perverting the truth, at another by concealing it. And he that has a Pique againſt another, as an adverſary endeavours, not only to act, but to ſpeak againſt him in all things: and delights to turn the * faults that are in himſelf, upon him with whom he is at variance. That *Julianus* and *Porphyrius* (whom *Libanius* calls *The Tyrian Old Man*) did both of them take great delight in ſcoffing, is evident from their own Books. For *Porphyrius*, in the Books he wrote *concerning Philoſophick Hiſtory*, has made the Life of *Socrates* a ridicule, who was the eminenteſt of the Philoſophers: and has left ſuch paſſages upon record concerning him, as neither *Melitus*, nor *Anytus*, *Socrates*'s Accuſers, would have attempted to ſay. Concerning *Socrates*,

* Commendations.

* The ills.

Jovianus.

crates, I say a person admired amongst the *Grecians*, for his Modesty, Justice, and other Virtues. Whom *Plato* the most admirable Philosopher among them, *Xenophon*, and the whole † company of Philosophers, not only honour as a person beloved by God, but also repute him to have been endow'd with a wisdom more than human. And *Julianus*, imitating his * Father, has discover'd the distemper of his own mind in [the Book he entitled] *The Cæsars*, wherein he has discommended all the Emperors his Predecessors, not sparing even *Marcus the Philosopher*. That both of them therefore took great delight in scoffs and taunts, their own writings do sufficiently declare. Nor need I many or solid arguments, but this is sufficient to represent the humour and disposition of them both (*b*): This Character I give of them, grounding my conjecture concerning their disposition, upon the works of each of them. But, what *Gregorius Nazianzenus* has said concerning *Julianus*, you may hear [delivered] in his own words. For, in * *his second Oration against the Gentiles*, he says thus: *Experience, and his assuming the Imperial Dignity and Authority, evidenced these things to others. But to me they were in a manner apparently manifest long before, at such time as I was conversant with him at* Athens. *For he came thither immediately after the Innovations attempted by his † Brother, having requested this of the Emperor. The design of this his journey was two-fold; and the one was more honourable, [namely,] to see* Greece, *and the Schools there: The other was kept secret, known but to a very few, [to wit,] that he might consult the Sacrificers and Impostors there concerning his own affairs: For his Impiety was not yet in possession of confidence and liberty. At that time therefore, I well remember, I was no bad Diviner concerning this person, although I pretend not to be one of their number who are well versed in the knowledge and use of these Predictions. But, the unevenness and inconstancy of his Disposition, and the incredible Extravagancy of his Mind, made me a Prophet, if he be the best Prophet, who gives the truest conjecture. For, 'twas my opinion, that no good could be portended by an instable Neck; by Shoulders which sometimes he brandished, at others (c) repress; by wandring and rowling Eyes; a furious Countenance; Feet unsteady and stumbling; a Nose breathing forth reproach and contempt; ridiculous cuttings of faces signifying the same thing; immoderate and excessively loud laughter; noddings, and then denials by his countenance, without any reason; a voice repress and cut off by his Breath; immethodical and indiscreet Questions; Answers no whit better than these, crowding one after another, inconsistent to themselves, nor yet proceeding in a learned Order. What need I give a particular description of every thing? Before his Actions I saw he would be the same that I have since found him to be by his Actions. And, were some of those persons here, who were then present and heard me, they would be easily induced to attest this. To whom, when I saw these things, I forthwith spake these words, How great a mischief to it self does the Roman Empire breed up! When I had utter'd these words, I pray'd to God, that I might be a false Prophet: For that was better, than that the World should be filled with such horrid mischiefs, and that such a Monster should appear, the like to which had never been seen before; although many Deluges are recorded; many Devastatsons by Fire; many Earthquakes and * Chasms; (d) and moreover- many monstrous and inhuman Men, and Beasts that were prodigious and compounded of several kinds, of which Nature produced new forms. Upon this account he ended his life in a manner answerable to his madness.*

Jovianus.

(*b*) After these words this line [ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ περὶ ἐκείνου] was wanting in the Printed Copies; which I inserted from the *Sfortian* M.S. *Vales.*

* This passage occurs in *Nazianzen's* second Invective against *Julian*, pag. 97. Edit. Eton. 1610.

† He means *Gallus Cæsar*, See Chap. 34. Book 2. and Chap. 1. Book 3.

(c) In *Gregory Nazianzen's* second Invective against *Julian* (out of which this passage is quoted) the term here is ἀνασπώμενα which word *Billius* renders, *attollebat, he lifted up.* But I had rather it should be rendred *Librabat, poyzed. Nicephorus* retains the vulgar reading, to wit, ἀνασχοπτόμενος, *repress*; whose Translator gives this Rendition of these words: *Humeri, quos sub inde jactaret ac reduceret mobiles*, i. e. *Movable shoulders which he would sometimes thrust out, at others pluck back.* Vales. See Mr. *Montagu's* account of this term, in his Notes on pag. 98. of *Nazianzen's* second Invective, Edit. Eton. 1610.

* Or, *openings of the earth.*

(*d*) This passage is to be made good from *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, thus: Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπανθρώπων καὶ θηρίων ἀλλοκότων τε καὶ συνθέτων, ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐκύησε· and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

This Character *Gregorius* has given us concerning *Julianus*. Moreover, that in those many Books (in the compiling whereof they imploy'd themselves,) they have attempted to violate the truth, by perverting some passages of the sacred Scriptures, by making insertions in other some, and by explaining all things agreeable to their own design; (*e*) many persons have demonstrated in their answers to them, who have also overturned and confuted their Fallacies. But above all other [Ecclesiastick Writers,] (*f*) *Origen*, (who lived long before *Julianus*'s times,) by raising objections against himself from such passages in the sacred Scriptures as seem'd to disturb the Readers, and after that by clearing of them, has put a stop to the fallacious cavils and verbose niceties of ill-affected persons. Which Works of his, had *Julianus* and *Porphyrius* perused carefully, and given them a candid reception, undoubtedly they would have turn'd their discourses to some other subject, and would not have applied their minds to the writing of fallacies stuft with impiety and blasphemy. That the Emperor made it his business to cavil in his discourses before ignorant and the simpler sort of men, not in their presence who retain a representation of the truth taken from the sacred Scriptures; is evident from hence: For, having pick'd out as many expressions as upon account of necessity are by way of dispensation used concerning God in a more human manner, and put them and many such like phrases altogether; at length he subjoyns these very words; *Every one of these expressions therefore (unless the phrase contains in it some secret and occult sense and meaning, which I suppose,) is stuft with a deal of blasphemy against God.* Thus much he has said in express words, in *his third Book against the Christians.* And in that Book of his, to which he gave this title (g) *Concerning the Cynick Philosophy*, declaring after what manner sacred Fables ought

(e) Many of the Antients have undertaken to refute *Porphyrius* and *Julianus*'s Books *against the Christians. Methodius, Eusebius,* and *Apollinaris* wrote Books against *Porphyrius. Cyrillus* wrote against *Julian*; which Books of *Cyrillus*'s are still extant, but are not extraordinarily acute. *Vales.*

(*f*) In what Books *Origen* has explained such passages in sacred Writ as might trouble the Readers, and has confuted the fallacious arguments brought against the Christian Religion; 'tis hard to assert. For, in *his Books against Celsus*, he has in no wise done this. Nor, was it his design in that work, to explain those passages in the sacred Scripture, which had any difficulty in them, but only to answer *Celsus*'s objections. Perhaps, *Socrates* does mean *Origen*'s σφωνατέας. For in those Books *Origen* shew'd the congruity of the Opinions of our Religion with those of the Philosophers as *Jerom* informs us in his *Epistle to Magnus the Orator.* In order to his effecting of this, 'twas requisite for *Origen* to expound those places of Scripture, which seemed to contradict the sentiments of the Philosophers. *Vales.*

(g) He means his Book against *Heraclius the Cynick*; the title whereof is, πῶς κυνιστέον, *the way of living like a Cynick.* For, in the 403 pag. of that Book, this passage here quoted occurs. *Vales.*

Jovianus. ought to be feigned, he ſays, that in ſuch things as theſe Truth muſt be concealed: theſe are his very words: *For Nature loves concealment: and the hidden ſubſtance of the Gods cannot endure to be thrown into polluted ears in bare and naked words.* From theſe words 'tis apparent, that the Emperor had this ſentiment concerning the Divine Scriptures, [to wit,] that they were myſtical Diſcourſes, containing in them an abſtruſe ſenſe and meaning. Moreover, he is very angry, becauſe all men don't entertain the ſame opinion concerning them; and inveighs againſt thoſe perſons amongſt the *Chriſtians*, who take the ſacred Oracles in their plain and obvious ſenſe. But, it was not decent to rail in ſuch manner againſt the Simplicity of the Vulgar, nor upon their account to uſe ſuch inſolence towards the ſacred Scriptures: nor yet, to hate and have an averſion for (*h*) thoſe things which are rightly underſtood by others, becauſe all perſons underſtood them not, as he had a mind they ſhould. But now, the ſame accident ſeems to have befal'n him, which hapned to *Porphyrius*. For he, having been beaten by ſome *Chriſtians* at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*; and being unable to maſter his paſſion, in a great fury (*i*) relinquiſh'd the *Chriſtian* Religion: and out of his hatred towards thoſe that had beaten him, he fell to writing blaſphemous Books againſt the *Chriſtians*; as *Euſebius Pamphilus* has manifeſtly made it out againſt him, who has clearly confuted his Books. But the Emperor, having uttered diſdainful expreſſions againſt the *Chriſtians* in the preſence of unthinking perſons, through the ſame diſtemper of mind fell into *Porphyrius*'s Blaſphemy. Since therefore both theſe Perſons voluntarily [deſerted the truth and] brake out into impiety, they are puniſh'd by the very knowledge and conſciouſneſs of their own Crime. Further, whereas *Libanius* the *Sophiſta* in deriſion to the *Chriſtians* does ſay, that they make a Man of *Paleſtine*, God and the Son of God; in my opinion he ſeems to have forgot, that he himſelf has deified *Julianus* at the cloſe of his Oration. *For they almoſt ſtoned to death* (ſays he) *the firſt meſſenger of his death, as if he had belyed the God.* Then, a little afterwards he adds theſe words; *O thou Darling* (ſays he) *of the Dæmons, Thou Diſciple of the Dæmons, Thou Aſſeſſor with the Dæmons!* Altho' *Libanius* himſelf underſtood this otherwiſe; yet, in regard he avoided not the ambiguity of the term [*Dæmons,*] which is [ſometimes] taken in an ill ſenſe, he ſeems to have ſaid the ſame which the *Chriſtians* uſually do in their reproaches. Wherefore, had it been his deſign to have commended the Emperor, he ought to have ſhun'd an ambiguous term; as he did avoid another word; for which being reproacht, he afterwards raz'd it out of his Orations. Moreover, how Man in Chriſt may be ſaid to be God, and how he was apparently Man but inviſibly God; and after what manner both theſe aſſertions are infallibly true, the Divine Books of the *Chriſtians* do evidently ſhew. But the *Heathens*, before they believe, cannot underſtand. For 'tis the Oracle of God which ſaith, that

(h) In the *Sforzian* M. S. the reading here is τὰ καλῶς αὐτῷ γο ωμενα. But I am better pleaſed with my former conjecture, which was to read it thus, τὰ καλῶς ἄνοις ὀ ωμενα, *thoſe things which are rightly underſtood by others.* Although, the reading may be barely thus τὰ καλῶς νοούμενα, *thoſe things which are rightly underſtood.* For the word [αὐτὰ] crept in hither, from the following line. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) Ἀπέλειπε· in the *Florentine* M. S. the reading is καλέλειπε, *he deſerted.* *Nicephorus* (Book 10. Chap. 36. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*) words it thus, ἐξόμνυται, *abjured.* Valeſ.

* *If you will not believe, ſurely you ſhall not underſtand.* Jovianus. See *Eſai.* 7. 9. Wherefore, they are not aſhamed to deify many men; and I wiſh at leaſt they had been men good as to their morals, juſt, and ſober; and not rather impure, unjuſt, and perſons addicted to drunkenneſs: I mean, the *Hercules's*, *Bacchus's* and *Æſculapius's*, by whom *Libanius* bluſhes not to ſwear frequently in *his Orations.* Whoſe Sodomies and Adulteries ſhould I give a particular account of, my diſcourſe thereof would be long and a tedious digreſſion. Thoſe that are deſirous of information about theſe things, will find a ſatisfactory account thereof in (*k*) *Ariſtotle's Peplum*, (*l*) *Dionyſus's Corona*, (*m*) *Rheginus's Polymnemon*, and in the crowd of the Poets; who by writing concerning theſe things, do demonſtrate to all men, that the Heathen Theology is trifling and ridiculous. Further, that 'tis the peculiar practice of the Heathens, and a thing uſual amongſt them, with great readineſs to deify men, 'twill be ſufficient to advertiſe you by a few inſtances. To the *Rhodians* (who conſulted the Oracle upon their being faln into a calamitous diſtreſs,) an anſwer was given, that they ſhould worſhip *Attis* the *Phrygian*, an Heathen Prieſt who inſtituted mad Ceremonies in *Phrygia*. The Contents of the Oracle are theſe.

(*k*) Concerning *Ariſtoles Peplum*, ſee what the Learned *Guilelmus Canterus* has remark'd. *Valeſ.*

(*l*) It ſhould be *Dionyſius*, not *Dionyſus*. 'Tis hard to ſay, who this *Dionyſius* was, who wrote a Book with this Title. I am of opinion, it was *Dionyſius Miletius*; who (as *Suidas* atteſts) wrote κύκλον ἱστορικὸν, *an Hiſtorical Circle*; For κύκλος and σφαῖρα are the ſame. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) *Suidas* relates, that *Rheginus Grammaticus* wrote a Boook with this title, *Polymnemων.* Valeſ.

Appeaſe (*n*) Attis, *the Great God, chaſte* Adonis,
The Donor of a proſperous Life, and Happineſs,
The beautifully-hair'd Bacchus.

(*n*) That *Attis* is the ſame Perſon with *Bacchus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* alſo does inform us (in *his Protreptticon*) in theſe words: Διὰ ἣν αἰτίαν ὑπ ἀπαιδότος τὸν Διόνυσόν τινες ἄττιν προσαγορεύεσθαι θέλουσιν ἀιδοίων ἐστερημένον, *upon which account ſome will have* Attis, *deprived of his Genitals, not unfitly termed* Bacchus. *Demoſthenes*, in *his Oration pro Coronâ*: καὶ βοᾶν ἐνοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπαοιχόμενον ὑῆν ἄττην, i. e. *and ſhouting Euoi Saboi* [theſe were the uſual Acclamations of thoſe celebrating *Bacchus*'s Feaſts] *and triumphing in words, Hues Attis.* Which words of *Demoſthenes*'s *Harpocration* ſuppoſed were meant of *Attis* the *Phrygian*. But ſome of the Antients, read not in that place of *Demoſthenes*, *Attis*, but *Ates*, which is *an additional name* to *Bacchus*, as is alſo ὗης. See the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the term ὗης and ἄτης. *Valeſ.*

The Oracle calls *Attis* (who by reaſon of his Love-madneſs caſtrated himſelf,) *Adonis*, and *Bacchus*. And when *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians* paſſed over into *Aſia*, the *Amphictyones* made him preſents, and *Pythia* uttered this Oracle.

Adore the Supreme God *Jove*,
And *Minerva Tritogenia*,
The King concealed in a mortal Body,
Whom *Jove* has begotten (*o*) of a race ineffable,
Mortals Defender of Equity, King *Alexander*.

(*o*) Inſtead of [ἀειτάτοις γενεῆς, *of a race moſt incomparably the beſt*] the reading (as the rule of Verſe requires) ſhould be [ἀῤῥήτοισι γενεῆς, *of a Race ineffable.*] Valeſ.

Theſe are the words of the Oracle which the *Dæmon* utter'd at *Delphos*: He himſelf, when he would flatter Potentates, deified them. And this was perhaps done meerly out of flattery. But, what ſhall we ſay concerning *Cleomedes* the *Champion*, whom they have made a God, and utter'd this Oracle concerning him.

The laſt of the Heroes, *Cleomedes Aſtipalæus.*
Him worſhip with Sacrifices, as being no longer a Mortal.

Upon

Jovianus.

Upon account of this Oracle, *Diogenes* the *Cynick*, and (*p*) *Oenomaus* the Philosopher condemned *Apollo Pythius*. The Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* have declared *Adrianus* to be the thirteenth God. And *Adrianus* himself has deified *Antinous* his own * *Catamite*. These things *Libanus* does not term ridiculous, and meer trifles; although he very well knew these Oracles, and that single Book, which (*q*) *Adrias* wrote *concerning the Life of Alexander*. (*r*) Nor is he himself ashamed to deifie *Porphyrius*: For his words are these, *May the Tyrian be propitious to me*, whose Books he preferred before the Emperor's. Let thus much suffice to have been said by us by way of Digression, upon account of the *Sophista*'s scoffing and reproaches. I thought fit to omit the rest, which requires a particular Treatise. We must now subjoyn the remaining part of our History.

(*p*) *Oenomaus* a *Cynick* Philosopher, having been deluded by *Apollo*'s Oracle, resolved to revenge himself; and wrote a Book *concerning the falseness of Oracles*, to which he gave this title, Φωραπίται, i. e. *A discovery of Cozeners*: this *Eusebius* tells us from *Porphyrius*, in *his fifth Book de Præparat.* Valesius.

* That is, *his favourite, whom he kept to abuse contrary to nature.*

(*q*) *Musculus* and *Christophorson* took [Ἀδείας] to be a proper name. *Langus* (in his Notes on *Niceph.* book 10. chap. 36.) was of opinion, toat instead of *Adrias*, it should be *Adrianus*. Indeed the word *Adrias* is not to be endured: for no body was ever called by that name. Therefore *Nicephorus*, instead of [Ἀδείας] substituted this word [Ἀλεξανδρεῖς;] very erroneously. In this place *Socrates* means that Book of *Lucian*'s, which has this title, Ἀλέξανδρος, ἢ ψευδόμαντις, *Alexander, or The False Prophet*. In which Book *Lucian* describes the frauds and impostures of one *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, who had craftily forged an *Oracle*. Wherefore instead of Ἀδείας (or Ἀνδείας, as 'tis in the *Florentine* M.S.) it must be *Lucianus*. Unless we should say, that *Socrates* mistook, and ascribed this Book to one *Adrianus*, or *Arrianus*. Valesius.

(*r*) Before these words I placed a full-point, following herein *Nicephorus*'s authority. Moreover, the reading should be [οὐδὲ αἰσχαλύνθεται, *nor is he himself ashamed.*] Valesius.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Bishops flock'd from all places to Jovianus, *every one of them hoping they should induce him to embrace their own Creed.*

After *Jovianus*'s return out of *Persia*, the Ecclesiastick Commotions were again renew'd. For the Prelates of the Churches made it their business to prevent one another, each of them expecting, that the Emperor would give his assent to their Creed. But he had from the beginning adhered to the *Homoöusian* Faith; and openly declared, that he preferr'd that Creed before all others. And by his Letters he encourages *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who immediately after *Julianus*'s death, had recover'd the *Alexandrian* Church. But, being then made more confident and couragious by the Emperor's Letters, he was freed from fear on all hands. The Emperor likewise recalled those Bishops, who had been banished by *Constantius*, and had not procured their own revocation by *Julianus*. Moreover, all the Heathen Temples were then shut up. And [the *Dæmon Priests*] themselves absconded, some in one place, some in another. The * Philosophers also laid aside their *Palliums*, and cloathed themselves in the common and ordinary habit. Likewise, that (*a*) publick pollution caused by the blood [of sacrifices,] which they had celebrated in *Julianus*'s Reign, even to loathsomeness, was then taken away.

* Οἱ τελεσιουργοί, *The Pallium-wearers.*

(*a*) He seems to mean the *Taurobolia* and *Criobolia*, after the undertaking whereof, the *Pagans* believed they were eternally regenerated; as the old inscriptions inform us. This whole Ceremony is incomparably well described at large by *Prudentius, in the passion of Romanus the Martyr*; pag. 255, &c. *Edit. Basil.* It was in short thus: *The Priest to be Consecrated, being habited in his sacerdotal Vestments, (adorned with a Crown of Gold, and wrapt about with a silken Gown,) was put into a deep Pit dug into the earth. Over this Pit an Altar made of Planks was erected, through which many holes were boared. Upon this Altar a great Bull was laid, adorned with Garlands; and his horns were gilded: his breast they divided with a consecrated Weapon. A stream of reeking bloud gushing immediately out of the large wound, flowed upon the boarded Altar, and running through the holes made therein, rained down upon the Priest inclosed under the boards; who catcht the shower of gore by putting his head under the falling drops; wherewith he besmeared his garments, and his whole body.* See *Prudentius*, ut supra.

Jovianus.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Macedonians *and* Acacians, *meeting together at* Antioch, *confirm'd the* Nicene *Creed.*

But the affairs of the *Christians* were in no wise in a sedate posture. For the principal Heads of every Party made their (*a*) addresses to the Emperor, supposing they should obtain from him power and authority against those by them reputed to be their adversaries. And in the first place, those termed *Macedoniani* present a Libel to him, requesting, that they who asserted the Son to be unlike the Father, might be ejected out of the Churches, and themselves put into their places. The persons who presented this *Supplicatory Libel*, were *Basilius* [Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis*, *Pasinicus* of (*b*) *Zelæ*, *Leontius* of *Comani*, *Callicrates* of *Claudiopolis*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabali*. The Emperor having receivedtheirLibel, sent them away without an answer. He expresst himself only thus to them: *I abominate* (said he) *Contentiousness: But I love and honour those that are* * *desirous of Unity and Concord.* When these expressions were divulged in the hearing of the other parties, they mollified the stiffness of those who were desirous of contention. And this fell out agreeable to the Emperor's intent and design. Moreover, the contentious disposition of the *Acacians* was then also clearly manifested, and they evidently demonstrated their continual usage of complying with their sentiments who were vested with the supream power. For, meeting together at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they entred into discourse with *Melitius*; who having separated from them a little before, had embraced the *Homoöusian* Opinion. And this they did, in regard they saw *Melitius* was highly esteem'd by the Emperor, who then resided at *Antioch*. Having therefore made a profession of the *Homoöusian* Opinion, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, by a general consent they drew up a Libel, which they presented to the Emperor. The Contents whereof are these.

(*a*) It must be προσευλεύσεις, which has the same import with προσόδους, *approaches*, or *addresses*. Προσευλεύσεις signifies another thing, to wit, *Progressus, proceedings*. Valesius.

(*b*) Instead of [Ζήνων, *Zeni*] it should be [Ζήλων, *Zele*] according as *Epiphan. Scholasticus* read it. *Zelæ* or *Zela* is a Town of *Cappadocia*, as *Pliny* and others do affirm. *Basilius* mentions this place in the 72 *Epist. ad Evæsenos*; and in *Epist.* 73, *ad Monachos suos*. Valesius.

* Περιστάντας, *those that hasten towards*, &c.

To the most Pious and most Dear to God, our Lord JOVIANUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, *The* SYNOD *of Bishops present at* ANTIOCH, *assembled out of divers Provinces.*

Even we our selves are fully satisfied, most Pious Emperor, that your Piety has in the first place studied to assert and constitute the Peace and Unity of the Church. Nor are we insensible, that You have rightly judged a Draught of the true and Orthodox Faith to be the Head and Fountain of this Unity. Wherefore, that we may not be reputed

Jovianus.

of their number who adulterate the Doctrine of truth, we declare to Your Piety, that we do embrace and firmly adhere to the Creed of the Holy Synod heretofore convened at Nicæa. *Eſpecially, ſince that term therein, which to ſome ſeems (c) new and unuſual, (we mean the term* Homoöuſios,*) has with caution been explained by the Fathers; ſo, as to denote, that the Son was begotten of the Father's ſubſtance, and that he is like the Father as to his Subſtance. Not, as if any Paſſion were to be underſtood in relation to that inexplicable Generation: Nor, as the term* Ouſia *taken by the Fathers according to any uſual ſignification of it amongſt the* Grecians; *but, ['tis made uſe of] in order to the ſubverſion of what has been impiouſly and audaciouſly aſſerted by* Arius *concerning Chriſt, [to wit,] that he exiſted of things which are not. Which [Tenet] the* Anomæans, *who are newly ſprung up, do with a far greater boldneſs and audaciouſneſs impudently aſſert, to the utter ruin of Eccleſiaſtick Unity. Wherefore, we have annexed to this our Declaration a Copy of that Creed ſet forth by the Biſhops convened at* Nicæa, *which we alſo embrace. It is this,* We believe in one God the Father Almighty, *and (d) all the reſt of the Creed.*

(c) The term [ξένον, *new or unuſual*] was added by *Chriſtophorſon* out of *Nicephorus*. For, in the Kings M. S. (which *Robert Stephens* followed,) and in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M.SS. this word is wanting. Nor did *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* meet with it in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For thus he renders it: *Quando etiam Conſubſtantialitatis nomen, quod aliter ſe quibuſdam habere videtur, dicimus cautam interpretationem à patribus excepiſſe.* Valeſ.

(d) We remarked before (*Socrat.* Book 1. Chap. 8. Note (*a.*) that the term μάθημα, is by the *Greeks* uſed to ſignifie the Creed, becauſe 'twas commonly learnt by heart. But, the word πλήρης is uſeleſs here. In my judgment, it would be placed better after theſe words [ὅτις δεῖν,] thus ὅτις ἐστὶν πλήρης. *It is this in full.* Valeſ.

* Here follow the names of thoſe Biſhops who preſented and conſented to this Libel.

* *I* Meletius *Biſhop of* Antioch *have preſented [this Libel,] and do give my conſent to what is above-written. [And ſo do I]* Euſebius *of* Samoſata, Evagrius *of* (e) Siculi, Uranius *of* Apamæa, Zoilus *of* Lariſſa, Acacius *of* Cæſarea, Antipater *of* Rhoſus, Abramius *of* Urimi, Ariſtonicus *of* Seleucia *upon* Belus, (f) Barlamenus *of* Pergamus, Uranius *of* Melitina, Magnus *of* Chalcedon, Eutychius *of* Eleutheropolis, (g) Iſacoces *of* Armenia the Great, Titus *of* Boſtra, Petrus *of* (h) Sippi, Pelagius *of* Laodicæa, (i) Arabianus *of* Antros, Piſo *of* Adani, *by* (k) Lamydrion *the Presbyter*, Sabinianus *of* Zeugma, Athanaſius *of* Ancyra, *by* Orphitus *and* Aëtius *Presbyters*, (l) Irenius *of* Gaza, Piſo *of* Auguſta, Patricius *of* Paltus, *by* Lamyrion *the Presbyter*, Anatolius *of* Berœa, Theotimus *of* Arabi, Lucianus Arcenus. We found this Libel recorded in tha work of *Sabinus*'s, entitled *A Collection of Synodick Acts*. Moreover, the Emperor had taken this reſolution with himſelf, that by kind words and perſwaſives he would extirpate the Contentiouſneſs of the diſagreeing Parties; and he declared that he would not create trouble to any perſon of what belief ſoever he were of: but that he would love and highly value ſuch as ſhould be the principal promoters of the Churches unity. That theſe things were after this manner done by him, *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher does alſo atteſt. For in the Oration he compoſed upon his Conſulate, he admires the Emperor, (m) for his allowing every perſon a free liberty of worſhipping the Deity in ſuch a manner as he deſired; whereby he repreſs'd the humours of Flatterers. Upon whom he made very facetious reflections, ſaying, 'tis experimently known, that they worſhip the Purple, not God; and that ſuch perſons differ not from the *Euripus*, which ſometimes throws its waves this way, at others the quite contrary.

Jovianus.

(e) In the *Sfortian* M. S. it is it is [σικελῶν *Siculi,*] which reading is truer than [σικελὸς, *Sicelus.*] It is the name of a City Situate in the Eaſt, concerning which I have yet met with nothing. Amongſt the Biſhops of the *Acacian* party who ſubſcribed the *Seleucian* Synod, *Evagrius* of *Mitilene*, of the Province of the Iſlands, is recounted. *Valeſ.*

(f) This is neither a *Greek*, nor a *Latine* name. In the *Tripartite-Hiſtory* it is *Barbabentus*. Valeſ.

(g) *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* terms him *Iſacius*. He ſeems to be the ſame perſon with him that is called *Iöſaces* in *Baſilius*'s 69 Epiſtle, which is the Synodick Epiſtle of the *Antiochian* Council under *Meletius*. He is recounted between *Coſroës* and *Narſes*. Valeſ.

(h) Upon my warrant, make it *Hippi*. This *Petrus* was Biſhop of *Hippi*, a Province of *Paleſtine*. He ſubſcribed the *Seleucian* Synod, together with the others of the *Acacian* party here recounted, to wit, *Zoïlus* of *Lariſſa*, *Eutychianus* of *Eleutheropolis*; as you may read in *Epiphanius*, in *Hæreſ. Semiarian. Hippos* was a Town in *Paleſtine*, thirty *Stadium*'s diſtant from *Tiberias*; *Joſephus* mentions it *in his own Life*. Valeſ.

(i) In *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Verſion he is called *Arabianus Adrenſis*, very right. For this is the *Arabianus*, or *Arabion*, Biſhop of the *Adraï*, who ſubſcribed the *Seleucian* Synod, amongſt the Biſhops of the *Acacian* party, as *Epiphanius* relates in *Hereſ. Semiarian.* Where he is placed after *Exereſius* Biſhop of *Geraſi*, and next before *Chariſius* Biſhop of *Azotus*. *Adra* or *Adraön*, is a City of *Arabia*, under the Biſhoprick of *Boſtra*, as *Guillelmus Tyrius* informus us. 'Tis certain, *Uranius* Biſhop of *Adra* is reckoned amongſt the Biſhops of the Province of *Arabia* in the firſt *Conſtantinopolitan-Synod*. But, in the fifth *Conſtantinopolitan-Synod*, one *Dorymenius* is counted Biſhop of *Adra*. Valeſ.

(k) I ſhould rather write it *Lamurio*, agreeable to *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*; for 'tis a name formed ἀπὸ τῦ λαμύρω, which ſignifies *Talkative*. A little after this, inſtead of *Atetius*, the ſaid *Epiphanius* reads *Aëtius*; and ſo I found it written in the *Florentine* M. S. *Valeſ.*

(l) This Perſon is mentiod by *Marcus* the *Deacon*, in *his Life of Porphyrius* Biſhop of *Gaza*, which you have in *Surius*. Valeſ.

(m) Inſtead of [ὡς τὸ ἐφεναι θρησκεύειν] it ſhould be [διὰ τὸ ἐᾶναι θρησκεύειν,] and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Death of the Emperor Jovianus.

After this manner did the Emperor at that time repreſs their fury, who made it their buſineſs to cavil and contend. Departing immediately from *Antioch*, he went to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, where he buried *Julianus*'s Body. Having perform'd all the Solemnities of his Funeral, he is declared Conſul. Deſigning to go directly from thence to *Conſtantinople*, he arriv'd at a place, the name whereof is *Dadaſtana*; it is ſituate in the Frontiers of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*. There *Themiſtius* the Philoſopher (with others of the *Senatorian* Order,) met him, and recited his *Conſular* Oration before him, which he afterwards ſpoke in the preſence of the people at *Conſtantinople*. Indeed, as well the Civil, as Eccleſiaſtick affairs of the *Roman* Empire, being bleſt with ſo good an Emperor, would have been managed fortunately and ſucceſsfully; had not a ſudden death raviſh'd ſo eminent a Perſonage from the Publick. For, being ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper, [term'd] an Obſtruction, in Winter time he ended his life at the fore-mention'd place, in his own and his Son *Varronianus*'s Conſulate, upon the ſeventeenth of *February*. Having reign'd ſeven months, and lived thirty three years. This Book contains the [Tranſactions of affairs during the] ſpace of two years and five months.

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

That, after Jovianus's *death*, Valentinianus *is proclaimed Emperor; who made his Brother* Valens *his Colleague in the Empire. And, that* Valentinianus *was a* Catholick, *but* Valens *an* Arian.

Valentinianus and Valens.

THE Emperor *Jovianus* having ended his life (as we have declared) at *Dadaſtana*, in his own and his Son *Varronianus*'s Conſulate, on the ſeventeenth of *February*; the Soldiers departing from *Galatia*, on the ſeventh day after came to *Nicæa* in *Bythinia*, where by a general Suffrage they proclaim *Valentinianus* Emperor, on the five and twentieth of *February*, (*a*) in the ſame Conſulate. By original extract he was a *Pannonian*, born at the City *Cibalis*. Having been entruſted with the leading of an Army, he had given a demonſtration of his great skill in * *Tacticks*. He was a perſonage of a large ſoul, and always appear'd † ſuperior † to that degree of honour he had arriv'd at. When therefore they had created him Emperor, he went immediately to *Conſtantinople*, and thirty days after his being proclaim'd, he makes his Brother *Valens* his Colleague in the Empire. They were both Chriſtians, but they diſagreed about the Faith of the Chriſtian Religion. For *Valentinianus* had a veneration for the Creed of the *Nicene* Synod: but *Valens*, by reaſon of a prepoſſeſſion, adhered rather to the *Arian* Opinion. The reaſon of this his prepoſſeſſion was, becauſe he had been baptized by *Eudoxius* [Biſhop] of *Conſtantinople*, a Prelate of the *Arian* Religion. Both of them entertain'd a warmth and ardency for that Religion which each adhered to: and yet after they came to the Empire, they differ'd one from the other very much, in their diſpoſitions. For formerly, in the Reign of *Julianus*, (when *Valentinianus* was *Tribune* of the Soldiers, and *Valens* had a Military employ in the Emperor's Guards) each of them gave a demonſtration of the zeal they had for their Religon. For being compelled to ſacrifice, they choſe to leave their Military employments, rather than relinquiſh Chriſtianity. But, at that time the Emperor *Julianus*, knowing them to be perſons uſeful to the Publick, removed neither of them from their Military preferment; nor yet *Jovianus*, who was his Succeſſor in the Empire. But, being afterwards promoted to the Empire, * they were at firſt like to one another, as to their care about the management of the publick affairs; but they differed (as I have ſaid) about the Chriſtian Religion, and behaved themſelves after a diſagreeable manner towards the *Chriſtians*. For *Valentinianus* did indeed favour ſuch perſons as embraced his own ſentiments; but he was not in the leaſt troubleſome to the *Arians*. But *Valens*, deſirous to promote the *Arians*, did moſt grievouſly diſquiet and diſturb thoſe who differ'd in Opinion from them; as the procedure of our Hiſtory will evidence. At that very time *Liberius* preſided over the *Roman* Church: at *Alexandria Athanaſius* [was Biſhop] of the *Homoöuſians*; and *Lucius* of the *Arians*, whom the *Arians* had conſtituted *Georgius*'s Succeſſor. *Euzoïus* preſided over the *Arians* at *Antioch*. Thoſe of the *Homoöuſian* Opinion in that City, were divided into two parties; *Paulinus* headed the one party, and *Melitius* the other. *Cyrillus* was again put into poſſeſſion of the Church at *Jeruſalem*. The Government of the Churches at *Conſtantinople* was in the hands of *Eudoxius*, an aſſertor of the *Arian* Opinion. The *Homoöuſians* kept their Aſſemblies in a little Oratory within that City. Thoſe of the *Macedonian* Hereſie, who had (*b*) diſſented from the *Acacians* at *Seleucia*, at that time retain'd their Churches in every City. In this poſture were the affairs of the Church at that time.

valentinianus and valens.

* That is, *valentinianus and valens.*

(*a*) I doubt not, but inſtead of [ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ, *in his Conſulate.*] *Socrates* wrote [ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὑπατείᾳ, *in the ſame Conſulate*;] that is, in the Conſulate of *Jovianus Auguſtus* and *Varronianus* that noble young Prince his Son.

* That is, in Marſhalling of an Army.

† Or, *to his preſent fortune.*

(*b*) I am of the ſame mind with *Chriſtophorſon*, who inſtead of [διδαχθέντες τὰς περὶ Ἀκάσιον, *had declared for the Acacians,*] read [διενεχθέντες, πρὸς τὰς περὶ Ἀκάσιον, *had diſſented from the Acacians.*] Which reading I have followed in my Verſion. The reading may be [διαχεθέντες, *ſeparated from*] which is perhaps trueſt. *Nicephorus* has altered this paſſage of *Socrates* thus, διδαχθέντες ἃ ὅι περὶ Ἀκάσιον, *aſſerting the ſame things with the Acacians,*] which is worſt of all. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

Valentinianus and Valens.

That Valentinianus *went into the Weſtern parts* [*of the Empire,*] *and* Valens *reſided at* Conſtantinople, *who, upon the* Macedonians *addreſs to him, that a Synod might be convened, granted their requeſt. And that he perſecuted the* Homoöuſians.

BUT, the one of the Emperors, to wit, *Valentinianus*, went forthwith into the Weſtern parts [of the Empire.] For the care of the publick affairs * neceſſarily required his preſence there. But *Valens*, after he had reſided a little while at *Conſtantinople*, had an addreſs made to him by moſt of the Biſhops of the *Macedonian* Hereſie, who requeſted another Synod might be convened, in order to the amendment of the † Creed. The Emperor, ſuppoſing they embraced the ſame ſentiments with *Acacius* and *Eudoxius*, permitted it to be done. And ſo theſe perſons made it their buſineſs to aſſemble a Synod in the City *Lampſacus*. But *Valens* went with all ſpeed poſſible towards *Antioch* in *Syria*, fearing leſt the *Perſians* ſhould break the League they had entred into for thirty years in the Reign of *Jovianus*, and invade the *Roman* Territories. But the *Perſians* were quiet. Which calm *Valens* made an ill uſe of, and raiſed an irreconcilable War againſt thoſe who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion. He did indeed no harm to *Paulinus* the Biſhop, by reaſon of that perſon's exemplary and eminent piety. But he puniſhed *Melitius* with Exile. He drove all others, who refuſed to communicate with *Euzoïus*, from the Churches in *Antioch*, and ſubjected them to loſſes and various puniſhments. 'Tis ſaid, that he drowned many perſons in the River *Orontes* which runs by that City.

* Or, *drew him thither.*

† Or, *Faith.*

CHAP. III.

That, whilſt Valens *perſecuted thoſe who embraced the* Homoöuſian *Opinion in the Eaſt, there aroſe a Tyrant at* Conſtantinople, [*by name*] Procopius. *And that at the ſame time an Earthquake hapned, and an inundation of the Sea, which ruin'd many Cities.*

WHilſt *Valens* did theſe things in *Syria*, there aroſe a Tyrant at *Conſtantinople*, by name *Procopius*. He got together a great force in a ſhort time, and made preparations for an Expedition againſt the Emperor. This being told to the Emperor, put him into a very great agony, which for a little while repreſt the fury of his Perſecution againſt the *Catholicks*. In the interim that the diſquietude of a Civil War was with pangs expected, an Earthquake hapning ruined many Cities. The Sea alſo alter'd its own Boundaries; for in ſome places it overflowed it ſo much, that Veſſels might ſail, where there was a foot-paſſage before. And it departed from other places in ſuch a manner, that they were found to be dry ground. And this hapned in the firſt Conſulate of the two Emperors.

CHAP. IV.

That, there being a Diſturbance in the Secular *as well as the* Eccleſiaſtick *State of affairs, the* Macedonians, *having convened a Synod at* Lampſacus, *did again confirm the* Antiochian Creed, *and* Anathemized *that* [*publiſhed*] *at* Ariminum, *and did again ratifie the Depoſition of* Acacius *and* Eudoxius. *Valentinianus and Valens.*

THeſe things hapning to be thus, neither the Civil, nor the Eccleſiaſtical State of affairs was in a ſedate poſture. Thoſe therefore who had requeſted of the Emperor a power of convening a Synod, met at *Lampſacus* in the ſame Conſulate [which I have even now mention'd.] This was the ſeventh year from the Synod which had been aſſembled at *Seleucia*. Having again confirmed the * *Antiochian* Creed there, to which they had ſubſcribed at *Seleucia*, they *Anathematize* that Creed publiſhed at *Ariminum* by thoſe [Biſhops] with whom they had heretofore agreed in opinion: and again condemned *Acacius*'s and *Eudoxius*'s party, as having been juſtly depoſed. *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* could in no wiſe contradict theſe determinations; for the Civil War, which was imminent, permitted him not to revenge himſelf of them. Wherefore *Eleuſius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum* and his Adherents, were at that time for ſome little while the ſtronger party, in regard they aſſerted that termed *Macedonius*'s Opinion, (*a*) which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendred more conſpicuous and better known in the Synod at *Lampſacus*. I ſuppoſe this Synod to have been the reaſon, why thoſe termed the *Macedoniani* are ſo numerous in the *Helleſpont*: For *Lampſacus* is ſituate in a narrow Bay of the *Helleſpont*. This was the concluſion of the Synod of *Lampſacus*.

* This Creed occurs in *Socrates's Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 2. chap. 10.

(*a*) *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred theſe Words [μικρὸν τι ἔμπροσθεν] *Paulo antea, a little before*; as if it had been [μικρῷ πρότερον.] I am of opinion that this place is faulty, and by a ſmall change is thus to be reſtored: μικρὸν τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ ΧΓ λάμψακον συνόδῳ γενόμενον φανερώτερον, *which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendred more conſpicuous, and better known in the Synod at* Lampſacus. He ſpeaks concerning *Macedonius*'s Hereſie, which hitherto (ſays he) had been obſcure and unknown: but then, in the Synod of *Lampſacus*, it became moſt apparently known. I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote agreeable to my emendation. Concerning this Synod of *Lampſacus*, ſee *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 365. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. V.

That, an Engagement hapning about a City of Phrygia *between the Emperor* [Valens] *and the Tyrant* Procopius, *the Emperor took the Tyrant by the treachery of his Commanders, and put him and them to death, by inflicting new and unuſual puniſhments upon them.*

ON the year following, wherein *Gratianus* and * *Dagalaïfus* were *Conſuls*, (*a*) the War was in good earneſt begun. For when the Tyrant *Procopius*, having removed from *Conſtantinople*, was upon the march with his Army towards the Emperor: *Valens*, informed thereof, haſtens from *Antioch*, and engages *Procopius* near a City of *Phrygia*, the name whereof is *Nacolia*. In the firſt encounter he was worſted. But, not long after, he took *Procopius* alive, *Agilo* and *Gomoärius* his Commanders having betray'd him: upon [all] whom *Valens* inflicted new and unuſual puniſhments. For, diſregarding the Oaths

* Or, *Dagalaiphus.*

(*a*) Τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπεδίδου. *Epiphanius* renders it; *bella parabantur, the War was prepared. Chriſtophorſon*, following the ſenſe, rather than the words, tranſlates it, *Bellum geri cœptum eſt, the War was begun to be waged.* But, in order to the expreſſing the ſignificativeneſs and propriety of the *Greek* phraſe, it muſt be rendred, *Bella incubuerunt*, or, *Belli vis graſſata eſt*; *the War was with all diligence taken in hand*, or, *the force of the War raged.* Valeſ.

he

Valentinianus and Valens.

he had bound himself in to the Traitors, (*b*) he put them to death, by cutting them in sunder with Saws. And, having bound each of the Tyrant's Legs to two Trees standing near one another, which were bowed down, (*c*) he afterwards permitted the bended Trees to erect themselves: By the rise whereof *Procopius* was torn in sunder. And thus the Tyrant, rent in to two pieces, ended his life.

(*b*) *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates no such thing concerning *Agilo* and *Gomoärius Procopius*'s Captains. He does indeed affirm, that they revolted to *Valens*'s side, but says not, that they were cut in sunder with Saws. *Marcellinus* gives us this narrative only, (see *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 26. pag. 328, 329. *Edit. Paris.* 1636.) that the *Tribunes Florentius* and *Barchalba*, after the fight at *Nacolia*, delivered *Procopius* bound to *Valens*. And, that *Procopius* was immediately beheaded; and *Florentius* and *Barchalba* soon after underwent the same punishment. Therefore, what *Socrates* relates here concerning *Agilo* and *Gomoärius*, and concerning *Procopius*'s being torn in sunder, is false. *Philostorgius* also, *in his ninth Book*, relates that *Procopius* was beheaded, and that *Florentius*, who delivered him to *Valens*, was burnt. *Vales.*

(*c*) This place is corrupted, as 'tis evident. In my judgment, 'tis thus to be restored: ἔπειτα τὰ δένδρα ἐπικαμφθέντα ἀφῆκεν ὀρθωθῆναι; and we have rendred it accordingly.

CHAP. VI.

That, after the death of the Tyrant, the Emperor, forced those who had been present at the Synod, and all the Christians, *to embrace* Arius's *Opinion.*

THE Emperor, having at that time been fortunate and successful in that action, began immediately to disquiet the *Christians*, being desirous to bring over all persons to *Arianism*. But he was in a more especial manner incensed against the Synod which had been convened at *Lampsacus*, not only because it had deposed the *Arian* Bishops, but in regard that Draught of the Creed publish'd at *Arminum*, had been *Anathematized* there. Being therefore come to *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, he sent for *Eleusius* Bishop of *Cyzicum* to him. This Prelate had more closely adhered to *Macedonius*'s opinion, as I have said before. Wherefore the Emperor, having convened a Synod of *Arian* Bishops, compelled *Eleusius* to give his assent to their Faith. At first he denied to do it: but when he was threathed with Banishment and Proscription of his Goods, being terrified, he gave his assent to the *Arian* Opinion. He repented immediately that he had consented. And returning to *Cyzicum*, in the presence of all the people he complained of his being forc'd, saying, that he had given his assent by compulsion, not voluntarily: he also advised them to seek out for another Bishop, because he had been compelled to renounce his own Opinion. But the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*, by reason of that great love and affection they had for him, refused to be subject to another Bishop, nor would they permit any other [to govern] their Church. They continued therefore under his Presidency, and would in no wise recede from their own Heresie.

CHAP. VII.

That Eunomius, *having ejected* Eleusius *the* Macedonian, *was made Bishop of* Cyzicum. *And concerning* Eunomius's *Original, and that having been* * Amanuensis *to* Aëtius [*surnamed*] Atheus, *he imitated him.*

* Or, *Notary.*

WHen the Bishop of *Constantinople* heard this, he prefers *Eunomius* to the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum*, in regard he was a person able by his eloquence to draw [the minds of] the multitude to his own Lure. Upon his arrival at *Cyzicum*, an Imperial Edict was published, by which order was given, that *Eleusius* should be ejected, and *Eunomius* installed. This being done, those of *Eleusius*'s party, having erected an Oratory without the City, celebrated their Assemblies therein. Let thus much be said concerning *Eleusius*. We must now give an account of *Eunomius*. *Eunomius* had been *Amanuensis* to *Aëtius*, surnamed *Atheus*, of whom we have made mention *before. Conversing with him, he imitated his *Sophistick* way of discoursing: addicting himself [to the use of] certain insignificant and impertinent terms, and was insensible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to the deceiving of himself. Upon this account he was puft up with pride, and fell into (*a*) blasphemy, being indeed a follower of *Arius*'s Opinion, but was various ways an adversary to the Doctrines of truth. He had but a very mean skill in the sacred Scriptures, and was unable to understand their meaning. But he was very full of words, always making a repetition of the same things over and over, but could not arrive at the design he had proposed to himself. His seven Books which with a great deal of labour he wrote upon the Apostle's Epistle to the *Romans*, are a demonstration hereof. For, altho' he has spent a great many words in the explanation thereof, yet he could in no wise (*b*) apprehend the scope and design of that Epistle. Of the same sort are those other Books of his that be extant. Of which he that should be desirous to make tryal, would find a great scarcity of sense amidst a multitude of words. This *Eunomius* therefore was by *Eudoxius* (*c*) preferr'd to the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum*. (*d*) When he was come thither, by making use of his usual *Dialectical* Art, he amazed his Auditors by his unusual expressions; whereupon there arose a disturbance at *Cyzicum*. [At length] the inhabitants of *Cyzicum*, not able to endure his arrogant and haughty manner of expressing himself, drove him from their City. He went to *Constantinople*, where he made his abode with *Eudoxius*, and was [reputed a (*e*) Vacant Bishop. But, that

Valentinianus and Valens.

* See *Socrates*, Book 2. chap. 35.

(*a*) In the *Florentine* MS. the reading is [εἰς βλασφημίαν, *into Blasphemies*.] which i confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

(*b*) The common reading is [τὸ σκοπὸν λαβεῖν, *apprehend the scope, or design*;] in the *Florent.* MS. it is [τὸ σκοπὸν ἐλεῖν, *comprehend the design.*] Vales.

(*c*) *Socrates* has done ill, to place *Eunomius*'s promotion to the Episcopate of *Cyzicum*, in the Reign of *Valens Augustus*. For *Eunomius* was made Bishop of *Cyzicum* under the Emperor *Constantius*, in that Synod of *Constantinople*, which was held immediately after the Synod of *Seleucia*, as *Philostorgius* does in expres words affirm, Book 5. chap. 3. and *Theodoret*, Book 2. Chap. 27. & 29. *Eccles. Histor.* which two Authors have recorded *Eunomius*'s affairs with a far greater accuracy, than *Socrates* has related them. 'Tis certain, that in *Valens*'s Reign, *Eunomius* was banished by *Valens*, because he was reported to be a favourer of the Tyrant *Procopius*, as *Philostorgius* affirms. So unlikely is it, that he should have had the Bishoprick of *Cyzicum* then bestowed upon him. *Sozomen* has followed *Socrates*'s mistake, in Book 6. chap. 8. *Eccles. Histor.* Vales.

(*d*) Instead of [ὡς οὖν ἐγένετο κατ' ἐκεῖνον] it should undoubtedly be [ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο κατ' ἐκεῖνον, *when he was come thither.*] I wonder this was not perceived by *Christophorson*. For *Epiphanius* might have shown him the true reading, who renders it thus, *cum illuc venisset, when he was arrived there.* Vales.

(*e*) In Civil and Military Offices, some Persons were actually employed in bearing of them; others were *Vacantes*, [that is, *Persons that had the title of such an Office, but were not actually concerned in the management of it; we may term them titular Officers:*] who *in the Code* are said to be *præcincti honore otiosi cinguli.* So some *Tribunes* are termed *Vacantes* in *Amm. Marcellinus*, as I have remarkt *in my Notes on that Historian.* After the same manner those Bishops are termed *Vacantes* by our *Socrates, who had the bare name of a Bishop, without a Church, without a Clergy and People, over whom they might preside.* Of the same nature almost are those, who now a-days are stiled Bishops in Infidel Countries; such a one therefore was *Eunomius*, when,

being driven from *Cyzicum*, he reſided with *Eudoxius* at *Conſtantinople*. Which happned in *Conſtantius*'s Empire, not in *Valens*'s Reign, as *Socrates* here relates. Further, after *Eunomius*'s expulſion, *Eleuſius* ('tis probable) recovered his See again. *Valeſ.*

Valentinianus and *Valens.*

we may not ſeem to have ſaid theſe things upon account of calumny and reproach, hear *Eunomius*'s own words, after what manner he takes the boldneſs of expreſs himſelf in his *Sophiſtick* and fallacious aſſertions concerning God. For he ſays word for word thus. *God knows no more than we do concerning his own Subſtance. Nor is that more known to him, and leſs to us. But whatever we know concerning the Divine Subſtance, that is wholly known to God. And on the contrary, whatever he* [*knows,*] *the ſame you will without any difference find in us.* Theſe, and many other ſuch-like fallacies, *Eunomius* framed, being inſenſible [of his own error.] But how he afterwards became a Separatiſt from the *Arians*, we will in due place relate.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Oracle, which was found cut upon a Stone, when the Wall of Chalcedon *was demoliſhed by reaſon of the Emperor* Valens*'s anger.*

BUT, the Emperor gave order, that the Walls of *Chalcedon* (a City ſituate over-againſt *Byzantium*) ſhould be demoliſh'd. For he had obliged himſelf by Oath to do this (after he ſhould have vanquiſhed the Tyrant *Procopius*) becauſe the *Chalcedonians*, ſiding with the Tyrant, had ſhamefully (*a*) railed at and abuſed him, and had ſhut their gates upon him as he (*b*) paſſed by their City. The Wall therefore was by the Emperor's order pulled down: and the Stones were convey'd to the publick Baths of *Conſtantinople*, which are called (*c*) *Conſtantianæ*. There was a Prophecy found, cut on one of the Stones, which had for a long time lain concealed, but was then diſcover'd; ſignifying, that when the City ſhould be furniſhed with plenty of water, then the Wall ſhould ſerve for a Bath: and that numerous tribes of Barbarous Nations having over-run the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and done a great deal of miſchief, at length ſhould themſelves alſo be deſtroyed. Nothing hinders, but we may here inſert the Prophecy it ſelf, in favour to ſuch as are ſtudious.

(*a*) *Amm. Marcellinus* relates, that *Valens* laid ſiege to *Chalcedon*, during his War with *Procopius*. At which ſiege the Inhabitants of that City reviled him from the Walls, and contemptuouſly ſtiled him *Sabaiarius*, *Small-beer-drinker*. *Sabaia* (as *Marcellinus* deſcribes it) was a ſmall ſort of Liquor made of Barly, very uſually drank in *Pannonia*. In which Country *Valens* was born, (ſee *Socrates* Book 4. Chap. 1.) and therefore was, by way of reproach, called *Sabaiarius*, or *Sabiarius*. That this was the *Pannonians* uſual drink, *Dio* atteſts, *Lib.* 49. where he ſays, that the *Pannonians* fed upon a very mean diet; that they had very little Wine, or Oil; and that *Barly* and *Millet* was their food and drink. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 26. pag. 325. *Edit. Paris.* 1636; and *Valeſius*'s *Notes thereon*, pag. 324.

(*b*) Inſtead of [περιόντος,] it ſhould in my mind be [παριόντος,] as I have expreſt it in my Verſion. But the *Chalcedonians*, becauſe of that Revolt of theirs, were not only puniſhed with the demoliſhment of their Walls; but had this infamous brand alſo ſet upon them, *viz.* that no *Chalcedonian* ſhould ever be preferred to any Office. *Iſidorus Peluſiota* (Book 1. Epiſt. 485.) does atteſt this, in theſe words: Καρχηδονίοις νόμος κωλύει διέπειν ἀρχήν, *the Law prohibits the Carthaginians from bearing any Office.* On my peril make it καλχηδονίοις, *Chalcedonians.* For the *Carthaginians* have no concern with this place, in regard they were not ſubjects of the Eaſtern Empire, concerning which *Iſidorus* here ſpeaks. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Sozomen* mentions theſe Baths, termed *Conſtantianæ*, in his *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 8. Chap. 21. They were in the *Tenth Ward* of the City *Conſtantinople*, as we are informed from *the old deſcription of that City.* Alſo, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Book 3.) relates, that *Valens* built a Bath at *Conſtantinople*, of the ſtones of the walls of *Chalcedon.* But *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* do affirm, that an *Aquæduct* or *Conduit*, not a Bath, was built of thoſe Stones. Which relations do not contradict one another. For an *Aquæduct* is neceſſary for a Bath. It was doubtleſs a very famous work; whereof mention is made by *Themiſtius*, (in *Oratione decennali ad Valentem,*) and by *Gregorius Nazianzenus* in his 25th *Oration*; who very elegantly terms this *Aquæduct* of *Valens*'s, a *Subterraneous and Aërial River.* So alſo *Themiſtius*, in his Oration entitled *Amatorium*, or *de Regiâ pulchritudine ad Gratianum*; the paſſage wherein I will ſo much the more willingly annex here, becauſe the *Oration* is not yet Printed: Αἱ δὲ ὑποδεχόμεναι ἠλιβάτου, πεῶνας ἔχουσι καὶ ἐναέριοι, ϛαφυλῆ τὰ νῶτα ἀπειναμένοι, πλέον ἢ ϛαδίους χιλίους ἅπαντα καὶ κάταντα, ὅτε ἄντλῳ ὅτε καταντλῶ διάδεγμένοι, καὶ ὅτε ὑποσχεθεῖσαι, ὅτε ἐνεχθεῖσαι, σωτηρίτησαν ὑπερόφιοι, καὶ ἤνυσαν ἤδη περὶ τὴν πυλῶν, &c. Moreover, in *Socrates* here, I had rather read *Caroſianæ*, than *Conſtantianæ*. For the Baths called *Conſtantianæ* were built by the Emperor *Conſtantius*, as their name does declare. But the *Caroſianæ* Baths were finiſhed by *Valens*, and dedicated after *Gratianus*'s third and *Æquitius*'s Conſulate, *Vindalonius Magnus* being then *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti*, and by *the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle.* They were named *Caroſianæ* from *Caroſia Valens*'s daughter, as *Sozomen* atteſts, Book 6. And they were in the *Seventh Ward* of the City, as *the deſcription of Conſtantinople* declares. *Valeſ.*

When Nymphs *their myſtick daunce with watry-feet*
Shall tread through proud Byzantium*'s ſtately Street;*
When Rage the City-wall ſhall overthrow,
Whoſe Stones to fence a Bathing-place ſhall go:
Then Savage Lands ſhall ſend forth numerous ſwarms,
(Shining with golden Locks and burniſh'd Arms,)
Which having Iſter*'s ſilver Streams o're-paſt,*
Shall Scythian *Fields, and* Mœſia*'s Meadows waſte:*
But when, proud with ſucceſs, they enter Thrace,
They'll meet their Fate, and find a Burial-place.

This was the Prophecy. But it afterwards hapned, that the *Aquæduct* built by *Valens*, furniſhed the City with plenty of water: and then the Barbarous Nations made an Inſurrection, as we ſhall hereafter declare. This Prediction, as it fell out, was by ſome perſons taken in another ſenſe. For, when that *Aquæduct* was brought into the City, (*d*) *Clearchus*, being *Præfect* of the City, built a ſtately (*e*) Bath, in that now called *Theodoſius's Forum*: which Bath was named *The plentiful water.* Upon which account the City celebrated a Feſtival with great ſolemnity.

(*d*) This is the *Clearchus*, who was afterwards *Conſul* with *Richomeres*, in the Empire of *Theodoſius.* Concerning whom *Eunapius* makes mention, in *the Life of Maximus the Philoſopher*: and ſays that he had firſt been *Vicarius* of *Aſia* in the *Procopian* War; and was afterwards made *Proconſul* of all *Aſia* by *Valens*, for the eminent ſervice he had done in the War with *Procopius.* *Libanius* has very many Epiſtles written to this *Clearchus* in his *fourth* and *fifth Book*; wherein he commends him highly, and intimates that he had a *Royal Command* over *Aſia.* He was *Præfect* of *Conſtantinople* in the Conſulate of *Modeſtus* and *Arinthæus*, as we are informed from the *Theodoſian Code.* Valeſ.

(*e*) *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* call it a *Nymphæum.* But the *Nymphæa* are not the ſame with *Baths*, as 'tis apparent from *the deſcription of Conſtantinople.* For the *Nymphæa* are the *Nymphs Temples, watered with pleaſant Fountains*; as I have long ſince remark'd in *my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 46. *Valeſ.*

And this is that, ſay they, which is ſpoken of in the Prophecy, in theſe words:

——— *Their myſtick daunce with watry feet*
Shall tread through proud Byzantium*'s ſtately ſtreet.*

But, what belong'd to the completion of this Prophecy hapned ſometime afterwards. At that time, when the Walls ſhould have been pulled down, the *Conſtantinopolitans* entreated the Emperor to deſiſt from demoliſhing of them. Alſo, [ſome of] the Inhabitants of *Nicomedia* and *Nicæa* came from *Bithynia* to *Conſtantinople*, and made the ſame requeſt. The Emperor, being highly incenſed, was with great difficulty induced to admit of the Suppliants Petition. But, that he might perform his Oath [wherein he had bound himſelf,] he gave order, both that the Walls ſhould be pulled down, and alſo that the breaches made by that demoliſhment ſhould at the ſame time

Valentinianus and Valens.

time be repaired with other small Stones. At this present therefore there is to be seen in some parts of the Wall, patches basely wrought up with very mean materials, laid upon vast and prodigious Stones, which [patches] were at that time made. Let thus much be said concerning the Wall of *Chalcedon*.

CHAP. IX.

That the Emperor Valens *persecuted the* Novatians *also, who (in like manner as did the* Catholicks*) embraced the* Homoöusian *Faith.*

BUT the Emperor desisted not from persecuting those that embraced the *Homoöusian* Opinion; but drove them from *Constantinople*; and together with them the *Novatians* also, in regard they owned the same sentiments with them: whose Churches he order'd to be shut up: and gave order that their Bishop also, by name *Agelius*, should be punished with Banishment. He was a person that had presided over their Churches from the times of *Constantine*, and had led an Apostolick life. For he always went bare-foot, and made use of but on Coat, observing the command of the Gospel. But the Emperor's rage against the *Novatians* was stopt by a pious and also an eloquent person, by name *Marcianus*. He had before born a Military employ in the Imperial Pallace, but was at that time a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, and taught *Anastasia* and *Carosa*, *Valens*'s Daughters, the Grammar; (*a*) by whose names the publick Baths which *Valens* erected at *Constantinople*, yet standing, [were called.] Out of veneration therefore to this person, the *Novatian* Churches which for some small time had been shut up, were open'd again. But the *Novatians* were not perfectly free from disturbances caused by the *Arians*: For they were hated by the *Arians*, because the *Novatians* loved, and had an extraordinary kindness for the *Homoöusians*, with whom they agreed in opinion. This was the posture of affairs at that time. Further, you are to know, that the War against the Tyrant *Procopius* was finished in the Consulate of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaïfus*, about the latter end of *May*.

(*a*) 'Tis false, what *Socrates* here says, that the *Anastasian Baths* at *Constantinople* had their name from *Anastasia*, *Valens*'s daughter, and were erected by *Valens*. They were built by *Constantine The Great*, and from his Sisters name were called *the Anastasian Baths*, *Amm. Marcellinus* tells us thus much, (Book 26. pag. 320. *Edit. Paris* 1636.) Where he describes *Procopius*'s Tyrannick design: his Words are these; *Idem Procopius diductus in cogitationes varias, Anastasianas Balneas Petit, a Sorore Constantini Cognominatas, the same Procopius, divided into various thoughts, went to the Anastasian Baths, which had their name from Constantine*'s Sister. At which place in *Amm. Marcellinus* I have long since remark'd *in my notes thereon*, that *Anastasia*, *Constantine*'s Sister, was married to *Bassianus Cæsar*. After my publishing of *those my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, there was a noble and learned Person in *England*, who found fault with *this Annotation* of mine, and has stifly deny'd, that *Bassianus* was ever created *Cæsar*. Upon what account therefore I was induced to affirm this, I will in short here declare. When the Emperor *Constantine* (after his conquest of *Maxentius*) had given his Sister *Constantia* in marriage to *Licinius*; quickly after that he returned into the *Gallia*'s, and sent his Brother *Constantius* to *Licinius*, entreating him that *Bassianus* might be created *Cæsar*; to which *Bassianus*, *Anastasia*, *Constantine*'s other Sister, was married. *Sed Licinio talia frustrante*, &c. that is, *But when* Licinius *disappointed him as to those things*, Bassianus *(by the instigation of* Senicio *his Brother, who was his bosom-friend) takes up Arms against* Constantine. *Who being apprehended in the very attempt, was by* Constantine*'s order convicted and put to death. When* Sinicius *the Author of this treachery, was demanded in order to his being punished*; Licinius *denying that, the agreement betwixt them was broken.* This passage occurs in *the excerptions de Vita Constantini*, which I heretofore published at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*. From which Words I draw these Conclusions: (1) That *Constantine* treated with *Licinius*, in order to *Bassianus*'s being created *Cæsar*. (2) That *Bassianus* being sollicited by *Licinius*, did not only conspire against *Constantine*, but made War also against him. *Bassianus* therefore must of necessity [be allowed] to have played the Tyrant, and therefore to have by force assumed the Title of *Cæsar*, which *Constantine* had thoughts of giving him, had *Licinius* consented. Being moved by these reasons, I have termed *Bassianus*, *Cæsar*, whom notwithstanding I do acknowledge to have been a Tyrant, and do grant that he never was duly and lawfully made *Cæsar*. Moreover, in regard the *Anastasian Baths* were at *Constantinople* before *Procopius*'s insurrection, (as we have shown from *Amm. Marcellinus*,) it may be evidently concluded from thence, that they were not built by *Valens*, in regard at that time he was but newly made Emperor. Further, the reading here in *Socrates* should be thus [Δημόσια λουτρά, *the publick Baths.*] Vales.

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. X.

That the Emperor Valentinianus *begat a Son, who bore his Fathers name [to wit,* Valentinianus;*] he having begat [his Son]* Gratianus *before his being created Emperor.*

NOT long after this War, (*a*) during the same Consulate, a Son was born to *Valentinianus* the Emperor in the Western parts, who had his Father's name given him. For he had begotten *Gratianus* long before his [undertaking the Government of the] Empire.

(1) *Socrates* is grievously mistaken here. For *Valentinianus the Younger*, who was born in the Consulate of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaïphus*, was not *Valentinianus*'s, but *Valens Augustus*'s Son. *Idatius* does expressly affirm this in *his Fasti*, in these words: *Gratiano Nob. & Dagalaïfo Consulibus*, &c. *In the Consulate of the most noble Gratianus, and Dagalaïfus, Valentinianus the Younger, Son to Valens Augustus, was born, on the fifteenth of the Calends of February.* I know indeed, that in *Jacobus Sirmondus*'s Edition of *these Fasti*, the common reading is, *Filius Augusti Valentiniani, the Son of Valentinianus Augustus.* But, in that most ancient Manuscript belonging to the *College of Clermont*, from which *Sirmondus* published *these Fasti*, I found it in expres words written thus, *Filius Augusti Valentis, the Son of Valens Augustus.* Besides the testimony of *these Fasti*, it may be made evident by many other arguments, that this *Valentinianus the Younger*, (who was born in the Consulate of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaïphus*, in the year of *Our Lord*, 366,) was the Son of *Valens Augustus*. For, this is the very same *Valentinianus*, as 'tis on all hands agreed, who was afterwards *Consul* with *Victor*, in the year of Christ 369. and to whom *Themistius* spake *his Consular Oration*, which is at this day extant under this Title: προσφωνητικὸς Οὐαλεντινιανῷ υἱῷ. Now, in this Oration, *Themistius* frequently calls *Valens* the Father of this *Valentinian*, and stiles *Gratianus* ἀνεψιὸν, that is, *his Cousin German by the Fathers side.* See pag. 253. *in that Oration.* Besides, *Themistius* does affirm (pag. 254.) that the slaughter and overthrow of the Tyrant *Procopius* was foresignified by God, by the birth of this *Valentinian.* 'Tis certain, *Valentinianus Junior* was born when *Gratianus* and *Dagalaïphus* were Consuls, on the 15th of the *Calends* of *February*; as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle.* In which year the Tyrant *Procopius* was vanquished by *Valens*, on the sixth of the *Calends* of *June*, as 'tis affirmed in the same *Fasti.* But, if *Valentinianus Junior* had been Son to *Valentinianus Senior*, his birth had signified nothing to *Valens.* Further, if this *Valentinianus* had in reality been Son to *Valentinianus Senior*, why did he make his residence in the *East?* How could he have been sent so long a journey from his Father, being as yet but an Infant? For he accompanied *Valens* in the *Gothick Expedition*, as *Themistius* attests not far from the beginning of *this Oration.* Lastly, 'tis evident from *Themistius*'s *Quinquennalian Oration* [i. e. *His Oration upon* Valens's *having arrived at the fifth year of his Empire,*] near the close thereof, that *Valens* had an only Son then when he celebrated his *Quinquennalia*, that is, in the year of our Lord 368. In regard therefore, the most noble *Valentinianus* was made Consul in the *East* on the year following, he can be no other Person than *Valens*'s Son. And *Themistius*, in the close of *his Quinquennalian Oration* (after he had spoken concerning *Valens*'s only Son,) adds these words: ὃν ἐγὼ Ἀλέξανδρον ποιησαίμην, κἀ θρέμμα αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἀυχήσεις φιλοσοφία, *whom I would make an Alexander, and Philosophy shall again boast of such an Issue.* And in *his Exhortary Oration*, which he spake the year after to *Valentinianus Junior*, he makes an address to the Child almost in the same Words: δεῦρ' ἴθι παῖ, ἐπὶ σὸν ἐμῶν καθίζου γονάτων, *come [Royal] Babe, sit upon my knees!* And a little after: συμπαιδαγωγήσουσί σε ἐμοὶ Πλάτων κἀ Ἀριστοτέλης, οἳ κἀ τὸν μέγαν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπαιδαγώγησαν, *Plato and Aristotle shall together with my self instruct Thee, by whom the Great Alexander was tutored.* From whence 'tis apparent, that it is one and the same person concerning whom *Themistius* speaks in both places; and therefore that *Valentinianus Junior*, whom *Themistius* speaks to in *his Exhortatory Oration*, was the same only Son of *Valens*. But, this *Valentinianus Junior* was, by another name, called *Galates.* For *Socrates* and *Sozomen* give

him this name. *Sozomen* (Book 6. Chap. 16.) does expreſly affirm, that *Valens* had one only Son by [*Dominica*] his Wife, whoſe name was *Galates*. Since therefore, 'tis manifeſt from what I have juſt now ſaid, that the moſt noble *Valentinianus* was *Valens*'s Son, *Valentinianus* and *Galates* muſt neceſſarily be one and the ſame Perſon. I ſhould think, that the Child might have the ſurname of *Galates* given him, becauſe he was born in *Galatia*, at ſuch time as *Valens* was at War with *Procopius*. Moreover, *Socrates*'s miſtake (in which error he is followed by *Sozomen*, Book 6. Chap. 10.) did, in my judgment, proceed from hence; *viz.* becauſe he confounded the two *Junior Valentinians*, (one whereof was Son to *Valens*, the other to *Valentinianus Senior*,) and made but one perſon of two. For he thought, that the moſt noble *alentinianus* (who was *Conſul* with *Victor*) was the ſame perſon with that *Valentinianus Junior*, who, after the death of his Father *Valentinianus Senior*, governed the Empire with *Gratianus*. But we have long ſince refuted this Error, in *our Notes on Book* 30. *of Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 413. Valeſ. *Valeſius*, at the now quoted pag. of *his Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*, does indeed evidently prove that there were two *Junior Valentinians*; but (contrary to what he affirms here,) he aſſerts they were both Sons to *Valentinianus Senior*, whom he there ſtiles *Magnus*. See his note.

Valentinianus and *Valens.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning a Hail of an unuſual bigneſs which fell from Heaven, and concerning the Earthquakes in Bithynia, *and the* Helleſpont.

ON the following Conſulate, which was *Lupicinus*'s and * *Jovianus*'s, there fell a Hail at *Conſtantinople* † of a vaſt bigneſs, on the ſecond of *July*, which was like Stones. Many perſons ſaid, that this Hail was ſent by reaſon of God's anger, becauſe the Emperor had baniſhed ſeveral of the Sacerdotal Order, in regard they refuſed to communicate with *Eudoxius*. A little after this time, during the ſame Conſulate, the Emperor *Valentinianus* proclaim'd his || Son *Gratianus* || *Auguſtus*, on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*. On the year after, wherein *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the ſecond time Conſuls, there hapned an Earthquake in *Bithynia*, which ruined the City *Nicæa*, on the eleventh of *October*. This was the twelfth year after the ruin of * *Nicomedia*. Soon after this Earthquake moſt part of *Germa*, a City in the *Helleſpont*, was deſtroyed by another Earthquake. Notwithſtanding theſe accidents hapned, yet neither was *Eudoxius* Biſhop of the *Arians*, nor the Emperor *Valens*, put into any fear: For they deſiſted not from perſecuting thoſe who diſſented in opinion from them. [Moreover,] theſe Earthquakes ſeem'd to denote the diſturbance of the Churches. Wherefore, many of the Sacerdotal Order (as I have ſaid) were baniſh'd. Only *Baſilius* and *Gregorius*, by a certain diſpenſation of Divine Providence, ſuffered not Baniſhment, by reaſon of their eminent piety. (*a*) The firſt of theſe perſons was Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; and the ſecond [preſided over] *Nazianzum*, a ſmall City near *Cæſarea*. But we ſhall mention *Baſilius* and *Gregorius* in the procedure [of our Hiſtory.]

* Or, *Jovinus*'s.

† Χειμεριος πλήθος, *as big as would fill a Man's hand.*

|| *Emperor.*

* *Nicomedia* was deſtroyed by an Earthquake, in the Conſulate of *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*, about the 28th of *Auguſt*. See *Socrates*, Book 2. chap. 39.

(*a*) *Baſilius* was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, in the year of Chriſt 369, as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved. But *Socrates* ſeems to make *Baſilius*'s promotion to that Biſhoprick ſomewhat ancienter. For, in his account at this place of thoſe affairs that were tranſacted in *Valentinianus*'s and *Valens*'s *ſecond Conſulate*, which was the year of Chriſt 368, he does acknowledge that *Baſilius* was then Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, and *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*. But, as to *Gregorius*, *Socrates* is manifeſtly miſtaken. For he was not at that time made Biſhop of *Nazianzum* by *Baſilius*, but of *Saſima*, which Biſhoprick he notwithſtanding never entred upon, as he himſelf atteſts *in his Epiſtles*. But in *his Verſes concerning his own Life*, he evidently complains of *Baſilius*, who (when as he had ſixty Biſhopricks under him,) had preferred him to the Church of a pittiful little Town, although he himſelf was nothing inferior to *Baſilius*. Valeſ.

Valentinianus and *Valens.*

CHAP. XII.

That thoſe who imbraced Macedonius's *Opinion, being reduced into ſtreights by reaſon of the Emperor's violence towards them, ſent an Embaſſage to* Liberius [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome, *and ſubſcribed to the* Homoöuſian *Creed.*

WHen thoſe who embraced the *Homoöuſian* opinion had at that time been ſorely diſquieted and put to flight, the Perſecutors renewed their rage againſt the *Macedonians*: Who, being reduced to great ſtreights by fear rather than force, ſent Embaſſies to one another throughout every City; ſignifying, that they muſt of neceſſity fly, both to the Emperor's Brother [*Valentinianus*,] and alſo to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome*; and that ['twas more eligible for them] to embrace their Faith, than to communicate with *Eudoxius*'s party. (*a*) They ſent therefore *Euſtathius* [Biſhop] of *Sebaſtia*, (who had been many times depoſed) *Silvanus* of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and *Theophilus* of *Caſtabali*, which is alſo a City of *Cilicia*: and gave them order, that they ſhould not diſſent from *Liberius* concerning the Faith, but ſhould enter into communion with the *Roman* Church, and confirm the *Homoöuſian* Creed. Theſe perſons, carrying along with them their Letters who had diſſented [from *Acacius*] at *Seleucia*, arriv'd at *Old Rome*. They could not go to the Emperor [*Valentinian*] himſelf; for he was engaged in a War with the (*b*) *Sarmatæ* in the *Gallia's*. But they deliver'd their Letters to *Liberius*. He [at firſt] wholly refuſed to admit them: for he ſaid, that they were of the *Arian* Faction, and could in

(*a*) *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt 365, reproves *Socrates*, becauſe he places this Embaſſy of the *Macedoniani* to *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome* (the chief of which was *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia*,) on the year of Chriſt 368, in which year *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the ſecond time *Conſuls*. *Baronius* thinks 'twas ſent in the year of Chriſt 365, and grounds his opinion on theſe two arguments eſpecially. Firſt, *Euſtathius*, with his companions, was ſent Embaſſador by the Synod of *Lampſacus*. Now, that Synod was convened in the year of Chriſt 365, ſeven years after the *Seleucian* Synod, as *Socrates* atteſts. 'Tis certain, the Embaſſadors (in their *Libel* of Faith which they preſented to *Liberius*,) do expreſly profeſs that they were *Legates* from the *Synod* of *Lampſacus*, and that they brought the Letters of that Synod to *Liberius*. Secondly, if this Embaſſy of the *Macedoniani* were ſent on the year of Chriſt 368, it would not have been ſent to *Liberius*, but to *Damaſus*. For *Liberius* died on the year of Chriſt 367, in the Conſulate of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*; and on the ſame year *Damaſus* entred upon that See. But, the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors preſented a *Libel* of their Faith to *Liberius*, and from the ſame *Liberius* received Letters to the Prelates of their own party, as *Socrates* relates in this Chapter. This Embaſſy therefore was not ſent in the year 368. Theſe are *Baronius*'s arguments. But I would rather place this Embaſſy on the year of Chriſt 367, and will determine hereof againſt *Baronius*, upon this account. *Baronius* confeſſes, that *Elpidius* Presbyter of *Rome* was ſent, together with *Euſtathius* and his Companions, to the *Illyricum* Synod; the Synodick Letter whereof *Theodoret* has recorded, Book 4. Chap. 9. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* But the *Illyricum* Synod, at which *Elpidius* and *Euſtathius* of *Sebaſtia* were preſent, was covnened in the year of Chriſt 367, or 368; as appears from the inſcription of that Letter which the Emperor *Valentinianus* wrote to the Biſhops of *Aſia*, that he might confirm that Synod. For that Imperial Letter has this Title: *Valentinianus, Valens and Gratianus, Auguſti, to the Biſhops*, &c. as you may read in *Theodoret*, Book 4. Chap. 8. Now *Gratianus* was proclaimed *Auguſtus* by his Father, in the Conſulate of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, on the ninth of the *Calends* of *September*, as (beſides *Socrates*) *Idatius* in *his Faſti*, and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, do declare. Therefore, if the *Illyricum* Synod hapned on the ſame year whereon the *Macedonians* Embaſſy was ſent; the *Macedonians* Embaſſy muſt neceſſarily be placed on the year of Chriſt 367, in which year *Liberius* died in the beginning of *September*. *Euſtathius* therefore might go to *Liberius* in *June*, and receive Letters from him in *Auguſt*. Now I am of opinion, that the *Illyricum* Synod was held on the ſame year, in the month of *September*, which Synod *Valentinianus* the Emperor confirm'd, after *Gratianus* was created *Auguſtus*. Valeſ.

(*b*) *Socrates* ſhould have ſaid *The Alamanni*, rather than the *Sarmatæ*. For at this time *Valentinian* was detained in the *Gallia's*, by reaſon of his War againſt the *Alamanni*. Towards the end of his Reign, he went into *Illyricum*, in order to his engaging in a War againſt the *Sarmatæ*. Valeſ.

no

Valentinianus and Valens.

no wise be received [into Communion] by the Church, in regard they had rejected the *Nicene* Creed. They made answer, that by a * Retractation they had acknowledged the Truth, that they had long since renounced the *Anomoïan* Creed, and had professed that the Son was every way like to the Father; and that the term *Homoios* differed not in its import from *Homoüsios*. Having said thus much, *Liberius* required of them a profession of their Opinion in writing. They presented him a Libel, wherein were inserted the Contents of the *Nicene* Creed. I have not here inserted the Letters written from *Smyrna* in *Asia*, and from *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, (in which places they had held Synods,) because of their length. But the Libel, which the Embassadors, sent with *Eustathius*, deliver'd to *Liberius*, runs thus:

* Or, Repentance.

TO OUR LORD, BROTHER, AND FELLOW-MINISTER, *LIBERIUS*; *EUSTATHIUS*, *THEOPHILUS*, AND *SILVANUS*, GREETING IN THE LORD.

By reason of the mad Opinions of Hereticks, who desist not from giving cause of offence to the Catholick Churches; upon this account [we say] we, [desirous] to deprive them of all opportunity [of giving offence] do approve of and assent to the Synod of Orthodox Bishops which has been convened at Lampsacus, Smyrna, *and at several other places: (c) from which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter to your Benignity, and to all the* Italian *and* Western *Bishops, to hold and keep the Catholick Faith, which having been establish'd in the Holy* Nicene *Synod in the Reign of* Constantine *of Blessed Memory, by three hundred and eighteen Bishops, hath hitherto always continued intire and unshaken: in which* [Creed] *the term* Homoüsios *is holily and piously made use of, in opposition to* Arius's *perverse Doctrine: in like manner we also, (d) together with the foresaid persons, do under our own hands profess, that we have held the same Faith, and do hold, and will keep it to our last breath: and we do condemn* Arius, *and his impious Doctrine, together with his Disciples, and those that embrace his Sentiments; as also, all the Heresie of* Sabellius, *the* * Patripassians, Marcionistæ, Photinians, Marcelliani, *and that of* Paul *of* Samosata, *and the Doctrine of these Hereticks, and all those who maintain the same Tenets with them; in fine, all the Heresies that are opposite to the foresaid Holy Creed, which was Piously and Catholickly set forth by the Holy Fathers at* Nicæa. *But in a more especial manner we* Anathematize *that Draught of the Creed recited at the* Ariminum *Synod, as being contrary to the foresaid Creed of the Holy Synod [convened] at* Nicæa. *(c) To which (it being brought from* Nice *[a Town] of* Thracia) *[the Bishops] subscribed at* Constantinople, *being over perswaded by Fraud and Perjury. But, our Creed, and the foresaid Persons [confession of Faith] also, from whom we are employed as Legates, is this.*

Valentinianus and Valens.

ὑποτεθεῖσης ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει κομιδεῖσιν ἀπὸ νίκης, &c.] which we have expressed in our Rendition. For they *Anathematize* not only that Form of the Creed which had been recited in the in the *Ariminum Council*, but the *Acts* also at *Nice* in *Thracia*, (See *Socrates*, Book 2. Chap. 37. near the close of that Chapter,) to which, being brought to *Constantinople*, the Bishops, induced thereto by fraud, had subscribed, as if they had been the *Acts* of the *Nycene* Synod.

(e) In my judgment, it should be thus worded [τῆς τε ὅλῳ καὶ ἐπιτροπείᾳ] *vales.*

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Framer of all things visible and invisible: and in one only begotten God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; begotten of the Father, that is, of the Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made, of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made which are in Heaven, and which are on the Earth: who, for us men and for our salvation, descended [from Heaven,] became incarnate, and was made Man; and suffered, and rose again the third day; and ascended into the Heavens; and shall come to judge the Quick and Dead. And [we believe] in the Holy Spirit. But, those that affirm there was a time when he was not, and that he was not before he was born, and that he was made of things which are not; or those that assert the Son of God existed of another Hypostasis *or Substance, or that he is changeable or mutable; these persons the Catholick and Apostolick Church of God does* Anathematize.

I Eustathius *Bishop of the City* Sebastia, *I* Theophilus, *and I* Silvanus, *Legates of the Synod of* Lampsacus *of* Smyrna, *and of other [Synods,] have voluntarily and willingly written this confession [of Faith] with our own hands. And, if any person, after the publication of this Creed by Us, shall be desirous of bringing any accusation, either against Us, or those that have sent Us, let him come with Your Holiness's Letters before such Orthodox Bishops as Your Sanctity shall approve of, and go to Tryal with Us in their presence. And if any Crimination shall be made out, let the Author thereof be punish'd.* Liberius having bound up and secured the Legates by this Libel, admitted them to Communion, and afterwards dismist them with this Letter.

THE LETTER OF *LIBERIUS* BISHOP OF *ROME*, TO THE BISHOPS OF THE *MACEDONIANI*.

To Our dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow-Ministers, Evethius, Cyrillus, Hyperechius, Uranius, Heron, Elpidius, Maximus, Eusebius, Eucarpius, Heortasius, Neon, Eumathius, Faustinus, Proclinus, Pasinicus, Arsenius, Severus, Didymion, Brittannius, Callicrates, Dalmatius, Ædesius, Eustochius, Ambrosius, Gelonius, Pardalius, Macedonius, Paulus, Marcellus, Heraclius, Alexander, Adolius, Marcianus, Sthenelus, Johannes, Macer, Charisius, Silvanus, Photinus, Antonius, (f) Anytho,

(f) In the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. this person's name is constantly written thus, *Antho.* So he is also called in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. In *Christophorson*'s Version 'tis *Aytho*, with three Syllables. I never met with this name in all my reading. Perhaps it should be *Antho*. Vales.

Celsus,

(c) The studious Reader may observe from this place, that *Eustathius*, *Silvanus*, and *Theophilus* (after they had spoken concerning many Synods, to wit, of that at *Lampsacus*, of that at *Smyrna*, and of others held in *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Pisidia*, and *Isauria*,) do now say, that they came as Legates from one Synod, and that they brought the Letters of one Synod. For these are their words: ἧς συνόδου πρεσβείαν ποιούμενοι —γράμματα κομίζομεν, *From which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter.* The reason why they expresst themselves thus, is, because the *Smyrna* Synod, and those other Synods which were held by the *Macedonians* in *Pisidia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Lycia*, had been composed according to the pattern and likeness of the Synod at *Lampsacus*, and had expresst their Faith and Doctrine, as being the original Draught. Upon which account all these Synods are by the *Macedonian* Legates taken for one Synod: and the Letters of each of those Synods, which *Socrates* has a little before told us were brought by those Legates, are taken for one and the same Letter, because they contained one and the same Doctrine of Faith. I made this remark, because in *Christophorson*'s Version all things are here confused and altered: *Epiphanius Scholasticus* has rendred this place much better. *Vales.*

(d) Instead of [καὶ τῷ περιπωλίων] the reading should be [μετὰ τῶν περιπωλίων.] So *Epiphanius Scholasticus* reads; and accordingly we have rendred it. *Vales.*

* See *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 19. note (g.)

Valentinianus and Valens.

Celſus, Euphranor, Mileſius, Patricius, Severianus, Euſebius, Eumolpius, Athanaſius, Diophantus, Menodorus, Diocles, Chryſampelus, Neon, Eugenius, Euſtathius, Callicrates, Arſenius, Eugenius, Martyrius, Hieracius, Leontius, Philagrius, Lucius, *and to all the Orthodox Biſhops in the Eaſt*; Liberius *Biſhop* (g) *of* Italy, *and the Biſhops in the Weſt*, [*wiſh*] *health always in the Lord.*

(g) The words [*of Italy*] muſt be expunged; *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* acknowledges them not: or elſe it muſt be thus worded: *Liberius Biſhop and the Biſhops of Italy, and thoſe in the Weſt*, &c. For thus *Liberius* diſtinguiſhes the Biſhops of *Italy* from the reſt of the Weſtern Prelates, in the beginning of this his Letter, in theſe words; *both to our ſlenderneſs and alſo to all* [*the Biſhops*] *in Italy and in the Weſtern parts.* Nor is it otherwiſe expreſt in the *Libel of Faith* which the Legates preſented to *Liberius*. Valeſ.

Your Letters (Dearly beloved Brethren,) (*h*) *Reſplendent with the Light of Faith, delivered to Us by Our highly eſteemed Brethren, the Biſhops,* Euſtathius, Silvanus, *and* Theophilus, *brought the moſt wiſh'd-for Joy of Peace and Unity to Us: and that moſt eſpecially upon this account, becauſe they have affirmed and demonſtrated, that your* Opinion *and your Sentiments are conſonant and agreeable, both to our Slenderneſs, and alſo to all* [*the Biſhops*] *in* Italy *and in the Weſtern parts. And this we acknowledge to be the Catholick and Apoſtolick Faith,* (*which* (*i*) *from the* Nicene *Synod hitherto has continued entire and unſhaken. This Creed* (*k*) *your Legates themſelves have profeſſed that they do hold and embrace, and being filled with great joy, have wiped out all impreſſions, and* [*quenched*] *the remaining ſparks of an abſurd* Opinion; *and have made a publication of this Creed, not only in words, but under their own handwriting. The Copy whereof we have judged neceſſary to annexed to theſe Letters, that we might not leave the Hereticks any pretext of framing another Conſpiracy, whereby they ſhould again excite the Incentives of their own Malice, and according to their uſage, re-kindle the flames of Diſcord. Moreover, our deareſt Brethren,* Euſtathius, Silvanus, *and* Theophilus, *have profeſſed and acknowledg'd this alſo, that both they themſelves, and alſo your Love, have always had this Creed, and will retain it to the laſt; to wit, the Creed approved of at* Nicæa *by three hundred eighteen Orthodox Biſhops: which does contain the perfect Truth, and ſtops the Mouths, and vanquiſhes all the Shoals of Hereticks. For, not of their own accord, but by Divine appointment ſo great a company of Biſhops was convened a-*

(*h*) It muſt undoubtedly be [*περιλαμπόμενα*, that it may be referred to the foregoing word [*γεγράμμαλα*, *Letters.*] And thus *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, and *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlator, read it. It would doubtleſs have been fooliſh to term antient Biſhops *τῷ τῆς πίστεως φωτὶ περιλαμπόμενοι*, *perſons illuminated with the light of Faith*; as if they had been ſome *Neophytes*, or late Converts to the Faith. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) Inſtead of [*μέχει τῆς χθὲς νίκαιαν συνόδου*] it would be better thus [*μέχει νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς χθὲς νίκαιαν συνόδου, from the Nicene Synod hitherto.*] So in the Libel of Faith preſented to *Liberius* by the Legates: *ἥτις ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ*, &c. *Which having been eſtabliſhed in the holy Nicene Synod—hath hitherto always continued intire and unſhaken.* So *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* read this place. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) It ſhould not be [*ἀυτοῖς*] but [*ἀυτοὶ*,] that is, *your Legates themſelves.* For *Liberius* means the Libel of Faith, which the *Macedonian Legates* had preſented to him. In which Libel the Legates profeſs, that as well thoſe Perſons by whom they had been ſent, did conſtantly retain that Creed which had heretofore been ſet forth at *Nicæa*; as alſo that they themſelves did and always would obſerve and keep to the ſame Creed. *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* ſuppoſed that by theſe words the *Nicene* Fathers were meant; than which nothing is more abſurd. *Largus* led them into this miſtake, who in *his Verſion of Nicephorus* has rendred this paſſage in relation to the *Nicene* Fathers. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* (more truly) ſuppoſed, that hereby the *Macedonian* Legates were meant; which is apparent from his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

gainſt the Madneſs of Arius; *as were* * *equal in number to thoſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance bleſſed* Abraham *through faith deſtroyed ſo many thouſands* [*of his Enemies.*] *Which Faith being comprehended in the* Hypoſtaſis, *and in the term* Homoöuſios *does* (*like a ſtrong and impregnable Fortreſs*) *beat back and repell all the Aſſaults and miſchievous Machinations of* Arius's *perverſe* Opinion. *Wherefore, when all the Weſtern Biſhops had met at* Ariminum, *whither the Improbity of the* Arians *had called them together, that either by ſome kind Perſwaſives, or* (*which is trueſt*) [*by Compulſion*] *of the Secular Power, they might deſtroy, or perverſely deny what had with all imaginable caution been inſerted into the Creed; their Subtilty advantaged them not in the leaſt. For, almoſt all thoſe perſons then convened at* Ariminum, *who had at that time been either enticed into error, or impoſed upon, are now returned to a right mind, have* Anathematized *that Draught* [*of the Creed*] *publiſhed by them convened at* Ariminum, *and have ſubſcribd to that Catholick and Apoſtolick Creed ratified and eſtabliſhed at* Nicæa. *And having entred into a Communion with us, they are with a greater warmth incenſed againſt* Arius's Opinion, *and againſt his Diſciples. Of which buſineſs when the Legates of your Love perceived an evident proof, they annexed You your ſelves to their own Subſcription; and do* Anathematize Arius, *and what was tranſacted at* Ariminum *againſt the Creed ratified at* Nicæa: (*l*) *to which* [*Tranſactions*] *You your ſelves, beguiled by Perjury, have ſubſcribed. Wherefore, it ſeemed agreeable to us, to write to your Love, and to give aſſiſtance to thoſe, whoſe requeſts are juſt and equitable. More eſpecially, becauſe we are aſcertained by the Profeſſion of your Legates, that the* Eaſtern [*Biſhops*] *are come to themſelves, and do embrace the ſame Sentiments with the Orthodox* Weſtern *Prelates.*] *We make known this to you alſo,* (*leſt you ſhould be ignorant of it,*) *that the Blaſphemies of the* Ariminum *Synod are now* Anathematized, *by thoſe who ſeem to have been damnified at that time by fraud, and that all perſons have unanimouſly conſpired in an agreement to the* Nicene *Creed. And this ought to be made known to all men by you, that ſuch as have been damnified* [*in their Faith*] * *by force and fraud, may now at length return from Heretical darkneſs to the Divine light of Catholick liberty. Who* (*if after this Synod they will not vomit up the poiſon of perverſe Doctrine,* † *renounce all* Arius's *Blaſphemies, and* Anathematize *them,*) *may know that they themſelves, together with* Arius *and his Diſciples, and the reſt of the Serpents, whether* Sabellians, *or* Patropaſſians, *or whatever other Hereſie they are* [*Followers*] *of, are excluded from, and are no Members of the Church's Aſſemblies, which admits not illegitimate Sons. God preſerve you in ſafety, Dearly beloved Brethren.*

(*l*) The erroneous punctation in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition deceived *Chriſtophorſon*. For, he renders it thus: *Cum jurejurando abhibito ſubſcripſiſtis, to which* [*Tranſactions*] *You Your Selves by taking an Oath have ſubſcribed. Langus*, and (before him) *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* have rendred it truer, thus, *Quibus vos perjurio capti ſubſcripſiſtis, to which you, beguiled by perjury, have ſubſcribed.* In the *Macedonians Libel* of Faith, 'tis ſaid in expreſs words, that the Biſhops, being impoſed upon by Fraud and Perjury, had ſubſcribed the Creed ſet forth at *Nice* in *Thracia*. For the *Arians*, (ſee note (*e*.) in this chapter,) after they had drawn up a Form of the Creed in a Synod held at *Nice* in *Thracia*, ſwore that that was the Creed of the Synod of *Nicæa*. Valeſ.

* Καθ' ὑπερβαν, *by impudency and improbity.*

† Or, *deſtroy.*

* See Gen. 14. 14. where we find, that the number wherewi h *Abraham* routed the four Kings Forces, were *three hundred and eighteen*, being all his own Servants.

Euſtathius and thoſe that accompanied him, having received theſe Letters, went over into *Sicilia*: where after they had cauſed a Synod of *Sicilian* Biſhops to be convened, they made a profeſſion of the *Homoöuſian* Faith in their preſence, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed; and having received from them Letters written to the ſame

Valentinianus and Valens.

same effect, they returned to the persons by whom they had been sent. Who, upon receipt of *Liberius*'s Letter, sent Legates from City to City, to the principal Assertors of the *Homoüsian* Faith, exhorting them to meet together unanimously at *Tarsus* [a City] of *Cilicia*, in order to the confirming of the *Nicene* Creed, and that they might put an end to all manner of contentious disputes, which had since that been raised. And this had perhaps been effected, had not *Eudoxius* (a Prelate of the *Arian* Religion, one who at that time was in great favour with the Emperor) hindred it. Who being more exasperated because of the Synod summoned to meet [at *Tarsus*,] framed greater mischiefs against them. Moreover, that the *Macedonians*, by sending Legates to *Liberius*, entred into a Communion with him, and confirm'd the *Nicene* Creed; *Sabinus* himself has confessed in *his Collection of Synodick Actions*.

CHAP. XIII.

How Eunomius *separated himself from* Eudoxius, *because he adhered to* [*his Master*] Aërius. *And that* (*a disturbance being raised at* Alexandria *by* Eudoxius's *means,*) Athanasius *fled again. And that* (*when the Populace were tumultuous hereupon,*) *the Emperor being afraid, by his Letters* **pacified the* Alexandrians, *and ordered that* Athanasius *should be put into quiet possession of his Church again.*

* Or, *interceeded with.*

ABout the same time *Eunomius*, being separated from *Eudoxius*, held his Assemblies apart by himself, because, after he had several times entreated him to embrace his Master *Aëtius*'s [opinion,] *Eudoxius* refused to do that. And yet *Eudoxius* did not this willingly: (For he rejected not *Aëtius*'s Opinion; in regard it was the same with his own:) but because all those who embraced the same Sentiments with *Eudoxius*, (*a*) declined [*Aëtius*] as being Heterodox. This was the reason why *Eunomius* made a separation from *Eudoxius*. After this manner were these matters transacted at *Constantinople*. But an (*b*) Edict of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* sent thither by *Eudoxius*'s care, disturb'd the Church at *Alexandria*. Wherefore *Athanasius*, afraid of the irrational and mad violence of the multitude, and fearing lest he should * be look'd upon as the Occasioner of those mad absurdities which might be committed, hid himself four whole months in his Father's Monument. But, when the Populace, [vexed] because of his absence, were tumultuous by reason of their love and affection towards him; the Emperor, understanding that upon this account *Alexandria* was sorrowful and sad, signified by his Letters, that *Athanasius* should securely and without fear continue possest of the Churches. And this was the reason why the *Alexandrian* Church continued undisturbed until the death of *Athanasius*. But how, when he was dead, those of the *Arian* Faction got possession of the Churches again, we will relate a little after this.

(*a*) Πεείσασθαι (the term here used) signifies in this place *to decline*, or *have an aversion for*: in which signification *Lucianus* uses it *in Hermotimo*. *Langus* and *Christophorson* render it *abhorrere*, *to abhorr*. But *Epiphanius*, unacquainted with this signification of the word, has rendred it thus: *Sed quoniam omnes unanimes, illius, eum Sectæ alterius fatebantur. But because all those of Eudoxius's Opinion confessed him to be of another Sect.* Vales. This term [πεείσασθαι,] occurs 2 Tim. 2. 16. where in our *English* Version 'tis rendred [to shun.]

* Or, *bear the blame of*, &c.

(*b*) He means an order of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. For 'twas usual, that the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, as often as he issued out any Edict, should annex the names of the other *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. An instance whereof occurs both in the *Gesta purgationis Ceciliani*, which are published after the *Carthaginian Collation*, and also in *Theodosius* and *Valentinianus*'s *Novells*. There is a famous evidence of this thing in the ancient Writer *De Quæstionibus veteris ac Novi Testament.* Cap. 97. Vales.

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. XIV.

That after the death of Eudoxius *at* Constantinople, *the* Arians *ordain'd* Demophilus; *but the* Orthodox, *by* [*the assistance of*] Eustathius *of* Antioch [*made*] Evagrius [*Bishop of* Constantinople.]

FUrther, the Emperor *Valens* departed from *Constantinople*, and (*a*) hastned towards *Antioch* again. And being arrived at *Nicomedia* a City of *Bithynia*, he made a stop there upon this account. *Eudoxius* the chief Prelate of the *Arian* Faction ended his life soon after the Emperor's departure [from *Constantinople*,] in *Valentinianus*'s and *Valens*'s third Consulate, having been in possession of the Chair of the *Constantinopolitane* Church (*b*) nineteen years. Wherefore, the *Arians* constituted *Demophilus* [Bishop] in his room. But the *Homoüsians*, supposing that a fair opportunity was offer'd to them, elected one *Evagrius*, a person that own'd the same Creed with them. And (*c*) *Eustathius* (who had sometime before been Bishop of *Antioch*, and had formerly been recalled from Exile in *Jovianus*'s Reign,) ordained him. This *Eustathius* was at that time present at *Constantinople*, [to which City he came] with a design of settling and strengthning those of the *Homoüsian* Faith; where he continued, absconding himself.

(*a*) The Emperor *Valens* had gone towards *Antioch* before. But, hearing of *Procopius*'s defection — whilst he was in his journey, he was forc'd to come back; as *Am. Marcellinus* attests, Book 26. *Baronius* therefore finds fault with *Socrates* without cause. For *Socrates* says not, that *Valens* came to *Antioch* before, but that he went towards that City; which is certainly most true. But *Christophorson*'s Version seems to have been the cause of *Baronius*'s mistake; for he renders it thus: *Imperator Valens denuo Antiochiam ire maturans, the Emperor Valens hastning to go to Antioch again.* Vales.

(*b*) *Sozomen*'s account is truer, who makes *Eudoxius* to have been Bishop but eleven years. 'Tis certain, *Eudoxius* thrust himself into the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Consuls, which was the year of Christ 359. He died in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, in the year of our Lord 370. Wherefore, at this place of *Socrates* (instead of [δεκαεννέα, *nineteen*]) it ought to be δεκάεν, *eleven*;] which is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. Wherefore, *Baronius* does here also undeservedly reprove *Socrates*; in regard, not *Socrates* himself, but the Copies of *Socrates*'s History are here false. Concerning *Eudoxius*'s death, consult *Philostorgius*, Book 9. *Vales.*

(*c*) *Sozomen* tells us the same story, in *his Eccles. Histor.* Book 6. Chap. 13. But *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 370, reproves both these *Historians*. For he maintains, that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* was dead long before, in *Constantius*'s Reign. Indeed, *Jerome* (in *his Book de Scriptor. Eccleiast.*) does relate, that *Eustathius* died in exile, and was buried at *Trajanople* in *Thracia*, to which place he had been banished. If this be true, *Eustathius* must necessarily have died in *Constantius*'s Reign. For *Julianus*, and after him *Jovianus*, recalled all the Bishops from exile. It is indeed scarce credible, that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* could live to these times. For, in regard he was at the *Nicene* Council, which was help in the year of Christ 325; we may suppose him to have been then in the forty fifth year of his age. From this year to the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens* (wherein *Eustathius* is said to have ordained *Evagrius* at *Constantinople*) there are five and forty years. So that *Eustathius* must necessarily have been ninety years old, if he ordained *Evagrius* Bishop in this year. Further, I must not omit, what I have been informed of, from *Victor Tununensis*'s *Chronicon*; to wit, that *Eustathius* was not interred at *Irajanople*, as *Jerome* relates, but at *Philippi*. For these are his Words: *Post Consulatum tertium Longini*, &c. *After Longinus's third Consulate*, Calendio *Bishop of* Antioch *got together the reliques of his predecessor* Eustathius, *Bishop and Confessor, from Philippi in Macedonia, and with great honour conveyed them to Antioch. Theodorus Lector* says the same, in *his* 2*d Book Excerpt. Hist. Eccles. Baronius* does ill, to place this translation of *Eustathius*'s reliques on the year of Christ 482, in regard, as 'tis evident from *Victor Tununensis*'s *Chronicon*, 'twas performed in the year of our Lord 490, when *Longinus* II. and *Faustus* were Coss. But what *Theodorus Lector* adds at that place, to wit, that the *Eustathians*, who before had meetings by themselves, were then at length united to the Catholicks, an hundred years after *Eustathius*'s death; is in my judgment false. For, this being supposed, *Eustathius* would have lived to the year of Christ 390. *Vales.*

CHAP.

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. XV.

That when the Emperor had baniſhed Evagrius *and* Euſtathius, *the* Arians *ſorely oppreſſed and afflicted the* Homoöuſians.

UPon the doing hereof, the *Arians* renewed their perſecution againſt the *Homoöuſians* afreſh. What had hapned, ſoon came to the Emperor's knowledge, who fearing leſt a ſedition, cauſed by a contention of the multitude, ſhould ruin the City, ſent ſome Forces from *Nicomedia* to *Conſtantinople*: and gave order, that both perſons, as well he that was ordained, as he that had ordained him, ſhould be apprehended and baniſhed, the one to one place, the other to another. *Euſtathius* therefore was exiled to (*a*) *Bizua* a City of *Thracia*; and *Evagrius* was conveyed away to another place. Theſe things having been performed after this manner, the *Arians* growing more inſolent and bold, ſorely afflicted the *Catholicks*: [ſometimes] they beat them, [at others] they gave them contumelious language; [ſome] they ſhut up in priſon, [others] they puniſhed with *Pecuniary Mulcts*; in fine, they practiſed all ſorts of afflictive and moſt unſufferable miſchiefs againſt them. Which when they were unable to endure, they went to the Emperor, [with a deſign] to beſeech him, that they might, in ſome meaſure at leaſt, be freed from the violence [of the *Arians*.] But, [altho'] they had propoſed this deſign to themſelves, [yet] they were wholly fruſtrated of their hope, becauſe they expected to obtain it from him, who had been the Author of their injurious uſage.

(*a*) This account diſagrees both from what we have related before (Chap. 14. note *c*.) out of *Jerome*, and alſo from the relation of *Theodorus Lector*, and *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*. For *Jerome* ſays, that even in his age *Euſtathius* lay buried at *Trajanople*, whither he had been baniſhed. But *Theodorus Lector* and *Theophanes* relate, that he was baniſhed to *Philippi*, and there buried. That *Euſtathius* therefore, who was baniſhed by *Valens* to *Bizua*, muſt neceſſarily be a different Perſon from *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. *Bizua* is a City of *Thracia*, heretofore the pallace of the *Thracian Aſtores*, as *Stephanus* atteſts. *Eutropius* mentions it in *his ſixth Book*, where he ſpeaks of *Lucius Lucullus*, who ſubdued the *Thracian Beſſi*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Holy Presbyters who were burnt in a Ship, and concerning the Famine, which by the wrath of God hapned in Phrygia *upon that account.*

FOR, when ſome choice pious perſons, who were Eccleſiaſticks, being eighty in number, (the principal men amongſt whom were *Urbanus*, *Theodorus*, and *Mencdemus*,) were arrived at *Nicomedia*, and had preſented a *Supplicatory* Libel to the Emperor, informing him of the violence and calamitous ſufferings which were inflicted on them [by the *Arians*:] the Emperor, highly incenſed, concealed his anger, till ſuch time as he had given a ſecret order to *Modeſtus* the *Præfect*, for the apprehending of theſe perſons, and putting of them to death. The manner of their death was new and unuſual; therefore it ſhall be recorded. The *Præfect* being afraid, leſt if he ſhould murder theſe men in publick, * he might raiſe a tumult of the unthinking Crowd againſt himſelf, pretends to ſend them away into baniſhment. [This news] being received by theſe perſons with a couragiouſneſs of mind, the *Præfect* orders them to be put on board a Ship, as [if he deſign'd] they ſhould be carried away and baniſhed: but he commanded the Sea-men, that when they came to the middle of the Sea, they ſhould ſet the Veſſel on fire: that ſo, being deſtroy'd after this manner, they might be deprived of a Burial. Thus therefore it was performed. The Mariners ſailed out of the Haven, and being arrived at the middle of the *Aſtacum-Bay*, do what they were ordered: and having ſet the Ship on fire, went aboard another ſmall Veſſel which followed them, and ſo came off. But, a very boiſterous Eaſterly wind hapned to blow, whereby the burning Ship was fiercely driven: in ſo much that it ſailed with a great deal of ſwiftneſs; and laſted till it came to a Sea-port, the name whereof is (*a*) *Dacidizus*, where it was wholly conſumed together with the men in it. Many have reported, that this [horrid villany] continued not unpuniſhed. For there hapned ſo ſore a (*b*) Famine all over *Phrygia* immediately after, that many of the Inhabitants were forced to remove out of that Country for ſome time, and betake themſelves, partly to *Conſtantinople*, and partly to other Provinces. For *Conſtantinople*, altho' it nouriſhes a vaſt multitude of people, yet always abounds with plenty, both becauſe it has all manner of neceſſaries for proviſion imported into it from all places by Sea, and alſo in regard the *Euxine*-Sea, lying near it, furniſhes it with plenty of Bread-corn, as often as it wants.

Valentinianus and Valens.

(*a*) *Sozomen* (Book 6. Chap. 14.) tells the ſame ſtory; where he calls this place *Dacibyza*, and ſays 'tis a Maritime-City of *Bithynia*. *Cedrenus* alſo terms it *Dacibyza*. But *Theophanes* gives it the name of *Dacidiza*. Valeſ.

(*b*) Concerning this Famine there is this Record, in the *Old Faſti*, which *Sirmondus* has publiſhed under the name of *Idatius*: *Valentiniano* III. and *Valente* III, &c. i. e. *in the third Conſulate of Valentinianus and Valens there was a great Famine in the parts of Phrygia.* Valeſ.

* Or, *he might raiſe an irrational tumult of the multitude*, &c.

CHAP. XVII.

That the Emperor, arriving at Antioch, *did again perſecute thoſe that embraced the* Homoöuſian *Opinion.*

BUT the Emperor *Valens*, little regarding the Calamities cauſed by the Famine, went to *Antioch* in *Syria*. During his reſidence there, he deſtroyed ſuch as would not profeſs *Arianiſm*. For although he had perfectly ejected the Embracers of the *Homoöuſian* Opinion out of the Churches of almoſt all the Eaſtern Cities; yet he was not ſatisfied therewith, but did beſides inflict various puniſhments upon them. And he deſtroy'd many more than formerly [had been murder'd by him,] by expoſing them to different ſorts of death; but more eſpecially by drowning them in a River.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning what was done at Edeſſa, *and the reproachful affront put upon the* Præfect, *and concerning the Faith, Couragiouſneſs, und Conſtancy of thoſe Citizens; and concerning a pious Woman.*

BUT, we muſt relate what was done at *Edeſſa* [a City] of *Meſopotamia*. In that City there is a ſtately and ſplendid * Church [which bears the name] of *Thomas* the Apoſtle, wherein Aſſemblies in order to the performance of the publick duties of Religion are without intermiſſion convened, by reaſon of that places ſanctity. The Emperor *Valens*, deſirous to view this *Church*, and being informed that the whole Congregation met therein were [followers] of that Hereſie which he deteſted, ſtruck the *Præfect* with his own hand, (as 'tis ſaid,) becauſe he had not taken

* *Martyrion*; it ſometimes ſignifies a *place where the Reliques of ſome Martyr are depoſited*: 'tis plain from what follows, that by it our Author here means a Church.

Valentinianus and Valens.

taken care to have them driven from that place. When the *Præfect*, after this manner abused, made preparations (though unwillingly) to obey the Emperor's rage; (for he was not willing to be the instrument of the murder of so many persons;) he gave them notice secretly, to the intent that no person might be found within that Church. But no body heeded either his advice, or his menaces. For on the day following all persons flock'd to the Church: And when the *Præfect* with a great company of Souldiers hastned to the Oratory, in order to his fulfilling the Emperor's rage; a poor Woman, leading her own little Son by the hand, went with great speed towards the Church, and broke through the (*a*) ranks of Souldiers which guarded the *Præfect*. At which the *Præfect* being highly displeased, orders the Woman to be brought to him; and speaks to her after this manner: *Miserable Woman! whither runnest thou in this* * *undecent manner?* She replied, *To the same place that others run to. Have you not heard,* said he, *That the Præfect is going to put to death all persons that shall be found there? I have heard so,* answer'd she, *and do therefore make haste, that I may be found there* (*b*): *And whither draggest thou that little Child,* said the *Præfect*; the Woman replied, *that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom.* Upon hearing hereof, the *Præfect* made a conjecture of the constancy and resolution of the persons assembled [in the Church.] And he went back immediately to the Emperor, and informed him, that all of them were ready to die for their own Faith. And declaring withal, that it would be absurd to destroy so many persons in so short a time, he thereby perswaded the Emperor to desist from being enraged. After this manner the *Edessens* escaped their being destroy'd by their own Emperor.

(*a*) *Rufinus* (from whom *Socrates* borrow'd this story) Book 2. chap. 5. *Eccles. Hist.* words this passage thus: *Infantem quoque parvulum secum trahentem, cursuque rapido, irrupto etiam officii agmine, festinantem; Leading her little Child with her, and making such great haste, that she broke through the Præfect's Guards.* This memorable fact of the woman of *Edessa* hapned on the year of Christ 371 or 372; as we shall see by and by. *Baronius* has done ill to place it on the year of our Lord 370. *Vales.*

* Ἀκόσμως. *Rufinus* (in the Book and Chapter just now quoted) says, *She made such haste, that she would not stay to shut her door, nor dress herself in the usual garb that women appeared in in publick.*

(*b*) After these words, there were wanting in *Rob. Stephens's Edition* these two whole lines [Καὶ πῦ τοῦτο τὸ μικρὸν ἕλκεις τυ διοτρόσαντ τῇ τῆς πάρεδρε, ἢ γύνη ἔφη, ὥστε κἀὐτὸ μαρτυρεῖν καλαξιωθῆναι, *And whither draggest thou that little Child, said the Præfect, the woman replied, that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom*] which I have inserted from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* acknowledges them; and so does *Rufinus*, from whom *Socrates* borrow'd this story. Moreover, from this place also 'tis evident, that *Christophorson* had perused no M. S. Copies of *Socrates*. Vales.

CHAP. XIX.

That the Emperor Valens *slew many persons, the first Letter of whose Name was* * Theta, *upon account of a certain* Necromantick-*Divination, whereby that was foretold.*

* Or, *Th.*

(*a*) This whole scene of that unhappy Oracle, which some Heathens had consulted that they might know who should succeed *Valens* in the Empire, is at large set forth by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his 29th Book. But, 'tis difficult to assign the year whereon it hapned. *Baronius*, in *his Annals* places it on the year of Christ 370. I am of opinion, that it was acted in the year of our Lord 371. or at the beginning of the year 372. For *Valens*, in the year of Christ 371, made his entry into *Antioch*, at the end of Summer. *Gratianus* II. and *Probus* being *Consuls*, as I have demonstrated in *my Notes on the foresaid Book of Marcellinus*. partly from *the Laws of the Theodosian Code*, and partly from *Libanius's Book concerning his own Life*. Now, that Tragedy and Conspiracy of those wicked wretches against *Valens*, hapned after his entry into the City of *Antioch*, as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*. Therefore, it must necessarily happen at the close of the year 371, or at least at the beginning of 372. 'Tis certain, *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* do place *Valens's* entry into *Antioch* on his eighth year. But, the same *Theophanes* does ascribe that Conspiracy of those impious Wretches, who had consulted the Oracle concerning the future Emperor, to *Valens's* ninth year. Which agrees exactly with our opinion, if we may compute *Valens's* first year from the Consulate of *Jovianus* and *Varronianus*. Vales.

Valentianus and Valens.

To which persons, having made use of a certain magical inchantment, the *Dæmon* gave responses, not plain and manifest, but (as he usually does) oblique and ambiguous; by shewing only four Letters, * *Theta*, and *Epsilon*, and *Omicron*, and *Delta*; saying, that his name, who should reign after *Valens*, did begin with these Letters, and that his name was compounded. The report of what had been done came to the Emperor's Ears. But he permitted not God (who manages all things in due and orderly manner) to have the knowledge of things future, and to do what seemed good to him; but, slighting the Sanctions of Christianity, for which he supposed himself to have a zeal and ardency, he put many to death, of whom he had a suspicion that they would seize upon the Empire. Therefore, the *Theodorus's*, the *Theodotus's*, the *Theodosius's*, and the *Theodulus's*, and as many as had such-like names as these, were deprived of their lives. Amongst whom (*b*) one *Theodosiolus*, a person of great valour and courage, a Descendant of a noble Family in *Spain*, was also put to death. And out of a fear of the imminent danger, many persons [at that time] changed their names, denying those names their Parents had given them when they were young, in regard they were liable to danger. But, let thus much be said concerning this.

* Or, *Th, E, O, D.*

(*b*) In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading here is [Θεοδόσιός τις ἄλλος τὶς, *another Theodosius.*] *Epiphanius Scholasticus* also calls him *Theodosius*. Who this *Theodosius* [or, *Theodosiolus*] should be, 'tis uncertain. For I cannot think, it was that *Theodosius*, (father to *Theodosius* the Emperor,) of whom *Ammianus* makes frequent mention in his History. For he lived in the West, and was not slain by the fraud and treachery of malevolent persons, till after *Valentinianus's* death. And yet this Character added by *Socrates* [*a personage of great Valour and Courage, a descendant of a Noble Family in Spain*] does exactly fit him. *Vales.*

CHAP. XX.

Concerning Athanasius's *death, and the Promotion of* Peter [*to his See.*]

FUrther, you are to know, that as long as *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* lived, the Emperor (upon account of some [over-ruling dispensation] of God's providence) forbore disquieting *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, knowing for certain, that there was a numerous multitude of persons there, who favoured *Athanasius*; and for this reason he was afraid, lest a Sedition being raised at *Alexandria*, the Populace, who are naturally hot and violent, should endamage the publick State of Affairs. [Moreover,] *Athanasius*, after those many conflicts [he had undergone] upon the Church's account, departed this life in the second Consulate of *Gratianus* which he bore with *Probus*; he governed that Bishoprick amidst many dangers forty and six years, and left *Peter*, a pious and eloquent person, to succeed him in his See.

Athanasius's death.

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. XXI.

That after Athanasius's *death, the* Arians *by the Emperor* Valens's *Order, deliver'd up the Churches in* Alexandria *to* Lucius, *who had been Ordained by them before, and committed* Peter *to Prison.*

THe *Arians* therefore took courage immediately, being rendred insolent by the Emperor's Religion; and without delay they give an account hereof to the Emperor, who then resided at *Antioch*. At the same time also *Euzoius* (who presided over the Professors of *Arianism* at *Antioch*,) with greediness catches that opportunity so seasonably offer'd; and makes it his design to procure himself to be sent to *Alexandria*, to the intent that he might deliver possession of the Churches there to *Lucius* the *Arian*. Which was also approved of by the Emperor. And forthwith he went to *Alexandria*, [accompanied] with the Imperial Forces. For (*a*) *Magnus*, *Lord-Treasurer* to the Emperor, went along with him. The Imperial Order was directed to *Palladius* * *Præfect* of *Egypt*, and a command was issued forth, that the military Forces there should give their assistance. Wherefore, they apprehended *Peter*, and confined him to Prison. After they had dispersed the other *Ecclesiasticks* some into one place, some into another, they seated *Lucius* in the Episcopal Chair.

(*a*) This *Magnus* is term'd κομμεντησίων λαργιτόρων κόμης, *Comes of the Court-Largesses*, in the Letter of *Petrus Alexandrinus*, (the Person spoken of in this Chapter) part of which Letter *Theodoret* has recorded, Book 4. Chap. 22. *Eccles. Hist.*

* In the Original he is termed *Præfect of Alexandria*; which Title was sometimes given to the *Præfects of Egypt*; as it has been observed before.

CHAP. XXII.

That Sabinus *the* Macedonian *Heretick has made no mention of those many Mischiefs which happned at* Lucius's *Instalment. But they are recorded in a Letter written by* Peter; *who made his escape, and fled to* Damasus [*Bishop*] *of* Rome. *But the* Arians *and* Lucius *were the Authors of many mischievous Practices and Cruelties, against those Holy Persons who led a* Monastick *life in the Solitudes.*

MOreover, what mischiefs hapned at *Lucius*'s Induction [into the See of *Alexandria*,] or what was done against those persons that were ejected, as well in, as without the Courts of Judicature; and how some were subjected to various Tortures, and others were banish'd, even after they had been tortured; [of any of these particulars] there is not the least mention made by *Sabinus*. For, in regard he was a *Semi-Arian*, he concealed the enormous Villanies of his Friends. But *Peter* has manifestly display'd them to the view of all men, in his own Letters, which he sent about to the Churches every-where, after his escape * out of prison. This † person, as soon as he could make an escape out of his imprisonment, fled to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*. But the *Arians*, altho' few in number, notwithstanding were re-possess'd of the *Alexandrian* Churches. Not long after, an Imperial Edict [came forth, wherein] it was ordered, that [all] the Embracers of the *Homoüsian* Opinion should be ejected out of *Alexandria*, and [driven] from all parts of *Egypt*. And the Governor of *Egypt* was commanded, with a numerous Army of Souldiers every-where to put to flight and chase away those, whom *Lucius* should order [to be ejected.] At the same time they molested, disturbed, and in a most cruel and hostile manner assaulted, the Monasteries in the Desart. For armed Men rush'd in upon Persons unarm'd, who would not stretch forth so much as their Hand to strike a stroke; and destroyed them with such cruelty and barbarity, that what they perpetrated against them is inexpressible.

*Or, out of his bonds.
† Peter.*

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Catalogue of the Holy Monks [who lived] in the Desart.

BUt, in regard we have made mention of the Monasteries in *Egypt*, nothing hinders but we may give an account in short concerning them. The Monasteries in *Egypt* had their Original ('tis probable) from very great antiquity; but they were enlarged and much increased by a pious Man, whose name was *Ammon*. This person, when young, had an aversion for Marriage. But when some of his nearest Relatives entreated him not to speak reproachfully of Matrimony, but that he would marry a Wife; he was prevailed upon, and entred into a matrimonial state of life: And immediately after he had taken the Virgin out of the * Bride-chamber, and with the usual solemnity led her into his Lodging-room; at length when his Friends and Acquaintance were gone away, he took the Apostolick Book, read St. *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and expounded to his Wife the Apostle's admonitions to married Persons. And making an addition of several particulars from elsewhere, he inform'd her, how many burdensome inconveniences do accompany marriage; how full of grief and disquietude the cohabitation of man and woman is, and what pangs attend a woman great with child; adding withal, the grief and troubles [which arise] from the breeding up of children. [On the other hand] he added the conveniency of chastity, how great a freedom attends a pure life, how unpolluted it is, and void of all uncleanness; and that Virginity places persons in the neareſt alliance to God. Having discourst of these and many other such-like particulars to his Virgin-wife, he perswades her, that before they should have any carnal knowledge of each other, she would together with him renounce a secular life. When they had made this agreement between themselves, they retired to the mountain called *Nitria*. There they lived in a Cottage, and for some short time made use of one *Ascetick* apartment in common, without the knowledge of any difference between the Masculine and Feminine Sex, but being (according to the Apostle) *one in Christ*. Not long after, the new and unpolluted Bride spake these words to *Ammon*: It is not decent for you (said she,) who with the greatest strictness imaginable do profess Chastity, to look upon

* Ἀπὸ τῆς παστάδος. Πάστος, or (which has the same import) παστός, signifies a *Wedding-chamber, Dining-room*, or *Entertaining-room*. See *Stephens*'s *Thesaur. Græc. Ling.* in the word πάστος. The *seventy two Translators* do use this term (at *Joel* 2. 16. and at *Psalm* 19. 5.) to express the Hebrew word חֻפָּה *Chuppa*; which was *a Tabernacle or Tent set up on purpose, for the performance of the Solemnities (usual amongst the Jews) of betrothing between the Man and Woman.*

Valentinianus and Valens.

upon a woman (a) in so narrow an habitation. Wherefore if you please, we will perform our *Ascetick* exercises apart. With this compact also both parties were well pleased. And being separated one from the other, they thus spent the remainder of their lives; abstaining from Wine and Oyl, and feeding upon dry bread only, which they eat sometimes after one days [fasting,] at others after two, at other times after more. *Antonius*, who was this *Ammon*'s Cotemporary, saw his soul after his death taken up [into Heaven] by Angels, as *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* does declare in * his *Life of* Antonius. Moreover, very many persons imitated this *Ammon*'s life: And by degrees the Mountains of *Nitria* and *Scetis* were filled with multitudes of Monks. To write whose lives, would be the subject of a particular work. But in regard there were amongst them persons of great piety, who were eminent for their *Ascetick* discipline, lived Apostolick lives, and did, and said some things that were useful and worthy to be recorded, I thought it expedient [to select] some few passages out of many, and intermix them with my History, in order to the Reader's advantage. 'Tis reported therefore, that this *Ammon* never saw himself naked, saying, *that it was misbecoming a Monk to behold his own naked Body.* And being one time desirous to pass a River, he was † loath to uncloath himself; but pray'd to God, that he might have a passage over without impeding the resolution he had taken: and an Angel convey'd him to the other side of the River. *Didymus*, another Monk, altho' he lived ninety years, yet kept company with no Man during his whole life. Another, by name *Arsenius*, would not separate the younger Monks, who had committed an offence, from Communion, but those only that were elderly: for he said, *that a young Monk being excommunicated, becomes* || *contumacious: but an elderly Monk does quickly become sensible of the grief of Excommunication.* *Pior* eat his meat walking. When one asked him why he fed after that manner; *I will not* (said he) *go to meat, as to a serious and set work, but as to an incident and by-business.* To another, questioning him concerning the same thing, he answered; *lest* (says he) *whilst I am eating, my mind should be affected with any bodily pleasure.* *Isidorus* said, *that it was forty years since he was sensible of Sin in his Mind; and that he never consented, either to Lust or Anger.* *Pambos*, a Man illiterate, went to a person, that by him he might be taught a Psalm. And having heard the first verse of the thirty eighth Psalm, which runs thus, * *I said I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not with my tongue*; he refused to hear the second verse, and went away, saying, *that this one verse was enough for him, in case he could learn it perfectly, and in reality practise and perform it.* And when he who had given him the verse to learn, reproved him, because he had not seen him in a whole six months space, he answered; *I have not yet truly and indeed learnt the verse of the Psalm.* Many years after this, to one of his Acquaintance, enquiring of him, whether he had learnt the verse, his answer was, *during the space of these nineteen years I have scarce learned to* * *fulfill it effectually.* The same person (when one gave him Gold [to be bestowed for the maintenance of the poor, and said to him, tell the sum which I have given) reply'd, *there is no need of telling the money, but of a right and sound disposition of Mind.* The same *Pambos*, upon the entreaty of *Athanasius* the Bishop, came out of the Desart to *Alexandria*: And seeing a Woman-player there, he brake forth into tears. When the Persons in presence ask'd him, why he wept; *Two things* (said he) *trouble me; the one is, this Womans destruction: the other, because I do not use so much diligence and industry to please God, as she does to delight obscene Men.* Another of them said, *that a Monk, unless he will work, is to be involved in the same condemnation with the covetous and rapacious Person.* *Petirus* was well furnished with a knowledge in *Natural Speculations*, and frequently expounded sometimes one thing, at other times another, to such as address'd themselves to him. At every one of his † Lectures he made a Prayer to God. But, amongst the Monks [who lived] at that time, there were two pious persons who bore the same name. For each of them had the appellation of *Macarius*. The one was born in the *Upper Egypt*; the other came from the City *Alexandria*. Both of them were famous upon several accounts, [to wit,] for their *Ascetick* Exercises, for their Morals, for their Converse, and for the Miracles wrought by their hands. The *Egyptian Macarius* wrought so many Cures, and drove so numerous a company of Devils out of persons possest, that [to relate] what he performed by the Grace of God, would require a particular and separate work. Towards those who came to him, he behaved himself with an austere gravity, temper'd with caution and circumspection. But the *Alexandrian Macarius*, altho' he was every way like the *Egyptian Macarius*, yet he differ'd from him in this, that he shew'd himself cheerful and pleasant towards those who came into his company, and by his courteous behaviour and complaisance induced young men to embrace an *Ascetick* course of life. *Evagrius*, Scholar to these *Macarius's*, having before been a Philosopher in words only, learned [from them] that Philosophy [which consists] in deeds and actions. * He having been ordained Deacon by *Gregorius Nazianzenus* at *Constantinople*, went afterwards with him into *Egypt*, where he conversed with those fore-mention'd persons, and imitated their course of life. Nor were the Miracles wrought by his hands, fewer in number than those performed by his Masters. The same *Evagrius* wrote Books of very great use: one whereof has this Title (b) *The Monk*, or *concerning active Virtue.* Another is entitled, *The Gnostick*, or *to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge.* This Book is divided into Fifty Chapters. A third is termed *Antirreticus*, [or *The Refutation*, being a Collection] from the Sacred Scriptures, against the tempting Evil Spirits;

(a) In the Original 'tis thus worded, ἐν τοσούτῳ οἰκήματι, *in so great an house.* *Christophorson* has rendred it, *in tantillo domicilio, in so small an house.* But the Greek term will not admit of this rendition. Wherefore, I had rather it should be thus worded, ἐν τῷ σῷ οἰκήματι, *in your dwelling.* Vales.

* See *Socrates* B. 1. chap. 21.

† Or, *ashamed, or, he refused.*

|| Or, *a contemner.*

* Or, *practise.*

* See Psal. 39. v. 1.

† Or, *Theorems, or, Expositions.*

* *Evagrius.*

(b) Instead of [Μοναχὸς *The Monk*] *Epip. Scholasticus* in his copy read Μοναχικὸν, *The Monastick*] as 'tis apparent from his Version. Notwithstanding *Nicephorus* (Book 11. Chap. 42.) confirms the common reading. But, as to *Evagrius*'s other Book here mentioned, he words the title of it thus: Γνωστικὸς ἢ περὶ τὸ καλὰ ξιωθέντος γνώσεως, *The Gnostick, or concerning him who is reputed worthy of knowledge.* It may also be written (as it is here in *Socrates*) thus, *or to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge:* which reading we have followed in our Version. Concerning this *Evagrius*'s Books, see *Jerome*'s sentiment, in *his Epistle to Ctesiphon against the Pelagians*:) where he informs us, that *Evagrius* was an *Origenist.* *Palladius* (*in Lausiaca*) says *Evagrius* wrote three Books. The first of these he calls Ἅγιος, *The Saint*: the second Μοναχὸς, *The Monk*; the third Ἀντιῤῥητικὸς, *The Refutation*; which is against the frauds of the Devil. *Palladius* terms that Book of *Evagrius*'s, *The Saint*, which *Socrates* here calls *The Gnostick.* Vales.

Valemini-anus and Valens.

Spirits; it is divided into eight parts, according to the number of the eight thoughts. [He wrote] alſo ſix hundred *Prognoſtick Problems*: and moreover, *two Books in Verſe*; the one *to thoſe Monks* [*who live*] *in Monaſteries or Covents*; the other *to the Virgin*. How admirable theſe Books of his are, they that read them will perceive. It is not unſeaſonable, as I ſuppoſe, to annex to what has been ſaid before, ſome few paſſages recorded by him, concerning the Monks: For he ſays word for word, thus. *It is alſo neceſſary to make an enquiry into the ways of thoſe Monks, who have heretofore walked* * *uprightly, and to conform* [*our ſelves*] *to the pattern thereof: For many things have been well ſaid and done by them. Amongſt which this was the ſaying of one of them, That a drier, ſlender, and not irregular ſort of Diet, joyn'd with Love, will in a ſhort time bring a Monk to a Port void of all inquietude. The ſame Monk freed one of his Brethren from his being diſturbed with Apparitions in the Night, enjoyning him to miniſter to the Sick, whilſt he was faſting. And being asked* [*why he commanded him to do that,*] *ſuch troubles as theſe* (*ſaid he*) *are compoſed and extinguiſh'd with nothing ſo eaſily, as with mercy and compaſſion. A Philoſopher of thoſe times came to* Antonius the Juſt, *and ſaid unto him, O Father, how can you hold out, being deſtitute of the comfort of Books?* Antonius *replied,* My Book, O Philoſopher, is the nature of things made, and 'tis ready at hand as often as I am deſirous of reading the Words of God. *That aged perſon the* Egyptian Macarius, *that choſen Veſſel, asked me, Why by remembring the Injuries we receive from Men, we deſtroy that Strength and Faculty of Memory which is in our Minds: But by remembring the miſchiefs done to us by the Devils, we continue unhurt? And when I was doubtful what anſwer I ſhould make, and entreated him to explain the reaſon hereof to me; the firſt* (*ſaid he*) *is an Affection of the Mind, which is contrary to nature: The ſecond is agreeable to nature. I went one time to the Holy Father* Macarius, *at Noonday, when it was very hot, and being moſt extreamly thirſty, requeſted ſome Water to drink. His Anſwer to me was,* Content your ſelf with the Shade; for many perſons who are at this time travelling by Land, or making a voyage by Sea, do want [the refreſhment of] that. *Then, I conferred with him about Abſtinence, and he ſaid unto me,* Be couragious and confident, my Son: For theſe twenty years compleat, I have not taken my fill either of Bread, Water, or Sleep. For I have eaten my Bread by weight; I have drank my Water by meaſure: and I have ſtolen (*c*) a little part of a Sleep, by leaning my ſelf againſt a Wall. *One of the Monks had the news of his Father's death brought to him. His return to him that told him this, was,* Forbear ſpeaking impiouſly; for my Father is immortal. *One of the Brethren was poſſeſſor of nothing elſe but the Book of the Goſpels: when he had ſold that Book, he gave* [*the money he had for it,*] *to feed the hungry, and utter'd this ſaying worthy to be recorded*; I have ſold that Book which ſayeth, * Sell that thou haſt and give to the poor. *There is an Iſland about* Alexandria, *ſituate at the Northern part of that City, beyond the Lake called* Mareotis. *Near that Iſland dwells a Monk* (*d*) *of* Parembole, *and a moſt approved perſon amongſt the* Gnoſticks, *who has declared, that all things practiſed by the Monks, are done for five reaſons, for the ſake of God, of Nature, on the account of Cuſtom, of Neceſſity, and of the Work of the Hands. It was the uſual ſaying of the ſame perſon alſo, that by nature there was only one virtue, but that in reſpect of the Faculties of the Soul, it was divided into ſeveral* Species. *For the light of the Sun, ſaid he, is without any figure; but it does uſually receive its figure from the Windows through which it enters. Another of the Monks was wont to ſay, I do therefore every way eſchew pleaſures, that I may* * *prevent the occaſions of anger. For I know very well, that anger does always* † *militate for pleaſures, and does diſquiet my mind, and expel knowledge. One of the aged Monks ſaid, that Charity knows not how to keep the* || Depoſitum *of Meat or Money. This was another ſaying of the ſame perſon; I do not remember that I was ever twice deceived as to the ſame thing by the Devil.*

(*c*) Inſtead of [μικρόν τι τῦ ὕπνυ μέρυς,] the reading in the *Florentine* M. S. and in *Nicephorus* is [μικρόν τι τῦ ὕπνυ μέρ☉, *a little part of a ſleep*, or, *a nap.*] For that ſleep, which *Macarius* took by leaning his head againſt a Wall, was a part of a ſleep, rather than a ſleep. For he ſlept but a very little while. Wherefore, he is ſaid to have ſtollen, rather than to have taken aſleep. *Valeſ.*

* Matth. 19. 21.

* Or, *Rightly.*

* Or, cut off.

† Or, fight or, ſtrive.

|| Or, that which one is entruſted with to keep.

Valentinianus and Valens.

(*d*) Tranſlators have been notoriouſly miſtaken at this place. For *Chriſtophorſon* renders it thus; *in eâ Monachus ex Sectâ Gnoſticorum vir ſpectatiſſimus habitavit, in that* [*Iſland*] *dwelt a Monk, a moſt eminent perſon of the Sect of the Gnoſticks.*

Langus, Nicephorus's Tranſlator, has rendred this paſſage in *Evagrius*, thus: *Habitat in eâ Monachus Gnoſticorum Ordinis celeberrimus, in that* [*Iſland*] *dwells a moſt famous Monk of the Order of the Gnoſticks.* But firſt, *Evagrius* does not ſay, that that Monk dwelt in that Iſland beyond the Lake *Mareotis*; but only, that he dwelt near that Iſland. For that's the import of the word παροικεῖ. Secondly, παρεμβολὴ [*Parembole*] does not ſignifie *a Sect*, or *an Order*: nor are the *Gnoſticks* taken in this place for a Sect of Hereticks; but 'tis a ſort of Monks, concerning whom *Evagrius* wrote a Book. *Parembole* therefore is a Village not far from *Alexandria*, near the Lake *Mareotis*. *Athanaſius* makes mention of it in *his ſecond Apologetick againſt the Arians*, where he produces the Catalogue of Clergy-men, whom *Meletius* had in the City, and within the Territory of *Alexandria*. After his mentioning of the Presbyters and Deacons of *Meletius*'s party, which he had at *Alexandria*, he adds theſe Words; καὶ Μακαρίῳ πρεσβύτερῳ τῆς Παρεμβολῆς, *and Macarius Presbyter of Parembole. Parembole* is alſo mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, wherein were the Quarters of the *ſecond Trajan Legion* under the command of the *Comes* of the Military affairs throughout *Egypt*. *Ptolemæus* alſo (in *Ammoniaca*) places *Alexander*'s *Parembole* near the *Lake Mareotis*. Here therefore dwelt that Monk, who was ſo eminent amongſt the *Gnoſticks*. Valeſ.

Theſe paſſages are word for word recorded in *Evagrius*'s Book, entitled *The Practick*. In that Book of his, to which he gave this Title, *The Gnoſtick*, he ſays thus: *We have been informed from* Gregorius the Juſt, *that the Virtues and their Contemplations are four; Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Juſtice. And the buſineſs of Prudence, he ſaid was, to contemplate thoſe Intelligent and Holy Powers* * *without any reaſons. For his Doctrine was, that theſe were manifeſted by Wiſdom:* [*The property*] *of Fortitude* [*as he affirmed,*] *was, to perſiſt in what was true, although a reſiſtance were made, and* † *not to turn aſide towards thoſe things which are not. He made anſwer, that it was the property of Temperance, to receive the Seed from the Firſt* [*and Great*] *Husbandman, and to repell him who would* * *Sow over again.* [*Laſtly, he aſſigned this Work*] *to Juſtice, to give an account* [*of things*] *agreeable to the worth and dignity of every perſon;* [*which Virtue*] *does ſet forth ſome things obſcurely; it gives the knowledge of others by Riddles; and it plainly manifeſts other ſome, for the benefit and advantage of the more unskilful and ſimple Hearers. That Pillar of Truth* Baſilius, *the* Cappadocian, *ſaid, that that knowledge, which is accidently procured from Men, is improved by a continual Meditation and Exerciſe: but, that infuſed by the Grace*

* Or, without words.

† Μὴ ἐμβαλεύειν, *not to intrude into*, &c. See Coloſ. 2. 18. where this term occurs.

* He alludes, I ſuppoſe, to the parable of the tares; ſee *Matt.* 13. 24, &c.

Valentinianus and Valens.

Grace of God [is increased] by Justice, * Patience, and Mercy: And that the former [sort of Knowledge,] 'tis possible, may be received by those who are liable to Disquietude and Troubles of Mind: But that they only are capable of the latter, who are free from all such Disquietude and Troubles; who also, during the interim of their being at prayer, do contemplate that proper and peculiar Light of their Mind, which does illuminate them. Athanasius, that Holy Luminary of the Egyptians, says, that Moses is order'd † To place the Table on the North-side. The Gnosticks therefore may know, who it is that blows against them, and let them couragiously endure every Temptation; and with a chearful mind nourish those that come unto them. (e) Serapion the Angel of the Church of the Thmüitæ said, that the Mind having drank a full draught of Spiritual Knowledge, is [thereby] perfectly cleansed: But, that the parts of the Mind inflamed with anger, are cured by love: And that wicked Desires, which flow into [the Mind,] are stopt by Abstinence. Exercise you self with a continual Meditation upon the Discourses and Reasons which relate to Providence and the Judgment [of God,] (says that great and skilful Doctor Didymus;) and attempt to bear in mind the Subject of those Reasons and Discourses. For, almost all persons do err in these matters. And the Reasons and Discourses which concern a Judgment, you will find in the difference of Bodies, and * in all parts of the World. But the Accounts and Discourses which relate to a Providence, [you will discern] in those ways which lead us from Vice and Ignorance, to Virtue and Knowledge.

* Or, placability, or, slowness to anger.

† See Exod. 26. 35.

(e) Concerning this Serapion, Jerome (in his Book de Script. Eccles. speaks these Words: Serapio Thmuëos Ægypti Urbis Episcopus, qui ob elegantiam ingenii Scholasticus dictus est, &c. Serapion Bishop of Thmuis a City of Ægypt, who for the Elegance of his wit, was first stiled Scholasticus, &c. He died in Constantius's Reign, before the Seleucian Synod, that is, before the year of Christ 359. For in this Seleucian Synod, amongst the Bishops of Acacius's party, Ptolomæus is reckoned Bishop of Thmuis, a City of Augustonica, or Augustanica. For Baronius is not to be heeded, who (in his Annotations on the Roman Martyrology,) says, Thmuis was a City in the Province Scethis. Scethis was not the name of a Province, but was it self rather in the Province Augustanica. And yet Marcellinus (Book 22.) places Thmuis in (that properly called) Egypt. Vales.

* Κατὰ πάντα κόσμον, throughout all parts of the world.

Thus much we have taken out of *Evagrius*'s Books and inserted here. There was also another admirable person amongst the Monks, by name *Ammonius*, who had so little of curiosity in him, that being at *Rome* with *Athanasius*, he was desirous of viewing none of those magnificent works in that City; but saw only the Cathedral of *Peter* and *Paul*. This *Ammonius*, when he was to have been forced to take a Bishoprick, fled away, and cut off his own Right Ear, that by a * Mutilation of his Body he might avoid being ordained a Bishop. Some time afterwards, *Evagrius* (who was also to have been forced to [take] a Bishoprick by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and had made his escape, without making any Mutilation upon his own Body;) accidentally met *Ammonius*, and in a facetious manner said unto him, *That he had done ill to cut off his own Ear, and that upon that account he was culpable before God.* To whom *Ammonius* made this return: *But do not you think*, Evagrius, *that you shall be punished, because you have cut out your own Tongue, and out of a love to your self, would not make use of that Grace which was bestowed upon you?* Moreover, at that time there were in the *Solitudes* many other admirable and pious persons, the mention of whom in this Work of ours would be too long and tedious. Besides, we must of necessity digress from the the design we have proposed to our selves, should we give a particular account of the Lives of every one of these Persons, and of the Miracles they performed by their eminent Sanctity wherewith they were endued. If any one be desirous of an accurate account of these Men, and would know what actions they perform'd and did, what sayings they utter'd conducive to the profit and advantage of the hearers, and how the Wild Beasts were obedient to them: there is a particular Book, elaborated by *Palladius* the Monk, who was *Evagrius*'s Scholar; wherein all things appertaining to these persons, are with great accuracy discoursed of at large. In which Book [*Palladius*] makes mention of Women also, who followed a course of life like to the foresaid men. Further, *Evagrius* and *Palladius* flourished a little after the death of *Valens* [*Augustus.*] But we will now return to that place, whence we have digressed.

Valentinianus and Valens.

* Or, maiming.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning those Holy Monks who were exiled; how God (by the Miracles they performed) attracted all persons to himself.

WHen therefore the Emperor *Valens* had by his Edict given order, that as well the Orthodox in *Alexandria*, as those in the other parts of *Egypt*, should be forcibly driven from their Habitations; Depopulation and Ruin forthwith defaced and overthrew all things: whilst some persons were dragg'd before the Seats of Judicature; others thrown into Prison; and others tortured by other methods. For they inflicted various sorts of punishment upon persons that were great lovers of peace and quietness. After these things were done at *Alexandria*, in such a manner as *Lucius* thought good, and when *Euzoius* was return'd to *Antioch*, these [two] persons hastned immediately to the Solitudes of *Egypt*; [I mean] the Commander in chief of the Milice, with a numerous company of Soldiers, and *Lucius* the *Arian*. For he himself was not at that time absent, but (without shewing any compassion in the least towards the assembly of those Holy Men) perpetrated worse Barbarities than the Soldiers themselves did. When they arrived at the place, they apprehended the Men performing their usual exercises; [to wit,] praying, curing diseases, and casting out Devils. But these [Wretches] little regarding God's Miracles, would not permit so much as the usual and solemn prayers to be performed in the Oratories, but drove the Holy Persons even out of those places. Nor did they aquiesce in the doing hereof only, but proceeded on further, and (a) made use of Weapons against them. These [Cruelties] *Rufinus* says he was (b) present at and saw, and was a fellow-sufferer with these persons. Wherefore, the words of the Apostle were renewed against them. For, they were mock'd

(a) Instead of [Τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐκέχρηντο, made use of the multitudes] I read [τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκέχρηντο, made use of weapons.] This reading is confirmed by *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 3. Which passage in *Rufinus Socrates* does here take notice of. *Vales.*

(b) Instead of [παρ' ὧν] we read [παρὼν, was present at.] See *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 4. where his Words are these, *Quæ præsens vidi loquor, & eorum gesta refero, quorum in passionibus socius esse promerui. I speak what I was present at, and saw; and I relate their Actions, of whose Sufferings I had the favour to be a Companion.* Vales.

Valentinianus and Valens.

and * *had trial of Scourgings*, they were ſtript naked, were bound, *were ſtoned, were ſlain with the Sword*, [they were] perſons that *wandred about* in the Solitudes, *in Sheep-skins, and Goat-skins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; they wandred in Deſerts, and in Mountains, and in Dens, and Caves of the Earth:* †Notwithſtanding they received a teſtimony both from their Faith, and from the Works and Cures, which the Grace of God performed by their hands. But, (as 'tis probable) Divine Providence permitted theſe perſons to ſuffer theſe things, *having provided ſome better thing*, that by thoſe miſeries which they underwent, others might obtain ſalvation in God. And this was demonſtrated by the event. When therefore theſe admirable perſons were ſuperior to all that force and violence uſed towards them, *Lucius*, quite out of heart, adviſes the Commander of the Military Forces, to baniſh the Fathers of the Monks. Theſe [Fathers of the Monks] were the *Egpytian Macarius*, and he of *Alexandria* who bore the ſame name. Theſe perſons therefore were exiled into an Iſland, wherein there was no Chriſtian Inhabitant. In that Iſland there was an [Heathen] Temple, and a Prieſt in it, whom all the Inhabitants worſhipped like a God. But when theſe pious perſons arrived in that Iſland, all the *Dæmons* there were ſeized with a fear and trembling. At the ſame time alſo this accident hapned: The Prieſt's Daughter poſſeſt on a ſudden by a Devil, fell into a rage and overturn'd all things. She was extreamly unruly, and could by no means be quieted; but cried out with a loud voice, and ſpake to thoſe pious perſons, ſaying, Why are you come to caſt us out from hence alſo? Theſe Men therefore did in that place give another demonſtration of that * Power of theirs, which they had received from the Grace of God. For they drove the Devil out of the Virgin, and [having reſtored her] to her right mind, delivered her to her Father; whereby they induced both the Prieſt, and alſo all the Inhabitants of that Iſland to [embrace] the Faith of the Chriſtian Religion. Wherefore, (*c*) they caſt away their Images immediately; changed the Fabrick of their Temple into the form of a Church; receiv'd Baptiſm, and with cheerfulneſs learned all the [Doctrines] of Chriſtianity. Thus theſe admirable perſons, perſecuted upon account of the *Homoöuſian* Faith, rendred themſelves more approved, brought ſalvation to others, and made the Faith more firm and ſtrong.

* He alludes to that paſſage, at Heb. 11. 36, 37, 38.

† Καὶ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθέντες, *eſpecially when as they received a Teſtimony*, or *Commendation*, &c.

* Or, *Work.*

(*c*) Here there was a whole line wanting, which we have made good from the *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. after this manner [τὰ μὲν ἀγάλματα ἐξέβαλον· τὸ δὲ ᾠκημα τῶ ναῶ εἰς ἐκκλησίας, *they caſt away their images* [immediately changed] *the Fabrick of their Temple into* [the form] *of a Church.*] *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* found this reading in his Copy; as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Didymus, *a Blind Man.*

ABout the ſame times God produced another perſon, by whoſe Teſtimony he thought fit the Faith ſhould be corroborated and confirm'd. For *Didymus*, a man admirable and eloquent, adorned with all ſorts of Learning, flouriſh'd at that time. This perſon being very young, when he had but juſt learned to read, fell into a diſtemper of his Eyes; wherewith he was ſorely troubled, and loſt his Eye-ſight. But God, inſtead of Corporal Eyes, gave him thoſe of the Mind. For what he could not be inſtructed in by ſeeing, he learnt by hearing. For being of an apt and ingenious diſpoſition from his Childhood, and endued with an excellent wit, he far ſurpaſs'd even thoſe [(*a*) ripe-witted Children] who had the acuteſt ſight. For he became Maſter of the Rules of *Grammar* with much eaſe, and arriv'd to the knowledge of thoſe of *Rhetorick* with more celerity. Proceeding on from thence to *Philoſophy*, with an admirable facility he learnt *Logick*, *Arithmetick*, and *Muſick*; and treaſured up within his own mind the other Precepts of the Philoſophers, in ſuch a manner, that he could readily diſpute againſt thoſe who had perfectly learnt thoſe Arts by the benefit of their Eyes. Moreover, he was ſo exactly well-skill'd in the Divine Oracles of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, that he publiſh'd many Diſcourſes upon them: He dictated *Three Books concerning the Trinity*; and interpreted *Origen*'s Books *Concerning Principles*, ſetting forth (*b*) Comments thereupon; wherein he aſſerts that thoſe Books were incomparably well-written, and that their Cavils are frivolous, who accuſe *Origen*, and make it their buſineſs to ſpeak reproachfully of his Works: For they are not able, ſays he, to arrive at the knowledge of that Author's Perſpicacity and Prudence. If any perſon therefore be deſirous of knowing *Didymus*'s great Learning, and the fervency of his mind, he may have an account thereof by a peruſal of the Books elaborated by him. It's reported, that *Antonius* [the Monk] diſcourſed with this *Didymus*, (*c*) long before the times of *Valens*, at ſuch time as he left the Deſart, and came to *Alexandria* upon account of the *Arians*; and that perceiving the Learning and Knowledge of this perſon, he ſpake theſe words to him: O Didymus! *let not the loſs of your bodily Eyes trouble you: For you are deprived of ſuch Eyes, (d) as the Flies and Gnats can ſee with: But rejoyce, that you have thoſe Eyes, wherewith the Angels ſee, by which even God himſelf is diſcerned, and his Light comprehended.* This was the ſaying of the pious *Antonius* to *Didymus*, long before theſe times [we are treating of.] But at that time, *Didymus* was look'd upon to be the greateſt Patron and Defender of the genuine Faith, who diſputed againſt the *Arians*, unravel'd their Sophiſtick Cavils, and confuted their Adulterate and Fraudulent Diſcourſes.

Valentinianus and Valens.

(*a*) The word [ἡμφιεσμένους] which we have rendred [ripe-witted children] muſt be expung'd; which ſeems to have crept in here, out of the foregoing line. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* acknowledges it not. For thus he renders it; *Qui cum a puero fuiſſet ingenioſus, vincebat etiam acuta conſpicientes, who being from a Boy of an ingenious diſpoſition, excelled even thoſe who ſaw with the greateſt acuteneſs.* Valeſ.

(*b*) Concerning theſe Comments of *Didymus* on *Origens* Books περὶ ἀρχῶν, *Ferome* ſpeaks, in his 1ſt and 2d Book againſt *Ruſinus.* Valeſ.

(*c*) *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, and the other tranſlators have rendred this place ill; as if *Antonius* the Monk had come to *Alexandria* in the times of *Valens Auguſtus*. But, 'tis manifeſt, that *Antonius* died in the Reign of *Conſtantius*. *Ferome* informs us hereof, in his *Chronicon*, and in his *Life* of *Hilarion*. 'Tis uncertain, in what year of *Conſtantius*'s Empire *Antonius* left the Solitudes, and came down to *Alexandria*; whether it was about the beginning of *Conſtantius*'s Reign, before the Ordination of *Gregorius* the *Arian*; or rather, after the Synod of *Sardica*, and *Athanaſius*'s ſecond reſtitution. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) Inſtead of [οἷς καὶ μῦαι καὶ κώνωπες βλάπτειν ἰσχύουσιν, *as the Flyes and Gnats can ſee with,*] in *Cedrenus*, at the *ſixth year of Conſtantius*, the reading is [οἷς καὶ μῦαι καὶ κώνωπες βλάπτειν ἰσχύουσιν, *as the Flyes and Gnats can do harm to.* Nor did *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* find it written otherwiſe in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from this his Verſion: *Quibus & Muſcæ & Culices nocere poſſunt, to which the Flyes and Gnats can do harm.* And yet *Ruſinus*, (*Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 2. Chap. 7.) out of whom *Socrates* borrowed this ſtory, defends the common reading, which we have followed in our Verſion. And *Ferome* alſo does confirm this our reading, in *his Epiſtle to Caſtrutius.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Baſilius *of* Cæſarea, *and* Gregorius *of* Nazianzum.

DIvine Providence ſet up *Didymus* indeed as an Opponent to the *Arians* at *Alexandria*: But [in order to their confutation] in other Cities, [it

Valentinianus and Valens.

[it made use of] *Basilius Cæsariensis*, and *Gregorius Nazianzenus*. Concerning whom I judge it now opportune to give a short account. The memory and Fame of these two persons, which is still preserved amongst all men, and the learning contained in the Books written by them, might indeed be sufficient to set forth the praises and commendations of each of them. But, in regard they were persons in an eminent manner useful to the Church at that time, and were preserv'd [by God,] as being the Incentives of the [Orthodox] Faith; the Subject of our History does of necessity engage us in an especial manner to make mention of these two men. Should any one therefore be desirous of comparing *Basilius* and *Gregorius* with one another, and of giving an account of the Life, Morals and Virtues that were in them; he would be in a great doubt which of them he should prefer before the other; for they were both equal to one another, whether you respect their [pious and] exact course of Life, or their Learning; I mean as well their *Grecian* Literature, as their knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures. For, when very young, they went to *Athens*, and were the hearers of *Himerius* and *Prohæresius*, the two most eminent *Sophistæ* of those times; afterwards they frequented [the School of] *Libanius* at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and by their industry arrived at the highest accomplishments of *Eloquence. And when they were judged worthy to be professors of Eloquence, many persons perswaded them to enter upon the teaching and profession thereof. Others advised them to practise the Law, but they despised both these sorts of Life: and discontinuing their studies of Eloquence, embraced a Monastick life. Having therefore had a taste of the Precepts of Philosophy from him who at that time taught Philosophy, at *Antioch*, not long after they procured *Origen*'s Works, and from them got an insight into the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. For the great fame of *Origen* did at that time fill the whole World. When they had with great studiousness exercised themselves in the perusal of those Books, they powerfully opposed the Assertors of *Arianism*. And altho' the *Arians* *cited *Origen*'s Books, in confirmation (as they supposed) of their own opinion; yet these two persons confuted them, and evidently demonstrated, that they understood not the meaning of *Origen*. Indeed, the *Arians*, and their then Abettor *Eunomius*, altho' they were at that time accounted persons of great eloquence, yet, as often as they engaged in a discourse with *Gregorius* and *Basilius*, 'twas made evidently apparent that they were men altogether ignorant and unlearned. *Basilius* was first promoted to a † Diaconate by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*; after that he was preferred to the (b) Bishoprick of his own Country, I mean *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and undertook the Care of the Churches.

(a) What *Socrates* says here, is in my opinion false; *viz.* that *Basilius* and *Gregorius*, after they had finish'd the course of their learned Studies at *Athens*, were hearers of *Libanius* the *Sophista* at *Antioch*. *Gregorius* himself does refute this in *his Poem concerning his own Life*; where he says, that he was in the thirtieth year of his age when he left *Athens*, and that his Friends would have detained him at *Athens*, that he might be a Professor of Eloquence; (the same is attested by *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 9. *Eccles. Hist.*) but that he fled secretly from thence, and went into his own Country. *Vales.*

*Or, *Rhetorick.*

* Or, *quoted.*

† Or, *the Office of a Deacon.*

(b) *Baronius* says, *Basilius* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea*, in the year of Christ 369: and this he attempts to prove from *Gregorius Nyssenus*'s testimony. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, in his Chronicon, do place the beginning of *Basilius*'s Episcopate, on the ninth year of *Valens*, which was the year of Christ 371. But the same Authors do affirm, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter, in the eighth year of *Valens*. See *Theophanes*'s and *Cedrenus*'s words at the said eighth year of *Valens*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does confirm the same in his *Oration de Laudibus Basilii*. Where he does attest in expres's words, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter only of the Church of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Valens*, guarded with a part of Heretical Prelates, undertook an expedition against the Churches of the East, which he hastned to deliver up to the *Arians*. Moreover, *Valens* undertook this expedition against the Orthodox on his own third Consulate, that is on the year of Christ 370, as our *Socrates* does affirm: (compare the 14th and 17th chapters of this 4th Book.) *Gregorius Nyssenus* confirms this, *in his first Book against Eunomius* (who had upbraided *Basilius* with fearfulness and pusillanimity,) where he describes *Valens*'s preparations and expedition against the Churches, in these words: Ἐξήλαυνε μὲν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὅτε τὴν ἐναν ὁ Βασιλεὺς, &c., *The Emperor went from Constantinople into the East, puft up in his mind with the late successful and fortunate Actions he had performed against the Barbarians.* That is, after the War against the *Goths*, and the League made with them. Which hapned in the year of Christ 369, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Wherefore, that Expedition of *Valens*'s to destroy God's Churches, hapned in the year of our Lord 370, as I have now said. Now, that *Basilius* was then no more than a Presbyter, his Brother *Gregorius* does in the same place inform us. For, he says, that the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, to wit, *Modestus*, *at first made use of flatteries, and promised Basilius a Præsulate and an Ecclesiastick presidency, provided he would obey the Emperor.* *Nyssen*'s Words are these: πειθόντι μὲν τὴν ὀν Βασιλέως τιμὴν, ᾗ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας περιέ]νων Therefore *Basilius* was not Bishop of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Modestus* endeavoured to pervert him. Moreover, *Modestus* first bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium*, when *Gratianus* II. and *Probus* were Coss. in the year of Christ 371, as I have remarkt *in my notes* on the 29th Book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 380. It may also be proved by another argument, that *Basilius* was preferred to the Episcopate of *Cæsarea* after the year of Christ 370. For *Nazianzen* in the *Funeral Oration* which he wrote on him, says that *Basilius* was but a Presbyter, at such time as that Famine (by far the sorest of all the Famines that are mentioned to have hapned at any time) hapned in *Cappadocia*. Now, this is the Famine, which our *Socrates* mentions in the *sixteenth* Chapter of this Book; it hapned in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*. Vales.

Valentinianus and Valens

For being afraid; lest the novelty of the *Arian* opinion should prey upon, and devour the Provinces of *Pontus*, he went (c) with great haste into those parts: Where he constituted Monasteries, instructed the Inhabitants in his own Doctrines, and confirm'd the minds of those that wavered. (d) *Gregorius* [being constituted] Bishop of *Nazianzum* a small City in *Cappadocia*, over which Church his own Father had before presided, took the same course that *Basilius* did. For he also went up and down to the Cities; and corroborated those that were feeble and dispirited as to the Faith; but more especially, he made frequent journeys to *Constantinople*, and confirmed the Orthodox in that City by his Preaching and Discourses. Upon which account he was soon after

(c) *Gregorius Nazianzenus* (who is more to be credited in these things) does attest in *his Funeral Oration concerning the praises of Basilius*, that *Basilius*, as yet but a Presbyter, went into those parts, with a design to oppose himself against the perfidiousness of the *Arians*. Vales.

(d) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*; who (in Book 2. Chap. 9. *Eccles. Histor.*) writes thus: *Gregorius vero apud Nazianzun*, &c. *But Gregorius, being substituted Bishop in his father's stead, at the Town Nazianzum, faithfully bore the storm of the Hereticks.* And yet 'tis manifest, that *Gregorius* was not made Bishop, but Coadjutor only to his own father *Gregorius*, in the Episcopate of *Nazianzum*: and upon this condition too, that he should not succeed his Father in that Bishoprick; as he himself attests in his *Eighth Oration*, and in *his Poem concerning his own Life*. He was first constituted Bishop of *Sasimi* by *Basilius the Great*, who had been the first Founder of this Bishoprick, that he might assure that place to his own Church; as *Gregorius* attests in the *Poem concerning his own Life*. From thence he was translated to the *Constantinopolitan* See, which he quickly left, betook himself to *Nazianzum*, and governed the Bishoprick of that place some while, till such time as, being wearied out with age and diseases, he made choice of his own Successor. *Jerome*'s account therefore is true, whose words (in *his Book De Script. Ecclesiast.*) are these: *Gregorius primùm Sasimorum, deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus*, &c. *Gregorius, Bishop first of Sasimi, and afterwards of Nazianzum*, &c. And 'tis strange, that altho' he governed three Bishopricks, yet they were all doubtful and uncertain. 'Tis plain, that in *his Epistles* he himself does frequently deny, that he ever presided over the Episcopate of *Sasimi*, or ever performed any sacerdotal Office there. Neither *Jerome* his Scholar, nor *Rufinus*, do ascribe the *Constantinopolitan* Bishoprick to him. Lastly, he delivered the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* to another, rather than governed it himself. *Vales.*

Valentinianus and Valens.

ter conſtituted Biſhop over the people at *Conſtantinople*, by the ſuffrage of many Biſhops. When therefore what * both theſe perſons did came to the Emperor *Valens*'s ears, he forthwith order'd (*e*) *Baſilius* to bebrought from *Cæſarea* to *Antioch*. Immediately therefore he was convey'd thither, and by the Emperor's order was ſet before the Tribunal of the *Præfects*: (*f*) when the *Præfect* put this queſtion to him, *Why he would not embrace the Emperor's Faith? Baſilius* with a great deal of confidence found fault with the Emperor's Religion, and commended the *Homoöuſian* Faith. But when the *Præfect* threatned him with death, *would to God* (ſaid *Baſilius*) *it might happen to me, to be delivered from the Bonds of the Body upon account of the Truth!* Then, upon the *Præfects* admoniſhing him to inſpect and conſider the matter more ſeriouſly with himſelf, 'tis reported that *Baſilius* ſaid, *I am the ſame this day that I ſhall be to morrow*: (*g*) *I wiſh that you would not have changed your ſelf.* After this *Baſilius* continued that day in cuſtody. Not long after, it hapned, that *Valens*'s Son, a young child, whoſe name was (*h*) *Galates*, was ſeized with a ſore diſtemper, in ſo much that his recovery was deſpaired of by the Phyſicians. The Empreſs *Dominica*, his Mother, did poſitively affirm to the Emperor, that ſhe had been ſorely diſquieted with fearful and horrid Viſions in her Dreams; and that the Child was viſited with ſickneſs, becauſe of the Biſhop's injurious uſage. The Emperor, taking theſe things into conſideration, ſends for *Baſilius*. And to make tryal of him, expreſſes himſelf to him after this manner: If your Opinion be true, pray that my Son may not die. If you will believe, O Emperor! (replied *Baſilius*,) as I do; and if [you will aſſent that] the Church ſhall be united, the Child ſhall live. When the Emperor would not conſent to that, the will of God therefore be done (ſaid *Baſilius*) concerning the Child. After *Baſilius* had ſpoken theſe words, [the Emperor] order'd he ſhould be diſmiſs'd. But the Child died not long after. Let thus much be compendiouſly ſaid concerning theſe perſons.

Moreover, each of them wrote and publiſhed many, and thoſe incomparable Books, ſome of which *Rufinus* ſays were by * him tranſlated into *Latin*. *Baſilius* had two Brothers, *Petrus* and *Gregorius*. *Petrus* imitated *Baſilius*'s Monaſtick courſe of life: but *Gregorius* [followed] his eloquent way of teaching. He alſo finiſh'd *that Book concerning the ſix days work*, (which *Baſilius* had taken pains about, and left imperfect) after his Brother's death: and recited a Funeral Oration [in praiſe of] *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, at *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo ſeveral other Orations of his extant.

valentinianus and Valens.

* So *Ruſinus* ſays, Book 2. Chap. 9. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

BUt, in regard ſome are apt to miſtake, becauſe of the likeneſs of the name, and by reaſon of the Books which in their Title are aſcribed to *Gregorius*, you are to know, that there was another *Gregorius* of *Pontus*; who had his original extract at *Neocæſarea* in *Pontus*, and was ancienter than theſe [*Gregorius*'s.] For he was * *Origen*'s Scholar. This *Gregorius*'s fame is very great at *Athens*, at *Berytus*, over the whole (*a*) *Pontick Diœceſis*, and (I had almoſt ſaid) over the whole World. For having left the Schools at *Athens*, he went to *Berytus*, and ſtudied the Civil Law. Where being informed that *Origen* did interpret the ſacred Scriptures at *Cæſarea*, he went in great haſte to that City: And having been an hearer of the Magnifick Expoſition of the ſacred Scriptures, he bad farewel to [his ſtudy of] the *Roman* Laws, and in future became wholly addicted [to *Origen*.] By whom he was inſtructed in the true Philoſophy, and after that, his Parents recalling him, he returned into his own Country: Where firſt of all, whilſt he was a Laick, he did many miracles; ſometimes healing the diſeaſed; at others driving away Devils by *Letters; [in fine,] he brought over the Profeſſors of *Gentiliſm* [to the Faith,] not only by his words, but much more by the works he did. He is mentioned alſo by *Pamphilus the Martyr*, in the Books he wrote (*b*) concerning *Origen*. Whereto is annexed (*c*) *Gregorius*'s *Oration, wherein he returned thanks to Origen at his departure from him.* There were therefore, that I may ſpeak briefly, [many] *Gregorius's*. The firſt is this ancient, *Origen*'s Scholar; the ſecond, *Nazianzene*; the third, *Baſilius*'s Brother. There was alſo another *Gregorius* at *Alexandria*, whom the *Arians* conſtituted Biſhop [of that City] during the time of *Athanaſius*'s Exile. Thus much concerning theſe perſons.

* So *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 6. Chap. 30.

* Or, *Epiſtles.*

That is, *Baſilius* and *Gregorius.*

(*e*) This account diſagrees from what the two *Gregorius*'s, (to wit, *Nazianzenus* in *his funeral Oration*, and *Nyſſenus* in *his firſt Book againſt Eunomius*) do relate concerning *Baſilius*. For they do atteſt, that *Baſilius* was not brought before *Modeſtus* the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* at *Antioch*, but that this was done in the City *Cæſarea*. *Sozomen* therefore (*Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 6. Chap. 16. has truly corrected *Socrates*'s miſtake here; where he relates, that *Valens* came from *Antioch* to *Caſarea*, and ordered *Baſilius* ſhould be brought before the Tribunal of the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. Further, you muſt obſerve, that *Valens Auguſtus* came to *Cæſarea* twice, and made an attempt to vanquiſh *Baſilius*: His firſt journey thither was when *Baſilius* was no more than a Presbyter; which (as we have ſhewn before) was in the year 370. This is evidently confirmed by *Sozomen* in *his ſixth Book*. When he came the ſecond time thither, 'tis not certain. But I conjecture it was on the year of Chriſt 371, or 372. Which I collect from *Modeſtus*'s Præfecture, which falls on thoſe years. *Nazianzenus* diſtinguiſhes theſe two journeys of *Valens*'s in *his twentieth Oration*, pag. 346. of *his Works*, Edit. Pariſ. 1609. *Valeſ.*

(*f*) *Socrates* took this out of *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 9. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* But *Gregorius Nyſſenus*, in *his firſt Book againſt Eunomius*, ſays, that *Baſilius* ſtood before the Tribunal of *Modeſtus* the *Præfect* twice; once when he was Presbyter, and a ſecond time when he was Biſhop. But *Nazianzen* makes no mention of *Baſilius*'s former Examination. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) In *Rufinus* (*Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 2. Chap. 9.) this paſſage is thus worded; *Utinam te non mutares, I wiſh you would not have changed your ſelf.* In which Words *Baſilius* reproves *Modeſtus*, becauſe from being a Catholick he was become an *Arian*, that he might pleaſe the Emperor. We are indeed told by *Gregorius* (in *his Funeral Oration*) that *Modeſtus* was an *Arian*. Valeſ.

(*h*) Here *Valentinianus Junior* is called by another name, as we have obſerved before, Chap 10. of this Book, note (*a*.) He was ſurnamed *Galates*, becauſe he was born in *Galatia*. Further, in regard *Socrates* does here term him νήπιος, *a young Child*; our Opinion (which we have given in before) is very much confirmed, to wit, that theſe things were done about the Year of our Lord 371, or 372. For *Valentinianus Junior* was born in the year of Chriſt 366; as we have remarked before: From which year to the year 372, are ſix years compleat. So *Valentinianus Junior*, called alſo *Galates*, died at ſix years old. For a Child of that age is rightly termed νήπιος. *Valeſ.*

(*a*) At this place I have followed *Nicephorus*'s authority; and inſtead of [προϋπὴ διατριβήν] I have amended it thus [πρωτικὴ διατριβήν, *Pontick Diœceſis*;] altho' our M. S. copies make no alteration here. See *Socrat.* Book 1. Chap 9. note (*f.*) Valeſ.

(*b*) Inſtead of [περὶ ὠριγένους, *concerning Origen*,] it would be better thus [ὑπὲρ ὠριγένους, *in defence of Origen*;] for he means *Pamphilus's Apologetick in defence of Origen*: concerning which conſult *Photius*, in *his Bibliotheca*. Valeſ.

(*c*) In the Greek, 'tis thus worded: συγκάτικος λόγος Γρηγορίου εἰς Ὠριγένην· which *Muſculus* renders thus; *Liber Gregorii quo Origenem commendavit, Gregorius's Book, wherein he has commended Origen. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it thus: *Oratio Gregorii in Origenis commendationem conſcripta, Gregorius's Oration written in praiſe of Origen.* But, I cannot approve of this Verſion: For that Oration was not written by *Gregorius Thaumaturgus* in commendation of *Origen*; but to return thanks to his maſter, when he left his School. Indeed, *Commendatory Letters* are termed συγκατικαὶ· But there were never any *Orationes* συγκατικαὶ, *commendatory Orations.* Wherefore, I doubt not but it ſhould be σωτακτικὸς; although *Nicephorus* confirms the vulgar reading. Now, λόγος συντακτικὸς is *a Valedictory Oration*, as we have remarked in *our notes on Euſeb. Life of Conſtant.* Book 3. Chap. 21. note (*a*) Valeſ.

CHAP.

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Novatus, *and those from him termed* Novatians. *And, that those* Novatians *who inhabited* Phrygia, *altered* [*the time of celebrating*] *the Festival of* Easter, *and kept it on the same day the* Jews *did.*

ABout this very time, the *Novatians*, who inhabited *Phrygia*, altered the day of celebrating the Feast of *Easter*. How this was done, I will declare; having first of all told you, upon what account the accurate and exact Canon of their Church does at this present flourish in the Provinces of *Phrygia* and *Paphlagonia*. (*a*) *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, made a separation therefrom, in regard *Cornelius* the Bishop admitted those Believers to Communion, who had sacrificed in that Persecution, which the Emperor *Decius* raised against the Churches. Becoming a Separatist therefore upon this account, and being elected to the Bishoprick [of *Rome*] by such Prelates as embrac'd the same sentiments with him, he wrote to the Churches every where, that they should not admit such persons as had sacrificed, to the [sacred] Mysteries; but should exhort them to repentance, and leave the pardoning of their offences to God, who is able, and has power to remit sins. The Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these, gave their Judgments of the things therein signified, according to their own * dispositions and humours. For whereas *Novatus* had given notice, that those were not to be vouchsafed the participation of the † Mysteries, who after Baptism had fallen into [any] deadly sin; the promulgation of this Canon seemed severe and cruel to some: but others admitted of this Rule, as just and equitable, and [of great use] for the establishing a pious and more regular course of life. (*b*) In the interim that this great controversie was in debate, arrive the Letters of *Cornelius* Bishop [of *Rome*,] promising indulgence to those who had sinned after Baptism. Upon these two persons writing thus contrary to one another, and each of them confirming what he asserted by testimony of the sacred Scriptures, (*c*) every inhabitant of the Provinces betook himself to that party, whereto he had before entertained a greater propensity and inclination. For, such persons as delighted in sin, laid hold of the Indulgence then granted, and in future abused it to all manner of impiety. [Moreover,] the people of *Phrygia* seem to be more sober, and persons of better Morals than other Nations. For, 'tis very rare that the *Phrygians* do swear. Indeed the *Scythians* and *Thracians* are very ready to be overcome with anger and passion: and those who inhabit that Region [which lies] towards the Rising Sun, are more addicted to the serving of their Lusts. But the *Paphlagonians* and *Phrygians* are not prone to either of these vices. For neither *Cirque-Sports*, nor *Theatrical-Shews*, are at this present * esteemed amongst them. On which account, as well these persons, as others who embrace the same Sentiments with them, in my judgment seem to have given their assent to what was then written from *Novatus*. For, amongst them Whoring is reputed a most enormous wickedness. 'Tis apparently known, that the *Phrygians* and *Paphlagonians* do live more modestly and temperately, than any other Sect of Men whatever. I am of opinion, that it was the very same reason likewise [which prevailed] with those that inhabit the Western parts, who also have follow'd *Novatus*'s opinion. But *Novatus* (although he was a *Separatist* upon account of an accurate and more strict course of life, yet) made no alteration in [the celebration of] the Feast of *Easter*. For he always celebrated that Festival, after the same manner that those in the Western parts did. Now, the Inhabitants of those parts do always keep that Feast after the *Æquinox*, agreeable to an usage very anciently delivered to them, even from the time that they first embraced Christianity. [Further,] this * person suffer'd (*d*) Martyrdom afterwards, [to wit] in the Reign of the Emperor *Valerian*, who raised a Persecution against the *Christians*. But those in *Phrygia* who from his name are called *Novatians*, (*e*) having an aversion even for that Communion, they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholicks in the celebrating] of this [Festival,] about this time changed the Feast of *Easter* also.

(*a*) The Greeks usually term him *Novatus*, whose right name was *Novatianus*. Concerning whose Heresie, you may consult *Eusebius*, (*Eccles. Hist.* Book 6. chap. 43.) *Epiphanius*, the *Author of the questions on the Old and New Testament*, and *Theodoret*. Vales.

* Or, *Morals.*

† He means the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

(*b*) Instead of [ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τούτῳ] it is doubtless to be thus worded [ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοσούτῳ, &c.] Questionless, *Socrates* left it written thus; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

(*c*) The expression in the original is, ἕκας☉ καθ' ἕθ☉; which *Musculus* renders thus, *sicut fieri solet, as it is usually done*; and *Christophorson* thus; *ut moris est, as the manner is.* But I cannot approve of these Versions. For the *Grecian* Writers makes use of (not καθ' ἕθος, but) ὡς ἔθος,, to signifie, *as it is usually done*, or, *as the manner is.* Wherefore, I am rather of opinion, that it should be ἕκαστος καθ' ἔθνος, *every inhabitant of the Provinces*: so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read it. For he renders it thus; *Singuli Provinciarum*, &c. *Every Subject of the Provinces.* Καθ' ἔθνος has the same import with κατ' ἐπαρχίαν; which phrase *Socrates* has made use of a little before, in this Chapter; where his Words are, τοιαύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίαν δεχόμενοι, *the Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these.* Vales.

Valentinianus and Valens.

* Or, *studiously exercised*, or, *followed.*

* *Novatus.*

(*d*) The *Novatians* did boast, that the Founder of the Sect was a Martyr; and they wrote a Book, the Title whereof was, *The Martyrdom of Novatianus.* But this Book, which was stuft with Lyes and Fables, has long since been confuted by *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in *his sixth* Book *against the Novatians*, the *Excerptions* whereof occur in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*, p. 1621. Edit. *David Hoeschel.* 1610. Moreover, in those Acts of the Martyrdom of *Novatianus*, *Novatianus* was not said to have suffered Martyrdom, but only to have been a Confessor of the Faith of Christ. For, the *Author of the Acts* says, that of the eight Presbyters of the Roman Church who were under *Macedonius* Bishop of *Rome*, seven offered sacrifice to Idols together with *Macedonius*, and that only *Novatus* underwent an egregious Martyrdom of confession. And that together with *Novatianus* three Bishops (almost the only persons of the Western parts) termed it a Martyrdom; to wit, *Marcellus* and *Alexander* Bishops of *Aquileia*, and *Agamemnon* Bishop of *Porta*, or rather of *Tibur*. Who lived apart after that Confession, held Assemblies with *Novatianus*, and avoided their Communion who had sacrificed to Idols. A little afterwards they laid their hands on *Novatianus*, and Ordained him Bishop of *Rome*. Vales.

(*e*) This place is strangely corrupted. Nor is this fault new; but the Copies were faulty even in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s time; for thus he renders it: *Hi vero qui ex eo nomen habuerunt, ejusque fuere participes*, &c. *But these who had their name from him, and were partakers thereof*, &c. How *Nicephorus* read this passage in *Socrates*, 'tis uncertain, in regard his Greek Text is at this place defective. But *Langus*, who had seen a Greek Copy of *Nicephorus*, renders it thus: *Qui vero ejus nomine in Phrygia Censentur*, &c. *But those that are accounted of his name in Phrygia, when by indulging themselves, they had degenerated from his Institutions and Communion, at this time altered the Paschal Festival also.* I say nothing concerning the other Translators, in whose Versions you will find nothing of soundness. I am of opinion, that the place, by a small alteration, is thus to be made good: καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τάυτ σωχωρηθεῖσαν ἐκτρεπόμενοι. That is, *having an aversion even for that Communion they were permitted* [*to hold with the rest of the Catholicks in the celebrating*] *of this* [*Festival.*] There is nothing more plain than this sense. Before *Valen*'s time, the *Novatians* in *Phrygia* kept *Easter* at the same time the rest of the Catholicks did. After that, they began to shun the Communion and Society of the Catholicks in this matter also. Further, although I do very much approve of *Socrates*'s judgment, who gives an account why the *Phrygians* more especially embraced the *Novatian* Heresie; yet there may another reason be given hereof. For, *Novatus*, or rather *Novatianus*, was (as 'tis said) by Country a *Phrygian*: so *Philostorgius* asserts, Book 8. Wherefore, 'tis no wonder, that he had many followers of his own opinion in that Province. *Vales.*

For,

Valentinianus and Valens.

For, ſome few (and thoſe in no wiſe eminent) Biſhops of the *Novatians* in *Phrygia*, having convened a Synod in the Village *Pazum*, (at which place are the * Heads of the River *Sangarius*,) promulged a Canon, that it ſhould be obſerv'd [yearly on what day] the *Jews* celebrated their Feaſt of Unleavened Bread, and that together with them the Feaſt of *Eaſter* ſhould be kept. Theſe things were told me by a certain (*f*) old man, who ſaid that he was the ſon of a Presbyter, and was together with his Father preſent at the foreſaid Synod. At which Synod, neither *Agelius* Biſhop of the *Novatians* at *Conſtantinople*, was preſent, nor yet *Maximus* of *Nicæa*; neither were the Biſhops of *Nicomedia*, or *Cotuæum* at it: altho' theſe perſons were the chief Regulators of the *Novatian* Religion. Theſe things were after this manner tranſacted at that time. But, not long after the Church of the *Novatians* was divided into two Parties upon account of this Synod, as we will declare in due place. We muſt now paſs from hence, to [a relation of] what happened at this very time in the Weſtern parts.

* Or, *Fountains.*

(*f*) I conjecture, that this was long-lived *Auxano*, a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, whoſe teſtimony *Socrates* makes uſe of, Book 1. Chap. 10. & 13. But, we muſt not here omit *Nicephorus*'s words concerning our *Socrates*: he ſays thus, Book 11. Chap. 14. *Hæc ſibi renuntiata eſſe Socrates qui hoc loco non abhorrere ſe à Novatianorum inſtitutis palàm præ ſe fert, à ſene quodam ſcribit*, &c. *Socrates (who in this place plainly ſhews himſelf not to be a deteſter of the Novatian Principles) relates that theſe things were told him by a certain old Man*, &c. Notwithſtanding, I am not of *Nicephorus*'s opinion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Damaſus *Biſhop of* Rome, *and* Urſinus. *How, a Diſturbance and Sedition hapning in* Rome *upon their account, there followed a great ſlaughter of Men.*

WHilſt the Emperor *Valentinianus* lived in peace and tranquility, and was vexatious towards no Sect; *Damaſus* ſucceeded *Liberius* in the Government of the Biſhoprick of *Rome*. (*a*) Under whom the Church of *Rome* hapned to be diſturb'd, upon this account. One *Urſinus*, a Deacon of the ſame Church had been a Competitor, when the Election of a Biſhop was made. But, in regard *Damaſus* was preferred [before him,] *Urſinus*, unable to bear the being fruſtrated of his expectation, made it his buſineſs to (*b*) hold aſſemblies that were ſchiſmatical and ſeparate from the Church; and perſwades certain mean Biſhops to ordain him [clandeſtinely] in a ſecret place. And he is ordained, not in a Church, but in an obſcure place, in that called (*c*) *Siſinnius*'s Pallace. Upon the doing hereof, a diſſention was raiſed amongſt the Populace. They diſagreed among themſelves, not upon account of the Faith, or [any] Hereſie, but about this only, [to wit,] who ought to be put in poſſeſſion of the Epiſcopal Chair. Hereupon there hapned [frequent] conflicts of the multitudes; in ſo much that many were killed, on account of that variance. For which reaſon, many perſons as well Laïcks, as Eccleſiaſticks, were puniſh'd by (*d*) *Maximinus* the then *Præfect* [of the City;] and ſo both *Urſinus* at that time ceaſed from [*proſecuting*] his attempt, and alſo thoſe who had a mind to be his Followers, were quieted.

(*a*) Inſtead of [Ἀφ'] read [Ἐφ' ᾧ, *under whom*; for that's the reading in the *Florent.* M. S. and in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

(*b*) Παρασυναγωγάς. A very elegant term, to ſignifie Sciſmatical Aſſemſemblies and Conventicles, who are ſaid to erect one Altar contrary to another. Hence comes the term παρασυναγωγή, a ſort of Schiſm, concerning which *Baſilius* ſpeaks, in *his Canonical Epiſtle to Amphylochius, de Baptiſmo Hæreticorum.* Valeſ.

(*c*) *Amm. Marcellinus* (Book 27. pag. 337. *Edit. Valeſ.*) calls it *Siſinnius*'s Palace; *where*, ſays he, *there is a little private aſſembling place of* [the Profeſſors of] *the Chriſtian Religion*; *in which* [during the conflicts between *Damaſus*'s and *Urſinus*'s Parties] *there was in one day an hundred and thirty ſeven dead Bodies found*, &c. Read the Hiſtorians following Words; from the whole paſſage 'tis plain, how diſorderly the Elections of a Biſhop of *Rome* then were, and at what an height they lived.

(*d*) *Socrates* borrow'd this out of *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 10. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* In that year, whereon *Urſinus* raiſed his Schiſm, *Juventius*, not *Maximinus*, was *Præfect* of the City, as *Amm. Marcellinus* atteſts, Book 27. pag. 337. But, in regard this Schiſm laſted many years, 'tis poſſible that *Maximinus* (who was *Præfect* of the *Annona*,) might take cognizance of this buſineſs, and torture ſome Eccleſiaſticks, as *Rufinus* relates. This *Maximinus* was *Præfect* of the *Annona*, in the ſeventh year of *Valentinian*; as *Jerome* does aſſert in *his Chronicon*. *Marcellinus* ſpeaks much concerning this *Maximinus*, in his 28th Book. *Valeſ.*

Valentinianus and Valens.

CHAP. XXX.

How (after the Death of Auxentius *Biſhop of* Millain,) *a Sedition hapning on account of the Election of a Prelate to ſucceed in that See*; Ambroſius, *Preſident of the Province, going with a military Force to appea theſe Tumult, was by a general Suffrage (the Emperor* Valentinianus *having given his conſent alſo) preferred before all perſons, and elected Biſhop of that Church.*

ABout the ſame time there hapned another thing worthy to be recorded, which came to paſs at *Millain*. For, (*a*) *Auxentius* Biſhop of that Church being dead, who had been ordained by the *Arians*, the Inhabitants of *Millain* were again diſturbed about the Election of a Biſhop: and there was a great contention amongſt them, ſome making it their buſineſs to elect one perſon, others another. When a Sedition was raiſed about this matter, the Governour of that Province (a perſon veſted with a Conſular Dignity, whoſe name was *Ambroſius*,) fearing leſt ſome abſurdity might happen in the City, [cauſed] by that tumult, ran into the *Church*, in order to his appeaſing of the uproar. After that the people upon his coming thither were quieted, and that he had repreſt the irrational fury of the multitude by a long and very uſeful exhortatory Oration; there hapned on a ſudden an unanimous agreement amongſt all perſons; who cried out, that *Ambroſius* deſerved the Biſhoprick; and all made it their requeſt that he might be ordained. For, by that means only ['twas ſaid] the People would be united, and embrace a concordant opinion concerning the Faith. In regard therefore, this unanimous conſent of the People ſeemed to the Biſhops that were preſent, to proceed from ſome divine [order and appointment,] without delay they laid hold of *Ambroſius*: and having baptized him, (for he was then but a *Catechumen*,) they forthwith went about the promoting of him to the dignity of that Biſhoprick. But, becauſe *Ambroſius* (though he received Baptiſm with much willingneſs, yet) refuſed the Epiſcopal dignity with all imaginable earneſtneſs; [the Biſhops] acquaint the Emperor *Valentinianus* with what hapned. The Emperor, admiring the unanimous conſent of the people,

(*a*) *Socrates* has tranſcribed this following paſſage, almoſt word for word out of *Rufinus*'s Book 2. Chap. 11. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* For, he obſerves the ſame order that *Rufinus* does, after *Damaſus*'s ordination forthwith ſubjoining *Ambroſius*'s promotion. But, although *Rufinus* and *Socrates* have conjoined theſe two Ordinations, as if they had been made at one and the ſame time; yet there was a great interval of time between each ordination. For *Damaſus* entred upon the Biſhoprick of *Rome* in the Conſulate of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, on the year of Chriſt 367. But *Ambroſius* was promoted to the Epiſcopate of *Millain* in the year of our Lord 374, in the third Conſulate of *Gratianus*, which he bore with *Equitius*; as *Baronius* has obſerved from Saint *Jerom*'s *Chronicon*. Valeſ.

Valentinianus and Valens.

people, and acknowledge what had come to pass to be the work of God, declared to the Bishops, that they ought to obey God, who commanded he should be Ordain'd; for that he was elected by the suffrage of God, rather than of Men. *Ambrosius* being after this manner constituted [Bishop,] the Inhabitants of *Millain*, who had been at variance before, were by his means reduced at that time to unity and concord.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning Valentinianus's *Death.*

BUt after this, when the *Sarmatæ* made incursions into the *Roman* Territories, the Emperor undertook an Expedition against them, at the head of a vast Army. The *Barbarians* informed of these great preparations for a War, and being sensible of their own inability to make a resistance, sent an Embassy to the Emperor, and requested that they might obtain a Peace upon certain conditions. When the Embassadors were introduced into the Emperor's presence, and appear'd to him to be * vile and despicable Fellows, he ask'd, whether all the *Sarmatæ* were such sort of persons. The Embassadors made answer, that the noblest Personages of † their whole Nation were come to him: Whereupon *Valentinianus* was highly incensed, and crying out with a very loud voice, said, *That he was very unfortunate to have the* Roman *Empire devolve upon him, when such a Nation of* Barbarians, *so vile and contemptible, was not satisfied to continue in safety within its own limits; but would take up arms,* || *depopulate the* Roman *Territories, and audaciously break out into a War.* And he tore himself in such a manner by his crying out, that all his Veins were open'd, and every one of his Arteries broken. [A vast quantity of] Blood gushing out after this manner, he died in the Castle called *Bergition*, after *Gratianus's* third Consulate [which he bore] with *Equitius*, about the seventeenth of the month *November*; when he had lived fifty four years, and reigned thirteen. *Valentinianus* therefore having ended his life, the Milice in *Italy*, on the sixth day after his death, proclaimed his Son (who had the same name with his Father) *Valentinianus* (a very young child) Emperor, in (*a*) *Acincum* a City of *Italy*. The Emperors, informed hereof, were displeased, not because *Valentinianus Junior* (who was Brother to the * one Emperor, and the †other's Nephew) was made Emperor: but in regard he had been proclaim'd without either of their being acquainted with it, whom they themselves were about to proclaim. Notwithstanding, both of them gave their consent to his being made Emperor. After this manner was *Valentinianus Junior* seated on his own Father's Throne. Further, you must know, that this *Valentinianus* was begotten by *Valentinianus Senior*, of *Justina*, which Woman *he married whilst *Severa* his former Wife was living, on this occasion. *Justus*, Father to *Justina*, (who heretofore, to wit, in *Constantius's* Reign, had been Governour of the Province *Picenum*,) had a Dream, wherein (to his own thinking) he saw himself delivered of the Imperial Purple [which he brought forth] out of his right side. This Dream being divulged, at length came to *Constantius's* hearing also. He guessing at the meaning of the Dream, to wit, that an Emperor should *descend from *Justus*, sent one who dispatch'd him. His Daughter *Justina*, bereaved of her Father, for a considerable while continued a Virgin. Some time after, she became known to *Severa*, Wife to the Emperor *Valentinianus*, and was continually conversant with the Empress. And a firm familiarity was contracted between them, she bathed herself also together with her. When therefore *Severa* had seen *Justina* washing her self, she was † wonderfully taken with the Virgins beauteous composure of body, and discoursed concerning her in the Emperor's presence; [saying] that that Virgin, *Justus's* Daughter, was endow'd with so admirable a compleatness of body, that she herself, altho' a Woman, was notwithstanding enamoured with her delicate shape. The Emperor treasured up his Wife's discourse in his mind, and consulted about his marriage of *Justina*; yet so as not to divorce *Severa*, of whom he had begotten *Gratianus*, and created him *Augustus* but a little before. He therefore dictated a (*b*) Law, and made it publick throughout every City, that any one that would, might have two lawful Wives. This Law was promulged. And he married *Justina*, by whom he had *Valentinianus Junior*, and three Daughters, *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*. The two former of which persisted in their resolution of continuing Virgins: but *Galla* was afterwards married to the Emperor * *Theodosius the Great*, of whom he begat a daughter, by name *Placida*. For he had *Arcadius* and *Honorius* by (*c*) *Flaccilla* his former Wife. But we shall speak in particular concerning *Theodosius*, and his Sons, in due place.

Valentinianus and Valens.

* Or, *should be born of.*

† Or, *in love with.*

*Or, *Theodosius Senior.*

(*a*) We meet with a double mistake here, the one committed by *Socrates's* Transcribers, the other by *Socrates* himself. We have corrected the Transcriber's error (who, in stead of *Acincum*, had made it *Aconcum*, from the authority of the *Sfortian* and *Florent.* MSS. It will be sufficient only to take notice of *Socrates's* mistake here; who calls *Acincum* a City of *Italy*, whenas it belong'd to *Pannonia*. Vales.

(*b*) There is no mention of this Law of *Valentinianus's*, any where: No, not in *Amm. Marcellinus*, who has with great accuracy recorded *Valentinianus's* affairs. Indeed such a Law as this (in my judgment) is in no wise agreeable to *Valentinian* a serious Prince, and a Christian. Therefore this whole story of *Justina's* marriage, is in my opinion, of a credit doubtful and uncertain. *Vales.*

(*c*) *Epiphanius Scholasticus* calls her (not *Placida*, but) *Flaccilla*; which is truest: For so the ancient Coins term her. But, 'tis strange that *Greek* writers should so frequently be mistaken in this name. For we have remark'd before, that *Placitus* is by *Socrates* often used instead of *Flaccillus*, who was Bishop of *Antioch*. Further, this *Flaccilla* was the daughter of that *Antonius*, who was Consul with *Siagrius*, as *Themistius* informs us, in his *Gratiarum Actione*, to *Theodosius*, for the Peace made with the *Goths*. Vales.

* That is, to *Gratianus*.

† To wit, *Valens's* Brother's Son.

* That is, *Valentinianus Senior.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Philosopher Themistius: *And, that* Valens, *appeased by the Oration he spake to him, did in some measure mitigate his Persecution against the* Christians.

VAlens, making his Residence at *Antioch*, continued in the interim undisturbed by foreign Wars. For the *Barbarians* did on every side contain themselves within their own Territories. But he * persecuted those who embraced the *Homoousian* Opinion, in a most grievous manner, and every day invented greater and more acute punishments [to be inflicted] on 'em. Till such time as the Philosopher *Themistius* reduced his great cruelty to something of a moderation,

* Or, *warred against.*

Valens.

ration, by that (*a*) Speech he ſpake to him; wherein the Philoſopher advertiſes the Emperor, *That he ought not to admire at the diſagreement of Opinions amongſt the Chriſtians. For, that the diſcrepancy of Sentiments amongſt them was ſmall, if compared with the multitude and confuſion of Opinions amongſt the* Grecians. *For they entertained above three hundred Opinions.* [*Further,*] *that as touching Opinion there would of neceſſity ariſe a wonderful diſſent* [*from the variety thereof.*] *And yet that God is delighted with this difference of Opinion* [*concerning himſelf,*] *to the end that all perſons may more highly revere his Majeſty, even upon this very account, becauſe 'tis not obvious and eaſie to have a knowledge of him.* The Philoſopher having ſpoken theſe and ſuch-like words as theſe, to the Emperor, he became more mild in future. Notwithſtanding, his rage was not hereby perfectly and entirely appeaſed; but, inſtead of Death, he impoſed Exile as a puniſhment, upon Eccleſiaſtick perſons; till at length, this fury of his alſo was repreſs'd by this accident.

(*a*) This Oration of *Themiſtius*'s to *Valens*, is at this time extant, publiſhed in Latine by *Duditius*. For, what *Socrates* ſays *Themiſtius* ſpoke in that Oration concerning the difference of Philoſophick Opinions, occurs in *Duditius*'s *Verſion*, at pag. 507. The words are theſe; *Artes quidem, quarum magnus in vitâ uſus & delectatio eſt,* &c. *Indeed, thoſe Arts, of which there is great uſe in this life, and which are very delightful had never arrived at ſuch an height and elegancy, had there not been a diſcrepancy of judgments, and a certain ſtrife amongſt the Artiſts themſelves. For, has not Philoſophy it ſelf (the Mother of all laudable Arts,) raiſed from mean and ſmall beginnings, increaſed by the diſſent of Learned Men in ſuch a manner, that nothing may ſeem wanting to its abſolute perfection?* Further, what *Socrates* ſays was ſpoken by *Themiſtius* in that Oration, to wit, *that God is deſirous of this variety of opinions concerning himſelf, that Men may have a greater reverence for the Majeſty of his Deity, becauſe the knowledge of his Divinity is in no wiſe obvious and eaſily attainable*; occurs in *Duditius*'s Verſion, at pag. 508. where 'tis thus worded: *Quocirca quod à cognitione noſtrâ ſe longiſſimè removit,* &c. *Wherefore, in regard he has removed himſelf at the greateſt diſtance from our Knowledge, nor does humble himſelf to the capacity of our wits; 'tis a ſufficient argument, that he does not require one and the ſame Law and Rule of Religion from all perſons, but leaves every Man a Licence and faculty of thinking concerning himſelf, according to his own, not another Mans liberty and choice. Whence it alſo happens, that a greater admiration of the Deity, and a more Religious veneration of his Eternal Majeſty, is ingendred in the minds of Men. For, is uſually comes to paſs, that we loath and diſregard thoſe things which are readily apparent, and proſtrated to every underſtanding,* &c. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Goths, *under the Reign of* Valens, *embraced Chriſtianity.*

THoſe *Barbarians* who dwell beyond the *Danube*, having kindled a Civil War amongſt themſelves, were divided into two Parties; the one of which was headed by *Fritigernes*, the other by *Athanarichus*. When 'twas apparent that *Athanarichus*'s Party was the ſtronger, *Fritigernes* flies to the *Romans*, and implored their aſſiſtance againſt his Adverſary. This is made known to the Emperor *Valens*; and he orders thoſe Soldiers, who were engarriſon'd all over *Thracia* for the defence of that Country, to aſſiſt the *Barbarians* being at War againſt the *Barbarians*. And they obtain a Victory over *Athanarichus* beyond the *Danube*, having *routed his Forces. This was the reaſon, that many of the *Barbarians* became *Chriſtians*. For, *Fritigernes*, that he might expreſs his thankfulneſs to the Emperor for the kindneſs he had done him, embraced the Emperor's Religion, and perſwaded thoſe under his command to the ſame. Wherefore, many of the *Goths* are even till this preſent addicted to *Arianiſm*, having at that time become Adherents to that Hereſie upon the Emperor's account. At the ſame time alſo, *Ulfila* Biſhop of the *Goths*, invented *Gothick* Letters, and having tranſlated the ſacred Scriptures into the *Gothick* Language, undertook the inſtruction of the *Barbarians* in the Divine Oracles. But, in regard *Ulfila* inſtructed not only thoſe *Barbarians* under *Fritigernes*, but them alſo who paid obedience to *Athanarichus*, in the Chriſtian Religion; *Athanarichus*, *as if violence were offer'd to the Religion of his Anceſtors, inflicted puniſhments on many of thoſe who profeſt Chriſtianity; in ſo much that at that time [ſeveral *Arianizing Barbarians* were Martyrs. Indeed, *Arius*, unable to refute the Opinion of *Sabellius* the *Lybian*, fell from the true Faith, and aſſerted (*a*) the Son of God to be a new God. But the *Barbarians*, embracing Chriſtianity with a ſimplicity of mind, deſpiſed this preſent Life in reſpect of the Faith of Chriſt. Thus far concerning thoſe [*Goths*] who came over to the *Chriſtian* Religion.

Valent.

* Or, *in regard his paternal Religion was adulterated.*

(*a*) Inſtead of [*the Son of God to be new*] which is the vulgar reading; in the *Sfortian* and *Florent.* M. SS, the reading is [*the Son of a new God*;] accordingly we have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

That the Goths *vanquiſhed by other* Barbarians, *fled into the Territories of the* Romans, *and were received by the Emperor. Which* [*Reception of theirs*] *was the occaſion, both of the Deſtruction of the* Roman *Empire, and alſo of the Emperor's own Overthrow.*

BUt, not long after, the *Barbarians* having entred into a league of friendſhip with one another, were again vanquiſh'd by other *Barbarians* their Neighbours, called the *Hunni*; and being driven out of their own Country, they fly into the *Roman* Territories, promiſing they would ſerve the *Roman* Emperor, and do whatever he ſhould command them. This came to *Valens*'s knowledge; who foreſeeing nothing, gave order that the Suppliants ſhould have a kind and merciful reception, ſhewing himſelf in this one inſtance only, mild and compaſſionate. He aſſigns therefore to them [for their habitation] the parts of *Thracia*; judging himſelf to be in a moſt eſpecial manner fortunate upon this account. For, it was his ſentiment, that he ſhould in future be in poſſeſſion of a ready and well-furniſh'd Army againſt his Enemies; and he hoped, that the *Barbarians* would be a more terrible Guard [to the limits of his Empire] than the *Romans*. Upon this account, he in future neglected the increaſing and filling up of the *Roman Milice*. He deſpiſed thoſe old Souldiers, who in former Wars had fought againſt his Enemies with much courage and gallantry; and he (*a*) put a money-value upon that *Militia*, which the Inhabitants of Pro-

(*a*) In the *Florent.* M. S. the reading is [*Ἐξηργυρισατο, be reduced into money,*] which, if I miſtake not, is the truer. Notwithſtanding, the common reading (to wit, *ἐξηργύρωσεν, be put a money value upon,*] is ſound, and needs no alteration. For *Chryſoſtom* uſes this term in this ſenſe, in *his* 67 *Homily on Matth.* 21. The *old Gloſſes* expound *ἐξαργυρίζεται* by *Adæratur, he values by money.* Further, what *Socrates* remarks here, (to wit, that *Valens*, inſtead of ſupplies of Soldiers, did afterwards exact Gold of his Provinces,) is alſo related by *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 31. pag. 441. which place, becauſe 'tis corrupt even in our Edition, I will here ſet down, as it ought to be amended: *Eruditis adulatoribus in majus fortunam principis extollentibus: quod ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia* [not Thracenſes nec opinanti offerrent, But] *trabens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum ſuis & alienigenis viribus, invictum haberet exercitum; & pro militari ſupplemento quod provinciatim annum pendebatur, theſauris accederet auri cumulus magnus.* Valeſ.

vinces

Valens ~ *Χρυσίνους* they were Gold, and of about a Crown value.

vinces were wont, Village by Village, to contribute and furnish out, ordering his Tribute-Collectors to demand eighty * Crowns instead of each Souldier, altho' he had not before in the least lightened or abated their Impositions. This was the original cause of the *Roman* Empire's being very unfortunate for some small time.

CHAP. XXXV.

That the Emperor, by reason of his Care and Solicitude about a War with the Goths, *remitted something of his Persecution against the* Christians.

FOr, the *Barbarians* having been put into possession of *Thracia*, and quietly enjoying that *Roman* Province, could not [with moderation] bear their fortunate success: but enter upon a War against those who had been their Benefactors, and subverted all places throughout *Thracia* and the adjoyning Countries. These things falling out after this manner, came to *Valens*'s hearing, and made him desist from banishing those that embraced the *Homoöusian* Opinion. For, being troubled at this news, he left *Antioch* forthwith, and came to *Constantinople*. Upon the same account also, the War [he had waged] against the *Christians* in that City, was finish'd. Moreover, at the same time *Euzoïus*, Bishop of the *Arian* Faction at *Antioch*, departed this life, in the fifth Consulate of *Valens*, and in *Valentinianus Junior*'s first. And *Dorotheus* is constituted [Bishop] in his place.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That the Saracens *also at that time embraced the Faith of Christ, (a Woman, by name* Mavia, *being their Queen,) and took one* Moses, *a pious and faithful Person that led a Monastick life, to be their Bishop.*

AFter the Emperor's departure from *Antioch*, the *Saracens*, who before had been their Allies, revolted from the *Romans* at that time; they were led by one *Mavia* a Woman, [the King] her Husband being then dead. All places therefore *(a)* towards the East, were at that time destroy'd by the *Saracens*. But an Act of Divine Providence repress'd their fury by this means. A person whose name was *Moses*, by extract a *Saracen*, leading a Monastick life in the Solitudes, became exceedingly eminent for his Piety, Faith, and Miracles. *Mavia*, Queen of the *Saracens*, requesting she might have this person to be Bishop over her Nation, [promising] upon this condition to put an end to the War. The *Roman* Commanders hearing this, supposed it would be grateful, if a Peace were made upon these terms; and forthwith gave order for the performance hereof with all possible celerity. *Moses* therefore was seized, and brought from the Solitudes to *Alexandria* *(b)* in order to his being initiated into the Sacerdotal Function. But in regard he was brought before *Lucius*, who at that time was in possession of the Churches there, he refused Ordination, and expresst himself after this manner to *Lucius*! *Indeed, I account my self unworthy of the Sacerdotal Function; but if this thing be advantageous to the Affairs of the Publick,* Lucius *shall not* * *Ordain me, for his Right Hand has been filled with Blood.* When *Lucius* told him, that he ought not to give reproachful language, but should rather learn the Points of Religion from him; *Moses* replied; *An account of the Points* [of Religion] *is not now required. For the villanous Actions you have committed against the Brethren, do sufficiently demonstrate, how Christian-like Sentiments you have. For a Christian strikes not, reviles not, does not fight; for a Servant of the Lord ought not to fight. But your Facts do loudly cry out, by those who have been exiled, who have been cast to the Wild Beasts, and who have been committed to the Flames.* [*Moreover,*] *things seen by the Eyes contain a greater and more convincing demonstration, than what is receiv'd by hearing.* When *Moses* had said these and such-like words as these, his Friends carried him to the Mountain, that he might receive Ordination from those [Bishops] who lived in Exile there. *Moses* therefore having been after this manner consecrated at that time, the *Saracen*-War had an end put to it; and for the future *Mavia* continued so strict an * Alliance with the *Romans*, that she betrothed her Daughter to *Victor* the *Roman Lieutenant-General.* Thus much concerning the *Saracens.*

Valens. ~

* Or, *Lay his hand on me.*

* Or, *Peace.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

That after Valens's *departure from* Antioch *the* Orthodox *in the* East *(more especially those at* Alexandria*) took courage; and having ejected* Lucius, *restored the Churches again to* Peter, [*who was returned*] *fortified with the Letters of* Damasus *Bishop of* Rome.

AT the same time that the Emperor *Valens* left *Antioch*, those persons in all places who had been persecuted, were mightily encouraged, especially the *Alexandrians*; *(a)* *Peter* at that time returning from *Rome* with the Letters of *Damasus* the *Roman* Bishop, whereby the *Homoöusian* Faith and *Peter*'s Ordination were confirm'd. The Populace therefore resuming courage, turn out *Lucius*, and substitute *Peter* in his place. *Lucius* went immediately on board a Ship, and sail'd to *Constantinople*. But *Peter*, having lived but a little while after this, died, and left *Timotheus* his Brother to succeed him in his See.

(a) Instead of [ὑπὸ τὴν ἀνατολὴν, *under the East*] I read [πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, *towards the East.*] Vales.

(b) Instead of [δεξάμενος, *having been initiated*] we read [δεξόμενος, *in order to his being initiated*, &c.] Further, this story concerning *Moses*'s being made Bishop of the *Saracens*, and concerning the Peace made with them, *Socrates* has taken out of *Rufinus*, Book 2. chap. 6. *Eccles. Hist.* but has not observed *Rufinus*'s order. For *Rufinus* has placed it about the beginning of *Lucius*'s Episcopate, after the persecution of the *Edessens*, not at the latter end of *Valens*'s Reign. And I had rather follow *Rufinus*'s opinion, than that of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. The motive I have to be of this opinion, is grounded on *Socrates*'s words at the close of this chapter, where he says, that *Mavia* the Queen, having made a Peace with the *Romans*, betrothed her daughter to *Victor* the *Roman Lieutenant General*. Now, *Victor*, about the latter end of *Valens*'s Reign, was too old to have any thoughts of marrying a Wife. *Vales.*

(a) Instead of [Πέτρου τετελευτηκότος, *and Peter being returned,*] the reading should be [Πέτρου τότε ἐπανελθόντος, *Peter at that time returning:*] and the full-point, which is (in some copies) placed before these words, must be expunged. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* seems to have followed this reading. *Vales.*

Valens.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the Emperor arriving at the City Conſtantinople, *and being reproach'd by the People upon account of the* Goths, *marches out of the City againſt the* Barbarians: *And coming to an Engagement with them near* Adrianople, *a City of* Macedonia, *is ſlain by them; after he had lived fifty years, and reigned ſixteen.*

[MOreover,] the Emperor *Valens* coming into *Conſtantinople* about the thirtieth of *May*, in his own ſixth, and in *Valentinianus Junior*'s ſecond Conſulate, finds the People in a very ſad and dejected condition. For the *Barbarians*, who had already over-run and ruined *Thracia*, did now plunder and deſtroy the very Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; there being then no Forces ready that were fit to make a reſiſtance againſt them. But when the *Barbarians* attempted to make nearer approaches, even to the very City-Walls, the Citizens were grievouſly troubled thereat; and murmur'd againſt the Emperor, as if he himſelf had brought the Enemy thither, becauſe he did not forthwith march out againſt them, but deferred the War againſt the *Barbarians*. Moreover, when the *Cirque*-Sports were exhibited, all with one conſent exclaim'd againſt the Emperor, becauſe he was negligent of the publick affairs. They cried out therefore with a great deal of earneſtneſs, *Give us Arms, and we our ſelves will fight.* The Emperor was highly incenſed at the hearing of theſe Exclamations againſt himſelf; and about the eleventh of *June* (*a*) marches out of the City, threatning that if he return'd he would puniſh the *Conſtantinopolitans*, both for the reproaches they then caſt upon him, and alſo becauſe they had heretofore been Abettors of *Procopius*'s Tyranny. Having therefore ſaid, that he would totally demoliſh the City, and * Plough it up, he march'd out againſt the *Barbarians*: Whom he drove a great way from the City; and purſued them as far as *Adrianople*, a City of *Thracia*, ſituate in the Frontiers of *Macedonia*. Ingaging the *Barbarians* at that place, he ended his life on the ninth of *Auguſt*, in the now mention'd Conſulate. This was the fourth year of the (*b*) two hundred eighty ninth *Olympiad*. 'Tis reported by ſome, that he was deſtroy'd by fire, after he had taken refuge in a certain Village, which the *Barbarians* aſſaulted and burnt. But others affirm, that having changed his Imperial habit, he ran into the midſt of the main body of Foot; and when the Horſe attempted a defection, and refuſed fighting, the *Roman* Foot were ſurrounded [by the *Barbarians*,] and wholly cut off in the Engagement: Amongſt whom ('tis ſaid) the Emperor lay, but was not known, his Imperial habit (whereby it might have been manifeſted which was he,) being not upon him. He died after the fifteenth year of his age, having govern'd the Empire thirteen years with his Brother, and reign'd three years after him. This Book contains [an account of Affairs during] the ſpace of ſixteen years.

Valens.

* The Ancients made uſe of a Plough, both at their demoliſhing, and alſo at their raiſing of a City. See *Horace*, *Carm. Lib.* 1. *Od.* 16.

(*a*) The reading muſt be [ὑπεκβαίνει, *marches out*;] not [ὑπερβαίνει, *paſſes by.*] Moreover, the ſame days [which *Socrates* here aſſigns for *Valens*'s entry into, and march out of *Conſtantinople*,] are recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti*, in theſe words: *Valente* VI. & *Valentiniano* II. &c. *In Valens's ſixth and Valentinianus's ſecond Conſulate, Valens Auguſtus entred Conſtantinople, from the Eaſt, on the third of the Calends of June* [that is, the thirtieth of *May*.] *And on the ſame year Valens Auguſtus went out of the City to the Fort, on the third of the Ides* [that is, the eleventh] *of June.* Valeſ.

(*b*) It ſhould be διακοσιοστῆς, not διακοσιοστῆς. It was uſual with Tranſcribers of Books, for brevities ſake, to write theſe Words thus. For they wrote διακοσιοστὸς, and τειακοσιοστὸς, inſtead of διακοσιοστὸς, and τειακοσιοστὸς. Val.

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

The PREFACE.

BEfore we begin the Hiſtory of our Fifth Book, we make a requeſt to thoſe who ſhall read this Work of ours, that they would not blame us; becauſe deſigning to write an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, we intermix therewith the Wars alſo which have at ſeveral times hapned, ſo far as we could procure a true Relation thereof. For we do this upon ſeveral accounts. Firſt, to bring [the Readers] to a knowledge of what has been tranſacted. Secondly, that our Readers may not be cloy'd, (a) *by being continually detained with [a peruſal of] the contentious Diſagreements of Biſhops, and with the Deſigns they framed againſt one another. But moſt eſpecially, that it might be made apparent, that when the Affairs of the State were diſturbed, thoſe of the Church alſo (by a certain Sympathy as it were,) became diſtempered and diſordered. For, let any Man make an Obſervation, and he will find, that the Miſchiefs of the State, and Troubles of the Church, have gather'd Strength and ſpread together. For, he will perceive, that they have either had their riſe at one and the ſame time, or elſe have immediately followed one another. And ſometimes [the Calamities] of the Church led the way; then follow the [Commotions of the] State: at others, on the contrary. So that I cannot perſwade my ſelf, that the interchangable Courſe [of theſe things] does proceed from any fortuitous Accident, but that they take their beginnings from our Iniquities: And that Calamities are ſent for the chaſtiſement thereof. For, according to the Apoſtle* † Some Mens Sins are open before-hand, going before to Judgment: and ſome [Men] they follow after. *Upon this account therefore, we have interwoven ſome Affairs tranſacted in the State, with our Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory. What was done in the Wars during the Reign of* Conſtantine, *becauſe 'tis ſo long ago, we could not find an Account of. But we make a curſory mention of the Actions done ſince, according to the Relation thereof, which we have received from Perſons yet living. We do without intermitting any one of them, include the Emperors in this our Hiſtory, becauſe from ſuch time as they began to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, the Affairs of the Church have depended upon them; and the greateſt Synods have been, and at this preſent are* * *convened by their determination and appointment. Moreover, we have made mention of the* Arian *Hereſie, becauſe it has diſquieted the Churches. Let this be ſufficient to have been ſaid by way of Preface. We will now begin our Hiſtory.*

Gratianus, Valentinianus, Jun.

(a) Inſtead of [ἐν τῷ μὴ σχολάζειν] I read [ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ σχολάζειν, *by being continually detained.*] For a repetition of the Negative Particle is inelegant and nauſeous; in regard theſe words [*may not be cloy'd*] do precede. For, after them, an Affirmation ought to follow. *Valeſ.*

† 1 Tim. 5. 24.

* The Reader may obſerve from this Paſſage, in whoſe power it was in thoſe days to ſummon General Synods.

CHAP. I.

How (after the Death of Valens) *when the* Goths *laid ſiege to* Conſtantinople, *the Citizens ſallied out of the City againſt them, having thoſe* Saracens *who were under* Mavia's *Command, to be their Auxiliaries.*

AFter the Emperor *Valens* had ended his life by an unknown ſort of death, the *Barbarians* made their approaches again to the very Walls of *Conſtantinople*, and ruined the Suburbs on every ſide of it. The Citizens, ſorely vexed thereat, on their own accord ſallied out againſt the *Barbarians*, every one taking what came next to hand for Arms. * *Dominica*, the Emperor's Wife, gave every one that went out upon this piece of ſervice, ſuch pay out of the Imperial Treaſury, as was uſually allow'd to Soldiers. Some few *Saracens*, their Confederates, aſſiſted them; being ſent from *Mavia*, whom we have mentioned before. When the Citizens had after this manner made a reſiſtance againſt them at that time, the *Barbarians* retreated farther off from the City.

* Or, *Domnica.*

Gratianus. Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

CHAP. II.

That the Emperor Gratianus, *having recalled the Orthodox Biſhops from their Exile, drove the Heretiks out of the Churches, and took* Theodoſius *to be his Colleague in the Empire.*

GRatianus being together with *Valentinianus Junior* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, and deteſting his Unkle *Valens*'s cruelty towards the *Chriſtians*, recalled thoſe who had been Exiled by him. Moreover, he made a (*a*) Law, that perſons of all Sects might, without any diſtinction, ſecurely meet together in their Oratories; only the *Eunomians*, *Photinians*, and *Manichæans*, were extruded out of the Churches. Being alſo ſenſible of the languiſhing condition of the *Roman* Empire, and of the growth of the *Barbarians*; and [perceiving alſo] that the State was in want of a valiant and couragious Man, he chooſes *Theodoſius* (a perſon deſcended of a noble Family in *Spain*, who had perform'd many a brave piece of ſervice in the Wars, and upon that account had by all men been long ſince judg'd worthy of the Empire, even before *Gratianus*'s Election of him) to be his Colleague in the Empire. Having therefore proclaimed him Emperor in *Sirmium*, a City of *Illyricum*, in the Conſulate of *Auſonius* and *Olybrius*, on the ſixteenth of *January* he divides with him the care of managing the War againſt the *Barbarians*.

(*a*) *Sozomen* mentions this Law of *Gratianus*'s, book 7. chap. 1. and ſo does *Theodoret*, book 5. chap. 2. who ſays that *Sapor*, Lieutenant-General, was ſent by *Gratianus* into the Eaſtern parts of the Empire, to put this Law in Execution. That hapned in the year of Chriſt 378. This Law of *Gratianus*'s is not now extant. And yet it ſeems to be mentioned in the *fifth Law* in the *Theodoſian Code*, *de fide Catholicâ*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

What Biſhops were in poſſeſſion of the Precedency over the greater Churches at that time.

AT this time *Damaſus* preſided over the Church at *Rome*, who had ſucceeded *Liberius*. *Cyrillus* was as yet in poſſeſſion of the Church at *Jeruſalem*. The *Antiochian* Church (as I have ſaid,) was divided into three parts. For *Dorotheus* the *Arian*, Succeſſor to *Euzoïus*, was poſſeſt of the Churches. Of the reſt one part paid obedience to *Paulinus*, the other to *Melitius*, who was recalled from Baniſhment. *Lucius*, altho' * living in Exile, preſided over the *Arians* at *Alexandria*: The Profeſſors of the *Homoöuſian* opinion in that City were headed by *Timotheus*, Succeſſor to *Peter*. *Demophilus* was in poſſeſſion of the Churches at *Conſtantinople*, who ſucceeded *Eudoxius* in the preſidency over the *Arian* Faction. Thoſe that abominated Communion with him, celebrated their Aſſemblies apart by themſelves.

* Ἐν φυγῇ διάγων; *living in Exile. Lucius* was not baniſhed; the people of *Alexandria* forc'd him to leave that City: See *Socrates*, Book 4. Chap. 37.

CHAP. IV.

How the Macedoniani, *who had ſent an Embaſſy to* Damaſus [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome *in defence of the* Homoouſian *Creed, returned again to their old Hereſie.*

THe *Macedoniani*, after their Embaſſy ſent to *Liberius*, for ſome time held a perfect and entire communion with the Churches throughout every City; intermixing themſelves with thoſe, who from the beginning had embraced that Draught of the Creed [publiſh'd] at *Nicæa*: But when the Emperor *Gratianus*'s Law [was promulg'd, which] allow'd a Liberty to [ſeveral] Sects, they made it their buſineſs *to hold ſeparate aſſemblies again. Being met together at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they determined again, that the term *Homoöuſios* was to be abominated, and that a communion was not in any wiſe to be held with thoſe who embraced the *Nicene* Creed. But † they proceeded not in their attempt. For many of their own party, finding fault with their [inconſtancy,] becauſe ſometimes they decreed one thing, at others another, left them, and in future became firm Adherents to thoſe that embraced the *Homoöuſian* Creed.

Gratianus. Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

* Or, *to diſſent again.*

† Or, *they reap no benefit, or delight, from their attempt.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning what hapned at that time at Antioch, *upon* Paulinus's, *and* Melitius's *account.*

MOreover, at the ſame time aroſe a great difference at *Antioch* in *Syria*, upon *Melitius*'s account. We have told you * already, that *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, by reaſon of his eminent Piety, was not baniſh'd: and that *Melitius*, after he had been reſtored by † *Julianus*, was again baniſh'd by * *Valens*, and at length recall'd in || *Gratianus*'s Reign. At his return to *Antioch*, he found *Paulinus* very much decay'd by reaſon of his great age. Immediately therefore all thoſe who were *Melitius*'s Favourers, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make *Melitius Paulinus*'s * *Coadjutor*. But, upon *Paulinus*'s ſaying, that it was contrary to the Canons, to admit of a *Coadjutor* who had been Ordained by the *Arians*; the People make uſe of force, and cauſe him to be Conſecrated in one of the Churches without the City. Hereupon a great difference aroſe; but afterwards the People came to an agreement upon theſe terms. Having aſſembled † thoſe perſons that were reputed fit to be intruſted with the Biſhoprick, they find them to be in all ſix; of which number *Flavianus* was one. They bound theſe Men by an Oath, that none of them ſhould make an intereſt for the Biſhoprick, after the death of one of the * Prelates; but that they ſhould permit the Surviver to continue poſſeſt of the See of the Perſon deceaſed. Having given them an Oath after this manner, the People came to an agreement, nor was there any further diſſention amongſt them. But, the † *Luciferiani* made a ſeparation from the reſt, for this reaſon, becauſe *Melitius*, who had been Ordained by the *Arians*, was admitted to the Biſhoprick. Whilſt affairs at *Antioch* were in this poſture, a very urgent occaſion obliged *Melitius* to take a journey to *Conſtantinople*.

* Book 4. Chap. 2.
† Book 3. Chap. 9.
|| See Book 5. Chap. 2.

* Or, *Colleague in the Biſhoprick.*

† Τὰς ὥρας ἐπὶ Ἐπισκοπῶν.

* That is, *Melitius*, and *Paulinus*.

† See Book 3. Chap. 9.

CHAP. VI.

That Gregorius *of* Nazianzum *was, by a general Suffrage of the Orthodox, conſtituted Biſhop of the* Conſtantinopolitan *Church; at which time the Emperor* Theodoſius (*after his Victory over the* Barbarians,) *fell ſick at* Theſſalonica, *and was baptized by* Aſcholius *the Biſhop.*

AT which time, *Gregorius* was tranſlated from the Biſhoprick of *Nazianzum* to that of *Conſtantinople*, by the common ſuffrage of many Prelates.

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

Prelates. And this was done in such a manner [as I have declared.] About the same time the Emperors, *Gratianus* and *Theodosius*, got each of them a Victory over the *Barbarians*. *Gratianus* * returned immediately into the *Gallia's*, because the *Alamanni* over-ran those Provinces. But *Theodosius*, after [he had erected] his Trophies, hastned to *Constantinople*, and arrives at *Thessalonica*. There he fell sick, and earnestly desired that he might be vouchsafed Christian Baptism: For by his Progenitors he had been been bred up in the Christian Religion, and was a Professor of the *Homoöusian* Faith. Being desirous with all possible speed to be baptized, because his Distemper increased, and having [for that reason] sent for the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, he first enquired of him, what Faith he profest. And when the Bishop had made answer, that the Opinion of the *Arians* had not invaded the Provinces of *Illyricum*, and that the Novelty which *Arius* had given birth to, was not so prevalent as to prey upon the Churches in those Countries; but that they continued to preserve that Faith immoveable and unshaken, which from the beginning was delivered by the Apostles, and had been confirmed in the *Nicene* Synod: [upon this answer] the Emperor was most willingly baptized by *Ascholius* the Bishop. Not many days after [*Theodosius*] recovered of his Distemper, and came to *Constantinople* about the twenty fourth of *November*, in *Gratianus*'s fifth and his own first Consulate.

* Or, *Marched.*

CHAP. VII.

That when Gregorius *was come to* Constantinople, *and some Bishops murmur'd at his Translation; he refused the Presidency of the Church. And, the Emperor orders* Demophilus *the* Arian *Bishop, either to give his assent to the* Homoousian *Faith, or else to go out of the City; which latter he chose rather to do.*

AT that time *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*, being (*a*) translated [to *Constantinople*,] celebrated his Assemblies within the City, in a small Oratory. Whereto the Emperors afterwards joyn'd a stately Church, and named it (*b*) *Anastasia*. But *Gregorius* (a Person for eloquence and piety far more eminent than all Men of his own time,) perceiving that some murmured [at his Translation,] because he was a stranger; after he had expreſt his joy for the Emperor's arrival, refused to make any longer stay at *Constantinople*. The Emperor finding the Church in this posture, was very sollicitous, how he might make Peace, procure an Union, and enlarge the Churches. Immediately therefore he opens his mind to *Demophilus*, who presided over the *Arian* Sect, [and makes a proposal to him] whether he would give his assent to the [Creed published at the] *Nicene* Synod, unite the people, and embrace peace. Upon *Demophilus*'s refusing to comply with his proposition; *If then* (said the Emperor) *you eschew Peace and Concord, We order you to quit the Churches.* When *Demophilus* had heard these words, and consider'd with himself how difficult it was to make a resistance against those in authority and power; he called the multitude together in the Church; and standing up in the midst of them, spake these words on his own account to his Followers. Brethren, 'tis written (said he) in the *Gospel; *if they shall persecute you in this City, flee ye into another.* In regard therefore the Emperor (*c*) excludes us from the Churches, take notice, that to morrow we will have our meetings without the City. Having said these words, he went out; not so, as if he apprehended the true meaning contained in this Evangelic Oracle, [the import whereof is,] that such as flee out of the converse of this World, should seek the *Jerusalem* which is above. But he [following another sense of these words, went] out of the City-gates, where for the future he had his Meetings. Together with him went out *Lucius* of *Alexandria*, who having been ejected, as I said * before, made his escape to *Constantinople*, in which City he lived. After this manner therefore the *Arians* (who for the space of forty years had been in possession of the Churches,) declining the agreement they were invited to by the Emperor *Theodosius*, departed out of the City, in *Gratianus*'s fifth and *Theodosius Augustus*'s first Consulate, on the twenty sixth of *November*. And the Professors of the *Homoöusian* Faith succeeding in their places, recover'd possession of the Churches.

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

* See Matt. 10. 23. where 'tis thus worded in the Greek: ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, *but when they shall persecute you in this City.* But here in *Socrates* the words are: ἐὰν ὑμᾶς διώκωσιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης; *if they shall persecute you out of this City,* &c.

* Book 4. chap. 37.

(*a*) Indeed *Socrates* thought that *Gregorius* had been translated from the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum*, to that of *Constantinople*: which was the opinion of many others also. But *Gregorius* had never been Bishop of *Nazianzum*; he was only his father *Gregorius*'s Assistant in that Bishoprick, being sent for thither by his father (then very aged,) out of the Solitudes; whither he had retired after he had accepted of and also refused the Bishoprick of *Sasimis*, in the year of Christ 371; as *Baronius* has remarked. *Vales.*

(*b*) I am not of *Socrates*'s opinion, who says here, that that Church (wherein *Gregorius Nazianzenus* used to Preach the Word of God at *Constantinople*,) was by the succeeding Emperors named *Anastasia*. For, in *Gregorius*'s own life-time this Church was called *Anastasia*; which is apparent, both from *Gregorius*, own Oration, wherein he bids farewel in expres words to *Anastasia*, and *The Apostles*; and also from *his Elegiack concerning the Dream of Anastasia.* Consult *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 378. *Vales.*

(*c*) We found a far different reading in our *Florentine* and *Sfortian* M. SS. For, in both those Copies 'tis thus expreſt; ἐκκλησιῶν χρήζει, *stands in need of the Churches*: this reading *Epiphan. Scholasticus* has followed, as appears from his Version. For he renders it thus: *Quia igitur Imperator Ecclesis opus habet, In regard therefore the Emperor has an occasion for the Churches.* *Nicephorus* maintains the common reading; for instead of [excludes us from] his words are [*drives us out of.*] The Manuscript reading is in my judgment the better. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the hundred and fifty Bishops convened at Constantinople, *and concerning the Determinations made by them, after they had Ordained* Nectarius *in that City.*

[AFter this] the Emperor without any delay summons a Synod of Bishops [who embraced] his own Faith; that by them the *Nicene* Faith might be confirmed, and a Bishop of *Constantinople* Ordained. And because he had some hopes of being able to unite the *Macedoniani* to [a profession of] his own Faith; he summon'd the Prelates of that Heresie also. There met therefore of [the Embracers of] the *Homoöusian* Faith, *Timotheus* from *Alexandria*; from *Jerusalem Cyrillus*, who having made a Retractation, at that time assented to the *Homoöusian* Creed: *Melitius* was come thither from *Antioch* before, having been sent for to that City on the account of *Gregorius*'s Ordination: also (*a*) *Ascholius* from *Thessalonica*, and many others.

(*a*) In the *Sfortian* M. S. both here, and also before, in Chap. 6. of this Book; this person is called *Acholius*. The *Latins* do commonly give him that name. For so he is called by *Ambrosius*, by *Prosper* in *his Chronicon*, and by *Jordanes* in *his Book de successione Regnorum.* But the *Greeks* do usually term him *Ascholius.* This is the *Ascholius*, concerning whose Death, Virtues, and Miracles, Saint *Ambrosius* writes, in *his* 59th *Epistle to the Clergy of Thessalonica.* Where he says, that *Anysius* his Scholar succeeded him. *Vales.*

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

They were in all an hundred and fifty. The principal Persons of the *Macedonian* Party, were *Eleusius* of *Cyzicum*, and *Martianus* [Bishop] of *Lampsacus*. [Of this Sect] there were thirty six [Bishops,] most of whom came from the Cities about the *Hellespont*. They met therefore in the Consulate of *Eucharius* and *Evagrius*, in the month of *May*. The Emperor and the Bishops that embraced his Creed, did their utmost to bring *Eleusius* and his Followers over to their own side; putting them in remembrance of the *Embassy, which they had sent by *Eustathius* to *Liberius* heretofore Bishop of *Rome*; and (*b*) that not long since they themselves had entred into a promiscuous Communion [with the Orthodox,] on their own accord: And that they, having once acknowledg'd and profest an agreement in the [points of] Faith, did not do what was right and honest, now to attempt a subversion of what had been well and wisely determin'd by themselves. But the *Macedoniani*, little regarding either admonitions, or reproofs, chose rather to profess the *Arian* opinion, than to give their assent to the *Homoüsian* Creed. Having made this answer, they departed from *Constantinople*, and wrote to their followers in every City, ordering them in no wise to give their consent to the Creed of the *Nicene* Synod. But the [Prelates] of the † other party staid [at *Constantinople*] and entred into a consult about the Ordination of a Bishop. For *Gregorius*, as we have told you a little before, refused the Bishoprick, and prepared for his departure to *Nazianzum*. There was a person, by name *Nectarius*, [a descendant] of a *Senatorian* Family, a sweet-temper'd Man, admirable for his whole course of life, (*c*) although he bore the *Prætors* Office. This person the people seized upon, elected him Bishop, and he was Ordained by the hundred and fifty Prelates then present. Moreover, at the same time [the said Prelates] promulged a Sanction, that the Bp. of *Constantinople* should have the (*d*) priviledges of honour after the Bishop of *Rome*, because that City was *New-Rome*. They did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed; and constituted (*e*) Patriarchs, having made a (*f*) division of the Provinces; that so

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

*See Book 4. chap. 12.

(*b*) See what *Socrates* has remarked concerning this Matter in Chap. 4. of this Book. *Vales.*

† That is, *the Orthodox.*

(*c*) Instead of [ᾧ τοὶ, &c. *although*, &c.] I had rather read [ᾧ τόϑε τὰ τῶ πρώτω, &c. *who also at that time bore the Prætor's Office.*] *Nicephorus* confirms our emendation; for he words it thus: ᾧ διὰ πάντων, ὡς εἰπεῖν, θαυμαζόμενος, &c. *and admirable, as I may say, for all things; who then bore the Prætor's Office.* Vales.

(*d*) Τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς. They are the very words of the *third Canon of the Constantinopolitan Synod*. Whereby the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers do confer upon the Bishop of *Constantinople* a Precedency, or Primacy of honour only; but give him nothing of a Metropolitical or Patriarchal power, or jurisdiction. This is evident, not only from the cautious Expression which the Fathers of this Synod make use of; (for they give him, not τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς ἐξουσίας, *the priviledges of power or jurisdiction*, nor *priviledges in general*; but they bestow on him only τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς, *the priviledges of honour*:) but also from these very Words themselves, compar'd with the *second Canon of this Constantinopolitan Synod*, For, *in that Canon* the Fathers had made a positive sanction, that a *Diœcesis* should be govern'd by its Bishops, (or, by a Synod of all the Bishops in the same *Diœcesis*,) and that the said Bishops should exercise their Ecclesiastical Power in that *Diœcesis* only: ᾧ τὰς τῆς θρᾴκης τὰ τῆς θρᾴκης μόνον οἰκονομεῖν, *and that the Bishops of the Thracican Diœcesis should only govern the* [*Ecclesiastick*] *Affairs of the said Thracican Diœcesis*: These are the very Words of the Canon. Now, every body knows, that *Constantinople* is situate in the *Thracican Diœcesis*. In regard therefore, that the present Fathers had committed the whole government of the *Thracican Diœcesis* to a Synod of all the Bishops in the said *Diœcesis*; there could nothing remain, which they might assign to any other single Bishop in the said *Diœcesis*, before the rest of them, save only the bare priviledge of honour; which alone they do here confer upon the *Constantinopolitan* See situate in the same *Diœcesis*. And thus, by the order of this Canon, *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* is placed next after *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome's Legates, in the subscriptions of the Council of Chalcedon*. See *Concil. General.* Edit. Bin. *Paris* 1636. Tom. 3. pag. 452, 453. There occurs an eminent instance of this honour due to the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop by vertue of this Canon, in *Synod. Chalced.* Act. 1. vid. Concil. General. Edit. Bin. ut prius, Tom. 3. pag. 61, 62. See the *Learned* Dr. *Beverege's Annotat. on the third Canon Concil. Constantinop.* pag. 95.

(*e*) The first mention (if I mistake not) of *Christian Patriarchs* (so I term them, because the *Jews* had grand Officers amongst them thus termed, long before this time;) in any Author worthy of credit, is at this place in our *Socrates*. However, there is no small stir amongst Learned Men, about defining the time wherein these Patriarchs were first constituted in the Christian Church. *Valesius*, in *his Notes on this Chap.* and *in his third Book of Ecclesiastical Observations upon Socrates and Sozomen* does in a great many words assert, that the Patriarchal Authority was confirmed by *the sixth Canon of the Nicene Synod*. This assertion of his is sufficiently confuted by Dr. *Beveredge*, in his *Annotat. upon that sixth Canon*, pag. 52, &c. At which place, and in *his notes on the second Canon of the Constantinopolitan Council*, pag. 93, 94. the said *Learned Doctor* is of opinion (agreeable to our *Socrates* here,) that Patriarchs were first constituted by this second Oecumenical Council held at *Constantinople*. Nevertheless, he grants, that most of those priviledges, which Patriarchs afterwards challenged were given them by other Councils. Lastly, Dr. *Barrow's* sentiment is, *that this Diœcesan* (or Patriarchical) *Form did soon after the Nicene Council creep into the Church, without any solemn appointment, by a spontaneous assumption and submission. See his excellent Treatise of the Pope's supremacy*, pag. 240, &c.

(*f*) The *Roman* Emperors who preceded *Constantine the Great*, committed the chief management of affairs in the Civil State of the Empire to one, or at most to two *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. But *Constantine the Great* introduced a new partition of the Empire, (as *Zosimus* tells us, Book 2. of *his Hist.* pag. 439, 440 *Edit. Lugd.* 1611;) and divided the management thereof amongst four *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*; one whereof was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the East, a second of *Illyricum*, a third of *Italy*, and a fourth of the *Gallia's*. Each of these *Præfects* had several *Diœcesis's* under them: every single *Diœcesis* was a Combination of divers Provinces together into one Territory. What *Diœceses* every one of these *Præfects* had under their District, and what and how many Provinces were included in each *Diœcesis*; the learned Reader may see in *Guidus Pancirolus's Notitia utraque, dignitatum, cùm Orientis, tùm Occidentis, Edit. Lugd.* 1608. From which Author we will transcribe the five *Diœcesis's* (for so many he had under him,) of the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* of the East, as they occur at *fol.* 3 and 4, of *his Comment:* because they are necessary, in order to the clear understanding of what we have to say further here. *Sub dispositione virorum Illustrium Præfectorum Prætorio per Orientem, &c. Under the dispose of the Illustrious the Præfects of the Prætorium throughout the East, are these Diœcesis's underwritten: The East, Egypt, the Asian, Pontick, and Thracian Diœcesis's.*

The Provinces of the East [or Eastern Diœcesis] *are* XV.
- *Palestina, Phœnice, Syria,*
- *Cilicia, Cyprus, Arabia: And the Dux* (Commander) *and Comes* (Earl) *of the Milice.*
- *Isauria, Palestina Salutaris, Palestina secunda,*
- *Phœnice Libani, Euphratensis, Syria Salutaris,*
- *Osrhöena, Mesopotamia, Cilicia secunda.*

The Provinces of Egypt [or Ægyptick Diœcesis] *are* VI.
- *Libya superior, Libya inferior,*
- *Thebais, Ægyptus,*
- *Arcadia, Augustanica.*

The Provinces of the Asian Diœcesis X.
- *Pamphylia, Hellespontus, Lydia,*
- *Pisidia, Lycäonia, Phrygia Pacatiana,*
- *Phrygia Salutaris, Lycia, Caria, Insulæ.*

The Provinces of the Pontick Diœcesis XI.
- *Galatia, Bithynia, Honorias,*
- *Cappadocia prima, Cappadocia secunda, Paphlagonia,*
- *Pontus Polemaniacus, Hellenopontus, Armenia prima,*
- *Armenia secunda, Galatia Salutaris.*

The Provinces of the Thracican Diœcesis VI.
- *Europa, Thracia,*
- *Hæmimontis, Rhodope,*
- *Mœsia secunda, Scythia.*

In conformity to this Model of Government in the Civil State, the Regiment in the Church (which before had been Metropolitical, when the Provinces were independent on each other in Ecclesiastical Administrations,) was adapted. This *Diœcesan Form* of Governance might, 'tis probable, privately creep into the Church, in that interval of time between the *Nicene* and *Constantinopolitan* Councils; which is the opinion of Dr. *Barrow* (See Note (*e*.) in this Chapter.) But, 'tis certain, it was confirm'd by the Fathers convened in this *second Oecumenical Synod*; which Sanction they made upon this occasion. A little before the summoning of this Synod, *Melitius* Bishop of *Antioch* in the *East*, took a journey to *Constantinople*, where he, together with some other Bishops, promoted *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum* to the *Constantinopolitan* See. So *Sozomen* tells us, Book 7. Chap. 3 and 7. Soon after *Melitius* had done this, *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* sent some Bishops from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, who ordained *Maximus* the *Cynick* Bishop of that City. See *Sozomen* Book 7. Chap. 9. Now, in the Political Partition of the *Roman* Empire, (as you may see by that Draught we have here given you of the *Oriental*

Oriental Prætorian-Præfecture,) these three places were in three several *Diœceſes*. For, *Antioch* in *Syria* (whence *Meletius* came) was in the *Oriental Diœceſis*. *Alexandria* (from whence the Biſhops were ſent by *Peter*) was in the *Egyptick Diœceſis*; and *Conſtantinople* (where theſe Biſhops had celebrated their Epiſcopal Ordinations) was ſituate in the *Thracican Diœceſis*. In regard theſe Proceedings had produced a great deal of diſorder and confuſion in the Church; to remedy this in future, the Fathers convened in this Synod, make a Sanction, (See *Conc. Conſtantinopol.* II. Can. 2. pag. 87. Edit. *Bevereg.*) that the *Eccleſiaſtick Diœceſis's* ſhould have the ſame Limits with thoſe of the State; and that it ſhould be as unlawful for Eccleſiaſtick Perſons to perform any Office, or do any buſineſs belonging to them, without that *Diœceſis* wherein they were placed; as it was for the Civil Miniſter to intermeddle with any affair without the Limits of his *Diœceſis*. That this had not been duly obſerved in the Church before this Synod, but that Prelates made frequent Excurſions out of one *Diœceſis* into another, to ordain, &c. is evident, not only from the inſtances we have mention'd juſt now; (where we find *Meletius* who belong'd to the *Oriental Diœceſis*, and other Biſhops of the *Egyptick Diœceſis*; ordaining a Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, a City in the *Thracican Diœceſis*:) but alſo from the Teſtimony of our *Socrates*, a Perſon who lived ſoon after the convention of this *Conſtantinopolitan Synod*; who ſpeaking here concerning its Sanctions, καὶ πατριάρχας καθίσταν (ſays he) διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, &c. *And they conſtituted Patriarchs, having made a diviſion of the Provinces; that ſo thoſe Biſhops* [*who make their abode*] *without the bounds of their own* Diœceſis, *ſhould not invade the Churches without their Limits. For this had been promiſcuouſly done before by reaſon of the Perſecutions.* But, notwithſtanding that this Diœceſan form (in imitation of the Civil State of the Empire) was brought into the Church, and thereupon Patriarchal Sees were erected; yet after this, ſeveral Provincial Churches had their ancient priviledges confirm'd to them, (which confirmation is grounded on the ſixth Canon of the *Nicene* Council, as Dr. *Beverege* has fully prov'd in *his Notes on that Canon*, pag. 58;) and remained Independent from the Patriarchal Sees. For inſtance, the *Cyprian Church* was adjudged to be ſuch an one, in the *eighth Canon of the third General Council held at Epheſus*, in the year of Chriſt 431. In which Canon, after the *Epheſine Fathers* had determined the *Cyprian* Church to be independent from the Biſhop of *Antioch*; they add this clauſe: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὅπι περὶ ἄλλων διοικήσεων, καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν φυλαχθήσεται, &c. *The ſame ſhall be obſerved in other Diœceſes, and in the Provinces every where; that ſo, none of the moſt Religious Biſhops may invade another Province, which has not been for many years before, and from the beginning under his, or his predeceſſors hand.* In like manner, *Armenia the Great* was exempted from dependence on any Patriarchate; as 'tis apparent from *That Order of the Preſidency of the moſt holy Patriarchs*, which Dr. *Beverege* has publiſhed (at his notes on the 36th Canon Concil. Trullan. pag. 135, &c.) from a very ancient *Greek Manuſcript* in the *Bodleian Library*. In which *Manuſcript*, neither *England*, *Scotland*, nor *Ireland*, are reckoned dependents on the *Roman Patriarchate*; as the Learned Reader, on peruſal, will find. Though, 'tis as certain, that there was a compleat and abſolute Church ſetled in this Iſland, long before *this Manuſcript Order* was (or can be ſuppoſed to have been) drawn up; as that there was one at *Antioch*, or *Rome* it ſelf. For (not to mention thoſe unqueſtionable authorities which might be here produced to prove, that the plantation of the Goſpel in this our Province was as early as the cloſe of *Tiberius*'s Reign;) we have many Witneſſes of an undoubted authority to atteſt, that before the times of the *Nicene Council*, there was a compleat Church ſetled in this Iſland. For firſt, in the *ſubſcriptions to the firſt Council of Arles* (convened in *France* before the *Nicene Council*, that is, before the year of Chriſt 325, as the *Acts* of the ſaid Council, publiſht by *Jacobus Sirmondus do atteſt*;) we meet with the names of theſe Perſons who went thither from this our Iſland: (See *Concilia Antiqua Galliæ*, Tom. 1. pag. 9. *Edit. Sirmondi Pariſ.* 1629.) *Eborius, Epiſcopus de civitate Eboracenſi*, &c. *Eborius Biſhop of the City of York in the Province of Britannia. Reſtitutus, Biſhop of the City of London, in the forewritten Province. Adelfius, Biſhop of the City* Colonia *of the Londoners. From the ſame Province*, Sacerdos *a Presbyter*, Arminius *a Deacon*. Secondly, *Athanaſius* (in *his ſecond Apology againſt the Arians*, p. 720. *Edit. Pariſ.* does atteſt, *that the Biſhops of the* Britannia's *were preſent at the* Sardican *Council*; which Synod was convened in the Conſulate of *Rufinus* and *Euſebius* (ſee our *Socrates*, Book 2. Chap. 20, note *c*.) on the year of our Lord 347. Laſtly, to mention no more, *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Poictiers* in *France*, in the beginning of *his Book de Synodis* (pag. 318. Edit. *Pariſ.* 1631. which Book was written about the year of our Lord 350.) ſends Greeting *Britanniarum Epiſcopis, to the Biſhops of the Britannia's*. This is ſufficient to prove we had a Church here in thoſe times. And, that this Church was governed by its own Biſhops, till about the year of Chriſt 600, and ſubject neither to the *Roman*, nor to any other foreign Prelate, is a thing evidently apparent from what *Venerable Bede* has recorded in *his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. For when *Gregory Biſhop of Rome*, (ſuppoſing the Inhabitants of this Iſland to be ſtill intangled in the Errors of Paganiſm,) had ſent hither *Auguſtine the Monk* to convert them to Chriſtianity; he unexpectedly found, not only the Chriſtian Religion diſſeminated amongſt them long before his arrival, but Biſhops alſo rightly and duly conſtituted; which Prelates could not (in my ſimple judgment) be ſuppoſed the Subjects of the *Roman Biſhop*, becauſe he was ſo far from having any knowledge of them, that he did not believe there was one ſingle Chriſtian in this Iſland. But, though *Auguſtine* at his arrival found not the *Britiſh Biſhops* dependants on the *Roman* See; yet, he reſolves to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to make them ſuch. In order to which, by the aſſiſtance of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (as *Bede* tells us, Book 2. Chap. 2. *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.*) he ſummons together the Prelates of the adjacent Provinces of the *Britons*, adviſes them to alter their ancient uſages, and to accept of him for their Arch-biſhop. But they, having an Arch-biſhop of their own already, to wit, the Biſhop of *Kaerleon*, and looking upon it to be a ſtrange and unheard-of thing, that they ſhould become Subjects to a Foreigner; wholly refuſed him and his monſtrous propoſal; telling him, *that they would not own him for their Arch-biſhop*; and, as to their ancient cuſtoms and uſages, *that they could not relinquiſh them without the conſent and licence of their own Nation. Whereupon they deſired a ſecond Synod might be convened.* At which there met ſeven *Britiſh* Biſhops (whoſe Names you may ſee in Sir *Henry Spelman's Councils*, Tom. 1. pag. 106;) and many other Learned Men; who by *Dionothus* (or, as *Bede* calls him, *Dinooth*) *Abbot of Bangor* gave *Auguſtine the Monk* this anſwer: (See Sir *Henry Spelman*, as before, pag. 108, 109.) *Be it known to you and without doubt, that we are, and every one of us obedient and ſubject to the Church of God and Pope of Rome, and to every true and pious Chriſtian, to love every one in his degree with perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the ſons of God. As for any other obedience, I do not know that I owe it to him, whom ye call the Pope, or that he hath right to challenge or require to be the Father of Fathers. This obedience we are ready to give and pay to him, and to every Chriſtian continually. Beſides, we are placed under the Government of the Biſhop of Kaerleon upon Uske, who is to ſuperviſe under God over us, to make us keep the ſpiritual way.* What treatment the *Britiſh Prelates* found from *Auguſtine*'s hand, after they had given him this anſwer; the Reader may ſee in *Bede*, at the Book and Chap. now quoted. Where we find this *Auguſtine*, their pretended Converter, threatning them with a War. Which by his Inſtigation (ſee Mr. *Wheelocks notes on* Bed. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book* 2. *Chap.* 2.) *Ethelfridus* King of the *Northanhumbrians* waged againſt them: wherein no leſs than 1200 *Britiſh Eccleſiaſticks* were ſlain at one time. After this, the *Romiſh* Biſhop, for upwards of nine Centuries exerciſed a ſupream Eccleſiaſtick Power in this Nation; though ſeveral of our Kings promulged ſevere Laws againſt it. But now at length, his Tyrannick yoke is broken off; and our Church enjoys its ancient priviledges: which may that God continue to it, by the moſt precious Blood of whoſe eternal Son it was purchaſed! *Amen.*

(g) thoſe Biſhops [who make their abode] without the bounds of their own *Diœceſis*, ſhould not invade the Churches without their limits. For this had been promiſcuouſly done before, by reaſon of the perſecutions. And to *Nectarius* was allotted the * Great City and *Thracia*. *Helladius* ſucceſſor to *Baſilius* in the Biſhoprick of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*;

* That is, *Conſtantinople*.

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

(g) Τὰς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ὁπισκόπους. *They are the words of the ſecond Canon of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod*; which *Dionyſius Exiguus* renders thus: *Qui ſunt ſuper Diœceſim Epiſcopi*, &c. *the Biſhops who are over a Diœceſis.* There may be a twofold ſence of theſe Words. For, firſt, They may be termed ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπίσκοποι, *who are over a Diœceſis*, or *preſide over a whole Diœceſis*; of which ſort is the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, or the Biſhop of *Antioch*, who is conſtituted not over a Province, but over a *Diœceſis*. Or ſecondly, They may be termed ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν, *who are without their own Diœceſis*: So *Zonaras* explains theſe Words in *his Comment on this Canon*. *Lucas Holſtenius* has embraced the former ſenſe of theſe Words. For, at the Margin of his copy he had made a remark, that this paſſage in *Socrates* is to be explain'd thus: *Ne Epiſcopi*, &c. *Leſt the Biſhops ſet over their own Diœceſis's, ſhould invade the Churches ſituate without their limits.* But, the latter ſenſe is the truer; which the Canon it ſelf declares in the following Words: for the Fathers add, ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν, *that the uncalled Biſhops come not beyond their Diœceſis.* Wherefore, ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ὁπίσκοποι are the ſame with ὑπερόριοι, *Prelates without their bounds*; which title *Socrates* has given *Gregory Nazianzen* at chap. 7. of this Book; becauſe of his removal from the Biſhoprick of *Saſimi* (which was in the *Pontick Diœceſis*) to *Conſtantinople*. Further, it is to be noted, that *Diœceſis* in this Canon does not ſignifie a *Dioceſe* (as that word is commonly uſed,) or a Province, as the *Greek* Interpreters *Zonaras* and *Balſamon* ſuppoſed; but it imports many Provinces joyned together which are ſubject to one Governour. Whence the title of this Canon is, περὶ διοικήσεως, *concerning Diœceſes*. For, its expreſs words are, φυλαττομένης δὲ τῶν προγεγραμμένων περὶ διοικήσεων κανόνος, &c. *the forewritten Canon concerning Diœceſes being obſerved, 'tis manifeſt that a Provincial Synod will govern affairs throughout every Province.* You ſee what the title of this Canon is, and how it diſtinguiſhes a Province from a *Diœceſis*. For, 'tis not forbidden by this Canon, that Biſhops ſhould go out of one Province into another, to celebrate Ordinations; that being not to be done otherwiſe. To inſtance in the *Aſian Diœceſis* (ſee note *f*.) the Fathers prohibit not a removal out of *Lycia* into *Pamphilia*, nor out of *Caria* into *Lydia*, on account of Eccleſiaſtick buſineſs; but they only forbid them to paſs out of one *Diœceſis* into another. *Valeſ.*

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

Gregorius [Bishop] of *Nyssa*, a City also in *Cappadocia*, (who was *Basilius*'s Brother; and *Otreïus* [Bishop] of *Meletina* in *Armenia*, had the (*b*) Patriarchate of the *Pontick Diœcesis* for their allotment. To *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* [Bishop] of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, was assign'd the *Asian* [*Diœcesis*]. To *Timotheus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria* was given [the Superintendency over the Churches] throughout *Egypt*. The administration of the Churches throughout the *East* was committed to the Bishops of that Region, [to wit] to *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*; but to the *Antiochian* Church were reserv'd the Priviledges [of Honour,] which were given to *Meletius* then present. They likewise decreed, that if need required, a *Provincial Synod* should determine the Ecclesiastick affairs of every Province. These Sanctions were confirm'd by the Emperor's own consent. Such was the conclusion of this Synod.

(b) The term πατριαρχια is not here used in such a sense, as to signifie a *Patriarchate* strictly so taken. Nor, must we think, that these Prelates, here mentioned by *Socrates*, were constituted Patriarchs properly so called; because (as *Valesius* well remarks) there are more than one named here to be superintendents over one *Diœcesis*; for instance, *Helladius*, *Gregorius*, and *Otreïus*, are assigned for the *Pontick Diœcesis*. Now, what that power was, which is here given to these Prelates by the Synod (or rather by the Emperor *Theodosius* himself,) will appear from an inspection into the occasion of their being intrusted with this power. The Emperor *Theodosius*, perceiving the Churches to be notoriously pestred with *Arianism*, took a resolution to extirpate it. In order whereto, he published an Edict (which is mentioned by *Sozomen*, Book 7. Chap. 9. and is still extant, being the *third Law in the Theodosian Code, Tit. de fide Catholicâ*:) to this effect; *That in all places, the possession of the Churches should be delivered to such persons only, as would acknowledge and profess one and the same Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in a subsistency of three persons equal in honour and power.* In order to a more clear manifestation of those Persons that owned this acknowledgement and profession; such of them as were in *Constantinople* and *Thracia*, were by this Imperial Law obliged to hold communion with *Nectarius* Prelate of the *Constantinopolitan See*; those in the *Pontick Diœcesis*, with *Helladius*, *Gregorius*, and *Otreïus*, &c. *For these Prelates* (says *Sozomen*) *the Emperor himself approved of, after he had seen and spoken with them; and also, they had an eminent repute for their pious Government of their Churches.* And the Emperor orders further in his Edict, that *whosoever dissented from a communion of Faith with these Prelates, in their several districts, he should be expelled out of the Church as a manifest Heretick.* You see then, that the power given to these Prelates here was not properly Patriarchichal; but only this, that their Faith was to be the standard as it were, to measure that of others by, and a communion with them the Test for admitting persons to, or expelling them from, Ecclesiastick preferments. But, though we affirm, that the Prelates here mentioned by *Socrates*, were not constituted Patriarchs properly so called: yet we see no reason of making an inference from hence, (as *Valesius* in his note here does,) that Patriarchs were not constituted by the *Constantinopolitan Fathers*. For this is plainly repugnant to our *Socrates*'s fore-mentioned words in this chap. *viz.* παλαιὰρχας καθ' ἕσων, διανεμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, *they constituted Patriarchs, having made a distribution, or division, of the Provinces.* On which distribution of the Provinces, the entire constitution of Patriarchs has its sole dependence. For, from it arose *Diœceses*, over which Patriarchs were set. See the Learned Dr. *Beverege's notes on the* 6th *Canon of the Nicene Council*, pag. 52, &c. and *on the second Canon of the Constant. Synod.* pag. 94.

CHAP. IX.

That the Emperor Theodosius [*ordered*] *the Body of* Paulus *Bishop of* Constantinople *to be honourably translated from* [*the place of his*] *Exile. At which time also* Meletius [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch *departed this life.*

AT that time the Emperor translated the Body of *Paulus* the Bishop from the City *Ancyra*; whom *Philippus Præfect* of the *Prætorium* had banish'd upon *Macedonius*'s account, and had order'd him to be strangled in *Cucusus* a Town of *Armenia*, as I have * already mentioned. [*Theodosius*] therefore, having receiv'd [his Body] with much honour and reverence, deposited it in the Church which now bears his own name; which Church the embracers of *Macedonius*'s opinion were heretofore in possession of, at such time as they were Separatists from the *Arians*; but were then expelled by the Emperor, because they refused embracing of his Faith. Moreover, at the same time *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* fell into a Distemper, and died: in praise of whom *Gregorius*, *Basilius*'s Brother, spoke a (*a*) Funeral Oration. *Meletius*'s Body was by his Friends convey'd to *Antioch*. Such as were favourers of *Meletius*, did again refuse to be subject to *Paulinus*; but caused *Flavianus* to be substituted in the place of *Meletius*. By reason whereof a new division did again arise amongst the People. Thus the *Antiochian* Church was afresh divided into two Parties, on account of their Bishops, not of their Faith.

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

(a) This *Funeral Oration* in praise of *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*, is now extant amongst the *Works of Gregorius Nyssenus*. Vales.

* See *Socrates*, Book 2. Chap. 26. & Book 2. Chap. 16. note (*a*.)

CHAP. X.

That the Emperor ordered a Synod of all the Sects to be convened, at which time Arcadius *his Son was proclaimed* Augustus; *and that the* Novatians *(who as to their Faith embraced the same Sentiments with the* Homoöusians*) were the only persons that had permission to hold their Assemblies within the City. But the other Hereticks were forced from thence.*

BUt, there were disturbances in other Cities also [which hapned] at such time as the *Arians* were ejected out of the Churches. On account whereof I cannot choose but admire the Emperor's Judiciousness and Prudence. For he suffered not (so far as it was in his power [to prevent them,]) the Cities to be filled with tumultuous disturbances: But within a short space of time, order'd a Synod of all the Heresies to be again convened, supposing that by a mutual conference of the Bishops, one concordant opinion would prevail amongst all men. I am of opinion, that this design of the Emperor's was the cause of that fortunate success he [then] had. For, about the same time, by a particular dispensation of Divine Providence, the barbarous Nations were reduced to a subjection to him. And amongst others, *Athanarichus* King of the *Goths* made a surrendry of himself with all his own people unto him, (*a*) who soon after died at *Constantinople*. Moreover, at that time the Emperor proclaim'd his son *Arcadius*, *Augustus*, in the second Consulate of * *Merobaudes* which he bore with †*Saturninus*, on the sixteenth of *January*. Not long after these things, the Bishops of every Sect arriv'd from all places, in the same Consulate, in the month *June*. The Emperor therefore having sent for *Nectarius* the Bishop, consulted with him, what project should be made use of that the Christian Religion might be freed from dissentions, and the Church reduc'd to an union. And he said, that that controversie which caused a separation in the Churches, ought to be discuss'd, that so by a removal of the discord, an agreement might be effected in the Churches. At the hearing of this, *Nectarius* was full of anxiety and sollicitude. And having sent for *Agelius* then

(*a*) *Athanarichus* King of the *Goths*, entred *Constantinople* in the Consulate of *Eucherius* and *Evagrius*, on the eleventh of *January*, and died on the twenty fifth of the same Month; as 'tis recorded in *Idatius*'s *Fasti*, and in *Marcellinus*'s *Chronicon*. On the year following, which was the year of Christ 382, when *Antonius* and *Syagrius* were Consuls, the whole *Gothick Nation* surrendred itself to *Theodosius*, on the 3d of *Octob.* as says the same *Idatius*. Vales.

* In the Greek he is called *Merogaudus* here, and hereafter.

† His name in the Greek is *Satornilus*.

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

then Bishop of the *Novatians*, (in regard he was a person that embraced the same sentiments with him as to the Faith) he makes known to him the Emperor's intent. He, as to other things, was indeed a very pious person; but being not very able to maintain a dispute concerning the Doctrine [of Faith,] he proposes his Reader under him, by name *Sisinnius*, as a fit person to manage a Conference. But *Sisinnius* (an eloquent Man, and well-experienced in affairs, one who had an accurate skill in the Expositions of the Sacred Scriptures, and in Philosophick opinions) knew that these Disputations do not only not unite Dissentions, but also raise Heresies to an higher degree of contention. Upon which account he gave *Nectarius* this advice: In regard he very well knew, that the Ancients avoided the attributing a beginning of Existence to the Son of God; (for they apprehended him to be co-eternal with the Father;) he advises him to shun Logical disputes; and to produce for evidences the (*b*) Expositions of the *Ancients*: and that the Emperor should propose to the Chiefs of each Heresie this question, Whether they wou'd entertain any respect for the Ancients, who (*c*) flourished before the dissention of the Church, or whether they would reject 'em as estranged from the *Christian* Religion? For if they reject them [said he,] then let them dare to *Anathematize* them. And if they shall be so audacious as to do that, the multitude will forthwith extrude them by violence. Upon the doing whereof, the truth will undoubtedly obtain a manifest victory. But, if they shall refuse to reject the ancient Doctors, then it will be our business to produce the Books of the Ancients, whereby our opinion will be attested and confirmed.

(b) Τὰς ἐνδόσεις τῶν παλαιῶν. *Christophorson* renders these words thus: *The forms of the Creed deliver'd by the Ancients. Epiphanius Scholasticus* thus: *The Traditions of the Ancients.* I like neither Version. For *Socrates* means the Books of the Ancient Doctors of the Church; and more especially, the interpretations of Sacred Scripture put forth by them. 'Tis certain, what he terms ἐνδόσεις [*Expositions*] here, he does a little after call τὰς βίβλους τῶν παλαιῶν, *the Books of the Ancients.* Wherefore I have here chosen to render it *Expositions*, as *Musculus* does. For, what *Socrates* here calls ἐνδόσεις, a little lower he terms ἀρχαίων ἔκθεσιν, *the Exposition of the Ancients.* Vales.

(c) Instead of [προσαρμοσάντων, *accommodated*] it must undoubtedly be [προσακμασάντων, *flourished.*] Which Emendation is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*: for thus he renders it: *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Doctoribus, qui ante divisionem floruissent, concerning the Ancient Doctors of the Church, who flourished before the Division.* Vales.

Nectarius having heard all this from *Sisinnius*, goes in great haste to the Palace; and makes the Emperor acquainted with the advice which had been given him. The Emperor embraces it with much eagerness, and handled the matter prudently. For, without discovering his design, he ask'd [the Chiefs of the Hereticks] this one question, Whether they had any respect for, and admitted of those Doctors of the Church [who lived] before [the rise of] the dissention? Upon their non-refusal of them, and their affirming that they highly revered and honour'd them as being their Masters; the Emperor enquired of them again, whether they would *acquiesce in them as witnesses of the Christian Religion worthy be credited? When the Chiefs of the Sects and their *Logicians* (for they had amongst them many persons well-provided for the combat of dispute;) heard this, they knew not what to do. For every one of them fell into a disagreement of opinion; some affirming that the Emperor's Proposal was good; others [thinking] it not conducive to their design: For some were one way affected towards the Books of the Ancients, others another. Nor could they any longer agree amongst themselves; and they dissented not only from other Sects, but those of the same Sect differ'd one from the other. Concordant malice therefore, like the tongue of those ancient Giants, was divided, and their Tower of mischief demolish'd. After the Emperor perceived their confused † Dissention, and [was sensible] that they confided in dispute only, and not in the exposition of the Ancients, he betook himself to a second project: And orders every Sect to (*d*) set forth [and deliver in] to him in writing a draught of that Creed which they own'd. Then those [of every Sect] amongst them that were skilfullest and most eloquent, wrote their own opinion, making use of a great deal of caution and circumspection in their expressions. A day also was pitcht upon, whereon the Bishops of each Sect upon summons met at the Palace. At which time were present *Nectarius* and *Agelius*, Prelates of the *Homoöusian* Creed; of the *Arians*, *Demophilus*; of the (*e*) *Eunomians*, *Eunomius* himself; of those that embraced *Macedonius*'s opinion, *Eleusius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum*.

Gratianus, Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

† Or, *Dispersion.*

(*d*) Instead of [γνωείζειν ἕκαστον αὐτῷ, *to make known their Draught of the Creed*] I had rather read, as *Nicephorus* does, [γνωείζειν ἕκαστον αὐτῷ, *to set forth* [and deliver in] *to him in writing*, a Draught,] &c. *Vales.*

(*e*) This Draught of the Creed, which *Eunomius* then presented to the Emperor *Theodosius*, I have by me in Manuscript; for which I am obliged to the most Famous and Learned *Emericus Bigotius*. In the *Bavarian Manuscript*, and in *Livineius*'s Copy, this Draught of the Creed was placed at the latter end of *Gregorius Nyssenus*'s *Books against Eunomius*, as *Gretser* attests. But, in the *Florentine Copy*, from which *Bigotius* transcribed this Creed, it was placed before those Books. Nor will it be unuseful, to insert it here. For, though it contains *Eunomius*'s whole Impiety; yet some things occur in it, in no wise despicable.

EUNOMIUS's CREED.

Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, *&c. Whereas God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to a most just sentence, has said, that he will confess before God and the Father, those which should confess Him before men, and that he will deny such as should deny Him; and whereas the Apostolick Doctrine does exhort us, to be always ready to* [give] *an account to every one that asketh it: Whereas* [lastly,] *the Imperial commands do require this Confession; with all readiness We confess what our Sentiments are, and that We Believe in one only true God, according to his own Doctrine, not honouring Him with a false voice. For He cannot lye: But is by nature and Glory truly one God; without beginning, always, and eternally alone. Not parted or divided into many as to his Substance, according to which he is one: nor existing sometimes one, at others another; nor receding from what he is: nor formed from one Substance into three Persons. For he is altogether and wholly one, continuing always alone in one and the same manner. Having no companion of his Divinity, no partaker of his Glory, no Consort of his power, no Assessor of his Kingdom. For he is one and the only Omnipotent God, God of Gods, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. The Highest over all the earth, the Highest in the heavens, the Highest in the Highest, the Heavenly things; true in being what he is, and always continuing so. True in his Works, true in his Words. The beginning of all Subjection, Power, Empire. Above Conversion, and free from change, as being incorrupt. Not dividing his own Substance in begetting, nor being the same begetting and begotten, or existing the same Father and Son. For he is incorrupt. In working in no wise wanting matter, or members, or natural instruments. For he stands in need of nothing. WE BELIEVE also in the Son of God, the only Begotten God, the First begotten of every Creature, Christ the true God, not unbegotten: not (before he was,) named the Son without Generation, begotten before every Creature. Not uncreated. The Beginning of the Ways of God [in order to his] Works, and being the Word in the beginning; not without a beginning. The living Wisdom, the operating Truth, the subsisting Power, the begotten Life; as being the Son of God giving Life to the living; and restoring Life to the dead: the true Light enlightning every Man that cometh into the World: Good, and the Minister of Good things; in regard he is begotten of the Goodness and Power of the Father: who hath not divided with him that has imparted the Dignity, nor with any other, his Fathers Substance, or Kingdom. But by Generation is made Glorious, and the Lord of Glory. Who has received Glory from the Father, but has not partaken of the Father's Glory. For, the Glory of the Almighty is incommunicable, as he himself has said,* I will not give my Glory to another. *Who has been glorified by the Father before ages. Who has been glorified by the Father through ages, and throughout the whole rational and created Substance. Whom the whole celestial Milice doth guard. For he is the Lord and King of Glory, as being the Son of God and God; the Framer of things immortal and mortal, the Framer of spirits and of all flesh.* For all things were made by him, and without him nothing was made, *The King and Lord of all Life and breath of those* [*Creatures*] *that were made by him.* For all things were delivered unto him by the Father, *according to his holy expression*, and the Father hath

hath given all things into his hand. *Obedient to the framing and creating of the things which are. Obedient to every Adminiſtration. Not receiving his being the Son, or God, from his obedience: but in that he is the Son, and is the only begotten, he is made God. Obedient in Works. Obedient in Words. The Mediator in Sentences [or Decrees]. The Mediator in Laws. Him we acknowledge to be the Son of God, and the only begotten God. Him alone [we acknowledge to be] like to him that begat him upon account of an eminent ſimilitude and a peculiar conception [or ſignification.] Not as the Father [is] to the Father. For there are not two Fathers. Nor as the Son [is] to the Son, there being not two Sons. Nor as the Unbegotten to the Unbegotten. For there is one only Unbegotten, [to wit] the Omnipotent; and one only begotten Son. But [he is like] as the Son to the Father: In regard he is the Image and Seal of every Operation and Power of the Almighty: the Seal of all the Works, Words, and Councels of the Father. Him we acknowledge to be one of thoſe who covered the earth with [a deluge of] waters. Who burnt the* Sodomites *with fire. Who inflicted puniſhment on the* Egyptians. *Who made Laws according to the Commandment of the Eternal God. Who in the times of the Prophets converſt with the Ancients. Who called thoſe that refuſed to obey. Who has received all power of Judging.* For the Father judgeth no Man; but hath given all judgment to the Son. *Who in the laſt days was made fleſh: made of a woman. Made Man in order to the deliverance and Salvation of us Men. Who aſſumed Man [or Humanity] conſiſting of a Soul and Body. Who by his tongue and mouth Preached peace to thoſe that were near and ſuch as were remote. Who was made obedient unto the Croſs and unto death. And who ſaw not corruption, but roſe again the third day. And after his Reſurrection he compendiouſly expounded the myſtery to his [Diſciples.] He ſits on the right hand of the Father: and ſhall come to judge the quick and dead. After this [Perſon,] We Believe in the* Paraclete, *the Spirit of Truth. The Teacher of Piety. Made by the Only begotten, to whom he was once ſubject. Who is not to be reckoned after the Father, nor together with the Father. For there is one only Father, who is God over all. Nor is he to be equalled with the Son. For he is the Only begotten, and has no Brother begotten at the ſame time with him. Nor yet is he to be compared with any other thing. For he has tranſcended all other things that have been made by the Son, in Generation, Nature, Glory, and Knowledge In regard he is the firſt and beſt, the greateſt and moſt beautiful work of the Only begotten. Who alſo himſelf being one, and the firſt, and the Only, and the moſt eminent of all the Sons compoſures, by reaſon of his ſubſtance and natural Dignity; does perfect every Operation and Doctrine according to the Sons arbitrement by whom he is ſent, and of whom he receives. And he makes a relation to thoſe that are inſtructed; teaching the Truth; ſanctifying the Saints; leading them who come to the Sacrament: diviſing to the Spirit all his free gifts, who gives grace. And he co-operates with the faithful, in order to their underſtanding and contemplation of the things commanded. Who groans with them that pray: is the Guide to what is profitable: gives ſtrength in order to Piety: enlightens ſouls with the light of knowledge: purges the thoughts: chaſes away devils: cures the ſick: heals the diſeaſed: brings back the wanderers [into the way:] comforts the afflicted: erects thoſe that ſtumble and fall: refreſhes thoſe that labour: encourages with ſhouts thoſe that ſtrive: emboldens thoſe that are fearful: is the Guardian and Overſeer of all men: takes all imaginable care, and makes proviſion for the promotion [or acceſs] of the well-minded, and for the preſervation of the more faithful. Further, We Believe in that Reſurrection which ſhall be [effected] by our Saviour; [to wit] of thoſe very Bodies which have been diſſolved, together with their proper members and particles: when nothing ſhall be wanting or changed, of thoſe things which compoſed every mans body in this preſent life. Moreover, [We Believe] the Judgment which ſhall be after this, of thoſe things which have been ill thought or acted; and likewiſe of all the works, words, actions, practiſes, conceptions of the mind, and thoughts which have hapned in this preſent life: ſo that nothing at all, whether of the greateſt matters, or of the leaſt ſhall be concealed: nothing of thoſe things, which have been legally done, or unjuſtly perpetrated, ſhall be neglected or overlookt; but a proportionate and juſt ſentence ſhall be given [or meaſured out.] And thoſe that have continued impious and ſinners to the end [of their lives,] ſhall be ſent away to an endleſs puniſhment. But ſuch as have led Holy and Righteous lives, ſhall be taken up to an eternal life. Theſe are our Sentiments, which we have learned from the Saints, and thus we think and believe. We have omitted nothing of what we have learned, on account of ſhame, or out of fear. Nor have we by reaſon of turpitude or contentiouſneſs made any additions thereto, or perverted any thing therein. Neither are we conſcious to our ſelves of any ſuch falſity or deteſtable impiety as is framed againſt us by thoſe* Sycophants, *or ſlanderers; Whoſe damnation is juſt.*

That this is the Confeſſion of Faith, which was delivered by *Eunomius* to *Theodoſius*, in the month *June*, on the ſecond Conſulate of *Merobaudes* which he bore with *Saturninus*; is evident from theſe words which occur at the beginning of this confeſſion; to wit, καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆν προσταγμάτων ταυτὴν ἐπιζητούντων τὴν ὁμολογίαν, *and whereas the Imperial Commands do require this Confeſſion.* Valeſ.

The Emperor gave them a very kind reception at their meeting: and having received a Draught of the Creed in writing from every one of them, retired into a private apartment alone, where he pray'd with much fervency, that God would give him his aſſiſtance, in order to an Election of the Truth. And having read over every one of the written Draughts of the Creed, he tore all the reſt, (diſapproving of them, in regard they introduced a ſeparation of the Trinity) except the *Homoöuſian* Creed only, which he commended and embraced. This was the reaſon of the *Novatians* flouriſhing again, [and of their being permitted] to celebrate their ſacred Aſſemblies within the Cities. For the Emperor admiring their conſent as to the Faith, (*f*) with thoſe of his own opinion, gave command by [the promulgation of] a Law, that they ſhould ſecurely enjoy their own Oratories; and that their Churches ſhould have the ſame priviledges with (*g*) thoſe [Churches] of his own Faith. But, the Prelates of the other Sects, by reaſon of their diſagreement amongſt themſelves, were condemn'd and deſpis'd even by their own Diſciples. And being reduced to a deſperation, and overwhelmed with grief, they made their departure: and wrote Conſolatory Letters to thoſe of their own party, perſwading them not to be troubled, becauſe many relinquiſhed them, and became Adherents to the *Homoöuſian* Creed. *For many* [they ſaid] *were called, but few choſen.* Which expreſſion they in no wiſe made uſe of, at ſuch time as the greateſt part of the people * through force and fear became their favourers. But neither were the Profeſſors of the *Homoöuſian* Creed perfectly free from trouble and diſquietude. For the affairs of the *Antiochian* Church cauſed a diviſion amongſt thoſe that were preſent at the Synod. For, the *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Cypriots* † gathering together again, ſaid that *Flavianus* ought to be expelled out of *Antioch.* But [the Biſhops] of *Palæſtine*, *Phœnice*, and *Syria* ſtood up in defence of *Flavianus.* What concluſion this affair had, I will declare in its due place.

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

(*f*) Inſtead of [περὶ τὰς οἰκείας, *about thoſe of his own opinion,*] it muſt be thus mended [περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, *with, or to thoſe of his own opinion.*] The ſame error occurs before in this Chapter; where he ſays, ἄλλοι γὰρ ἄλλως εἶχον περὶ τὰ βιβλία τῶν παλαιῶν; which we have corrected by rendring it thus: *For ſome were one way affected towards the Books of the Ancients, others another.* Valeſ.

(*g*) I read [ἅπερ καὶ οἱ [not οἱ] τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως ἔχουσι, *with thoſe* [*Churches*] *of his own Faith.* For the word ἐκκλησίαις, *Churches*, is underſtood. The priviledges of Churches are, a priviledge of ſanctuary, a priviledge of receiving Embaſſies, and the like. *Valeſ.*

* Ἐξουσιάσας perhaps he means the Imperial power; for *Conſtantius* and *Valens* were great favourers of theſe Sects.

† Πάλιν συμπεσόντες, *making a joynt attempt again.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Maximus *the Tyrant, how he ſlew* Gratianus *by treachery: At which time alſo* Juſtina, *the Mother of* Valentinianus Junior, *deſiſted, though unwillingly, from her Deſign againſt* Ambroſius *Biſhop of* Millain, *for fear of* Maximus.

ABout the ſame times wherein theſe Synods were held at *Conſtantinople*, theſe tranſactions hapned in the Weſtern parts. (*a*) *Maximus* [coming] out of the Iſland *Britannia*, invaded the *Roman* Empire, and makes a treacherous attempt upon *Gratianus* then engaged in a War againſt the *Alamanni.* In *Italy*, during *Valentinianus*'s minority, *Probus*, a perſon that had been *Conſul*, had the chief management of affairs, who at that time bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium.*

(a) *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* ſeem to have thought (as by their Verſions appears) that this Man was born in *Brittain*; which (though perhaps true, yet) cannot be made out from this paſſage in our *Socrates*. *Zoſimus* (Hiſtor. Book 4.) ſays this *Maximus* was a *Spaniard.* Our *Country-man Guildas* calls him *Germen Plantationis Britannicæ, a branch of the Britannick Plantation. Camden* mentions him in *his Britannia* (pag. 240, 241, *Edit Lond.* 1607.) where he quotes ſome Verſes out of *Auſonius*; in which he terms him *Rhutupinus Latro, the Richborow-Thief.*

Juſtina

Gratianus Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

Justina (Mother to *Valentinianus Augustus*,) a Woman that was a *Arian*, during her Husband's life, had no power to be mischievous towards the Embracers of the *Homoöusian* Creed. But after [her Husband's death,] when her Son was very young, she went to *Millain*, and raised great disturbances against *Ambrosius* the Bishop, issuing out an Order that he should be banish'd. And whilst the People made a resistance [against this Order,] out of their excessive love to *Ambrosius*, and opposed those that endeavour'd to hale him away into Exile; in that interim news came, that *Gratianus* was treacherously slain by the Tyrant *Maximus*. For *Andragathius Maximus*'s Lieutenant (being hid in a Carriage put into the form of a woman's Horse-litter, and carried by Mules; and having given the Guards a Command, that they should before-hand spread abroad a report, that the Emperor *Gratianus*'s Wife was in that Litter;) meets the Emperor before *Lyons*, a City in *France*, passing the River. The Emperor supposing it to be his Wife, was not aware of the Treachery: but, as a blind man does into a Ditch, fell into the hands of his Enemy. For *Andragathius* leapt out of the Litter on a sudden, and slew *Gratianus*. *Gratianus* therefore ended his life in the Consulate of * *Merobaudes* and *Saturninus*, after he had reigned fifteen years, and lived twenty four. This accident cool'd the Emperor's Mothers heat against *Ambrosius*. Moreover, *Valentinianus*, though against his will, complied with the necessity of that juncture, and admitted *Maximus* to be his Colleague in the Empire. At which time *Probus*, afraid of *Maximus*'s power, resolves upon a retreat into those parts of the Empire nearer to the East. Immediately therefore he departs out of *Italy*; and arriving in *Illyricum*, he fix'd his residence (*b*) in *Thessalonica* [a City] of *Macedonia*.

* Or, Merogaudus.

(*b*) I will here propose my doubt to the Reader. I am of opinion therefore, that *Thessalonica*, which was the chief City of *Macedonia*, was under *Theodosius*'s Empire. My reasons are; (1.) because *Theodosius*, after he had been Proclaimed *Augustus* by *Gratianus* at *Sirmium*, went to *Thessalonica*, resided there a long while, and receiv'd the Embassies of the Cities of the East; and when he fell sick, he was baptized by *Acholius* Bishop of that City, as *Zosimus*, *Prosper*, *Socrates*, and others do relate. (2.) During his Residence in that City, he published many Laws, which are extant in the *Theodosian Code*, in the *Titles de fide Catholica*, and *de Hæreticis*; which Laws are dated at *Thessalonica*. (3.) Lastly, in the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, at which 'tis manifest the Eastern Bishops only were present, *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica* is reckoned, as may be seen in the eighth Chapter of this Book. After *Theodosius*'s times, there is no doubt but *Thessalonica* was under the Eastern Emperors. For 'twas the chief City of the *Oriental Illyricum*, which contained *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, as we are informed from *The Notitia* of the *Roman* Empire. But, whether or no it was under the Eastern Emperors, about the beginning of *Theodosius*'s Reign; may deservedly be doubted. For *Aurelius Victor*, and *Zonaras* do expressly affirm, that *Gratianus* gave *Theodosius* only the *East* and the *Thracia*'s. And *Zosimus* relates, that *Valentinianus Junior* (upon his division of the Empire with his Brother,) had *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Illyricum*. Neither had *Constantius*, or *Valens* (who governed the *Eastern Empire* before *Theodosius*) *Illyricum* under their Dominion. In the times of *Valens*, 'tis certain, *Mamertinus Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, governed *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum* at the same time; as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Notwithstanding, *Valens* (after his Brother *Valentinianus*'s death) seems to have annext *Macedonia* and *Dacia* to his own Empire, by the consent of his Brother's Sons. Which Collection I make from the close of *Amm. Marcellinus's thirty first Book*; where he says, that *Valens's Soldiers and Palatines, who had been besieged by the Goths at Adrianople, went out after that Siege was broken up, and hastned some into Dacia, others into Macedonia, supposing that Valens had retired thither.* See *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 468. Edit. Par. 1636. *Vales.*

CHAP. XII.

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

That the Emperor Theodosius *having provided a numerous Army against* Maximus, (*at which time* Flaccilla *bare him his Son* Honorius;) *left* Arcadius *at* Constantinople; *but went himself to* Millain, *where he came to an Engagement with the Tyrant.*

But the Emperor *Theodosius* was extreamly full of care and sollicitude, and formed a very powerful Army against the Tyrant; being afraid lest he should treacherously murder *Valentinianus Junior* also. At the same time arrived Embassadors from the *Persians*, requesting Peace of the Emperor. Moreover, then also a Son was born to the Emperor, named *Honorius*, of whom his Wife *Flaccilla* was deliver'd, in the Consulate of * *Richomeres* and *Clearchus*, on the ninth of *September*. In the same Consulate died *Agelius* Bishop of the *Novatians*, a little before [*Honorius*'s birth.] On the year following, whereon *Arcadius Augustus* bore his first Consulate with *Bauton*, *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria* ended his life, who was succeeded in that See by *Theophilus*. A year after this, *Demophilus* Bishop of the *Arian* Heresie, concluded his life. The *Arians* sent for one *Marinus*, a Bishop of their own Heresie, out of *Thracia*, whom they intrusted with the Bishoprick. But *Marinus* sat [Bishop] not long. For under him the *Arian* Sect was divided into two Parties, as we shall declare hereafter. Wherefore they sent for *Dorotheus* out of *Antioch* in *Syria*, and constituted him their Bishop. In the interim, the Emperor proceeded to a War against *Maximus*, and left his Son *Arcadius Augustus* at *Constantinople*. Arriving at *Thessalonica*, he finds (*a*) *Valentinianus* and those about him in great sadness and anxiety, because out of necessity they had admitted the Tyrant to be Emperor, as it were. But *Theodosius*, in outward appearance, gave no indication of his mind [in favour of either side.] For he neither (*b*) rejected, nor admitted *Maximus*'s Embassy. But he could not endure the sight of a Tyrannical Government over the *Romans*, cover'd with the specious pretence of an Imperial name. Having therefore muster'd his Military Forces, he marcht to (*c*) *Millain*. For thither *Maximus* was already come.

* Or, Richomelius.

(*a*) The Phrase is, τὸς περὶ Βαλεντινιανόν· which *Christophorson* renders ill, thus, *Valentinian's Soldiers*. For *Socrates* means *Valentinian* himself, who was on this year (when *Valentinian* himself was the third time Consul, with *Eutropius*,) conquer'd by *Maximus*, (as *Sulpitius* informs us, in *his first Book concerning the Life of Martinus*) and together with his Mother *Justina*, his *Præfects* and *Comites*, fled to *Thessalonica*. Vales.

(*b*) But *Zosimus* says, that *Maximus*'s Embassy was received by *Theodosius*, and that he acknowledged him to be Emperor and admitted of his Statues; and ordered *Cynegius Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the East, that *Maximus*'s Statues should be proposed to publick view at *Alexandria*, and that he should declare to the people that *Maximus* was Colleague of his Empire. Which thing *Sigonius* (in *his Book de Occidentali Imperio*) has done ill to place on the year of Christ 384, when *Richomeres* and *Clearchus* were Consuls; in regard it was done in *Valentinianus's third Consulate*, which he bore with *Eutropius*, on the year of Christ 387. For, on this year *Cynegius* was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*. Vales.

(*c*) He should rather have said *Aquileia*: For thither *Maximus* went, as *Zozimus* and the other *Chronologers* do inform us. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Disturbance raised at Constantinople *by the* Arians.

About the same time that the Emperor was busied in the War, the *Arians* in *Constantinople* raised a disturbance, by this Artifice. 'Tis usual

Valen. Jun. *Theodoſius.*

*This *Character* does well befit too many Perſons of our own Nation at this juncture.

uſual with * Men to frame ſtories of things they are ignorant of. And if at any time they have gotten an occaſion, they ſpread greater Rumours concerning the things they have a mind to, being always extreamly deſirous of Changes and Alterations. This was the caſe of *Conſtantinople* at that time. For ſome framed and divulged one thing concerning the War which was waged at that great diſtance, others another; always preſuming upon the worſt event of affairs. And when nothing of action had happened in the War, as if themſelves had been Spectators upon the very Spot, they diſcourſed concerning things which they knew not: [to wit,] that the Tyrant had gotten a Victory over the Emperor's Army, That thus many were ſlain on this ſide, and ſo many on that; and that the Emperor was juſt upon falling into the Tyrant's hands. Then the *Arians*, at that time highly incenſed, (for they were ſorely vex'd becauſe thoſe that had been perſecuted by them heretofore, were now in poſſeſſion of the Churches within the City:) began to enlarge the Reports. But afterwards, ſome of the ſtories that were told, induced even the Coyners themſelves of theſe falſe rumours to believe, that the reports they had framed and divulged, were not feign'd but undoubtedly true. For, ſuch perſons as had taken them up upon hear-ſay, affirmed to the Authors of theſe Lies, that the account of Affairs was exactly agreeable to what they had heard from themſelves. Whereupon, the *Arians* became embolden'd, brake out into an irrational violence; threw fire into the Palace of *Nectarius* the Biſhop, and burnt it. This was done in *Theodoſius's ſecond Conſulate*, [which he bore] with *Cynegius*.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Emperor Theodoſius's *Victory, and the Tyrant's Overthrow.*

But whilſt the Emperor was upon his march towards the Tyrant, the Forces under *Maximus*'s Command, inform'd of the great military preparations, could not ſo much as reſiſt an aſſault of the fame thereof; but, being put into a conſternation, bound the Tyrant, and deliver'd him to the Emperor. He was ſlain in the ſame Conſulate, on the (*a*) twenty ſeventh of *Auguſt*. But *Andragathius* (he that ſlew *Gratianus* with his own hand,) after he underſtood that *Maximus* was routed, caſt himſelf into the adjacent River, and was drowned. Then, both the Victorious Emperors made their Entry into *Rome*. *Honorius*, *Theodoſius*'s Son, a Child very young, was with them. For after *Maximus* was vanquiſhed, his Father ſent for him from *Conſtantinople*. They continued therefore at *Rome*, celebrating their triumphal Feſtivals. At which time *Theodoſius* the Emperor ſhewed a ſignal inſtance of his Goodneſs and Clemency, towards (*b*) *Symmachus*, a perſon that had been Conſul. For, this *Symmachus* was the eminenteſt perſon of the Senate at *Rome*, and was admired for his great skill in the *Roman* Literature. There are now extant many Orations of his written in the *Latin* tongue. But, in regard he had compoſed an Oration in praiſe of *Maximus* whilſt he was alive, and had ſpoken it to him in publick, he was afterwards charg'd with the crime of High-treaſon. Upon this account he was afraid of a capital puniſhment, and took ſanctuary in the Church. But the Emperor had ſo great a reverence for the Chriſtian Religion, that he not only highly honour'd the Prelates of his own Faith; but gave gracious reception to the *Novatians* alſo, who embraced the *Homoöuſian* Creed. Therefore, that he might gratifie *Leontius* Biſhop of the *Novatian* Church at *Rome*, he pardon'd *Symmachus*'s crime. *Symmachus* having his pardon granted him, wrote an *Apologetick* to the Emperor *Theodoſius*. Thus this War, which at the beginning ſeemed to threaten [the Empire] with great calamity, was terminated by this ſudden concluſion.

(*a*) *Socrates* is miſtaken. For *Maximus* was ſlain, not on the 27*th* of *Auguſt*, but on the 28th of *July*, as *Idatius* ſays in *his Chronicon*. The ſame is recorded in thoſe *Faſti*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* has publiſhed under *Idatius*'s name. For, theſe are the words there: *Theodoſio Aug.* II. *& Cynegio Coſſ. &c. In the ſecond Conſulate of Theodoſius Auguſtus* [*which he bore*] *with Cynegius, on that year, Maximus the Tyrant, that publick Enemy, is ſlain by Theodoſius Auguſtus, three Miles from Aquileia, on the fifth of the Calends of Auguſt* [that is, on the 28th of July] *Alſo, his Son Victor is ſlain a few days after, in the Gallia's, by Theodoſius's Comes.* Further, this *Victor* had been created firſt *Cæſar*, and then *Auguſtus*, by his Father; as we are informed from this *Old Inſcription* recorded by *Sigonius*, in *his* 9th *Book, de Occidentali Imperio*: DD. NN. MAG. CL. MAXIMO, ET FL. VICTORI PIIS FELICIBUS SEMPER AUGUSTIS BONO R. P. NATIS. Where you ſee *Maximus* has two *Prænomina*, to wit, *Magnus Clemens*. *Sulpitius Severus* (Book 2. *Hiſtor. Sacr.*) calls him *Clemens Maximus*. But, by *Oroſius* he is termed *Magnus Maximus*. Valeſ.

Valen. Jun. *Theodoſius.*

(*b*) Here is a miſtake, either of *Socrates*, or of his tranſcribers; in calling *Symmachus* ὑπατικὸν, *a perſon that had born the Conſulate*. For *Symmachus* whoſe Epiſtles are extant at this day, had not at that time been Conſul; but three years after he bore a Conſulate with *Tatianus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Flavianus *of* Antioch.

At the ſame time theſe affairs were tranſacted (*a*) at *Antioch* in *Syria*. After the death of *Paulinus*, the people who had been his Followers, had an averſion for *Flavianus*. Upon which account they caus'd *Evagrius* to be ordained Biſhop of their own party. He having not long ſurvived his Ordination, no other perſon was afterwards conſtituted in his place; which was effected by the diligence and endeavours of *Flavianus*. Notwithſtanding, thoſe that had an averſion for *Flavianus*, in regard he had violated his * Oath, kept their aſſemblies apart by themſelves. But *Flavianus* left no ſtone unturned, (as the ſaying is,) that he might bring theſe perſons alſo to own a ſubjection to him. Which he effected ſoon after, [to wit,] when he had appeaſed the anger of *Theophilus* then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, by whoſe interceſſion *Flavianus* procured a reconciliation alſo with *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*. For both theſe Prelates had been incenſed againſt *Flavianus*, not only on account of his perjury, but alſo in regard he had given an occaſion of a ſeparation, amongſt that people who had been brought to an † agreement. *Theophilus* therefore being pacified, ſent *Iſidorus* a Presbyter, and reconciled *Damaſus*, as yet offended; telling him, 'twas very conducive for the effecting an union amongſt the people, to paſs by the fault which *Flavianus* had committed. Communion being after this manner reſtored to *Flavianus*; the people of *Antioch* were within a ſmall ſpace of time reduced to a reconciliation. Such was the concluſion of this affair at *Antioch*. For the *Arians* in that City were ejected out of the Churches, and had their meetings in the Suburbs thereof. Moreover, in this interim died *Cyrillus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who was ſucceeded by *Johannes*.

(*a*) Inſtead of [περὶ τὴν συρίας ἀντιόχειαν, *about Antioch in Syria*] I had rather word it thus [ἐν τῇ συρίας ἀντιόχειαν *at Antioch in Syria*.] Valeſ.

*Compare chap. 5. with chap. 9. of this Book.

†See chap. 5.

CHAP.

Valen. I. in. Theodosius.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the demolishment of the Idol-Temples at Alexandria ; *and concerning the Fight betwixt the* Pagans *and* Christians, *which hapned on that account.*

AT the very same time, this disturbance also hapned at *Alexandria*. By the solicitation of *Theophilus* the Bishop, the Emperor issued forth an Order, for the demolishment of the Heathen-Temples at *Alexandria* ; and gave command, that this Order should be put in execution by *Theophilus*'s care. *Theophilus* being thus empower'd, us'd his utmost endeavours in order to the exposing the Heathen Mysteries to ignominy and contempt. He cleansed *Mithra*'s Temple, and destroy'd that belonging to *Serapis*. He also exposed to publick view the bloody Mysteries of the * *Mithreum*. And shew'd how full of ridiculousness the Mysteries of *Serapis* and of the other Gods were ; ordering that the † *Priapus*'s should be carryed thro' the midst of the *Forum*. The Heathens at *Alexandria*, more especially those that profest Philosophy, upon sight of the doing hereof, were unable to repress their discontent ; but made an addition to the * former tragic actions which they had perpetrated. For, upon a sign given which they had agreed on before-hand, they made an unanimous assault upon the *Christians*, and murther'd every one they met : Moreover, the *Christians* defended themselves ; and thus mischief was attended with mischief. This fight was continued so long, till a satiety of slaughter put an end to it. Few of the Heathens were destroy'd in this conflict ; but of the *Christians* [there fell] a great many. The wounded on both sides were innumerable. After the perpetration of this action, a fear seiz'd the Heathens, who dreaded the Emperor's anger. Wherefore, having done what they pleased, and satiated their minds with slaughters, they absconded, some in one place, others in another. Moreover, many of them fled from *Alexandria*, and dispers'd themselves into several Cities. Amongst which number were the two *Grammarians*, (*a*) *Helladius* and *Ammonius* ; whose Scholar I was at *Constantinople*, when very young. *Helladius* was stiled *Jupiter*'s Priest ; *Ammonius* was † *Simius*'s. This mischief being thus composed, the (*b*) Præfect of *Alexandria*, and the Commander in chief of the Milice in *Egypt*, assisted *Theophilus* in demolishing the Heathen Temples.

* That is, *Mithra*'s Temple : what these Mysteries were, *Socrates* has told us, Book 3. chap. 2.

† Pieces of Wood made in fashion of a Man's privities.

*See Book 3. chap. 2.

(*a*) Some excerptions of this *Helladius* the *Grammarian*, are extant in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca*. Vales.

† Πιθήκου ; that is, *The Ape's Priest*. For the *Egyptians* worship an *Ape*, as *Lucian* tells us, in *his piece*, περὶ θυσιῶν.

(*b*) *Sozomen* (Book 7. chap. 15.) calls this *Præfects* name *Evagrius* ; and the *Commander in chief of the Milice in Egypt*, *he names* Romanus. *Eunapius* likewise (in *the Life of Ædesius*,) names both these persons ; and attests, that they gave a great assistance to *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in destroying the Temple of *Serapis*. I will insert *Eunapius*'s own Words here, because they want correcting ; (*See Eunap. in vita Ædesii, pag.* 63. *Edit. Colon. Allobrog.* 1616 :) Καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κανώβου ἱερὸν ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔπασχον, Θεοδοσίου μὲν τότε Βασιλεύοντος, Θεοφίλου δὲ περισατοῦντος τῶν ἐναγῶν ἀνθρώπων· τίνος εὐρομέδοντος ; ἐς τοῦθ' ὑπερθύμοισι γιγάντεσσιν βασίλευεν· Ἐυετίου δὲ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἄρχοντος· Ρωμανοῦ δὲ τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον στρατιώτας πεπιστευκότος ; That is, *the Temples about the City* Canobus *underwent the same thing*, Theodosius *being at that time Emperor*, and Theophilus *Presiding over those execrable Persons* ; *he was a certain Eurymidon, that reigned over the haughty Gyants* : Evetius *being then Governour of the Civil affairs*, *and* Romanus *intrusted with the Command of the Milice throughout* Egypt. On my peril, correct it thus : Εὐαγρίου δὲ τῆς πολιτικῆν ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντος, *Evagrius being then Governour of the Civil affairs*. In the *Theodosian Code*, (*title*, *De Paganis*,) there is a Law extant of *Theodosius*'s, directed to this *Evagrius* Præfect of *Egypt*, and to *Romanus Comes* of the *Milice* throughout *Egypt* ; which Law was dated at *Aquileia*, in the Consulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*. From which Law it may be concluded, that *Serapis*'s Temple was demolished at *Alexandria*, in the year of Christ 391. But *Marcellinus*, in *his Chronicon*, contradicts this ; and says, this Temple was destroyed when *Timasius* and *Promotus* were Consuls ; which was the year of Christ 389. And this, in my judgment, is the truer. For *Cynegius Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, at his being sent into *Egypt*, had a command from *Theodosius*, that he should pull down the Heathen-Temples ; as *Zosimus* relates in *his first Book*. And he had executed that command, as *Idatius* attests in *his Fasti*. Now, *Cynegius* died in his own Consulate, on the year of Christ 388. *Vales.*

The Temples therefore were ruin'd, but the Images of their Gods were molten into Caldrons, and into other utensils necessary for the *Alexandrian* Church ; the Emperor having given [the Images of] the Heathen-Gods [to that Church,] for the relief of the Poor. Wherefore *Theophilus* brake in pieces all [the Images of] the Gods, save one, to wit, the Image of the fore-mention'd God, which he order'd to be preserv'd unmelted, and caused it to be set up in a publick place ; lest (said he) the Heathens should in Ages to come deny, that they had been Worshippers of such Gods. At which action [of *Theophilus*'s,] *Ammonius* the *Grammarian* was, to my knowledge, highly disgusted : for he was wont to say, that the Religion of the *Gentiles* had suffer'd most horrid abuses, (*c*) because but one Image only was not melted down ; but was preserv'd meerly to render *Gentilism* ridiculous. But *Helladius* made his boasts in some persons hearing, that in the Conflict he had slain nine men with his own hand. Such were the doings in *Alexandria* at that time.

(*c*) Instead of [ἵνα μὴ ᾖ] it should be [ὅτι μὴ ᾖ, *because but*, &c.] *Socrates* means the Image of their God *Simius*, which *Theophilus* had ordered to be reserved on purpose. And thus *Epiphan. Scholasticus* has explained this place in *Socrates*, much better than *Christophorson* ; who understood those Words of *Socrates* [τῷδε τῷ Θεῷ] as spoken concerning a certain (or rather uncertain) God. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Hieroglyphical *Letters found in the Temple of* Serapis.

[MOreover,] at such time as *Serapis*'s Temple was rifled and demolish'd, there were Letters found [in it,] ingraven on stones ; (*a*) which [Letters] they call *Hieroglyphical*. These characters had the forms and resemblances of Crosses. When the *Christians* and *Heathens* saw these characters, each party * adapted them to their own Religion. For the *Christians*, who affirm that the Cross is the sign of Christ's salutary Passion, thought this Character was properly and peculiarly theirs. The *Heathens* alledg'd it was some thing [that belonged in] common both to *Christ*, and to *Serapis* ; for, a Character [said they] made in form of a Cross, betokens one thing amongst the *Christians*, another amongst the *Heathens*. [Letters] *they call Hieroglyphical* :] so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* seems to have read. Indeed, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do relate, that these *Hieroglyphical* Letters were found in the Temple of *Serapis*, cut upon the Walls thereof. But *Rufinus* does not say they were found there : He tells us rather, that they were kept and expounded at *Canopus*. At his second Book, Eccles. Hist. chap. 26 ; these are his Words : *Jam vero Canopi quis enumeret superstitiosa flagitia !* &c. *But now, who can enumerate the superstitious impieties at Canopus ? Where, under a pretext of their sacerdotal Letters, (for so they call the ancient Letters of the Egyptians ;) there was in a manner a publick School of Magick Art.* Vales.

* *Fitted*, or *applied*.

(*a*) Instead of [τὰ καλούμενα ἱερογλυφικὰ, *called an Hieroglyphick* ;] it ought rather to be thus written [τὰ καλούμενα ἱερογλυφικά, *which*

Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

While ſt theſe things were controverted amongſt them, ſome of the Heathens (who were converted to the Chriſtian Religion,) having Skill in theſe *Hieroglyphical* Letters, gave an interpretation of the Character made in form of a Croſs, and ſaid it ſignified *Life to come.* This the *Chriſtians* took hold of with much earneſtneſs, as being more advantageous to their Religion in particular; and were not a little proud of it. (*b*) But after it had been manifeſted by other *Hieroglyphical Letters*, that *Serapis*'s Temple would have an end, when a Character in form of a Croſs ſhould appear; (for thereby was ſignified *Life to come*:) then many more came over to the Chriſtian Religion, and after a Confeſſion of their ſins were baptized. This is a relation of what hapned upon account of the Character [that was diſcovered,] made in form of a Croſs; which relation I had from report. But, I am not of opinion, that the *Egyptian* Prieſts foreknew what ſhould happen to Chriſt, and therefore cauſed the figure of a Croſs to be ingraven on ſtones. For, *if the Myſtery of* [our Saviour's] *coming into the world were hid from Ages, and from Generations*, as the Apoſtle * ſays; and if the Devil himſelf, the Prince of wickedneſs, knew nothing of it; 'twas much more unknown to his Miniſters, to wit, the *Egyptian* Prieſts. But Divine Providence deſign'd the ſame thing ſhould happen at the enquiry made into this Character, which he had heretofore demonſtrated in the Apoſtle *Paul*'s [Preaching.] For he, inſpired with wiſdom by the divine Spirit, made uſe of the ſame method towards the *Athenians*, and brought many of them over to the Faith [of Chriſt;] at ſuch time as he read the * Inſcription upon [one of their] Altars, and adapted it to his own diſcourſe. Unleſs any one ſhould perhaps ſay, that the word of God had the ſame operation upon the *Egyptian* Prieſts, that it had on *Balaam* and *Caiaphas*. For thoſe † two perſons (tho' they did it contrary to their will and knowledge,) utter'd propheſies concerning good things. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning theſe things.

(*b*) *Socrates* borrow'd this out of *Ruffinus*'s ſecond Book, *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* chap. 29. He apprehended not *Ruffinus*'s meaning. For *Ruffinus* ſays not, that it was predicted to the *Pagans* by other *Sacerdotal* Letters, that *Serapis*'s Temple would then be deſtroy'd, when that ſign of the Croſs ſhould appear: he only ſays, that the *Egyptians received this as a tradition from their Anceſtors, to wit, that the Temples wherein they then worſhipp'd, ſhould ſtand ſo long, till that ſign ſhould come, wherein there was Life.*

* Coloſ. 1. 26.

* Acts 17. 22, &c.

† See Numb. 24. & John 11. 51.

But, becauſe mention is here made of *Serapis*'s worſhip, and of the Letters found in his Temple; nothing hinders, but we may here explain, (in favour of the ſtudious) an *Old Epigram* concerning *Serapis*, which is recorded by *Euſebius* in *his Books de Demonſtratione Evangelicâ*. For it contains both the manner how this God was worſhipped by the *Egyptians*; and beſides, *Scaliger* underſtood it not, in *his Animadverſions on Euſebius*, Number 1730. The Epigram therefore runs thus:

Ἑπτά με φωνήεντα θεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον αἰνεῖ
Γράμματα, ϑ πάντων ἀκάματον πατέρα·

That is,

The ſeven Vowels do my praiſe reſound,
Who am the Great, Immortal Deity,
Th' unwearied Father of the Univerſe.

You muſt know, that the *Egyptian* Prieſts were wont to praiſe their God *Serapis* in no other manner, than by a recitation now and then of the ſeven Greek Vowels. Therefore, inſtead of Hymns and Songs, the Pipe and Harp; the ſound of the ſeven Vowels was heard in *Serapis*'s Temple. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* does atteſt this, in *his Book* περὶ ἑρμηνείας, in *the chapter de Colliſione Vocalium.* Where after he has informed us, that the *Colliſion* of the Vowels is not ſo much to be avoided, in regard it ſometimes produces a pleaſant noiſe; he adds theſe words: ἐν αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ϗ τὰς θεὰς ὑμνοῦσι διὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ φωνήεντων οἱ ἱερεῖς, &c. *Moreover, in Egypt the Prieſts ſing praiſes to the Gods by* [repeating] *the ſeven Vowels, ſounding them out one after the other. And, inſtead of the Pipe and Harp, the ſound of theſe Letters is heard. Elias Vinetus* (in *his notes at* Auſonius's *eighteenth Epiſtle,*) does declare that he had ſeen an old Inſcription, which was found upon a golden plate, fixt on the breaſt of a dead body. This plate contained the ſeven Greek Vowels, repeated in ſeven Verſes, in ſuch order as you may ſee there. But I doubt not but there were ſeven other Verſes on the reverſe of the ſaid plate, in the ſame order with thoſe on the foreſide. To wit, in ſuch a manner that the ſecond Verſe of the reverſe ſide began with *Omicron*, the fourth with *Ypſilon*, the ſixth with *Omega*. *Vinetus* could not explain this Riddle. In my judgment *Serapis*'s name is denoted by theſe Letters; which God (as *Heſychius* atteſts) was called Ἑπταγράμματος, not only becauſe there are ſeven Letters contained in his name, but in regard he was uſually praiſed by the ſeven Vowels. Now, it was an uſage amongſt the ſuperſtitious Heathens to engrave *Serapis*'s name upon a brazen plate, and wear it hung about their Necks in form of a Buckler. *Artemidorus* (Book 4.) gives us an account of this uſage, in theſe words: ἔδοξέ τις τὸ ὄνομα τῦ σεράπιδος ἐγγεγραμμένον λιθίδι καλῇ φέρειν ἐπὶ τραχήλου δεδέσθαι, ὡς περὶ σφυρίδα. *Valeſ.*

In what order the ſeven Greek Vowels were placed on the foreſide of this golden plate; the Learned Reader may ſee in *Vinetus*'s *Notes on the 18th Epiſtle of* Auſonius, *written to* Tetradius; *Edit. Burdigal.* 1590.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the Emperor Theodoſius, *during his ſtay in* Rome, *did a great deal of Good to that City, both by demoliſhing thoſe Receptacles for Thieves in the* Bake-houſes, *and alſo* [*by prohibiting*] *the obſcene* [*uſe*] *of Bells in the Stews.*

MOreover, the Emperor *Theodoſius*, during his ſhort ſtay in *Italy*, was in many inſtances highly beneficial to the City of *Rome*, partly by his donation of ſome things, and partly by his abrogating others. For his donations were many and great: and he *regulated two villainous and moſt infamous abuſes (frequently practiſed in] that City. The one whereof was this. There were in the † great City *Rome* houſes of a vaſt bigneſs and largeneſs, long ſince [built,] wherein the bread was made which was diſtributed among the Citizens. The Maſters of theſe houſes (whom the *Romans* in their language term (*a*) *Mancipes*) in proceſs of time turn'd theſe Edifices into Receptacles for Thieves. For, in regard the *Bake-houſes* in theſe buildings were ſituated under ground; at the ſide of each of theſe Structures they built Victualling-houſes,

*Or, rendred ineffectual.

† Or, *in the Greateſt Rome.*

(*a*) Among the *Romans*, *Bakers* were called *Manciper*, becauſe they were [*Mancipati*] bound to *the Colledge of Bakers*, and to the Trade of making Bread; and their goods and families were obnoxious to this Function. See *the eighteenth Law of the Theodoſian Code de Piſtoribus.* In which Law, they are the *Decuriales*, (concerning whom I have made ſeveral remarks *in my notes on Amm. Marcel.*) who were of the *Decuriæ* of the City of *Rome*. Theſe Officers had the cuſtody of all the publick *Acts* and *Monuments*; eſpecially *the ſentences of Judges, Contracts, Adoptions*, and the like. On which account (as *Caſſiodorus* tells us, Book 5. Epiſt. 21,) *the quiet and ſecurity of all men, and the publick Faith was kept in their Desks.* There was over all theſe a *Rector* of the *Decuriæ*; concerning whoſe Office ſee *Caſſiodorus*, *Book* 5. *Epiſt.* 21, 22. But, to return to the *Mancipes*; it is obſervable, that in the fore-mentioned Law *the Function* of the *Mancipes* or *Bakers* is termed *Mancipatus*. So alſo it is called in that *One Law in the Theodoſian Code de Mancipibus:* which Law was publiſhed at *Rome* by *Theodoſius*, in the Conſulate of *Timaſius* and *Promotus*; at the ſame time that theſe things (which *Socrates* here relates) were done. See *Meurſius*'s *Gloſſary* in the word μαγκιπεῖον. It is further to be remarkt, that thoſe Conſtitutions made at *Rome* by *Theodoſius* (which *Socrates* treats of in this chapter, and places after the Emperor's Victory over the Tyrant *Maximus*,) are by *Cedrenus* placed after *Theodoſius*'s Victory over the Tyrant *Eugenius*. But *Cedrenus*'s words (you will meet with this paſſage in *Cedrenus*, at pag. 266, *Edit. Baſil.*) are corrupt, which I mend thus: μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην τότε εἰσελωὼν ἐν ῥώμῃ, πλεῖσον τῇ πόλει ἐχαρίσατο, ϗ τὰ ἐν τοῖς μαγκιπείοις χϒ [in the *fore mentioned Edition of Cedrenus* the word χϒ *againſt* is omitted] τῶν ἐμπιπτόντων ξένων [in *Cedrenus*, inſtead of ξένων *ſtrangers*, it is ζῴων *living Creatures*:] ἄχει γήρως τοῖς μύλωσι συγκλειομένων, ϗ ἀλήθειν κατεπειγομένων ἐκώλυε; that is, *making his Entry into Rome after his Victory over this perſon* [Eugenius,] *he did a great deal of good to that City, and aboliſhed what* [*had been uſually done*] *in the Bake-houſes againſt ſtrangers that fell in thither, whom they ſhut up in the Bake-houſes till they became aged, and forced them to grind.* The Author of this emendation in *Cedrenus*, is *Theophanes*, who alſo relates this fact of *Theodoſius*'s, after his Victory over *Eugenius*. Concerning theſe *Mancipes* there is an eminent paſſage extant in the *Excerptions of Joannes Lydus de Menſibus Græcorum*, in the month *March*. Valeſ.

wherein

Valen. Jun. *Theodosius.*

wherein they prostituted Whores, by which device they * trepanned many persons; some going in thither to supply themselves with food, others to satisfie their libidinous and filthy desires. For, by a certain Engin [purposely made on that account] they were † conveyed from the Victualling-house down into the Bake-house. This trick was chiefly put upon strangers that sojourned at *Rome*. Such as were after this manner trepann'd, they forced to work in the Bake-houses. In which places many continu'd till they were grown old; being not permitted to go out, and their relations taking it for granted that they were dead. One of the Emperor *Theodosius*'s Soldiers fell into this snare. But after the Soldier was shut up in the Bake-house, and not suffer'd to go out, he drew a Dagger that he had, and killed those that oppos'd [his escape.] The rest of them, affrighted at what had hapned, let the Soldier go out. The Emperor having had notice hereof, punish'd the *Mancipes*, and gave order that those houses, which were Receptacles for Thieves, should be pulled down. This was one of the ignominious practices, from which the Emperor freed the Imperial City. Another was of this sort. If a woman were taken in *adultery*, they punish'd the delinquent, not with such a sort of punishment as might make her better, but in such a manner rather as should aggravate her offence. For they shut her up in a narrow *Brothel-house*, and forced her to play the whore in a most impudent manner. And, during the time of performing that most unclean act, they caus'd little (*b*) Bells to be rung, to the end that what was done [within] might not be conceal'd from those who passed by; but that that ignominious punishment shou'd be made known to all people by the sound of the Bells rung. When the Emperor had information of this impudent usage, he would by no means tolerate it; but commanded those *Sistra* (for by that name *these Stews* were called,) to be pull'd down; and gave order that women taken in adultery, should be * punished by other Laws. From these two most wicked and reproachful † usages, the Emperor *Theodosius* freed the City [of *Rome*. Who, after he had well settled all other affairs, left *Valentinianus Junior*, Emperor at *Rome*. But he himself, together with his Son *Honorius*, returned to *Constantinople*, and entred that City in the Consulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*, on the tenth of *November*.

* *Intrapped.*

† Or, *fell from the Victualling Houses down into, &c.*

(*b*) I can scarce believe, that the *Romans* inflicted this sort of punishment upon adultéresses. For, after *Constantine*'s time, they always punish'd adultery with a capital punishment. We are informed hereof from the Emperor's Laws extant in *Both the Codes*, *Tit. ad Legem Juliam de Adulteriis*. I omit the testimony of *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 28. Further, any one may conjecture, that those little Bells, mentioned here by *Socrates*, were not found out to punish adultéresses; but were commonly made use of by all Whores, who prostituting themselves in their Cells, by this sign called Travellers unto them. Concerning which custom *Dio Cassius* (in the *Fragments of his* 79th *Book*, which I have some time since published,) speaks these Words: ᾧ τέλος, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οἴκημά τι ἀποδείξας, &c. *In fine, having made a Cell within the Palace, he acted his lechery therein, standing naked before the door thereof, as whores usually do, shaking his shirt which was hung up with golden rings, and with a soft, delicate, and broken voice, inviting his companions to him.* Vales.

These Words *Dion Cassius* speaks of *Avitus* or *Heliogabalus*, Emperor of *Rome*; the Learned Reader will find this passage at pag. 912. *Edit. Hanov.* 1606.

* Or, *made liable to punishment.*

† *Practices.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the Penitentiary Presbyters, *how* [*these Officers in the Church*] *were at that time put down.*

ABout the same time it was judg'd requisite to extinguish [the Office of] those Presbyters in the Churches, whose charge it was to oversee *Penitents*: [which was done] upon this account. (*a*) From such time as the *Novatians* made a separation of themselves from the *Church*, because they were unwilling to communicate with those that had lapsed in the Persecution under *Decius*; the Bishops added a Presbyter, who was to have the charge of penitency, to the (*b*) *Canon* of the *Churches*; to the intent that

Valen. Jun. *Theodosius.*

(*a*) The course of discipline in relation to penitency, as it was practised by the Fathers during the first and purest times, reformed open Transgressors, by putting them into Offices of open Penitence, especially Confession, whereby they declared their own Crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their first convention capable of the holy Mysteries of Christ, till they had solemnly discharged this Duty. During which times, offenders in secret also knowing themselves altogether as unworthy of admission to the Lord's Table, as the other who were withheld; and being perswaded, that if the Church did direct them in the Offices of their penitency, and assist them with publick Prayer, they should more easily attain what they sought, than by trusting wholly to their own endeavours: Lastly, having no impediment to stay them from it but bashfulness, which countervailed not the forementioned inducements; and besides, was greatly eased by that good Construction, which the Charity of those times gave to such Actions, (wherein Men's piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God purchased them much more love, than their faults were able to procure disgrace;) these Offenders in secret, I say, were not nice to use some one of God's Ministers, by whom the rest might take notice of their faults, prescribe them convenient remedies, and in the end, after publick confession, all joyn in prayer to God for them. But, as professors of Christianity grew more numerous, so they waxed worse; when persecution ceased, the Church immediately became subject to those mischiefs, that are the product of Peace and Security; to wit, Schisms, Discords, Dissentions, &c. Faults were not corrected in Charity, but noted with Delight, and treasured up for malice to make use of, when the deadliest opportunities should be offered. Whereupon, in regard publick confessions became dangerous and prejudicial to the safety of well-minded Men, and in divers respects advantageous to the Enemies of God's Church; it seemed first unto some, and afterwards generally requisite, that voluntary penitents should cease from open confession. Instead whereof, private and secret confession was usually practised, as well in the *Latin*, as in the *Greek* Church. The cause why the *Latins* made this change of publick confession into private, *Leo the Great* declares, in *his Decretal Epistles*, Epist. 80, *ad Universos Episcopos per Campaniam*, &c. pag. 148, 149. *Edit. Ludg.* 1633. This alteration was made in the *Greek* Church, about such time as the Heresie of the *Novatianists* had its original, (which is our *Socrates*'s Sentiment here, and is very probable;) upon this occasion. The Church resolving (contrary to the opinion of *Novatus*, or rather *Novatianus*, and his followers; concerning which, see *Euseb. Eccles. History*, Book 6. chap. 43.) to admit the Lapsed in the *Decian* persecution to Communion, and judging it fit, that before that their admission, they (and all other voluntary penitents in future) should do pennance, and make confession in private only; (to the end that the *Novatianists* might not take occasion at the multitude of publick Penitents, of insulting over the Discipline of the Church, as they usually had done, and did:) constituted in every Church a *Penitentiary-Presbyter*: whose Office it was, to take the confessions and appoint the pennances of secret Offenders. So that, if penitents in secret, being guilty of Crimes whereby they knew they had made themselves unfit Guests for the Table of our Lord, did seek direction for their better performance of that which should set them clear; it was in this case the *Penitentiary*'s duty to take their confessions, to advise them the best way he could for their soul's good, to admonish them, to counsel them; but not to lay upon them more than private Pennance. As for notorious wicked Persons, whose Crimes were known; to convict, judge, and punish them, was the Office of the Ecclesiastical Consistory; *Penitentiaries* had their institution to another end. This Office of the *Penitentiary* was continued in the *Greek* Church for the space of above some hundred years; till *Nectarius*, and the Bishops of Churches under him begun a second alteration, abolishing even that confession which their *Penitentiaries* took in private, upon that occasion which *Socrates* mentions here in this chapter. See Mr. *Hooker's Eccles. Polity*, Book 6. pag. 332. &c. *Edit. Lond.* 1666; also Dr. *Cave's Primitive Christianity*, *Part* 3. *Chap* 5.

(*b*) In *Rob. Stephens*'s *Edit.* the reading is, οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κανόνι τῷ πρεσβύτερον τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας προσέθεσαν, *The Bishops added a Presbyter, who was to have the charge of penitency, to the Canon of the Churches.* In the *Sfortian* M. S. the reading is [τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι, *to the Ecclesiastick Canon*;] which reading *Epiphanius Scholasticus* and *Nicephorus* found in their Copies, as appears by the Version of the first, and the *Greek* Text of the second. Which two Authors took *Canon* to signifie a *Rule* or *Ecclesiastick Decree*. *Petavius*, in *his notes on Epiphanius*, pag. 242. took these Words of *Socrates* in such a sense, as if the import of them were, *That the Bishops, by publishing of a Canon then newly found out, added a Presbyter who should take charge of the penitents*; which opinion of his he confirms by these following Words of *Socrates*: ἔστι δὲ ὁ κανὼν, &c. *this Canon*

is in force to this day amongſt other Hereſies; where the term *Canon* is manifeſtly taken for a *Rule* and *Decree*. But *Valeſius* is not of *Petavius*'s opinion. His reaſons are. (1) The propriety of the Greek tongue admits not of this ſenſe. (2) If a new Canon were then made concerning the inſtitution of a *Penitentiary Presbyter*, he queries, where, and in what Council it was publiſhed. *Valeſius*'s Sentiment therefore is, that the term Canon is here to be taken for the *Matricula*, or *Roll of Eccleſiaſtick Officers belonging to the Church*. In which ſenſe, he ſays, 'tis taken in the 2 *Can. Concil. Chalcedon.* pag. 112. *Edit. Bevereg.* where ('tis true) it muſt be taken in a more comprehenſive ſenſe, than to ſignifie the *Clerus* only; that is, *thoſe who are ordained by impoſition of hands:* becauſe the Fathers in *that Canon* ſpeak of all the Eccleſiaſtick Officers, ſuch as were the *Oeconomi*, the *Defenſores*, the *Manſionarii*, &c. concerning whom ſee Dr. *Beverege*'s *Notes*, pag. 109. But, whether it is to be uſed in this ſenſe here, I determine not; let the Learned judge.

Valen. Jun. *Theodoſius.*

(e) What the courſe of diſcipline in relation to penitency was, as it was practiſed by the Fathers during the firſt and pureſt times, before *Penitentiaries* were inſtituted;

ſuch Perſons as had ſinned after Baptiſm, might make a confeſſion of their Crimes (e) before this Presbyter inſtituted for that purpoſe. This Canon is in force to this day amongſt other *Hereſies*. Only the *Homoöuſians*, and (who embraced the ſame Sentiments with them, as to the Faith,) the *Novatians*, have refuſed [making uſe of] the *Penitentiary Presbyter*. For the *Novatians* admitted not of this * additional Function at its firſt inſtitution. But [the *Homoöuſians*] who are at this preſent in poſſeſſion of the Churches, after they had retained [the Office of the *Penitentiaries*] for a † long time, abrogated it in the times of *Nectarius* the Biſhop, on account of this accident which hapned in the [*Conſtantinopolitan*] Church. There came a (d) Gentlewoman to the *Penitentiary* [of the Church of *Conſtantinople*; to whom] ſhe made particular confeſſion of thoſe ſins, which ſhe had committed after Baptiſm. The Presbyter adviſed the woman to faſt, and pray continually, that together with her confeſſion, ſhe might have ſome (e) work alſo worthy of Repentance to ſhew. (f) Some time after this the woman detected her ſelf of another crime. For ſhe confeſſed that a Deacon of that Church had lain with her. Upon her diſcovery hereof, the Deacon was ejected out of the Church; and the (g) people were in a kind of tumult diſturbed. For they were not only offended at what was done, but alſo becauſe that fact had brought an infamy and diſgrace upon the Church. When therefore Eccleſiaſtick perſons were reproacht upon this account, one *Eudæmon* a Presbyter of that Church, by birth an *Alexandrian*, adviſed *Nectarius* the Biſhop, to (h) aboliſh the *Penitentiary Presbyter's* [Office;] and to leave every perſon to his own conſcience, for the participation of the [Holy] Myſteries: *Valen.* Jun. *Theodoſius.*

(e) *Valeſius* ſays here, he can't be induced to believe, that this Gentlewoman did publick pennance. His reaſons for this are (1) Women were very rarely compelled to do publick pennance, the Church being indulgent towards the modeſty of Matrons. (2) Nothing occurs at this paſſage, which may make us think this Matron's pennance was publick. (3) in regard ſhe is injoyned to faſt and pray continually; that may be underſtood of private ſatisfaction, which ſhe performed at home and in ſecret. To which reaſons of *Valeſius*'s, a fourth may be added, drawn from the *Penitentiary's* Office: which was *to take the Confeſſion of ſecret penitents, to adviſe them the beſt way he could for their ſouls health, to admoniſh and counſel them, but not to lay on them more than private pennance. See note (a) in this chapter.*

(f) In the original 'tis thus expreſt, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα· προσελθοῦσα has the ſame import here with προϊοῦσα, That is, *in proceſs of time*, or *ſome time after this*. For *Socrates*'s meaning is, that this was the woman's ſecond confeſſion. Which is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, and *Sozomen*; who (in *his Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 7. Chap. 16,) words this paſſage thus; τῆς χάριν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διατρίβουσα, &c. *Whileſt ſhe made her abode in the Church upon this account*, [to wit, of performing the pennance injoyned her by the Penitentiary,] *ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been debaucht by a Deacon.* It may alſo not unfitly be thus: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα,, &c. *But the woman came to* [the Penitentiary,] *and detected*, &c. *Valeſ.*

(g) Here ariſes a difficulty, to wit, how this fact could come to the people's knowledge, if the woman's confeſſion were ſecret? How alſo the Biſhop could know this wicked fact, who degraded the Deacon on account thereof? My Sentiment is, that the *Penitentiary Presbyter*, to whom the woman had confeſſed this impious act, firſt ſent for the Deacon, reproving him before the woman, and forced him to a confeſſion of his Crime; then, he made a report of the whole matter to *Nectarius* the Biſhop, by whom he had been ſet over the penitents, and whoſe deputy he was in that Office. For the Biſhop himſelf reconciled penitents. Nor ought any one to make this objection, *viz.* if we admit what you have ſaid to be true, it follows that the ſecrets of confeſſion may be diſcovered. I deny that conſequence. For the *Penitentiary Presbyter* made known the Deacon's wickedneſs only to the Biſhop; the Matron's name he concealed. Further, the Deacon's degradation does plainly confirm what I have aſſerted. For *Nectarius* the Biſhop could not have depoſed him, had he not had intimation from the *Penitentiary*, who had detected the Deacon of whoredom. *Valeſ.*

(h) The Learned Reader muſt have obſerved, that there is nothing wherein the *Romaniſts* do more diſagree amongſt themſelves, than in their accounts of this fact of *Nectarius*. *Petavius* (in *his notes on Epiphanius*, pag. 243.) does maintain, that *Nectarius* abrogated publick pennance only, but continued confeſſion, that is, private confeſſion; for publick, he ſays, was never in uſe in the Church. *Valeſius* (in his note at this place) does aſſert, that neither confeſſion, nor pennance were aboliſhed by *Nectarius*; but that the Biſhop removed *this particular Penitentiary Presbyter* only, and that but for a time, becauſe of the diſcontented people's indignation. One *John Haſſelius*, (who is mentioned by *Pamelius*, in *his* 92th *Note on Saint* Cyprian's *Treatiſe de Lapſis*,) wrote a Book on purpoſe to ſhew that *Nectarius* did but put the *Penitentiary* from his Office, and abrogated not the Office itſelf. But all theſe aſſertions are palpably contradicted (1) by the whole advice which *Eudæmon* gives *Nectarius* in this chapter, to wit, of leaving the People from that time forward to their own Conſciences; (2) by the Conference between our *Socrates* and *Eudæmon*, which follows in this chapter; wherein complaint is made of ſome inconvenience which the want of this Office would breed: (3) by that which the Hiſtory declares concerning other Churches, who did as *Nectarius* had done before them, not in depoſing the ſame Man (for that was impoſſible) but in removing the ſame Office out of their Churches, which *Nectarius* had abrogated in his. All theſe particulars are evident from this chapter in *Socrates*; with whom *Sozomen* (Book 7. chap. 16.) agrees, and adds further, that

we have declared at *note (a.)* in this chapter, moſtly in Mr. *Hooker's own words*. Which *incomparable Author*, in the forecited Book of *his Eccleſ. Polity*, has by unexceptionable authorities made it evident, (whatever the Learned Reader may find ſaid to the contrary by *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt 56, by *Petavius* in *his Diatriba* about this point, which occurs at pag. 225, of *his notes on Epiphanius*, or by *Bellarmine:*) that the ancient ἐξομολόγησις, or confeſſion, which the Primitives uſe to ſpeak of in the exerciſe of repentance, *was made openly in the hearing of the whole both Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory and Aſſembly*. After the inſtitution of *Penitentiary Presbyters* in every Church, this publick confeſſion was abrogated; and ſuch as were guilty of Crimes, confeſſed them not ὀπὶ τῷ λαῷ, *in the preſence of the people*, but (as *Socrates* here ſays) ἐπὶ τῷ προβλητῷ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, *before this Presbyter inſtituted for that purpoſe*. The ſame is confirmed by *Sozomen*, Book 7. Chap. 16. where he tells us, how a Presbyter Elected to the Office of a *Penitentiary*, was to be qualified. One of his qualifications was, that he ought to be ἐχέμυθον, *a perſon that could hold his tongue:* by which 'tis plain, that the confeſſions made to him were private, and to be kept concealed.

* That is, the Office of the *Penitentiary*. For theſe Hereticks admitted no Perſon to their Communion upon any repentance, who was once known to have ſinned after Baptiſm: See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 6. Cap. 43. which practice of theirs, how fair ſoever their pretence might ſeem, made ſinners not the fewer, but the cloſer, and the more obdurate.

† To wit, from the Perſecution under the Emperor *Decius*, till after the Election of *Nectarius* to the Epiſcopate of *Conſtantinople*.

(d) *Valeſius*, in his note here, ſtarts this query; whether the confeſſion made by this Gentlewoman were publick, or private? In order to the anſwering whereof, he remarks, that ſhe confeſt twice before the *Penitentiary*. At her firſt confeſſion, ſhe made known all her ſins; whereupon ſhe is adviſed to continue in faſting and prayer. At her ſecond, ſhe diſcovered her having been debaucht by the Deacon. Theſe two confeſſions (continues *Valeſius*) were different both in time and manner. The firſt was of all her faults κατὰ μέρος, *particularly* (as *Socrates* words it;) the ſecond was of one crime only. All which may perhaps be true. After this remark made, *Valeſius* concludes both theſe confeſſions to have been ſecret; which (ſays he) is apparent from theſe two reaſons; (1) becauſe publick confeſſion was never in uſe in the Church: (2) in regard *Socrates* ſays, that this Woman accuſed not herſelf before the People, but before the *Penitentiary*. *Valeſius*'s firſt reaſon appears evidently falſe, not only from Mr. *Hooker*'s Words quoted before, and the unqueſtionable authorities he there produces to prove what he aſſerts; but from a paſſage in *Sozomen*, Book 7. Chap. 16. where that *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorian*, (giving reaſons of the alteration which the *Grecians* made, by abrogating publick confeſſion, and inſtituting *Penitentiaries* throughout all Churches to take the confeſſions and appoint the penances of ſecret offenders,) aſſignes this for one: φορτικὸν, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔδοξεν, &c. *It did from the beginning deſervedly ſeem burthenſome to the Prieſts, that ſins ſhould be declared before the whole congregation of the Church as witneſſes, in a Theatre as it were*; from which Words 'tis evident that publick confeſſion was once in faſhion in the Church. *Valeſius*'s ſecond reaſon we have before cleared and confirmed by the joint Teſtimony of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. See note (c.)

that in his time (he lived in the reign of the *Younger Theodosius*,) the same abolition did still continue, and that the Bishops had in a manner every-where followed the example given them by *Nectarius*. But, though the *Romanists* differ (as you see) in their Sentiments about this fact of *Nectarius*'s: yet they all unanimously agree in this, to wit, that *Nectarius* did not abrogate *Auricular Confession*. The reason of their consent in this assertion is plain: should it be acknowledged, that *Nectarius* did abrogate *Auricular* (or private) *Confession*, (as 'tis evident he did, from the attestation both of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*,) it would enforce them to grant, that the *Greek Church* at that time held not Confession, as the *Latin Church* now doth, to be the part of a Sacrament instituted by our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, which therefore the Church till the World's-end hath no power to alter. See Mr. *Hooker's Eccles. Politie*, pag. 343. *Edit. Lond.* 1666.

Valen. Jun. *Theodosius.*

For this [in his judgment] was the only way of freeing the Church from obloquie and disgrace. I my self have heard these words from *Eudæmon*, have taken the boldness to insert them into this my History. For, as I have often said, I have used my utmost care and industry to procure an account of affairs from those that knew them best; and to make accurate researches into them, lest I should record any passage which is untrue. But my answer to *Eudæmon* [when he told me hereof] first, was this; (*i*) *Whether your advice, O Presbyter! hath been for the Churche's good, or otherwise, God knoweth. But I see that it has given an occasion, of our not reprehending one anothers faults any more, nor of our observing that Apostolick Precept, which saith,* * Ephes. 5. 11. *Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.* But, let thus much be sufficient to have been said concerning these things.

(*i*) From this answer of *Socrates*'s to *Eudæmon*, 'tis apparent, that *Nectarius*'s abolition of the *Penitentiary-Presbyter*'s Office, displeased our *Socrates*.

Whence we may evidently conclude, (whatever *Baronius* and *Petavius* have said to the contrary, at the places before quoted) that our *Socrates* was no *Novatianist*. For, had he embraced that Heresie, he would doubtless never have found fault with that Sanction of *Nectarius*'s, whereby he abrogated the *Penitentiary*: nor would he have doubted to pronounce these Words concerning the advice *Eudæmon* suggested to *Nectarius*, to wit, *Whether it were useful or hurtful to the Church*: for the *Novatians* never admitted either of Penitency, or of the *Penitentiary Prebyter*. Besides, *Socrates* in this place terms the Assembly of the *Homoöusians* barely and simply *The Church*: which he would questionless never have done, had he been a follower of the *Novatian* Heresie. *Vales.*

CHAP. XX.

That there were [*at that time*] *many Schisms amongst the* Arians, *and other Hereticks.*

BUt I think it fit, not to leave unmention'd those things also which hapned amongst others; I mean the *Arians*, *Novatians*, and those who had their denominations from *Macedonius* and *Eunomius*. For the Church being divided, rested not in that division once made. But turning again, came to an engagement one with another; and taking hold of a small and frivolous pretence, rais'd mutual separations and divisions. Now, in what manner, when, and for what reasons each party were the authors of *dissentions* amongst themselves we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But this you must know, that the Emperor *Theodosius* persecuted none of them, except *Eunomius*; who holding his meettings in private Houses at *Constantinople*, and reciting the Books he had written, was by the Emperors order sent into banishment, in regard he corrupted many persons with his doctrine. But the Emperor molested none of the other [Hereticks,] nor did he force them to a communion with himself, but permitted every one of them to meet at their private Conventicles, and to entertain such Sentiments concerning the Christian Faith, as every of them * could attain to in their conceptions thereof. He gave the other *Hereticks* a Licence of building themselves Oratories without the Cities. But order'd, that the *Novatians*, (in regard they embraced the same Sentiments with himself, as to the Faith,) should without any fear continue in their Churches within the Cities, as I have said before. Concerning whom I judge it opportune to relate some passages, and shall make a short repetition of what has been said before.

Valen. Jun. *Theodosius.*

* Or, *could comprehend in their opinion thereof.*

CHAP. XXI.

That the Novatians *also disagreed amongst themselves.*

AGelius presided over the Church of the *Novatians* at *Constantinople* during the space of forty years, from the times of *Constantine* until the sixth year of the Emperor *Theodosius*, as I have * somewhere related before. Being near his death, he ordains *Sisinnius* to succeed him in his Bishoprick. He was a Presbyter of that Church over which *Agelius* presided; a person of great eloquence, and had been instructed in Philosophy by *Maximus* the Philosopher at the same time [that he read to] the Emperor *Julian*. But when the *Novatian* Congregation found fault with this Ordination, because [*Agelius*] had not rather ordain'd *Marcianus*, a Person of an eminent piety, by † whose interest the *Novatians* had continued unmolested during *Valens*'s Reign; *Agelius*, desirous to appease the People's discontent, ordained *Marcianus* also: and being somewhat recovered from his distemper, he went into the Church, and spake these words to the people on his own account; *After my decease, (says he) take Marcianus* [*for your Bishop,*] *and after Marcianus, Sisinnius.* Having survived these words a small time, he ended his life. *Marcianus* therefore being constituted Bishop over the *Novatians*, there arose a division in their Church also, upon this account. One *Sabbatius*, (a Person that had turn'd *Christian* from being a *Jew*,) being by *Marcianus* promoted to the dignity of a Presbyter, continu'd notwithstanding a zealous promoter of *Judaism*, wherewith he had been leavened before. Moreover, he was extreamly ambitious of being made a Bishop. Having therefore procur'd two Presbyters (*Theoctistus* and *Macarius*, who were privy to his ambitious design,) to be his Assistants, he took a resolution of defending that Innovation [made by the *Novatians*] in *Valens*'s Reign, concerning the Festival of *Easter*, at *Pazum* a Village in *Phrygia*; which I have mentioned || before. And first of all, under pretence of [following] an *Ascetick* and more austere course of life, he secretly withdrew from the Church, saying that he was aggrieved upon the account of some Persons; in regard he had a suspicion, that they were unworthy of a participation of the * Mysteries. But in process of time his design was discovered, to wit, that his desire was to hold private and separate meetings. When *Marcianus* understood this, he himself complained of his own mistake in ordaining, to wit, because he had promoted Persons so ambitious of vainglory to the † Presbyterate. And being grieved, did frequently use to say, *That it had been better he had laid his hands on thorns, than when he preferred Sabbatius to the dignity of a Presbyter.*

* See *Socrat.* Book 4. chap. 9. & Book. 5. chap. 10.

† See *Socrat.* Book 4. chap. 9.

|| *Socrat.* Book 4. chap. 28.

* That is, *the Eucharist.*

† *The Office of Presbyter.*

Valen. Jun. Theodoſius. Marcianus.

Moreover, * he procured a Synod of *Novatian* Biſhops to be convened at (*a*) *Sangarum*; which is a *Mart-Town* in *Bithynia*, lying near *Helenopolis*. [The Biſhops] being convened there, ſent for *Sabbatius*, and ordered him to ſet forth before the Synod the reaſons of his grief. Upon his affirming, that the diſſention about [the obſervation] of the Feaſt [of *Eaſter*] was the cauſe of his being troubled, (for it ought [as he ſaid] to be kept in the ſame manner that the *Jews* obſerv'd it, and agreeable to that Sanction which thoſe convened at *Pazum* promulged:) the Biſhops preſent at the Synod, having a ſuſpicion, that *Sabbatius* pretended all this on account of his being deſirous of a Biſhoprick, bound him with an Oath, that he ſhould never accept of a Biſhoprick. When he had ſworn to this, they publiſh'd a * Rule concerning the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; to which Canon they gave this Title, † *Adiaphoros*: affirming that a diſagreement about the Feſtival [of *Eaſter*] was not a ſufficient reaſon for a ſeparation from the Church; and that thoſe convened at *Pazum* did no prejudice to the Catholick and Univerſal Rule. For, the Ancients, [they ſaid,] and thoſe who lived neareſt the Apoſtles times, altho' they differed in the obſervation of this Feſtival, yet communicated one with another, and in no wiſe raiſed any diſſention [on that account.] Beſides, the *Novatians*, [they added,] who inhabit the Imperial City *Rome*, never followed the *Jewiſh* uſage; but always kept *Eaſter* after the *Æquinox*; and yet they ſeparated not from thoſe of their own Faith, who obſerved not the Feaſt of *Eaſter* after the ſame manner that they themſelves did. Upon theſe and many ſuch-like mature Conſiderations, they made that *Indifferent Canon* (which I have mention'd concerning *Eaſter*: whereby it was left to every one's arbitrement, to celebrate *Eaſter* according to that uſage which by a prejudicate opinion he had embraced: And that there ſhould be no diſſention in relation to Communion, but that thoſe who celebrated that Feſtival after a different manner, ſhould notwithſtanding continue in the unity and agreement of the Church. This Rule therefore concerning the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, having at that time been conſtituted and confirmed by them; *Sabbatius* being bound by his Oath, (if at any time there hapned a diſcrepancy in the celebration of the Feaſt of *Eaſter*,) himſelf anticipated the Faſt by keeping it in private by himſelf, (*b*) and having watch'd all night, he celebrated the ſolemn day of the Sabbath of the Paſſover. And again, on the day following he came to the Church at ſuch time as the whole Congregation were aſſembled there, and together with them partook of the Myſteries. This he did for many years; and therefore could not avoid being taken notice of by the multitude. Upon which account ſome of the ſimpler ſort of people, more eſpecially the *Phrygians* and *Galatians*, thinking they ſhould be juſtified by this fact, imitated *Sabbatius*, and kept the Paſſover in ſecret agreeable to his faſhion. But ſome time after this, *Sabbatius* diſregarding his Oath, held ſchiſmatical Meetings by himſelf, and was conſtituted Biſhop over thoſe that were his own followers, as we ſhall manifeſt in the Procedure of our Hiſtory.

* That is, *Canon.*

(*a*) Inſtead of [ἐν ἀσγάῳ, *at Angarum*] the reading muſt doubtleſs be [ἐν σασγάῳ, *at Sangarum:*] ſo *Epiphan. Scholaſticus*, and *Nicephorus* read it; and the ſame reading occurs in *Sozomen*, Book 7. chap. 18. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Canon.*

† That is, *Indifferent.*

(*b*) This place is corrupted; nor is this fault of a ſhort ſtanding. For even in *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s age, this miſtake had crept into the copies of *Socrates*, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For *Epiphanius* renders it thus: *Cum hæc ab eis tunc fuiſſet regula definita, &c. When this determination had at that time been made by them,* Sabbatius *bound by his Oath, (if at any time there hapned any diſcrepance in the Paſchal ſolemnity,) faſted by himſelf, and by night celebrated the ſolemn Day of the Paſſover on the Sabbath; and again, met with the whole Congregation in the Church, and partook of the Myſteries.* *Chriſtophorſon* has expreſt the ſame ſenſe in his Verſion. *Nicephorus* alſo (Eccleſ. Hiſt. Book 12. Chap. 31.) has followed the ſame ſenſe. For he ſays, that *Sabbatius*, (as often as the *Chriſtians* differed from the *Jews* in the Celebration of *Eaſter*,) was wont to faſt in private by himſelf, and to celebrate the Paſſover on the Paſchal-Sabbath about evening, after the Jewiſh manner. Then on the Sunday following, after the *Solemn Vigils*, his uſage was to celebrate *Eaſter* with the reſt of the *Chriſtians*, or rather *Novatians*. But this interpretation does in no wiſe please me. For thus *Sabbatius* (as often as the Jewiſh Paſſover differ'd from the *Chriſtian-Paſchal Feaſt*,) could not have celebrated the firſt Paſchal-ſolemnity with the *Jews*. Then, if *Sabbatius* always celebrated the firſt Paſchal-ſolemnity on the Sabbath-day at evening after the Jewiſh manner, how is it poſſible, that he could celebrate the *Solemn Vigils* in the Church on the ſame Sabbath-day? For this is atteſted in expreſs Words by *Socrates* here, and by *Sozomen*, Book 7. chap. 18. My Sentiment therefore is, that the Words in this place of *Socrates* are tranſpoſed, and muſt be put into their Priſtine order after this manner: ὁ Σαββάτιος τοῖς ὅρκοις δεθεὶς, εἴποτε διαφωνία ἐγένετο ἢ τὸ πάσχα ἑορτὴν, αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν προλαμβάνων ἐνήστευε, καὶ ἐπετέλει τὸ πάσχα. Καὶ νυκτερεύων τὴν νενομισμένην τῷ Σαββάτῳ ἡμέραν, πάλιν τῇ ἑξῆς ἅμα πᾶσι καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνήγετο, καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων μετελάμβανε· that is, *Sabbatius being bound by his Oath, (if at any time a diſagreement hapned in the celebration of the Paſchal-Feſtival,) himſelf by way of anticipation faſted in private at home, and celebrated the Paſſover. And watching all Night on the ſolemn day of the Sabbath, again on the next day he went to Church together with the reſt of the Congregation, and partook of the Myſteries.* *Sozomen* does evidently confirm this our Emendation, in his ſeventh Book chap. 18. where he ſets forth the ſame thing much more clearly in theſe words: ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ Σαββάτιος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑπόμενος, &c. *But from that time Sabbatius following the Jews, (unleſs it by chance hapned that all Perſons [as well Chriſtians, as Jews] did celebrate the Feaſt [of Eaſter] at one and the ſame time,) faſted before-hand, as the manner is, and celebrated the Paſchal ſolemnity in private by himſelf, according to the ſanctions [of the Moſaick Law.] But on the Sabbath, from the evening to a fit time, he continued watching and making the uſual Prayers, and on the day following met in the Church in common with the Congregation, and partook of the Myſteries.* *Sabbatius* therefore kept the Paſchal ſolemnity twice in one and the ſame year; the firſt time with the *Jews*, the ſecond with the *Chriſtians*: unleſs it by chance hapned, that the *Chriſtians* agreed with the *Jews* in the time of celebrating the Paſchal Feaſt. Which could very rarely happen. *Valeſ.* Our *Engliſh-rendition* of this paſſage agrees with the *Greek* Text in *Rob. Stephens's Edition*, and that in this Edition of *Valeſius*.

CHAP. XXII.

This Hiſtorian's *Sentiment concerning the diſagreements which appear in ſome places, in relation to the Feaſt of* Eaſter, *Baptiſms, Faſts, Marriages, the Order of celebrating the Euchariſt, and other Eccleſiaſtick Rites and Obſervances.*

BUt, I think it not unſeaſonable to declare in ſhort what comes into my mind concerning *Eaſter*. Neither the Ancients, nor the Moderns who have ſtudiouſly follow'd the *Jews*, had in my judgment any juſt or rational cauſe of contending ſo much about this Feſtival. For they conſider'd not with themſelves, that when the *Jewiſh* Religion was changed into *Chriſtianity*, thoſe accurate [Obſervances] of the *Moſaick* Law, and the Types [of things future] wholly ceaſed. And this carries along with it its own demonſtration. For, no one of *Chriſt*'s Laws has permitted the *Chriſtians* to obſerve the Rites of the *Jews*. Moreover, on the contrary, the Apoſtle has expreſly forbid this, and does not only reject Circumciſion, but alſo adviſes againſt contending about Feſtival-days. Wherefore, in *his Epiſtle to the Galatians*, his words are theſe, * *Tell me, ye that deſire to be under the Law, do ye not hear the Law?* And having ſpent ſome few words in his diſcourſe hereof, he demonſtrates, that the people of the *Jews* are Servants, but that thoſe who have † follow'd *Chriſt* are called to liberty. Moreover, 'tis his admonition, that days and months and years ſhould

* Galat. 4. 21.

† Or, *approached.*

in

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

in no wise be observed. Besides, in *his Epistle to the Colossians* he does loudly affirm, that [such] Observations are a shadow. Wherefore he says, * *Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of any holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come.* And in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, this very [Apostle] does confirm the same things in these words, † *For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.* The Apostle therefore, and the Gospels have no where imposed the yoke of servitude on those who have approached the preaching [of the Faith:] but have left the Feast of *Easter*, and the other Festivals, to be honoured by their gratitude and benevolence, who have had benefits conferred upon them [on those days.] Wherefore, in regard Men love Festivals, because thereon they have a cessation from their labours, each person in every place, according to his own pleasure, has by a certain custom celebrated the memory of the saving Passion. For neither our Saviour, nor his Apostles, have enjoyn'd us by any Law to observe this Festival. Nor have the Gospels, or the Apostles threatned us with any Mulct, Punishment, or Curse, as the *Mosaick Law* does the *Jews*. For, 'tis meerly for the History's sake, in order to [a publishing of] the reproach of the *Jews*, (because they polluted themselves with blood on their very Festivals,) that it has been recorded in the Gospels, that our Saviour suffered even on the Days of unleaven'd bread. Moreover, it was not the Apostles design, to make Laws concerning Festival-days, but to introduce good Life and Piety. And it seems to me, that, as many other thiugs in several places have been establish'd by custom, so the Feast of *Easter* also had a peculiar observation amongst all persons from some old usage, in regard none of the Apostles, as I have said, have made any determinate Decree about it. Now, that the observation of this Festival had its original amongst all Men in the primitive times from Custom rather than Law, the things themselves do demonstrate. For, in *Asia the Less*, most people kept the fourteenth day of the Moon, disregarding the Sabbath-day. And tho' this was their practice, yet they never made a separation from those who celebrated the Feast of *Easter* otherwise; till such time as *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, over-much heated with anger, sent an * *Excommunicatory Libel* to the † *Quartodecimani* in *Asia*. For which fact *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France* severely reprov'd *Victor* by Letter; blaming him for his immoderate heat; and informing him, that altho' the Ancients differ'd in their celebration of the Feast of *Easter*, yet they did in no wise separate from a mutual communion. Also, that *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, (*a*) who afterwards suffer'd Martyrdom under *Gordianus*, communicated with *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, and made no separation from him on account of this Festival, altho' *Polycarp* himself, according to his own Country-usage [practised] in [the Church of] *Smyrna*, kept *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, as *Eusebius* says in the * *Fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical History*. Some therefore in *Asia the Less*, as I have said, kept the fourteenth day of the Moon. Others in the (*b*) *Eastern parts*, celebrated that Feast on the † *Sunday* indeed; but they differ'd concerning the Month. Those [first mentioned] were of opinion, that the *Jews* were to be followed, altho' they observed not an exact Rule. (*c*) These celebrated *Easter* after the *Æquinox*, refusing to keep that Feast with the *Jews*. For they affirm that *Easter* must always be kept when the Sun is in *Aries*, on that Month which the *Antiochians* term *Xanthicus*, and the *Romans April*. And in their practise hereof, they followed [as they affirmed] not the modern *Jews* who mistake almost in all things, but the Ancients of that Nation, and *Josephus*; agreeable whereto are the words of that Author in *his Third Book of the Jewish Antiquities*. And thus these Persons disagreed amongst themselves. But all other [Christians] in the Western parts, as far as the Ocean it self, are found to have celebrated *Easter* after the *Æquinox*, from a very ancient Tradition. For all these persons keep it after this manner, and have never disagreed amongst themselves. Nor did the * Synod under *Constantine* alter this Festival, as (*d*) some have noised it abroad. For *Constantine* himself writing to those persons who differ'd about this Festival, advised them, in regard they were but few, to become Followers of those who exceeded them in number. You will find the Emperor's Letter entire, in *the Third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine*. But that part of it [which treats] concerning the Feast of *Easter*, runs thus: —— * *And since 'tis a decent Order, which all the Churches in the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the World do observe; and some places also the in East. Upon which account all persons have at present judg'd it good and right. (and We Ourself also have engaged it will please Your Prudence;) [to wit,] That what is observed with one concordant mind in the City of* Rome, *throughout* Italy, Africa, *all* Egypt, Spain, *the* Gallia's, *the* Britannia's, *the* Libya's, *all* Greece, *the* Asian *and* Pontick Diœceses, *and* Cilicia; *will willingly be embraced by your Prudence also; which will attentively consider, not only that the number of Churches in the fore-named places is greater; but also, that 'tis most just and commendable, that all persons should chiefly and in common desire that which strict reason seems to require; and*

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

* See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 5. chap. 24.

* He means the *Nicene Synod.*

* Colos. 2. 16, 17.

† Heb. 7. 12.

† In the *Greek* 'tis *on the Sabbath.*

(*b*) He seems to mean the *Syrians, Cilicians*, and *Mesopotamians*, who kept *Easter* with the *Jews* before the *Nicene Council*, as *Athanasius* informs us, in *his Epistle to the Africans*, in these Words: ἐπειδὴ οἱ κατὰ συρίαν, &c. *in regard the Syrians, Cilicians, and Mesopotamians differ from us, and celebrate* [Easter] *at the same time that the Jews keep it.* Those [Eastern People therefore, concerning whom *Socrates* speaks, followed the *Jews* indeed, in that they observed the fourteenth day of the Moon of the first month before the *Æquinox*. But they celebrated not *Easter* on the same day whereon the Jews kept it, but on the Sunday following. Wherefore, *Athanasius* says, that they kept *Easter* at the same time with the *Jews*, but not on the same day; as his Translator has ill rendred it. *Vales.*

(*c*) He means (I think) the *Montanistæ*, and *Pepusiani*, who kept *Easter* indeed after the *Æquinox*. But always fixt that Festival on the month *Xanthicus*, or *April*, before *the eight of the Ides* (that is, *the sixth day*) *of April*; as *Sozomen* attests, book 7. chap. 18. *Vales.*

(*d*) To wit, the *Audiani*. For these Hereticks affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petav.* Vales.

* See *Euseb. Life of Constantine*, Book 3. chap. 19.

(*e*) *to*

* See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* Book 5. Chap. 24. note (*i.*)

† That is, *those that kept* Easter *on the fourteenth day of the moon.*

(*a*) But *Socrates* is mistaken. For *Polycarp* did not suffer Martyrdom in *Gordianus*'s reign, but that of *Marcus Antoninus*, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, and other Writers. 'Tis certain, that *Irenæus* does relate, (in *his third Book against Heresies*, which piece he wrote during *Eleutherius*'s Presidency over the *Roman* Church, that is, in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*,) that *Polycarp* had at that time suffered Martyrdom. Wherefore these Words [*who afterwards suffered Martyrdom under Gordianus*] are rather to be placed a little above, after these [*Irenæus Bishop of Lyons in France.*] For they are more accomodate to *Irenæus*, than to *Polycarp*. But let the prudent Reader, determine hereof according to his own arbitrement. I know indeed, that in St. *Benignus Divionensis's Chronicle*, the Martyrdom of *Irenæus* Bishop of *Lyons* is placed before *Polycarp*'s. For the Author of that *Chronicle* does relate, that *Irenæus*, after his Martyrdom, appeared to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna* in his sleep, and commanded him to send *Benignus* into the *Gallia*'s. But these are meer trifles. *Vales.*

Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

(e) *to have no ſociety with the perjury of the Jews.* Such is the Emperor's Letter. Further, the *Quartodecimani* do affirm, that the obſervation of the fourteenth day of the Moon was delivered to them by *John* the *Apoſtle*. But the *Romans*, and thoſe in the Weſtern parts ſay, that the uſage in force with them was delivered by the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*. Notwithſtanding, neither of theſe two parties can produce any written teſtimony in confirmation hereof. Moreover, that the Feaſt of *Eaſter* is kept in all places from ſome uſage and cuſtom, I do from hence conjecture. No Sect of Religion obſerves the ſame Ceremonies, (*f*) although it embraces one and the ſame Opinion concerning God. For they that are of the ſame Faith, differ amongſt themſelves concerning Rites. Wherefore, it will not be unreaſonable to add a few words concerning the different uſages of Churches. Firſt therefore, you may find that the Faſts before *Eaſter* are obſerved one way by ſome, and in a manner different by others. (*g*) For they at *Rome* faſt three continued Weeks before *Eaſter*, excepting *Saturdays* and *Sundays*. The Inhabitants of *Illyricum*, thoſe throughout all *Achaia*, and (*h*) they at *Alexandria*, obſerve a Faſt of ſix weeks before *Eaſter*, which they term

(e) Inſtead of [ἔχει *have*,] the reading in the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. is [ἔχειν, *to have*] ſo it is in *Euſebius*; and ſo *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* reads, as appears by his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

(f) Inſtead of [κἂν τὼ ἀυτὼ περὶ πάντων δόξαν ἀσπάζηται,] in my judgment the reading ſhould be [κἂν τῶ ἀυτῶ περὶ τῦ Θεῦ δόξαν ἀσπάζηται, *altho' it embraces one and the ſame opinion concerning God.*] *Socrates*'s meaning is this; *All Religions and Sects have different Rites and Ceremonies, altho' they entertain the ſame Sentiments concerning God. Socrates* adds, *For they that are of the ſame Faith*, &c. *Nicephorus* alſo favours this our amendment; for he has expreſt the paſſage in *Socrates* thus: *For though all Men are of the ſame opinion, yet they obſerve not the ſame traditions throughout the Churches.* Valeſ.

(g) *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 57 and 391, accuſes *Socrates* of a double miſtake; Firſt, becauſe he ſays that the *Romans* faſted three weeks only in *Lent* before *Eaſter*; Secondly, in regard he aſſerts, that in thoſe three weeks, *Saturdays* were excepted, on which days the *Romans* faſted not. As to the firſt, *Socrates*'s opinion is defended againſt *Baronius*, by *Halloixius* in *his Notes on the* 11th *chapter of Irenæus's Life*, pag. 678. That which makes me incline to *Socrates*'s opinion, is the authority of *Caſſiodorus*, who in *his Tripartite Hiſtory* has put this paſſage in *Socrates* into theſe Words: *Romani enim tres ante paſcha Septimanas, præter Sabbatum & Dominicam, ſub continuatione jejunant; the Romans faſt three weeks before Eaſter without intermiſſion, except on Saturday and Sunday.* Could *Caſſiodorus* be ignorant of the cuſtom of the *Roman Church* in the obſervation of the *Lent-Faſt*, who was himſelf a *Senator*, *Conſul*, and *Præfectus Prætorio* in the City of *Rome*? Who can believe he would have put theſe Words of *Socrates* into his Hiſtory, if he had known the thing had been otherwiſe? Doubtleſs *Caſſiodorus*, had he known this to have been falſe, would on purpoſe have omitted *Socrates*'s Words, leſt he ſhould lead his Reader into a miſtake. Which in regard *Caſſiodorus* has not done, but was reſolved to have *Socrates*'s teſtimony, concerning the *Romans* Lent-Faſt read in the Hiſtory which bears his name; from thence 'tis apparent, that what *Socrates* has ſaid concerning the *Romans* Faſt is true. In the Catholick Church, though, the *Lent-Faſt* was always obſerved by all Perſons, yet they faſted not after one and the ſame manner, as *Irenæus* informs us in *his Epiſtle to Victor Biſhop of Rome*; a conſiderable part whereof is quoted by *Euſebius Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 5. Chap. 24. wherefore *Baronius* is impertinent in oppoſing *Socrates* with the teſtimony of *Gregorius Magnus*. For the *Romans* faſted in *Lent* after one manner in *Socrates*'s age, after another in the days of *Gregory the Great*. In the times of *Pope Leo*, with which *Socrates* was in a manner equal, the *Romans* faſted three days of the week only in *Lent*, to wit, on *Monday*, *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, as 'tis apparent from that *Pope's Sermons concerning Lent*. In the *Roman Order* I have in my judgment found a footſtep of that ancient Cuſtom, which *Socrates* relates here. For, that *Sunday* of *Lent* vulgarly termed *Dominica de paſſione Domini*, is called *Dominica Mediana*; which name, 'tis ſaid, was given it by command of the *Roman See*. Now, I ſee no other reaſon why it ſhould be ſo termed, than, that of the three weeks wherein the *Romans* faſted in *Lent*, this was the *ſecond Sunday*. *Bede* (in *his Book concerning the Vernal Æquinox*) relates, that in *Italy* ſome faſted twenty days, others ſeven. But now, what *Socrates* ſays concerning *Saturday*, may be truly defended. For in *Pope Leo*'s age, the Romans faſted not on *Saturdays* in *Lent*; as 'tis apparent from *the cloſe of that Pope's fourth Sermon concerning Lent*. Add hereto *Bede*'s teſtimony, in *his Book de Officiis*; where he relates, that moſt people faſted not in *Lent* on *Thurſdays* and *Saturdays*. Valeſ.

(h) *Sozomen* atteſts the ſame, Book 7. Chap. 19. Moreover, the *Alexandrians* began the *Lent-Faſt*, not from the Sunday of the ſixth week before *Eaſter*, (as *Johannes Fileſacus* ſuppoſed, *in the* 7th *chapter of his book concerning Lent*,) but from the *Munday* which followed that *Sunday*. Therefore, the firſt *Sunday* of the *Alexandrians* Lent was the fifth *Sunday* before *Eaſter*. And this is manifeſtly aſſerted by *Theophilus* and *Cyrillus*, in *their Homilies* or *Paſchal Epiſtles*. Which I wonder *Fileſacus* perceived not, who produces *Theophilus*'s teſtimony againſt himſelf. *Valeſ.*

* *the forty days Faſt.* (*i*) Others in a different manner from them, begin their Faſt from the ſeventh week before *Eaſter*, and tho' they faſt three five days only [part of three weeks,] and that by intervals; yet nevertheleſs they alſo call that time *the forty days Faſt*. And I cannot but wonder, how theſe Perſons, (tho' they diſagree about the number of the days, yet) ſhould in common give it the ſame name [to wit,] *the forty days Faſt*. Of which appellation ſome aſſign one reaſon, others another, according to their particular fancies and humours. You likewiſe find ſeveral Perſons diſagreeing not only (*k*) about the number of the days, but differing alſo in their abſtinency from Meats. For ſome abſtain wholly from [eating of] living creatures; others, of all living creatures feed on fiſh only. Otherſome, together with fiſh, eat fowl alſo; affirming, according to *Moſes*'s* words, that theſe were made likewiſe of the waters. Some abſtain from all manner of fruits of trees, and from eggs. Others feed upon dry bread only: otherſome eat not even this. Others, having faſted till the (*l*) ninth hour, (*m*) feed upon any ſort of food whatever, making no diſtinction. (*n*) Again, amongſt other Nations, there are other uſages: for which innumerable reaſons are aſſign'd. And in regard no one can produce a command in writing concerning this thing, 'tis manifeſt that the Apoſtles left every one to his own will and free choice in this caſe; to the end that no perſon might be compelled through fear or neceſſity, to the performance of what is good. Such is the diſagreement throughout the Churches about their faſtings. Nor is the variety [amongſt them] leſs, (*o*) about their performances in their Religious Aſſemblies.

'Or, *Lent.*

(*i*) To wit, the *Conſtantinopolitans*, and thoſe people who inhabit the Provinces round that City, as far as *Phœnice*; ſo *Sozomen* atteſts, B. 7. c. 19. *Valeſ.*

(*k*) In the *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. the reading here is [*about the number of the Faſts:*] But the other reading, which we have followed, is confirmed by *Socrates* a little above, where his words are [*And I cannot but wonder, how theſe perſons, (though they diſagree about the number of the days, yet) ſhould in common give it the ſame name* [*to wit,*] *the forty-days Faſt.*] Valeſ.

* See Gen. 1. 20.

(*l*) That is, till our three a-clock in the afternoon; ſee *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 3. chap. 8. note (*b.*) I am of opinion, that few faſted after this manner in *Lent*. For the *Lent-Faſt* laſted till the evening. *Valeſ.*

(*m*) In the Greek the reading here is [διάφορον ἔχυσι τὴν ὄψιν, *make uſe of a different ſort of food:*] but I am of opinion it ſhould be [ἀδιάφορον ἔχυσι τῶ ὄψιν, *feed upon any ſort of food without making any difference.*] So *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* read this place; for thus he renders it; *alii uſque ad nonam jejunantes horam, ſine diſcrimine ciborum reficiuntur, others having faſted to the ninth hour, refreſh themſelves without making any difference about the ſorts of food.* Valeſ.

(*n*) After theſe Words [*Again, amongſt other Nations, there are other uſages*] Sir *Henry Savill in his Manuſcript* had placed a *Subdiſtinction*, (that is, a ſingle point, which Greek writers uſually placed at the bottom of the Letter; See *Valeſius's Preface to his Edition of Euſebius*:) but I had rather place a *middle diſtinction* (that is, a *Colon*) here. Which is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, who has expreſt this paſſage of *Socrates* thus: ἀλλὰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἔθεσι καὶ φύλοις· ἐν οἷς καὶ μυρία τοιάυτων εἰσὶν· *and there are other uſages amongſt other Nations and Tribes; amongſt whom alſo there are infinite cauſes of ſuch* [*cuſtoms*] *as theſe.* Valeſ.

(*o*) Περὶ συνάξεων. *Synaxis* is a word uſed by *Chriſtian* Writers in ſeveral ſenſes. (1) 'Tis ſometimes a general term, and contains all things uſually done in the Religious Aſſemblies of *Chriſtians*; in which ſenſe we ſuppoſe it to be taken here. (2) The Celebration of the Lord's Supper is by a peculiar name termed *Synaxis*. (3) 'Tis uſed ſo as to ſignifie the Chriſtian Conventions or Aſſemblies, without any reſpect had to the Euchariſt. (4) *Synaxis* is ſometimes expreſsly diſtinguiſhed from the Celebration of the Sacrament: in which ſenſe our *Socrates* uſes it a little lower in this chapter, where his words are theſe, πάντα τὰ τὰ συνάξεως ῥήματα, δίχα τῆς τῶ μυστηρίων τελέσεως, *and all things are performed which belong to the Church-Aſſembly, except the Celebration of the Myſteries* [or, *the Euchariſt.*]

The

The Reader will find good authorities assigned for all these significations of this term, by the Learned *Casaubon*, *Exercit.* 16. *ad Annal. Eccles. Baronii.* Num. 42.

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

For, tho' [almost] all Churches over the whole world do celebrate the Sacred Mysteries on the Sabbath-day at the period of every week; yet the *Alexandrians* and they at *Rome*, on account of some ancient tradition, refuse to practise this. The *Egyptians* who are neighbours to the *Alexandrians*, and the Inhabitants of *Thebaïs*, have their Religious Meetings on the Sabbath: notwithstanding, they participate not of the Mysteries, in such a manner as is usual amongst the *Christians*. For after they have feasted, and filled themselves with all manner of victuals, in the evening they * offer, and partake of the Mysteries. Again, at *Alexandria*, on the † *fourth Feria*, and on that termed the ‖ *Preparation-day*, the Scriptures are read, and the Doctors expound them; and all things are performed which belong to the *Church-Assembly*, except the celebration of the Mysteries. And this is an usage of great antiquity at *Alexandria*. For 'tis manifest that *Origen* most commonly taught in the Church on these days. Who, being a very Learned Doctor, and perceiving that the secret of the *Mosaick Law* was not to be expounded literally, reduc'd his discourse concerning the passover to a Mystical sense; asserting that there had been one only true Passover, [to wit,] that which our Saviour celebrated, at such time as being fastned to his Cross, he vanquished the adverse powers, making use of this *Trophy* against the Devil. In the same City *Alexandria*, as well the *Catechumens*, as *the Faithful*, are without difference or distinction made *Readers* and (*p*) *Psalm-setters*, whereas in all other Churches, *the Faithful* only are promoted to this dignity. (*q*) I my self, when I was in *Thessaly*, knew another custom also. A Clergy-man in that Country (if after his taking Orders, he does lie with his Wife, whom he had legally married before his being Ordained) is (*r*) degraded: whereas in the East all [Clergy-men] (*s*) of their own accord do abstain from their Wives] even the Bishops themselves; notwithstanding, they do this [voluntarily,] not by force or compulsion of a Law. For many of them, during even the time of their being Bishops, have begotten Children of a lawful Wife. Moreover, the Author of this usage in *Thessaly* was *Heliodorus*, [Bishop] of *Trica* in that Country, under whose name there are *Love-Books* extant, which he (*t*) composed when he was a young Man, and entitled them *Æthiopici*. This same custom is observed in *Thessalonica*, in *Macedonia*, and in *Achaia*. I have also known another custom in *Thessaly*. They baptize there on the days of *Easter* only. Upon which account all of them, except a very few, die unbaptized. At that *Antioch* which is in *Syria*, the site of the Church is inverted. For the Altar * stands not towards the East, but towards the West. In *Achaia*, at *Jerusalem*, and in *Thessaly*, they go to (*u*) Prayers when the Candles are lighted, in the same manner that the *Novatians* do at *Constantinople*. Likewise, at *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*, and in *Cyprus*, on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, always in the Evening, after the Candles are lighted, the Presbyters and Bishops expound the Scriptures. Those *Novatians* in the *Hellespont* perform not their Prayers wholly after the same manner, with them who live at *Constantinople*; but they are (*w*) in most things conform to [the usages of] the *Catholick Church*.

* To wit, *Alms and Oblations.*

† That is, *on Wednesday in the Passion-week.*

‖ Or, *Good-Friday.*

(*p*) Ὑποψάλτης. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have rendred this term very ill, thus, *interpretes*, *Expounders*. But *Epiphanius* translates it *Psalmi Pronunciatores*, *Pronouncers* [or *Setters*] *of the Psalm*; which rendition is good. It seems to have been these Persons Office, to begin to sing the first words of the Psalm; and then the People sang the rest after them. ὑποψάλτης were heretofore termed *Monitores* who prompted the Players whilest they were Acting: they put the Actors in as oft as they forgot any passage in the Play, and were out. There were *Monitores* also in the Prayers, of whom mention is made by *Tertullian* in *his Apology*; where he says, *that the Christians prayed without a Monitor, because they prayed by heart.* But *Nicephorus* at this place reads ὑπογραφεῖς, *Notaries*; instead of ὑποψάλτης, *Monitors*: which reading displeases me not. For the Bishops had their *Notaries*, who were learned young Men. Thus *Proclus* is said to have been *Atticus's Notary*, as *Socrates* attests, Book 7. Chap. 41. And long before that, *Athanasius* was *Notary* to *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, as *Sozomen* relates, Book 2. chap. 17. In *Pope Gelasius's Decrees*, cap. 2. amongst the first Ecclesiastick degrees, the *Lectores*, *Notarii*, and *Defensores* are reckoned. In *Cæsarius Arelatensis's Life*, chap. 22. are these words: *Lector aut Notarius coram illo non cessabat clamare*, that is, *the Reader or Notary ceased not to cry before him.* In the *First Action* of the *Ephesine Synod*, *Epaphroditus* is termed the *Reader* and *Notary* of *Hellanicus* Bishop of the *Rhodii*. From all which authorities 'tis apparent, that the *Notary*'s and *Reader*'s Office was in a manner the same; to wit, to read the Psalms or other Books of the Sacred Scripture, either in the Church, or in the Bishop's presence. And this *Simeon Metaphrastes* confirms, in *the Acts of the Notaries Marcianus and Martyrius*, which occur in *Surius at the twenty fifth day of October.* These *Notaries* registred *the Acts* which were made in the Church; on which account they seem to have had this name given them. In the *Gesta Collationis inter Catholicos ac Donatistas*, we meet with this Title: *Excipientibus quoq; Januario & Vitale Notariis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Victore & Cresconio Notariis Ecclesiæ Donatistarum*, &c. that is, *also Januarius and Vitales Notaries of the Catholick Church, Victor and Cresconius Notaries of the Church of the Donatists, registring* [*the Acts*, &c.] There was over these a *Primicerius Notariorum*, [or *the Chief of the Notaries*,] who was usually chosen out of the Presbyters, as we are informed from *the first Action of the Ephesine Council*, wherein *Petrus Presbyter* of *Alexandria*, and *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, recites the Emperor *Theodosius*'s Edict to *Cyrillus* and the other *Metropolitanes*. But the chief duty of the *Notaries* was, to carry the Verge or Staff before the Bishop, as 'tis related in the *second Book concerning the Life and Miracles of Cæsarius Arelatensis*. Vales.

(*q*) In *Rob. Stephens*'s Edition, this place is pointed thus: ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ κὴ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ, ῥώμῳ κληρικὸς ὢν· *I my self knew another custome also in Thessaly, being made a Clergy-man there:* If this punctation were true, it would follow, that *Socrates* was a Clergy-man in *Thessaly*. But this is in no wise probable, in regard *Socrates* does every-where stile himself *Scholasticus*, that is, *an Advocate*. Wherefore, I doubt not but this place must be otherwise pointed, to wit, after this manner: ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ κὴ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ· ῥώμῳ κληρικὸς ὢν &c. *I my self when I was in Thessaly knew another custom also: A Clergy-man in that Country*, &c. *Notwithstanding Musculus* and *Christophorson* have followed another punctation here, to wit, this; ἔγνων δὲ ἐγὼ κὴ ἕτερον ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ· ῥώμῳος κληρικὸς ὢν, &c. *I my self knew another custom also in Thessaly: One being made a Clergy-man there*, &c. Which distinction I can't approve of. For the term ῥώμῳος would be superfluous, and the word γίνεσθαι would be too often repeated in the same period. Further, that *Socrates* had been conversant in *Thessaly*, is apparent from his following Words. For a little after this he adds, κὴ ἄλλο δὲ ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οἶδα γινόμενον, *also I have seen* [*or known*] *another custom in Thessaly.* Although the term οἶδα is ambiguous, and may be meant as well of an absent, as a present Person. *Vales.*

* Or, *looks not.*

(*r*) Ἀποκήρυκτος γίνεται. In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἀπόκλητος, *put out of his Orders*, or, *made no Clergyman*; which displeases me not. Notwithstanding, the term ἀποκήρυκτος seems to denote something that is heavier, to wit, his being excommunicated. *Vales.*

(*s*) We owe the amendment of this place to the *Florentine* M. S. For, whereas in the common Editions the reading here was [ἐν ἀναίσχυντον πάντων γνωρίμων ἀπεχομένων, *whereas all the most illustrious Persons in the East do abstain*;] in that M. S. the reading is [ἐν ἀναισχύντῳ πάντων γνώμῃ ἀπεχομένων, *whereas in the East all* [*Clergymen*] *of their own accord do abstain*, &c.] Which emendation is confirmed by *Nicephorus*. Vales.

(*t*) Instead of [ἔταξε] I had rather read [συνέταξε, *composed*;] in *Nicephorus* 'tis [συνετάξατο:] But what *Nicephorus* adds, [to wit, that *Heliodorus* was ordered in a Synod either to burn his *Love-Books*, or else to relinquish his Bishoprick,] seems to me to be fabulous. For there is no sufficient Evidence, whether those Books concerning the *Amours* of *Theagenes* and *Charicles*, were written by *Heliodorus* the Bishop, or by some body else. *Vales.*

(*u*) This Office the *Greek Church* terms λυχνικὸν, the *Latin*, *Lucernarium*; as *Jacobus Syrmondus* has observ'd in *his notes on Eunodius.* See *Meursius's Glossary*, in the Word λυχνικὸν; and the *notes on Cassianus*, at the words *Lucernaris Hora.* Vales.

(*w*) I doubt not but instead of [παραπλησίως δὲ παρὰ πολλὰ] *Socrates* wrote [παραπλησίως δὲ τὰ πολλὰ, *but they are in most things conform*;] and so *Nicephorus* has worded it. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* read thus also. For *Musculus* has rendred it thus: *Sed in multis se imperiali conformant Ecclesiæ, but in many things they conform themselves to the Imperial Church. Christophorson* translates it after this manner: *Sed tamen ex multò majore parte, primariæ apud illos Ecclesiæ consuetudinem sequuntur, but yet much the greater part, they follow the Custom of the Primary Church amongst them.* Neither of these

theſe Tranſlators underſtood what was meant by theſe Words here, to wit, ἡ κρατοῦσα ἐκκλησία. *Socrates* uſually gives this appellation to the *Catholick Church*, becauſe at that time it had gotten the chief power and authority. So in chap. 19. of this Book, to the *Novatians* he oppoſes τὰς κρατούσας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the Churches*, that is, *the Catholicks*: Ναυατιανοὶ μὲν γὰρ (ſays he,) ἐδέ ποτε ἀρχὴν τὴν προσθήκην ταύτην ἐδέξαντο, οἱ δὲ νῦν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κρατοῦντες, &c. *For the Novatians admitted not of this additional Function at its firſt inſtitution. But* [*the Homoöuſians*] *who are at this preſent in poſſeſſion of the Churches*, &c. Valeſ.

In ſum, in all places, and amongſt all Sects, you will ſcarcely find two Churches exactly agreeing about their Prayers. At *Alexandria*, a Presbyter does in no wiſe Preach. And this [uſage] had its beginning from ſuch time as *Arius* raiſed a diſturbance in that Church. At *Rome* they faſt every (*x*) Saturday. (*y*) At *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* they exclude thoſe from *Communion* who have ſinned after *Baptiſm*, as the *Novatians* do. The ſame is alſo practiſed by the *Macedoniani* in the *Helleſpont*, and by the *Quartodecimani* in *Aſia*. The *Novatians* in *Phrygia* admit not of * *Digamiſts*. Thoſe *Novatians* who inhabit *Conſtantinople*, neither openly admit, nor openly reject them. But in the Weſtern parts they are openly † received. The Biſhops, who in their ſeveral times preſided over the Churches, were (in my judgment) the Occaſioners of this diverſity. And thoſe who received theſe Rites and Uſages, tranſmitted them to poſterity in manner of a Law as 'twere. To give in a Catalogue of all the Rites and Cuſtoms in uſe throughout all Cities and Countries, is a thing difficult, or rather impoſſible. But theſe we have produced, are ſufficient to demonſtrate, that the Feaſt of *Eaſter* was by reaſon of ſome certain uſage celebrated in a different manner in every particular Province. Wherefore, they are too profuſe in their talk, who have ſpread abroad a rumour, that [the time of celebrating] *Eaſter* was alter'd in the *Nicene* Synod. For the Fathers conven'd in that Synod made it their buſineſs to reduce the people, (who at firſt diſſented from the far greater part of the Church,) to an agreement. Now, that there hapned many differences upon this account, even in the Apoſtles times, was a thing not unknown even to the Apoſtles themſelves, as the Book of *the Acts* does atteſt. For when the Apoſtles underſtood, that a diſturbance was raiſed amongſt the faithful, by reaſon of a diſſention of the *Gentiles*; being all met together, they promulged a Divine Law, drawing it up in form of a Letter: whereby they freed Believers from a moſt burthenſome ſervitude and vain *contention* about theſe things; and taught them a moſt exact * way of living well, which would lead them to true piety; mentioning to them only ſuch things as neceſſarily ought to be obſerved. The Epiſtle it ſelf is recorded in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: yet nothing hinders but we may inſert it here. * *The Apoſtles, and Elders, and Brethren, ſend Greeting unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in* Antioch, *and* Syria, *and* Cilicia. *For as much as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words, ſubverting your ſouls, ſaying, ye muſt be circumciſed, and keep the Law, to whom we gave no ſuch commandment: it ſeemed good unto us, being aſſembled with one accord, to ſend choſen Men unto you, with our Beloved* Barnabas *and* Paul: *Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. We have therefore ſent* Judas *and* Silas, *who ſhall alſo tell you the ſame things by mouth. For it ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen than theſe neceſſary things: that ye abſtain from meats offered to Idols, and from blood, and from things ſtrangled, and from fornication: from which if you keep your ſelves, ye ſhall do well: fare ye well.* Theſe things pleaſed God. For theſe are the expreſs words of the Letter, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt to lay upon you no greater burthen than theſe neceſſaries to be obſerved.* Notwithſtanding there are ſome, who diſregarding theſe [Precepts,] ſuppoſe all Fornication to be a thing indifferent; but contend about Holy days, as if it were for their lives: [theſe perſons] invert the commands of God, and make Laws for themſelves, not valuing the Decree of the Apoſtles; nor do they conſider, that they practiſe the contrary to thoſe things which ſeemed good to God. It were indeed poſſible, to have extended our diſcourſe concerning *Eaſter* much farther, and to have demonſtrated, that the *Jews* obſerve no exact Rule, either in the time, or manner of [celebrating] the Paſchal ſolemnity; and that the *Samaritans*, who are a Schiſm of the *Jews*, do always celebrate this Feſtival after the *Æquinox*. But this Subject requires a particular and more copious Treatiſe. I only ſay this, that they who ſo affectedly imitate the *Jews*, and are ſo ſolicitouſly accurate about Types and Figures, ought in no wiſe to diſſent from them, [in any particular whatever.] For, if they have taken a reſolution of obſerving all things with an accuracy; they muſt not only obſerve days and months, but all other things alſo, which Chriſt (conſtituted under the Law) did after the manner of the *Jews*, or which he ſuffered unjuſtly from the *Jews*; or [Laſtly], which he wrought typically whileſt he was doing good to all Men. [For inſtance,] he entred into a Ship and taught: He ordered the paſſover to be made ready in an upper room: He commanded the Aſs that was tied to be looſed: He propoſed him, who bore a pitcher of water, as a ſign to them for haſting their preparations of the paſſover: [theſe things, I ſay they muſt obſerve] and infinite others of this nature which are recorded in the Goſpels. And yet they who ſuppoſe themſelves to be juſtified by this Feſtival, make it their buſineſs to obſerve none of theſe things in a bodily manner. For no Doctor ever Preach'd out of a Ship: no Perſon ever went up to an upper room, and celebrated the Paſſover there: they never tyed, and again unlooſed an Aſs that was tyed: [in fine] no perſon ever enjoyned another to carry a pitcher of water, to the end that the *Symbols* might be fulfilled. For they thought that theſe and ſuchlike things as theſe * ſavoured rather of *Judaiſm*. For the *Jews* are ſolicitous about keeping

(*x*) Except thoſe Saturdays in *Lent*, and in the *Ember-weeks*. For in *Lent* the *Romans* faſted not on Saturdays, as we have ſhown before, at note (*g.*) in this chapter, from *Pope Leo's Sermon concerning Lent*. Nor did the *Romans* faſt on Saturdays in the Faſt of the *Ember-weeks*; but only on *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*: on Saturdays they watched at St. *Peter's* Church, as the ſame *Leo* informs us in *his Sermons concerning the Faſt of the tenth month, concerning the Faſt of Pentecoſt*, and *concerning the Faſt of the ſeventh month*. Wherefore, *Baronius*, *Petavius*, and *Halloixius* do undeſervedly reprove our *Socrates*, becauſe he has ſaid that the *Romans* faſted not on *Saturdays* in *Lent*. Valeſ.

(*y*) *Petavius* in *his notes on Epiphanius*, at the *Hereſie of the Quartodecimani*, does affirm that *Socrates* is here miſtaken; and ſays, that the *Penitential Canons of Baſilius the Great* are ſufficient to confute this Error. But it may be anſwered, that after *Baſilius*'s death, there was perhaps another uſage obſerved in the Church of *Cæſarea*. For *Socrates* ſpeaks of a Rite then in uſe, when he wrote this Hiſtory. *Valeſ.*

* That is, *thoſe who have had two Wives ſucceſſively one after another.*

† Or, *admitted*, that is, *to Communion.*

* Or, *form of good life.*

* Or, *more rather Jewiſh.*

Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

Acts 15. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

ing their (z) solemn Rites and Ceremonies in their bodies, rather than in their souls. Upon which account they are obnoxious to the Curse, because they conceive the Law of *Moses* [to consist] in Types and Figures, but [understand it] not according to the truth. But those persons, who are favourers of the *Jews*, do indeed refer these things to an allegorical sense and meaning: But they raise an irreconcilable War about days and months, contemning an allegorical interpretation of them; in so much that, as to this particular, they themselves as well as the *Jews*, are of necessity condemned, and bring the sentence of Execration upon themselves. But I think this sufficient to have been said concerning these things. Let us now return to our Subject, whereof we have made mention a little *before: to wit, that the Church [once divided] rested not in that first division; and that those who were divided, did again engage one another, and taking hold of a small and very frivolous pretence, raised mutual separations †and divisions. The *Novatians*, as I have † said, were divided amongst themselves on account of the Feast of *Easter:* Nor was the division among them concerning this [Festival] single. For some throughout divers Provinces [observed it] after one manner, others after another; and they disagreed amongst themselves not only about the month, but about the days of the week also, and about other matters of a small importance, part of them holding separate Assemblies, and part joyning in a promiscuous Communion.

(z) The reading here is [τὰ συμβαίνοντα, *The accidents*;] in which, what sense there can be, I see not. I am of opinion it should be [τὰ σύμβολα, *the Symbols*] which term *Socrates* makes use of a little above, where he says, *to the end that the Symbols might be fulfilled.* By *Symbols*, *Socrates* means *the Legal Ceremonies and Commands*; for instance, *Circumcision*, which the *Jews* kept in their bodies, but not in their hearts. *Nicephorus* has worded this passage in *Socrates* thus; ᾧ γὰρ ἐμφαίνει τὰ συμβαίνοντα μᾶλλον τοῖς σώμασιν ἢ ταῖς ψυχαῖς σάζειν σπουδάζουσι. Which words *Langus* renders thus: *Siquidem & Judæi ea quæ sic in corporibus accidunt, majore studio, quàm si animabus eveniant, observare contendunt; for the Jews also with a greater industry strive to observe those things which so happen to their bodies, than if they happen to their Souls.* You see, that neither *Nicephorus*, nor *his Translator*, apprehended *Socrates*'s meaning. *Socrates* speaks concerning the *Jews*, who observed *the law of works* in their bodies, rather than their hearts; whom the Apostle (*Rom.* 2. 28.) terms *Jews outwardly.* Vales.

*See chap. 20. at the beginning.

†Chap. 21.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Arians *at* Constantinople, *who were also termed the* Psathyriani.

MOreover, there arose dissentions amongst the *Arians*, upon this occasion. The contentious questions daily [started] amongst them, had reduced their discourses to some absurdities. For, whereas it has been always believed in the Church, that God is the Father of the Son, the Word; there hapned this Query amongst them, whether or no God could be called Father even before the Son existed? And, in regard they asserted, that the Word of God was not begotten of the Father, but existed of *nothing; being thus mistaken about the first and chiefest Article of Faith, they deservedly fell into an absurd contentiousness about a bare word. *Dorotheus* therefore † who had been sent for from *Antioch* by them, maintained, that [God] neither was nor could be termed a Father, before the Son existed. But *Marinus* (whom they had called out of *Thracia* before *Dorotheus*) having got a fair opportunity, (for he was next because *Dorotheus* had been preferred before him:) undertook to defend the contrary opinion. For this reason there hapned a dissention amongst them; and being divided on account of the aforesaid Term, each party held separate Meetings. Those under *Dorotheus* continu'd possest of their own Meeting-houses. But *Marinus*'s followers built themselves private Oratories, wherein they had their Assemblies; and asserted that the Father was always the Father, even when the Son existed not. Moreover, the maintainers of this assertion were termed (a) *Psathyriani*, because one *Theoctistus* by Country a *Syrian*, a * *Psathyropola* by Trade, was a zealous defender of this Opinion. *Selenas* Bishop of the *Goths* became a follower of these persons Tenets: † He was a Man of a mixt descent, a *Goth* by his father's side, by his mother's a *Phrygian.* And upon this account he taught in the Church very readily in both these Languages. Further, this faction soon after quarrelled amongst themselves; *Marinus* disagreeing with *Agapius*, whom he himself had preferred to the Bishoprick of *Ephesus.* But these two contended not one with another about [any point of their] Religion, but about * Primacy; the *Goths* sided with *Agapius.* Wherefore, many of the Eccleasticks under their jurisdiction (abominating the contest raised between them two, as being the product of their vain-glory,) deserted them, and became adherents to the *Homoöusian* Faith. When therefore the *Arians* had continued divided amongst themselves during the space of (b) thirty five years, afterwards, (c) under the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, in the Consulate of *Plintha Master of the Milice*, the Heresie of the *Psathyriani*, being perswaded to cease from contending, were again united in one body [with the rest of the *Arians.*] And they made a Sanction [amongst themselves] in form of a Law as it were, that that Query, which had caused the separation between them, should in future never be mentioned. But they could bring this to effect no-where save at *Constantinople* only. For in other Cities (if any of these two parties chanced to be inhabitants therein,) they persisted in their former separation. Thus much concerning the division amongst the *Arians.*

Valen. Jun. Theodosius.

(a) *Theodoret* gives an account of these Hereticks Book 4. *Hæret. Fabul.* Vales.

* That is, *a Cake-seller.*

† *Selenas.*

* Or, *Precedency.*

(b) It must be *twenty five years*; and accordingly *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read it. For, from *Arcadius*'s third and *Honorius*'s second Consulate (in which year these things were done, which *Socrates* does here relate) to the Consulate of *Monaxtius* and *Plinta* [or *Plintha*] there are *twenty five years.* Vales.

(c) Instead of [ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας, *in the Consulate*] it must undoubtedly be [ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας, *under the Reign.*] For the word ὑπατείας crept into this place from the following line. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Eunomians *also raised Factions amongst themselves, which had various denominations given them derived from the names of their first Founders.*

MOreover, neither did the *Eunomians* continue undivided. For *Eunomius* himself had long before this made a * separation from *Eudoxius*, who † Ordained him Bishop of *Cyzicum*, making this his pretence, to wit, because *Eudoxius* refused to give reception to his master *Aëtius*, who was Ejected [out of the Church.] But those Hereticks who had their name from him, were after this divided into several Factions. For first, one *Theophronius*

*See Book 4. cap. 13.

†See Book 4. chap. 7

*Or, *things which are not.*

†See chap. 12. of this Book.

a *Cap-*

Valen. Jun. Theodoſius.

a *Cappadocian* (who had been inſtructed in the Art of diſputing by *Eunomius*, and underſtood *Ariſtotle*'s *Categories*, and *his Book concerning Interpretation*, but * indiſtinctly and imperfectly;) having wrote Books, to which he gave this Title *concerning the exerciſe of the Mind*, incurr'd the diſpleaſure of thoſe of his own Hereſie, and was by them ejected as a Deſerter of their Sect. This perſon afterwards held Aſſemblies ſeparate from them, and left behind him an Hereſie which bore his own name. Then, one *Eutychius* at *Conſtantinople*, upon account of a very † ſlight Controverſie, made a ſeparation from the *Eunomians*, and at this preſent has his Meetings apart. *Theophronius*'s Followers are termed *Eunomio-Theophroniani*: and the Adherents of *Eutychius* are called *Eunomio-Eutychiani*. What thoſe ſlight and trifling words were, about which they differ'd, I judge it unworthy to be recorded in this Hiſtory, leſt I ſhould too far digreſs from my purpoſe. [I will mention this] only, to wit, that they have adulterated Baptiſm. For they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the Death of Chriſt. There was alſo for ſome time a Diſſention amongſt the *Macedoniani*, when one *Eutropius* a Presbyter held ſeparate Aſſemblies; and *Carterius* would in no wiſe agree in Opinion with him. And there may perhaps be ſome other Sects deſcended from theſe in other Cities. But in regard I make my Reſidence in *Conſtantinople*, where I was born and educated, I || have reſolved to be larger in my Relation of what has been tranſacted in that City; both becauſe I my ſelf have been an eye-witneſs of ſome of thoſe tranſactions, and alſo in regard the affairs tranſacted in that City, have been more eminent, and worthier to be remembred. And theſe things hapned not at one and the ſame time, but at different times. Now, if any perſon be deſirous of knowing the names of the various Sects, he may have an account hereof, by reading that Book entitled *Ancoratus*, which *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Cyprus* compoſed. Let this be ſufficient to have been ſaid concerning theſe matters. But the affairs of the State were diſturbed upon this occaſion.

* Πηχυμερῶς, *greſly, and rudely.*

† Ψυχρὸς, *abſurd, or frigid.*

|| Or, *I am larger.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Eugenius's *Tyranny, and the Death of* Valentinianus Junior; *alſo, concerning the Emperor* Theodoſius's *Victory over the Tyrant.*

IN the Weſtern parts, a *Grammarian* by name *Eugenius*, having ſometime been a Teacher of the Latin tongue, afterwards left his School, and undertook a Military Employment in the Emperor's Palace, where he was made (*a*) *Maſter of the Emperor's Desks*. And in regard he was a Perſon of great eloquence, and upon that account more highly eſteem'd than others, he could not with moderation bear his proſperous ſucceſs. But, taking one *Arbogaſtes* (born in (*b*) *Galatia the Leſs*, who was *Maſter of the Milice*, a perſon of a rough Temper, cruel and bloody-minded) to be his Aſſiſtant, he reſolved to uſurp the Imperial Crown. Both theſe Perſons therefore determine to murther the Emperor *Valentinianus*, having (*c*) hired the Eunuchs that belonged to the Emperor's Bed-chamber, to be partakers in their deſign. Theſe Eunuchs, having received [from them] promiſes of greater places than they had at preſent, (*d*) ſtrangled the Emperor in his ſleep. *Eugenius* therefore immediately poſſeſt himſelf of the ſupream management of affairs in the Weſtern parts of the Empire, and did ſuch things as were likely to be acted by a Tyrant. The Emperor *Theodoſius* inform'd hereof, was again extreamly diſturbed and diſquieted, in in regard a way was hereby made for other Troubles after [the War waged againſt] *Maximus*. Having therefore ſummon'd together his Military Forces, and proclaim'd his Son *Honorius Auguſtus* in his own third Conſulate [which he bore] with *Abundantius*, on the tenth of *January* he marched again in great haſte into the Weſtern parts, (*e*) leaving both his Sons [now created] *Auguſti* at *Conſtantinople*. Many of the *Barbarians* [inhabitants] beyond the *Danube* follow'd him in this Expedition he undertook againſt *Eugenius*, coming in voluntarily to give him their aſſiſtance againſt the Tyrant. After ſome ſhort time he arriv'd in the *Gallia's* with a very numerous Army. For there the Tyrant * had put himſelf into a poſture of receiving him, who alſo had a vaſt Army. They came to an Engagement therefore near the River named *Frigidus*, which is diſtant (*f*) from *Aquileia* thirty ſix miles. In that part of the Armies where the *Romans* engaged the *Romans*, the fight was doubtful. But where the *Barbarians* (who were the Emperor *Theodoſius*'s Auxiliaries,) engaged, *Eugenius*'s forces had much the better. When the Emperor ſaw the great ſlaughter that was made by the Enemy amongſt the *Barbarians*, being in a great agony, he caſt himſelf upon the ground, calling upon God

Theodoſius.

(*a*) Ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶν δεσπότου: which I have rendred thus, *Magiſter Scriniorum Imperatoris*, *Maſter of the Emperors Desks*: for the *Greeks* call thoſe ἀντιγραφεῖς, whom the *Latins* term *Magiſtros Scriniorum*, *Maſters of the Desks*; as *Cujacius* has truly remark'd. But *Salmaſius*, in *his notes on Vopiſcus*, pag. 481. *affirms*, that the ἀντιγραφεῖς were the *Proximi of the ſacred Desks*, not *the Maſters*. For his opinion is, that there was only one *Maſter of all the Desks*, who had under him four *Antigraphei* or *Proximi* [that is, *Clerks*:] to wit, one in each Desk. But *Salmaſius* is diſproved, firſt by the *Theodoſian Code*; and ſecondly, by the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. For, in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, there are four *Maſters of the Desks of the Roman Emperors* reckoned; to wit, the *Maſter of the Memory*, *the Maſter of the Letters*, *the Maſter of the Libels*, and *the Maſter of the Greek Letters*. And, in the *Theodoſian Code*, in *the ſixth Book*, there is a *particular Title de Magiſtris ſacrorum Scriniorum*, whom the Emperors will have preferred before the *Vicarii*. But *concerning the Proximi*, there follows *another Title*, at a great diſtance from this, wherein the Emperors give order only, that the *Proximi*, after two years ſpace, ſhould leave the *Scrinia*, and be followed by the *Vicarii*. From whence 'tis evident, that the *Proximi of the Desks* are diſtinguiſhed from the *Maſters*: for the *Maſters* were choſen by the Emperors *Codicil* [or *Letters Patents*,] as were the reſt of the Officers of the Palace. But the *Proximi* came to that place by degrees and order of promotion: and they were more than one in every *Desk*; whereas there was but one *Maſter* in each *Desk*. The *Proximi* therefore are not the ἀντιγραφεῖς; in regard there were only four ἀντιγραφεῖς, as we are inform'd from the *Gloſſes of Julianus Anteceſſor*. See *Petrus Patricius* in *Excerpt. Legationum*. *Philoſtorgius* relates, that *Eugenius* was preferr'd to the dignity *of a Maſter*, before he broke out into his Tyranny. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Inſtead of [*Gallia the Leſs*,] the reading in the *Florentine* M.S. is truer, thus [*Galatia*.] Altho' *Arbogaſtes* was not born in *Gallia*, but in *Francia*, as all *Hiſtorians* agree. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Inſtead of [ὑπεισελθόντες, *introduc'd*] we read [ὑπεισελθόντες, *hired*.] Val.

(*d*) *Valentinianus Junior* was murther'd at *Vienna*, in *Arcadius*'s ſecond Conſulate which he bore with *Rufinus*; as *Idatius* rightly informs us in *his Faſti*. But *Marcellinus* ſays, that fact was perpetrated in the Conſulate of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*, on the *Ides* of *March*. Notwithſtanding, this appears to be falſe, from the *fourth* and *fifth Law* in the *Theodoſian Code de Apoſtatis*. Valeſ.

(*e*) *Zoſimus* (in *his fourth Book*) ſays, that only *Arcadius* was left by *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*; and that *Honorius* followed his Father in his Expedition againſt *Eugenius*. The ſame is aſſerted by *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon*. But *Philoſtorgius* agrees with *Socrates*. Valeſ.

* Or, *made preparations.*

(*f*) Here there is a defect in the Greek Text; theſe Words [*from Aquileia thirty ſix miles*] being wanting. Which *Valeſius* ſays, he perfected from *Antoninus's Itinerary*, and from *Sigonius in his ninth Book de Imperio Occidentali.*

Theodosius. God to be his assistant; and was in no wise frustrated of his request. For *Bacurius* his own *Master of the Milice* was so far encouraged, as to run with his Van-guard to that part where the *Barbarians* were * hardest prest upon by the Enemy, who broke through their Ranks; and routed those that a little before were on the pursuit. There hapned another accident also, worthy of admiration. For a very violent wind arose on a sudden, which retorted the Darts cast by *Eugenius*'s Forces, upon themselves; and moreover, it carried those thrown by *Theodosius*'s Souldiers with a greater force against the Enemy. So prevalent was the Emperor's Prayer. The success of the Battle being after this manner turned, the Tyrant cast himself at the Emperor's feet, and requested that his life might be saved. But the Souldiers beheaded him, as he lay prostrate at the Emperor's feet. These things were done on the sixth of *September*, in *Arcadius*'s third, and *Honorius*'s second Consulate. But *Arbogastes* (who had been the Author of these great mischiefs) being on his flight upon the third day after the Battle; as soon as he knew there were no hopes of life for him, ran himself through with his own Sword.

* Or, routed.

CHAP. XXVI.

How the Emperor falling ill after his Victory, sent for his Son Honorius *to* Millain; *and thinking himself somewhat recovered from his Distemper, [he ordered] that* † Cirque-Sports *should be exhibited, on which very day he died.*

Theodosius. * Or, *running of Horses.*

BUt, the Emperor *Theodosius* contracted an ill habit of Body, from the Troubles and Disquietudes he underwent in this War. And supposing that his Life would be ended by that Distemper which was upon him, he was more solicitous about the publick Affairs, than [concerned] at his own Death; considering with himself, how great Calamities do usually befal Subjects after the Death of their Emperor. Wherefore he sends forthwith for his Son *Honorius* from *Constantinople*, being desirous to settle * the State of the Western Empire. After his Son's arrival at *Millain*, he seemed to be somewhat revived from his Distemper; and gave order for the celebration of Triumphant *Cirque-Sports*. And before Dinner he was very well, and was a Spectator at the *Cirque-Sports*. But after Dinner he was taken very ill on a sudden, and could not come to see the † Games. But, having given his Son order to preside at the *Cirque-Sports*, he died on the Night following, in the Consulate of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, on the seventeenth day of *January*. This was the first year of the *two hundred ninety fourth Olympiad*. The Emperor *Theodosius* lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen. This Book contains [an account of Affairs transacted] during the space of sixteen years and eight months.

* Or, *the Western parts.*

† Or, *the fight.*

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

The PREFACE.

WE have finish'd the Task enjoyned by You (most Sacred Man of God Theodorus! *) in the Five foregoing Books; wherein, according to our best ability, we have comprized the History of the Church from the Times of* Constantine. *But you must know, that we have not been curious about our Stile; for we considered, that should we have been careful about an Elegancy of Expression, we might peradventure have mist of our design. Besides, could we have accompliſh'd [our design,] yet we were altogether unable to write such things as are extant in the Composures of Ancient Historians; whereby any one of them might suppose himself able either to amplifie, or disimprove Transactions. Further, such a Stile would in no wise have edified the Many and the Simpler sort of Persons; who are desirous of knowing Affairs only, not*

*of admiring the Stile for its elegant Compoſure. That therefore our Work might not be unuſeful to both theſe ſorts of Perſons; to the Learned, becauſe 'tis unworthy of being compared with the elegant Stile of Ancient Writers; and to the Unlearned, in regard they cannot attain to [the knowledge of] affairs, being concealed by a Pride and Over-elegancy of Expreſſion: We have deſignedly made uſe of ſuch a Stile, * as ſeems indeed to be lower and more mean, but is notwithſtanding plainer and more conſpicuous.*

* Or, *as ſeems indeed to be plainer and more perſpicuous, but is notwithſtanding lower and more mean.*

But, before we begin our Sixth Book, *we muſt give this Premonition: In regard we undertake [the writing a Narrative] of the Affairs which have hapned in our own Age; we are afraid, leſt we ſhould ſeem to record ſuch things as will diſpleaſe many Perſons: (a) Either becauſe (according to the Proverb,)* Truth is bitter; *or in regard we mention not their names, whom [all Men] have a great love for, with an* Encomium; *or, [Laſtly,] becauſe we extol not their Actions. The Zealots of our Religion will condemn us, becauſe we do not give the Biſhops the Title of* Moſt dear to God, *or* Moſt Holy, *or ſuch like. Others alſo will ſometimes makes curious Remarks, becauſe we term not the Emperors* Moſt Divine, *and* Lords; *nor [do give them] thoſe other Titles which are uſually attrib uted to them. But, in as much as I am able to prove and demonſtrate from the Teſtimony of Ancient Writers, that a (b) Servant amongſt them did uſually call his Maſter by his proper name, and made no account of his Dignity [or Title,] by reaſon of the urgency of Affairs; and in as much as [my endeavour is] to obey the Laws of Hiſtory, which do require a ſincere, pure, and true Narrative of Tranſactions, free from all manner of Masks and Covers; I will in future proceed in the ſame Narration; recording thoſe things which either I my ſelf ſaw, or could learn from thoſe who had ſeen them; and making a judgment of the Truth from their not varying in their Relations, who told me them. But, my Labour in diſcovering the Truth hath been great, in regard many, and thoſe different Perſons, gave me an account of Affairs; ſome of whom affirming they were preſent at the tranſacting of theſe things; and others aſſerting they knew them better than any other Perſons.*

(a) This whole Clauſe [*either becauſe (according to the Proverb,) Truth is bitter*] is in my judgment to be expunged, in regard it diſturbs the Senſe. Or, if it has a place here, it muſt be put at the cloſe of the period, after theſe Words [*extol not their Actions.*] If this diſpleaſes any one; 'twill be ſufficient, to expunge the particle [*n, either,*] and put this Clauſe to the head of that following. *Valeſ.*

(b) To wit, in the *Comœdies* of *Menander*, and others. You may ſee the ſame in *Plautus*'s and *Terentius*'s *Latine Comœdies*; wherein the Servants do uſually call their Maſters barely by their Names. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. I.

That after the Death of the Emperor Theodoſius, *when his Sons had divided the Empire [between them,] and* Arcadius *had met the Army returning from* Italy, *after ſome ſhort ſtay there;* Rufinus *the* Præfectus Prætorio *was killed by the Souldiers at the Emperor's Feet.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

THE Emperor *Theodoſius* having ended his Life in the Conſulate of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, on the ſeventeenth of the month *January*; his Sons ſucceeded him in the *Roman* Empire. *Arcadius* had the Government of the *Eaſtern* Empire, and *Honorius* of the *Weſtern*. [The Biſhops] who preſided over the Churches at that time, were *Damaſus* in the Imperial [City] *Rome*; *Theophilus* at *Alexandria*; *Johannes* was in poſſeſſion of the Churches at *Jeruſalem*; and *Flavianus* of thoſe at *Antioch*. At *Conſtantinople*, [termed alſo] *New Rome*, *Nectarius* filled the [Epiſcopal] Chair, as we have related in the foregoing Book. About the eighth of the month *November*, in the ſame Conſulate, *Theodoſius*'s Body was brought [to *Conſtantinople*,] and interred by his Son *Arcadius* with an honourable and ſolemn Funeral. Not long after this, on the eight and twentieth of the ſame month, the Army alſo arrived, which had been employed in the War againſt the Tyrant, under the Emperor *Theodoſius*'s command. When therefore the Emperor *Arcadius* (agreeable to the uſual cuſtom) had met the Army without the City-gates, the Souldiers at that time ſlew *Rufinus* the Emperor's *Præfectus Prætorio*. For *Rufinus* lay under a ſuſpicion of turning Tyrant, and 'twas believed, that he had called the (a) *Hunni* (a barbarous Nation) into the *Roman* Territories. For at that time they deſtroyed *Armenia*, and ſome parts of the *Eaſt*, by making Incurſions into thoſe Provinces. Moreover, on the ſame day whereon *Rufinus* was killed, *Marcianus* Biſhop of the *Novatians* died. He was ſucceeded in that Biſhoprick by *Siſinnius*, of whom we have made mention * above.

* See Book 5. Ch. 21.

Arcadius and Honorius.

(a) *Zoſimus* (Book 5.) relates, that *Alaricus* and the *Goths*, not the *Hunni*, were ſollicited by *Rufinus*, to invade the *Roman* Provinces. The ſame is aſſerted by *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon*. But *Sozomen* (Book 8. chap. 1.) agrees with *Socrates*. Nor, is there any diſagreement between the forecited Authors. For *Rufinus* called in both thoſe Nations againſt the *Romans*; the *Goths* firſt, under their Chief, *Alaricus*: After the *Goths* were routed by *Stilichon*, he excited the *Hunni* to aſſiſt the *Goths*, as *Claudian* tells us, in *his firſt Book againſt Rufinus*; and in *his ſecond Book*, he ſets forth the ſame more clearly, near the beginning thereof. But *Sigonius*, in *his tenth Book de Occidentali Imperio*, where he makes it his buſineſs to relate this whole Story, ſpeaks not one Word concerning this Irruption of the *Hunni*; which negligence of his is inexcuſable. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning Nectarius's *Death, and the Ordination of* Johannes.

WIthin a ſmall interval of time, *Nectarius* alſo, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, departed this life, in the Conſulate of *Cæſarius* and *Atticus*, about the twenty ſeventh of the month *September*. Forthwith therefore, a * Contention aroſe about the Ordination of a Biſhop; and ſome deſired one Perſon, others another. When a Conſult had been ſeveral times held about this matter, it was at laſt concluded on, that † *Johannes* a Presbyter of the *Antiochian* Church, ſhould be ſent for from *Antioch*. For a fame was ſpread concerning him, for his || Learning and Eloquence. Within ſome ſmall ſpace of time therefore, the Emperor *Arcadius* (with the common conſent of all Perſons, I mean the Clergy,

* Or, *a trouble, or, earneſtneſs.*

† This Perſon was termed *Chryſoſtome*, that is *Golden-mouth.*

|| Or, *fitneſs to be a teacher.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

Clergy, as well as Laity) sends for him. And, to the end that his Ordination might be accompliſh'd with more of firmneſs and authority, by the Emperor's order many other Prelates were preſent, as was alſo *Theophilus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*; who made it his buſineſs to * blacken *Johannes*'s glory, and to promote *Iſidorus* (a Presbyter under himſelf) to the Biſhoprick; whom he had a great love for, becauſe *Iſidorus* had undertaken a very dangerous affair upon his account. What that buſineſs was, we muſt now declare. When the Emperor *Theodoſius* was actually engaged in a War againſt the Tyrant *Maximus*, *Theophilus* ſent Preſents by *Iſidorus* to the Emperor, and deliver'd two Letters to him, ordering him, to preſent the Gifts and Letters to him that ſhould be Conqueror. *Iſidorus*, in obedience to theſe commands, arriving at *Rome*, ſtaid there expecting the * Event of the War. But this buſineſs could not lie long concealed; for a Reader who accompanied him, ſtole the Letters privately. On which account *Iſidorus* being in a great fear, fled forthwith to *Alexandria*. This was the occaſion of *Theophilus*'s being ſo highly concern'd for *Iſidorus*. But [the Grandees] of the Imperial Palace, gave *Johannes* the preference. And in regard many Perſons raiſed Accuſations againſt *Theophilus*, and preſented Libels (ſome upon one account, others on another) againſt him, to the Biſhops that were preſent; *Eutropius* the chief Perſon of the Bed chamber to the Emperor, took the written Accuſations, and ſhew'd them to *Theophilus*, bidding him take his choice, whether he would Ordain *Johannes*, or be brought to his Tryal, and anſwer the Accuſations on foot againſt him. *Theophilus* terrified herewith, Ordained *Johannes*. *Johannes* therefore being Ordained, was ſeated in the Epiſcopal Chair, in order to [his bearing] the Office of a Biſhop, on the twenty-ſixth of *February*, in the following Conſulate, (*a*) which the Emperor *Honorius* celebrated at *Rome*, and *Eutychianus* (at that time (*b*) *Præfectus Prætorio*) at *Conſtantinople*, with Games and Sports. But in regard this *Johannes* is famous, both for the Books he left written, and alſo for the many Troubles he fell into, I judge it fit not to paſs his affairs over in ſilence, but relate as compendiouſly as 'tis poſſible, what might be declared more at large; and to ſet forth whence he was, from whom extracted, how he was called to the Epiſcopate, after what manner he was deprived of it; and [laſtly,] upon what account he was more honour'd after his death, than whilſt he was living.

* Or, *derract from.*

* Or, *the Victory.*

(*a*) Inſtead of [τὴν ἐπιτέλειαν] it muſt be [τὴν ἐπέλεσιν, *which the Emperor*, &c.] A ſmall fault, but which (being not perceived by Tranſlators) led them into a great miſtake. For thus they have rendred it: *On the following Conſulate wherein* Honorius *the Emperor at* Rome, *and* Eutychianus *at* Conſtantinople *Governed the publick.* But, ἐπέλεσεν ὑπατείαν ſignifies *Conſulatum dare*, that is, *to publiſh or ſhew the Ludi Circenſes, on account of ſucceeding well in their Office of Conſul.* Valeſ. See *Socrat.* Book 5. chap. 29. note (*e.*)

(b) *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred it ill, thus, *Præfect of the Emperors*; when as he ſhould have tranſlated it *Præfectus Prætorio*. For in the Greek it muſt be [τῆς Βασιλείων.] The ſame miſtake in the ſame Word I have taken notice of before. *Eutychianus* therefore was *Conſul* and *Præfectus Prætorio* on the ſame year; which was the common uſage of thoſe times, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodoſian Code*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Deſcent and Education of Johannes *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople.

JOhannes therefore was born at *Antioch* [a City] of *Syria-Cœle*, the Son of *Secundus*, and his Mother's name was *Anthuſa*, perſons of a noble Family in that Country. He was Scholar to *Libanius* the *Sophiſta*, and an hearer of *Andragathius* the Philoſopher. Being ready to betake himſelf to the practice of the *Civil Law*, and perceiving how laborious and unjuſt a life they lead, (*a*) who are converſant in the * *Forum*, he choſe rather to follow a quieter ſort of life. And this he did, in imitation of (*b*) *Evagrius*; who having been educated under the ſame Maſters, had long before betaken himſelf to a more ſedate and quieter courſe of life. Changing therefore forthwith his Garb and his Gate, he applied his mind to reading the Sacred Scriptures, and frequently went in great haſte to the Church [on account of praying.] Moreover, he perſwades *Theodorus* and *Maximus* (who had been his School-fellows under *Libanius* the *Sophiſta*) to leave their Profeſſion which had a reſpect to nothing but gain, and betake themſelves to a more ſimple and meaner courſe of life. Of theſe two Perſons, *Theodorus* was afterwards Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* a City in *Cilicia*; and *Maximus* of *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*. But being at that time very ſtudious and diligent about Virtue, they were inſtructed in a monaſtick courſe of life by *Diodorus* and *Carterius*, who then preſided over the (*c*) Monaſteries.

Arcadius and Honorius.

* Or, *Courts of Judicature.*

(*a*) That conjecture diſpleaſes me not, which came heretofore into my Mind, to wit, that at this place, inſtead of [τὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις] it ſhould be [τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις.] Further, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do indeed affirm, that *John Chryſoſtome* did not follow the Practice of the *Civil Law*. For they ſay, that he went from *Libanius*'s School, when it was ſuppoſed he would have pleaded cauſes, and on a ſudden betook himſelf to a quieter ſort of life. Notwithſtanding there are thoſe who do affirm, that for ſome time he did plead Cauſes. Which ſeems to be intimated by *Libanius*'s Epiſtle, which *Iſidorus Peluſiota* records *Book* 2. *Epiſtol.* But that Epiſtle of *Libanius*'s is, I fear, written to ſome other *Johannes*, who then pleaded Cauſes at *Conſtantinople*, and ſpoke a Panegyrick there to *Theodoſius*, on account of his aſſuming his Sons to be his Colleagues in the Empire. Now, our *Chryſoſtome* (who went from *Libanius*'s School about the beginning of *Valens*'s Reign,) neither left *Antioch*, that *Libanius* (who profeſt *Rhetorick* at *Antioch*) might write Letters to him being abſent; nor could he praiſe *Theodoſius*, who at that time was not Emperor. Nor can *Libanius*'s Words be underſtood of any other Emperor, than of *Theodoſius*. who took in his Sons to be Partners with him in the Empire. However, that *Chryſoſtome* did for ſome time practiſe the *Civil Law*, is apparent from the beginning of *his firſt Book de Sacerdotio*. Valeſ.

(*b*) What *Evagrius* this ſhould be, who having left *Libanius's* Auditory long before *Chryſoſtome* had embraced a pious and religious courſe of life, 'tis hard to determine. For I cannot think it was *Evagrius* of *Pontus*, who wa afterwards a Deacon at *Conſtantinople*, under *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, and under *Nectarius*; and thence remov'd into the Solitudes of *Egypt*. *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 382, calls this *Evagrius*, *Chryſoſtome*'s School-fellow, *Evagrius Junior*, Son of the moſt noble *Evagrius* a Citizen of *Antioch*; and ſays that he went into the Deſart before *Chryſoſtome*, and led a monaſtick Life under *Diodorus* and *Carterius*. But, I know not what authority *Baronius* had for this, nor why he ſhould term this Perſon *Evagrius Junior*. Unleſs perhaps he has called this Perſon *Evagrius Junior*, to diſtinguiſh him from *Evagrius Senior* the *Antiochian*, whom he had made mention of before at the year of Chriſt 372, from *Baſilius Magnus*'s *Epiſtle* to *Euſebius* of *Samoſata*; the Words whereof are theſe: ὁ πρεσβύτερος Εὐάγριος ὁ υἱὸς πομπηϊανοῦ τοῦ ἀντιοχέως, ὁ συναπάρας ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν τῷ μακαρίῳ Εὐσεβίῳ. *The Presbyter Evagrius, the Son of* Pompeianus *of* Antioch, *who ſometimes went into the Weſt with the Bleſſed* Euſebius. The *Latin Tranſlator* has rendred it *Evagrius Senior*, &c; whereas he ſhould have tranſlated it, *Evagrius the Presbyter*, &c; concerning whom *Hieronymus* (in the *Chronicon of Euſebius*) writes thus: *Zenobia apud Immas, haud longe ab Antiochia Vincitur*, &c. Zenobia *is conquered at* Immæ, *not far from* Antioch; *in which fight* Pompeianus *the Commander, ſurnamed* Francus, *fought moſt valiantly againſt her: his Family continues at this Day at* Antioch, *from whoſe Race our deareſt* Evagrius *the Presbyter deſcended. Jerome* makes mention of the ſame Perſon in *his Book de Scriptor. Eccleſ.* And in my judgment, this is the *Evagrius*, *Chryſoſtome*'s School-fellow, whom *Socrates* mentions here. For, what *Baronius* writes concerning *Evagrius Junior*, is founded on no Author. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Inſtead of [ἀσκητηείῳ[which is the *Dative Caſe*, the Rules of Grammar do require it ſhould be [ἀσκητηείων, *over the monaſteries*] in the *Genitive Caſe*: the reading in *Sozomen* is the ſame, as was alſo that in *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*'s Copy, as appears from his Verſion. Further, *Baronius* (following indeed the Greek Writers) is of opinion, that theſe *Monaſteries* of *Diodorus*, and *Carterius*,

were ſituated without the City. But a *Learned Perſon*, who has lately publiſhed the *Life of Johh Chryſoſtome in French*, does affirm they were within the City of *Antioch*: to whom notwithſtanding I cannot aſſent. 'Tis more probable, that theſe *Little Houſes* were placed in the *Suburbs*, to the end that Pious and Religious Perſons, who were continually imployed in Contemplation and reading of the ſacred Books, might be far remote from noiſe and diſturbance. But what the ſame *Learned Perſon* objects out of *Theodoret*, (to wit, That *Diodorus* was continually converſant in *Antioch*, and made a couragious reſiſtance againſt the rage and force of the *Arians*;) does in no wiſe weaken our opinion. For *Diodorus*, as often as he pleaſed, could eaſily come out of a Monaſtery in the Suburbs, into the City. *Valeſ.*

Arcadius and *Honorius.*

Of theſe two *Diodorus*, afterwards made Biſhop of *Tarſus*, wrote many Books, being intent upon the bare Letter [and obvious ſenſe] of the Sacred Scriptures; but avoiding the (*d*) Allegorical interpretation thereof. Thus far concerning theſe Perſons. Moreover, *Johannes*, (who (*e*) converſt frequently and familiarly with *Baſilius* (*f*) at that time ordained a Deacon by *Meletius*, but afterwards conſtituted Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*) was made Reader of the *Antiochian* Church, by (*g*) *Zeno* the Biſhop in his return from *Jeruſalem*. Whilſt he continued in the degree of a Reader, he wrote *a Book againſt the* Jews. Having not long after obtained the dignity of a Deacon from *Meletius*, he wrote *his Books concerning Prieſthood*, and *thoſe againſt Stagirius*: Moreover, *thoſe concerning the incomprehenſible nature of God*, and thoſe *concerning* * *ſubintroduced women.* After this, when *Meletius* was dead at *Conſtantinople*; (for he made a journey thither, on account of *Gregorius Nazianzenus*'s Ordination:) *Johannes* made a ſeparation from the † *Meletianiſts*, nor did he communicate with *Paulinus*; but lived quietly for the ſpace of three whole years. Afterwards, when *Paulinus* was dead, he is ordained Presbyter by (*h*) *Evagrius*, *Paulinus*'s ſucceſſor. This (to ſpeak compendiouſly) was *Johannes*'s courſe of life, before his being made Biſhop. He was a Perſon (as 'tis ſaid) ſower and moroſe, by reaſon of his [overmuch] Zeal for temperance; and (as one of his *intimadoes* has reported;) from his younger years more addicted to anger, than baſhfulneſs. Becauſe of his * Sanctity of Life, he was not cautious and circumſpect in relation to things future; and by reaſon of his ‖ plainneſs, he was open and eaſie. He uſed too great a liberty in ſpeaking to thoſe who diſcourſed him. In his teaching, he made it his chief buſineſs to improve the Morals of his hearers: and in his conferences, he was ſuppoſed by thoſe who knew him not, to be proud and arrogant.

(d) *Sozomen* ſays the ſame of *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*; that he expounded the ſacred Scriptures, πρὸς τὸ ῥητὸν, *literally*; but avoided the more abſtruſe and myſtical ſenſe. *Jerome* ſays the ſame concerning him, in *his Book de Scripto. Eccleſ. Extant ejus in Apoſtolum Commentarii*, &c. *his Comments upon the Apoſtle are extant, and many other pieces, belonging rather to Euſebius Emiſenus's Character: whoſe ſenſe altho' he has followed, yet it could not imitate his eloquence, becauſe of his ignorance in Humane* [*or Secular*] *Learning.* *Jerom* ſays, that *Diodorus* has followed *Euſebius Emiſenus*'s ſenſe, that is, his method in explaining the Scriptures. Let us ſee therefore, what ſenſe *Euſebius Emiſenus* has followed. *Jerome* himſelf will inform us; whoſe Words concerning *Euſebius Emiſenus* are theſe: *Magiſque Hiſtoriam Secutus, ab iis qui declamare volunt, ſtudioſiſſime legitur, and having rather followed Hiſtory, he is moſt ſtudiouſly read by thoſe, who have a mind to declaim.* From whence it appears that *Euſebius* in his expoſition of the Scriptures, has chiefly followed the Hiſtorical and Literal ſenſe; but has not touched the Myſtick and Allegorical. For the term Θεωρία comprehends theſe ſenſes. *Allegoria* therefore differs from *Theoria*, as a *ſpecies* does from the *Genus*. Indeed, *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, of whom we now ſpeak, had written a Book with this Title, Τίς διαφορὰ Θεωρίας καὶ Ἀλληγορίας, that is, *what may be the difference between Theoria and Allegoria.* But I wonder at *Jerome*, who ſays that *Diodorus* was inſtructed neither in Eloquence, nor in the knowledge of humane Learning. And yet *Theodoret* (Hiſtor. Book 4.) compares his eloquence to a moſt limpid River; and *Photius* in *his Bibliotheca*) does atteſt, that in his diſcourſes he was clear and perſpicuous. *Valeſ.*

(e) That *Chryſoſtome* converſt familiarly with *Baſilius*, 'tis evident from *Chryſoſtome's Books de Sacerdotio.* But who that *Baſilius* was, concerning whom *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks in thoſe Books, 'tis uncertain. *Socrates* does in this place affirm, that it was *Baſilius Magnus*. *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca*) ſays it was *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Seleucia*. *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 382,) does deſervedly diſprove both theſe Opinions. *Chryſoſtome* ('tis certain) does atteſt in the beginning of his Book, that himſelf and that *Baſilius*, concerning whom he there ſpeaks, had always the ſame Maſters. Now *Baſilius Magnus* learnt Rhetorick at *Athens*: but *Chryſoſtome* was *Libanius*'s hearer at *Antioch* a long while after that. If that were *Baſilius the Great*, whom *Chryſoſtome* affirms to have obtained the principal place amongſt his own Companions and Friends, doubtleſs ſome footſteps of his Friendſhip would at this day be extant in *Baſilius's Epiſtles*. But, amongſt ſo many of his Epiſtles which have been preſerved to our times, there occurs not one, written to our *Johannes*. Wherefore I agree with *Baronius*, who ſays, that that *Baſilius* who was companion to *Chryſoſtome*, was *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Raphanea*, or elſe *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Byblus*. For both theſe Perſons were *Chryſoſtome*'s Contemporaries, in regard they ſubſcribed the *Conſtantinopolitane Council*. Valeſ.

(f) Inſtead of [πώ ποτε μὲν διακόνῳ, *ſometimes made a Deacon*, &c.] In my judgment it ſhould be [πώ τότε μὲν διακόνῳ, *at that time made Deacon*, &c.] For it follows [*but afterwards conſtituted Biſhop of Cæſarea in Cappadocia.*] *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* confirms our conjecture, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion; for thus he renders it, *qui tunc à Meletio factus erat Diaconus, who was then made Deacon by Meletius.* Further, *Baſil* was made Deacon by *Meletius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. But that Book is ſtuft with Fables and Lies. Doubtleſs, in regard *Baſil the Great* was by lawful degrees promoted to be *Reader* and *Presbyter* at *Cæſarea*, (as *Gregorious Nazianzenus* does atteſt, in *his Funeral Oration concerning the praiſes of the ſame Baſilius*) 'tis ſcarce credible, that he ſhould have been made Deacon any where elſe, but at *Cæſarea*. Valeſ.

(g) *Nicephorus* (what Author he follows, I know not,) makes this *Zeno*, Biſhop of *Gaza* or *Majuma*. But, whereas *Zeno* was created Biſhop of *Majuma* in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, (as *Sozomen* relates Book 5. chap. 8.) he muſt neceſſarily be a different Perſon from that *Zeno* who ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader; in regard *Chryſoſtome* was made a Reader in *Valens Auguſtus*'s Reign, about the year of our Lord 370. But *Baronius* (at the Year of Chriſt 382.) ſays that this *Zeno* (by whom *Chryſoſtome* was ordained a Reader of *Antioch*) was Biſhop of *Tyre*, the ſame Perſon who was preſent at the *Conſtantinopolitan Council*; and was then (*Meletius* being abſent) his Deputy in the Church of *Antioch*. In which thing I do really aſſent to *Baronius*. But whereas he reproves *Socrates* there, for his ſaying, that *Zeno* was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; therein *the Cardinal* is evidently miſtaken. For *Socrates* does not make *Zeno* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; he only ſays, that *Zeno* the Biſhop, returning from *Jeruſalem*, Ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader of *Antioch*. Now *Zeno* had made a journey to *Jeruſalem*, either on the account of Prayer, (as it was the cuſtom of thoſe times,) or by reaſon of ſome Eccleſiaſtick Affair. But here ariſes a difficulty. For, if *Zeno* in his return from *Jeruſalem*, Ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader of *Antioch*; the City of which he was Biſhop, muſt neceſſarily be farther remote from *Jeruſalem*, than *Antioch* was; or at leaſt it muſt lie at the ſide of *Antioch*. Which cannot be ſaid of the Cities *Tyre*, and *Gaza*. For both thoſe are far nearer to *Jeruſalem*, than *Antioch* is. Therefore, this *Zeno*, who ordained *Chryſoſtome* Reader of *Antioch*, was Biſhop of ſome other City. In *Baſil the Great's* 69th *Epiſtle*, there is mention of one *Zeno* a Biſhop, who was preſent at the *Antiochian Council under Meletius*: but the name of his See is not ſet down. I know *Palladius* (in the *Life of Chryſoſtome*) does relate, that *Chryſoſtome* was ordained Reader by *Meletius*. But this, in my judgment, is ſo to be underſtood, that that may be ſaid to have been done by *Meletius*, which was performed by *Zeno*, ſupplying his place. *Valeſ.*

Arcadius and *Honorius.*

* See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 7. chap. 30. note (q.)

† That is, *Meletius's* party.

(h) This is the *Evagrius*, of whom we have ſpoken at note (*b*) in this Chapter. But, what *Socrates* ſays, (to wit, that *Chryſoſtome* was ordained Preſbyter, by *Evagrius*,) has but little of probability. For, if that be true which *Socrates* ſays, (I mean, that *Chryſoſtome*, after *Meletius*'s death, abſtained from *Paulinus*'s Communion;) how can it be ſuppoſed that *Chryſoſtome* ſhould admit of *Evagrius*'s Ordination, who was Succeſſor to *Paulinus*? It is better therefore to follow *Palladius*, *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, and others, who relate that *Chryſoſtome* was promoted to the *Presbyterate* by *Flavianus* the Biſhop. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Reſtitude of Life.*

‖ Or, *ſimplicity*, or *ſingleneſs.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning Serapion *the Deacon, and how by his inſtigation* Johannes *became offended with, and an enemy to his Clergy.*

THis being the humour and diſpoſition of *Johannes*, after his promotion to the * Epiſcopate, he was more ſupercilious and ſevere towards his Clergy than was fitting; his deſign in that being (as he expected,) to rectifie the lives of thoſe under him. Immediately therefore

* *Biſhoprick.*

Arcadius and Honorius. fore at his very entry [upon the Bishoprick] he seemed rough and austere to the Ecclesiasticks, and incurred their **Odium*, many of them became his Enemies, and declined him as an angry person. *Serapion* his Deacon incited him to † alienate all Mens minds from himself. And on a time, when all the Clergy were present, he spake aloud to the Bishop, after this manner, *You will never be able (O Bishop!) to get the mastery over these Persons, unless you drive them all out with one Rod.* This expression of his excited an *Odium* against the Bishop. Not long after the Bishop ejected many Persons out of the Church, some for one reason, others for another. But they (as it usually happens in such violent proceedings of Governors,) enter into a Combination against him, and calumniated him to the People. That which induced the hearers to a belief of what was spoken against him, was, that the Bishop would not eat with any body, nor would he upon any invitation go to a Feast. Upon which account most especially, the Calumny against him improved, and grew greater. Upon what design ‖ he refused to eat with any Person, no one could ever certainly tell. For those who are desirous of defending him, say that he had a very weak Stomach, and could hardly digest meat; for which reason he did eat alone. Others affirm, he did this on account of his *Ascetick* and most severe course of life. Whatever of truth there was in this matter, it was of no small advantage to his Accusers, in order to their calumniating him. Notwithstanding, the People did highly approve of him upon account of the Sermons he preach'd in the Church, loved the Man exceedingly, and disregarded those Persons who attempted to accuse him. Moreover, what his Sermons were, (as well those published by himself, as them taken by the Notaries from his mouth as he preach'd them,) how elegant, inviting and perswasive; it is needless now to declare, in regard those that are desirous may read them, and reap abundant benefit from them.

* Hatred.

† Or, *displease all men.*

‖ Or, *he chose to eat with no body.*

CHAP. V.

That Johannes *differed not only with the Clergy, but with the Magistracy also. And concerning* Eutropius *the* Eunuch.

AS long as *Johannes* was offensive to the Clergy only, the designs framed against him were weak and infirm. But after he attempted to reprove many of the Magistracy also, beyond the bounds of what was fit, then the envy against him was much more enkindled. Many things were spoken against him, most whereof were in future believed by the Hearers. But that which made an addition to the calumny, was the Oration at that time spoken by him against *Eutropius*. For *Eutropius* the Eunuch (the chief Person of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor, the † first Eunuch that was vouchsafed the dignity of a *Consul* by the Emperor,) desirous to be revenged upon some persons who had taken sanctuary in the Church, made it his business to get an Edict published by the Emperors, prohibiting any Person from flying into the Churches for sanctuary; but that such as had fled thither should by force be drawn out thence. But [Divine] Vengeance follow'd immediately hereupon: for the Law was promulged, and not long after *Eutropius* himself, having offended the Emperor, made his escape into the Church. The Bishop therefore (whilst *Eutropius* lay under the Altar, and was terrified with fear,) (*a*) sitting in the Pulpit (out of which it had before been his usage to preach, in order to his being heard more easily;) made an Oration in reproof of him. Whereupon he seem'd to give a greater offence to some Persons, because he was not only incompassionate towards an unfortunate Man, but on the contrary even reproved him. *Eutropius* therefore at that time bearing the Consulate, was by the Emperor's order beheaded, for some crimes [he had committed.] His name was rased also out of the † *Fasti Consulares*, and only *Theodorus*'s name, who had been his Colleague in the Consulate, was (*b*) recorded therein. 'Tis reported likewise, that Bishop *Johannes*, making use of his usual freedom and boldness in speaking, did sharply reprove *Gaina* also, at that time *Master of the Milice*, because he took the confidence to make a request to the Emperor, that one of the Churches within the City might be assign'd to the *Arians*, who were of the same opinion with himself. He also reproved several other of the Grandees upon various accounts, with much freedom and boldness; by reason of which liberty of his, he gained the Ill-will of many Persons. Wherefore, *Theophilus* also Bishop of *Alexandria*, soon after *Johannes*'s Ordination, began to consider, how he might undermine and ruin him. And with some Persons that were present he discoursed privately concerning that affair; but he imparted his own design [by Letters] to many others who were at a great distance. For he was not only vexed at *Johannes*'s too great boldness; but also because he had not been able to promote *Isidorus*, a Presbyter under him, to the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. In this posture were Bishop *Johannes*'s affairs; and immediately, at the very beginning of his Episcopate, he felt the pangs of Mischief and Disquietude. But we will declare the matters that concern him, in the procedure of our History.

* Or, *the first of the Eunuchs.*

† Or, *the Catalogue of Consuls.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

(*a*) From this place 'tis apparent, that the Bishops heretofore did not usually Preach to the People out of the Pulpit. For this *Socrates* takes notice of as a thing singular in *Chrysostome*, to wit, That being about to make an Oration, he went up into the Pulpit, that he might be the easier heard by the People. Most commonly the Bishops Preached standing on the steps of the Altar. We are informed hereof from *King Childebert's Constitution*, which *Sirmondus* has recorded, in *his first Tome of the Councils of France*, pag. 300; but it is there imperfect. We will make good one defect in it, from the *most ancient Corbeiensian Manuscript*, after this manner: *Qualiter in sacrilegos Dei injuria vindicetur, nostrum est pertractandum. Et quia fides nostra ut verbo de altario sacerdote faciente quæcunque de Evangelio, Prophetis vel Apostolo fuerit adnuntiatum, in quantum Deus dat intellectum: ad nos querimonia processit*, &c. The sense of these Words, which are very corrupt, is this: *Because the Priests have complained, whilest they make Sermons to the People, that the Bansatrices* [what the import of that Word is, I cannot find] *walk through the fields, and recal the People from the Church; Therefore we command*, &c. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 407, *number* 17. Vales.

(*b*) Hence 'tis, that in the *Fasti* of *Prosperus*, *Idatius*, and *Cassiodorus*, this year has only *Manlius Theodorus* Consul, *Eutropius*'s name being expunged. Concerning *Eutropius*'s death, consult *Zosimus*. Vales.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tyranny of Gaïna *the* Goth, *and the Disturbance raised at* Constantinople; *and concerning his Death.*

I Will now relate an affair worthy to be recorded, which hapned at this very time; and will demonstrate, how Divine Providence freed the City and *Roman* State from the greatest danger imaginable, by unexpected assistances. What that was must now be declared. *Gaina* was by extract a *Barbarian*. Having made himself a

Arcadius and Honorius.

Subject to the *Romans*, and ingaged in a Military Employ, he rose by degrees, and was at length constituted General both of the *Roman* Horse and Foot. When he had gotten so great a power, he knew not himself, nor could he moderate his own mind. But (as the saying is) moved every stone, that he might render the *Roman* Empire subject unto himself. He sent for the whole nation of the *Goths*, out of their own Country. (*a*) And took care that such as were his relations should have the Command of the Military Forces. [Moreover,] when *Tribigildus* (one of his kindred, *Tribune* of those Soldiers lodged in *Phrygia*,) * raised a Rebellion by *Gaïna*'s instigation, and ruined the whole Province of *Phrygia*. *Gaïna* orders the matter so, that the care of affairs there should be committed to himself; to which the Emperor *Arcadius* foreknowing nothing [of his design,] readily yielded. *Gaïna* therefore forthwith made an Expedition, pretendedly indeed against *Tribigildus*; but in reality, with a resolution to turn Tyrant. He took along with him a vast multitude of the *Barbarous Goths*: And when he was arrived in *Phrygia*, laid all places desolate. The *Romans* were on a sudden mightily disturbed, not only by reason of the vast number of *Barbarians* who were with *Gaïna*, but also in regard the [fertilest and] most useful Provinces of the *East* were highly endanger'd. But then the Emperor, in relation to the present juncture of affairs, made use of a prudent and useful advice, and by subtlety made an attempt upon the * *Barbarian*. Having therefore sent [Ambassadors] to him, he took a resolution of appeasing him as well by words, as deeds. Upon *Gaïna*'s demanding two of the eminentest Personages of the *Senatorian Order* (who had born the Consulate, to wit, *Saturninus* and *Aurelianus*, (*b*) Persons whom he look't upon as hinderers of his designs;) to be Hostages; the Emperor, in compliance with the necessity of that time, deliver'd them, tho' unwillingly. These two Persons, prepared to undergo death for the good of the publick, with a couragious mind obey'd the Emperor's Command. And went forth to meet the *Barbarian*, some distance from *Chalcedon*, at a place term'd the *Hippodrome*; being ready to endure whatever he should inflict. However, they suffered no harm. But *Gaïna* made use of * dissimulation, and came to *Chalcedon*, whither the Emperor *Arcadius* also went to meet him. The Emperor and the *Barbarian* going both into that Church, where the body of the Martyr *Euphemia* is deposited, bound themselves in a mutual Oath, that they would not frame designs one against the other. The Emperor, a Person that had a pious and religious esteem for an Oath, and was upon that account beloved by God, kept the ingagement he had entred into: But *Gaïna* violated it, and receded not from the design he had proposed to himself; but was intent upon causing burnings and plunderings, both at *Constantinople*, and also (if he could have effected it) over the whole *Roman* Empire. The * City therefore was turned into a *Barbary*, by reason of the innumerable multitudes of *Barbarians*, and its Inhabitants had the treatment of Captives. [Moreover,] so great was the danger which hung over the City, that a vast *Comet*, which reached from Heaven even to the Earth, the like to which no Man ever saw before, gave an Indication thereof. *Gaïna* therefore in the first place impudently attempted to make plunder of the Silver, publickly exposed to sale in the Shops: But when, by a preceding rumour thereof, [the Money-changers] abstained from exposing their Silver on their Tables; he betook himself to another design. And in the dead of the night he sends a great number of *Barbarians* to burn down the Palace. At which time it was perspicuously manifested, how great a care God had of the City: For a multitude of Angels appeared to the Traytors, in the form of armed Men of a vast stature; whom the *Barbarians* conjecturing to be in reality a numerous and valiant Army, were astonished thereat, and departed. When this was told to *Gaïna*, it seemed incredible to him. For he well knew, that the greatest part of the *Roman* Army was then absent, being engarison'd in the Cities [of the East.] On the next night therefore, and on many nights afterwards, he sent other persons. But when he had sent (*c*) several Men, who still brought him the same news; (for God's Angels always appeared in the same form to the Traytors:) at length he himself went accompanied with a great multitude, to be a spectator of the Miracle. Supposing them really to be an * army of Soldiers, which on the day-time lay concealed, and in the night opposed his attempts; he framed a design, prejudicial (as he thought) to the *Romans*, but which (as the event demonstrated) was of great advantage to them. For feigning himself to be possest with a Devil, upon a pretence of prayer, he goes to the Church of *John the Apostle*, which is seven miles distant from the City. The *Barbarians* went out with him, and carried out their Arms covertly, hiding them partly in Tuns, and partly making use of other devices. But when the Guard that kept the City-gates, having discover'd the trick, would not suffer them to carry out their Weapons, the *Barbarians* drew their Swords, and slew those that guarded the Gates. Hereupon arose a horrid tumult in the City, and death seem'd to be impendent on all persons. Notwithstanding, at that time the City suffer'd no harm, all its Gates being strongly fortified. But the Emperor made a seasonable use of prudent advice, and having proclaim'd *Gaïna* a publick Enemy, he commanded those *Barbarians* who were left in the City to be slain. One day (*d*) after the Men that guarded the gates had been slain, the Souldiers that were present engage the *Barbarians* within the City-gates, near the Church of the *Goths*. For all the *Barbarians* who were left in the City, flock'd thither. They burnt the Church, and slew a great many of the *Barbarians*. *Gaïna*, informed that those

Arcadius and Honorius.

(*a*) In my judgment this place is thus to be mended: τὰς δὲ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιηδέους τῆς στρατιωτικῶν ἀειθμῶν ἀρχὰς ἔχειν παρεσκεύαζεν. *and took care, that such as were his Relations*, &c. This our emendation is confirmed by *Sozomen*, Book 8. chap. 4. in these words: καὶ τὰς ἐπιηδέους σωσλ. ματάρχας καὶ χιλιάρχους καλέσησεν, *and he made his Relations Centurions and Tribunes*. Had Translators consulted this passage in *Sozomen*, they would have rendred *Socrates*'s Words here more happily. *Vales.*

* Or, *made an innovation.*

* That is, *Gaïna.*

(*b*) This passage is thus to be worded; ὃς ὑπενόει ἐκκόψειν αὐτῷ τὰς ὁρμάς, *Persons whom he look't upon as hinderers of his designs*; So *Nicephorus* expresses it. Moreover, of these two Persons *Aurelianus* bore the Consulate on this very year with *Stilichon*: *Saturninus* had been Consul long before with *Merobaudes*, in the times of *Theodosius Senior*. Concerning whose praises *Themistius* speaks at large in his *Gratiarum Actio to Theodosius on account of the Peace made with the Goths, and on account of the Consulate given to the said Saturninus*. Vales.

* Ἀκκιζόμενος, *making a feigned*, or, *disdainful refusal.*

(*c*) Instead of [διαφόρους, *in a various manner*] we read [διαφόρους, *several Men*;] and so *Musculus* seems to have read. *Vales.*

* Or, *a multitude.*

(*d*) I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote [μετὰ τὴν τῶν πυλωρῶν ἀναίρεσιν, *after the Men that guarded the Gates were slain*;] not [μετὰ τὴν τῶν πυλῶν ἀναίρεσιν, *after the pulling down of the Gates*.] For on the foregoing day, those that guarded the Gates had been slain by *Gaïna*'s Soldiers, as *Socrates* has related a little before. *Vales.*

Arcadius and Honorius

those of his Party who could not get out of the City were slain; and perceiving that his artifices were unsuccessful to himself, left [St. *John*'s] Church, and went in great haste into *Thracia*. Being come to *Cherronesus*, he endeavoured to pass over from thence, and take *Lampsacus*, that from that place he might make himself Master of the Eastern parts. But upon the Emperor's sending Forces immediately both by Land and Sea, there appear'd another admirable effect of Divine Providence. For whilst the *Barbarians*, wanting Vessels, patch'd up Ships in great haste and disorder, wherein they might make their passage; on a sudden the *Roman* Navy appear'd in sight, and a West-wind blew hard. The *Romans* had a safe and easie passage in their Ships; but the *Barbarians*, together with their Horses in their Ships, were tossed up and down and dispersed by a Storm, and at length perish'd in the Sea. Many of them also were destroy'd by the *Romans*. After this manner a numerous multitude of *Barbarians* at that time lost their lives in their passage: But *Gaina* got away from thence, and flying through *Thracia*, falls into the hands of another party of the *Roman* Forces, by whom he is slain, together with the *Barbarians* in his company. Let thus much be sufficient to have been said (*e*) cursorily concerning *Gaina*. If any one be desirous of having an accurate account concerning the transactions of that War, let him read *the Gainëa* written by *Eusebius* (*f*) *Scholasticus*, who at that time was an Auditor of *Tro lus* the *Sophista*: and having been a Spectator in that War, he related the transactions thereof in four Books, written in *Heroick Verse*. For which Poem he was much admir'd, whilst the memory of things was fresh. And very lately *Ammonius* the *Poet* has made a Poem upon the same subject, and recited it before the Emperor *Theodosius Junior*, in his sixteenth Consulate which he bore with *Faustus*; on account whereof he has gotten a great repute. Moreover, this War was ended on the Consulate of *Stilichon* and *Aurelianus*. And the year following *Fravitus* bore a Consulate, a Personage by extract indeed a *Goth*, but one who had expreſt much of kindness and fidelity towards the *Romans*, and had done them excellent service in this very War. On which account he had the dignity of a Consulate bestow'd upon him; in whose year the Emperor *Arcadius* had a Son born, *Theodosius the Good*, on the tenth of * *April*. Let thus much be said concerning these things. [Further,] whilst the affairs of the *Roman* State were thus tempestuous, those intrusted with the Prelacy, abstained not in the least from framing designs and plots one against another, to the reproach and disgrace of the *Christian Religion*: For at this very time the Bishops employ'd their thoughts about raising Tumults and Insurrections against one another. Which mischief took its beginning from *Egypt*, upon this account.

(*e*) The true reading seems to be [ὡς ἐν ὀπισθεμῇ περὶ τῶ Γαϊνᾶ, *cursorily concerning Gaina*. Vales.

(f) *Advocates* were heretofore stiled *Scholastici*, as we are informed from *Justinian*'s 74th and 76th *Novel*. The words of *Macarius* in *his* 15th *Homily*, are these: ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πράγματα, &c. *He that desires to have a Knowledge in Forensian Cases, goes and learns the Letters. And when he has been the first there, he goes to the School of the* Romans, *where he is the last of all. Again, when he comes to be the first there, he departs to the School of the* Pragmatici [*or, Practicants*] *where he is again the last of all, and* Arcarius [*or* Novice.] *Then, when he is made a Scholasticus, he is* Novice, *and the last of all the Lawyers. Again, when he becomes the first there, then he is made a President* [*or Governour of a province.*] *And when he is made a Governour, he takes to himself an Assistant or Assessor.* See more in *Franciscus Pithœus's Glossary ad Novellas Juliani Antecessoris*, and in *Meursius's Glossary* in the term Σχολασικὸς, & Ἀρχιδεμίου. Vales.

* In the year of *Christ* 401, See Book 6. chap. 11. note (*c*.)

CHAP. VII.

Arcadius and Honorius.

Concerning the Dissention which hapned between Theophilus [*Bishop*] *of* Alexandria, *and the* Monasticks *in the Solitude. And how* Theophilus *Anathematized* Origen's *Books.*

A Little before this, a question had been started, whether God were a Body, and had a Human shape; or whether He were incorporeal and foreign, not only to an Human, but to any other bodily shape and figure whatever. By reason of this question, Strifes and Contentions were raised amongst many Persons: Some favouring this Opinion; others patronizing that. The greater part of the plainer and simpler sort of *Ascetick* asserted, that God was corporeal, and had an Human shape. But most [other Persons] condemned their Opinion, affirming God to be incorporeal, and wholly void of all manner of bodily shape. Whose Sentiment was embraced by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*; insomuch that he inveighed publickly in the Church, in the presence of the People, against those who asserted God had an Human shape; and did himself expresly determine, that he was incorporeal. The *Egyptian Ascetick* understanding this, left their Monasteries and came down to *Alexandria*; and raised a tumult against *Theophilus*, condemning him of impiety, and were resolved to kill him. *Theophilus*, acquainted herewith, was sorely perplex'd, and employ'd his Mind about a Device, how he might avoid the Death he was threatned with. Being come into the presence of these Men, he addrest himself to them in a flattering way, and spoke to them on this wise: * *Whilst I behold you, to my thinking I see God's Countenance.* These words mollified the fury of the Monks. Their return to him was: *If you speak true,* [to wit,] *that God's Countenance is like ours, then* Anathematize Origen's *Works. For some Persons have disputed out of those* (*a*) *Books, and contradicted our Opinion. But if you refuse to do that, expect from us the treatment due to impious persons and enemies to God. I will do whatever seems good to you,* (replied *Theophilus*) *and therefore be not incensed against me: For I my self do abominate* Origen's *Books, and judge those Persons worthy of reprehension who admit of them. Theophilus* therefore having after this manner given the Monks a repulse, dismiss'd them. And perhaps the Controversie about this matter, which had come to this height, might have been quieted and appeased; had there not another accident forthwith hapned of this nature. There presided over the Monasteries in *Egypt* four pious Men, *Dioscorus*, *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*, and *Euthymius*. These Persons were own Brothers; and from their [stature of] body were termed *The Long*. They were eminent both for their [Sanctity of] life and eloquence: And upon that account their fame was very great at *Alexandria*. Moreover, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* had an high esteem for these Men. For which reason he constituted one them, to wit, *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Hermopolis*; having by force constrained him [to undertake that Eccleſiastick Charge.] Two more of them he intreated to continue with him, and could scarcely perswade them to it: But in regard he was Bishop, at length he forced

* Or, *I look upon you in the same manner that I do behold the face of God.*

(*a*) The passage in *Origen* (wherein he disputes against those who affirmed God was endued with an humane shape,) is extant in *Theodoret*, in *his Questions upon Genesis*, chap. 20. [quoted] from *Origen's Comments* upon *Genesis*. Vales.

Arcadius and Honorius.

them [to ſtay;] and (*b*) having honour'd them with the Dignity of Clergy-men, he committed the diſpoſal of [the Revenue of] the Church to them. They, neceſſitated thereto, ſtay'd; and diſcharged their Office of Stewardſhip very well. Notwithſtanding, they were diſpleaſed, becauſe they could not philoſophiſe as they had a mind to do, nor be intent upon [their ſtudies of] an *Aſcetick* Diſcipline. But when in proceſs of time, they were of opinion that their Souls received harm, in regard they perceived the Biſhop wholly intent upon Lucre, and making it his chief concern to amaſs Money together, (and upon that account, as 'tis commonly ſaid, *moving every ſtone*,) (*c*) then they refuſed to live any longer with him, ſaying, they were in love with the Solitude, and preferr'd that before a City-life. The Biſhop, as long as he was ignorant of the true reaſon [why they reſolved to be gone,] entreated them to ſtay. But after his perceiving himſelf condemned by them, he was fill'd with rage, and threatned to do them all manner of miſchief. When they, diſregarding his menaces, were departed into the Solitude; *Theophilus* being (as may be conjectured) a perſon of an hot and haſty temper, raiſed no ſmall diſturbance againſt theſe perſons; but ſet all engines to work to create them trouble. He forthwith entertained an hatred for their Brother *Dioſcorus* alſo, Biſhop of *Hermopolis*. For he was ſorely vexed at him, becauſe the *Aſceticks* were his favourers, and had an high veneration for him. He very well knew, that he could no way damnifie theſe perſons, unleſs he could make the Monks their enemies. He therefore makes uſe of this method. 'Twas certainly known to him, that thoſe Men, in their frequent diſputes with him, [had ſtrongly aſſerted] that God was incorporeal, and in no wiſe had a human ſhape: For, human paſſions do of neceſſity accompany an human ſhape. And this had been diligently inquired into by the Antients, eſpecially by *Origen*. Although this was *Theophilus*'s own ſentiment concerning God, yet that he might be revenged of his enemies, he was not aſhamed of contradicting what he and they had well and truly aſſerted. But * impoſed upon moſt of the Monks; perſons innocent indeed and ſincere, but who were unſkilful in learning, yea moſt of them illiterate. For he ſends Letters to the Monaſteries in the Solitudes, giving them advice that they ought not to be perſwaded by *Dioſcorus*, nor his Brethren, who affirm God to be incorporeal. For God (ſaid he,) according to the [teſtimony of the] Sacred Scriptures, hath eyes, ears, hands, and feet as Men have. But thoſe Perſons about *Dioſcorus*, being followers of *Origen*, do attempt to introduce an * impious opinion; to wit, that God hath neither eyes, nor ears, nor feet, nor hands. With this impoſture he deceives moſt of the Monks; and there ariſes a very hot diſſention amongſt them. Such as had their minds † cultivated with Learning, were in no wiſe caught with this fraud; but continued their adherence both to *Dioſcorus* and *Origen*. But the ſimpler ſort, who were the moſt in number, and had the greateſt warmth and zeal, forthwith made an inſurrection againſt the Brethren. A diviſion therefore was made amongſt them, and they reproach'd one another as impious Perſons. *Theophilus*'s Party term'd the Brethren *Origeniſts* and impious Perſons. On the contrary, the other Faction ſtiled thoſe inſtigated by *Theophilus* || *Anthropomorphitæ*. Whereupon no ſmall contention aroſe, and an irreconcilable war was kindled between the Monks. As ſoon as *Theophilus* underſtood that his deſign ſucceeded according to his own mind, he went to *Nitria* (where the Monaſteries are) accompanied with a great multitude, and (*d*) Arms the Monks againſt *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren. They having been in great danger of loſing their lives, at length with great difficulty made their eſcape. *Johannes* of *Conſtantinople* was in the interim wholly ignorant of what had been done in *Egypt*: and he grew famous for his Learning and Eloquence, on account whereof he became eminent [in all places.] He was alſo the firſt Perſon that enlarged the Prayers [uſually made] in the *Nocturnal Hymns*, [which he did] for this reaſon.

Arcadius and Honorius.

(*b*) *Johannes Launoius* (in *his Book concerning the true interpretation of the ſixth Canon of the Nicene-Council*) produces this paſſage in *Socrates*, to prove, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ordained all the *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, throughout all *Egypt*. For he remarks, that *Theophilus* did two things here. Firſt, he made *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Hermopolis*; then he ordained his two Brothers Clergy-men, and joyned them to the ſame *Dioſcorus*. 'Twas indeed *Launoius*'s opinion, that *Ammonius* and his brother were by *Theophilus* made Clergy-men of the *Hermopolitane* Church. Which was alſo the Sentiment (as I ſee) of the *Author of the Sacred Geography*. But in my judgment, both theſe Perſons are miſtaken. For *Theophilus* made them not Clergy-men of the *Hermopolitane* Church; but kept them with himſelf, and ordained them Clerks of his own (that is, of the *Alexandrian*) Church. This is atteſted by *Socrates*, in theſe words: δύο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρεκάλεσε συνεῖναι αὐτῷ, *Two more of them he entreated to continue with him.* Beſides, the following words in *Socrates* do more clearly evince this: For *Socrates* adds, that being made Stewards of the Church by *Theophilus*, in the firſt place they were diſpleaſed, becauſe being raviſhed from the Solitude, they had no further leiſure to mind the *Monaſtick Philoſophy*. But at length, when they diſcerned *Theophilus*'s incredible Avarice and deſire of riches, and perceived themſelves vitiated by converſing with him, they requeſted a diſmiſſion from him. From which Words the proof is ſufficient, that they converſt with *Theophilus*; and being as it were his Companions and Domeſticks, had an inſight into his Vices and Rapines: For they were the *œconomi*, that is, the *Stewards of the Revenue of the Church*. Moreover, theſe *Learned Men* were impoſed upon by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus's Verſion*; who has rendred this paſſage in *Socrates* thus: *Quamobrem Dioſcorum violenter tractum*, &c. *Wherefore he took Dioſcorus by force, and made him Biſhop of Hermopolis. Two more of them he intreated to dwell with him, and* (altho' a *Biſhop*) *ſcarcely prevailed: having ordained them, he made them Stewards of the Church.* Valeſ.

(*c*) Inſtead of [παρητεῖτο τε, *and they refuſed* [I read [παρητεῖτο τότε, *then they refuſed.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Wound in.*

† Or, *exerciſed in.*

|| That is, *perſons that affirmed God had an humane ſhape.*

(*d*) *Socrates* conceals the true reaſon why thoſe *Monks*, termed *The Long-Brethren*, were driven out of the Monaſteries of *Nitria* by *Theophilus*. For, they were forced from thence, becauſe they were defenders of *Origen*, whom, together with his Errors, *Theophilus* had condemned in the *Alexandrian Synod*. *Socrates* ſeems to have been impoſed upon by ſome Perſon that was an *Origeniſt*, who favouring *Ammonius* and his Brethren, had given *Socrates*, a Narrative of that buſineſs, otherwiſe than it really was. *Baronius*, not content to fix the *Novatian Hereſie* upon our *Socrates* does openly call him an *Origeniſt*. But we only ſay this, that *Socrates* had this his relation from ſome one of *Ammonius*'s friends. I do not in the leaſt doubt, but *Theophilus*, out of a grudge and hatred towards *Ammonius* and his brethren, made the Errors of *Origen* and the Crime of Hereſie his pretext only; as he did afterwards frame the ſame Calumny againſt *John Chryſoſtome*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Prayers of the Nocturnal Hymns [*ſung*] *by the* Arians *and* Homoöuſians; *and concerning the ingagement which hapned between them: and that the ſinging of* Hymns *in parts, wherein one ſang one Verſe, another another, had its original from* Ignatius (*a*) Theophorus.

(*a*) So the holy Martyr *Ignatius* is uſually ſtiled. This term is differently accented in the Greek, which makes its import different alſo. For if it be written Θεοφόρος, it denotes *a Divine Perſon, one whoſe Soul is full of God.* If it be Θεόφορος, its import is paſſive, and implies *one born or carried by God.* We are told by many Learned Men, that *Ignatius* had this title from our Saviour's taking him up in his arms. For, he was that very Child (they ſay) whom our Saviour (*Mar.* 9. 36.) *took up, and ſet in the midſt of his Diſciples.* Others, on the contrary, affirm this Story to be groundleſs and uncertain. See Dr. *Cave's Life of Ignatius.*

The

Arcadius and Honorius.

THE *Arians*, as we have said, had their meetings without the City. Every week therefore, as often as the Festival days occurr'd (I mean the Sabbath, and Sunday,) whereon Assemblies were usually held in the Churches, they flock'd together within the City, about the publick *Piazza's, and sang Hymns adapted to the *Arian* Heresie, answering one another by turns. And this they did for the most part all night long. Early in the morning they sang the same *alternative Hymns*, passed through the midst of the City, out of its Gates, and so went to the places where they met. But in regard they would not desist from making use of such terms as gave a provocation to the Assertors of the *Homoöusian* Opinion: (for they frequently sang such words as these; *Where are they who affirm Three to be One Power?*) *Johannes* being afraid, lest any of the more ignorant sort might be drawn away from the Church by such Hymns, in opposition to them appoints some of his own People, that they might employ themselves in singing of *Nocturnal Hymns*, and by that means both obscure the Sedulity of the *Arians* about these things, and also confirm his own Party [the Orthodox] in the profession of their Faith. This design of *Johannes*'s was seemingly good and useful; but the conclusion of it was Disturbance and Dangers. For, in regard the Hymns of the *Homoöusians*, in their singing them in the night, were performed with more of pomp and show: (for *Johannes* invented Silver-Crosses, whereon were carried Wax-tapers lighted; the Empress *Eudoxia* being at the charge hereof:) the *Arians*, who were very numerous, and possest with an envious emulation, resolved to be revenged, and to make an attack against them. For by reason of that power and sway which they had formerly had, they were as yet hot and ready for such conflicts, and likewise they despised their Adversaries. Without delay therefore, on one of those nights they engaged. *Briso*, the *Empress*'s *Eunuch*, who at that time was the Singers Instructor, received a wound in his Forehead by a Stone: and moreover, some Persons on both sides were slain. The Emperor incensed hereat, prohibited the *Arians* from singing their Hymns any more in publick. Such, as we have declared, were the Transactions then. We are further to relate, whence this usage of singing *alternative Hymns* in the Church had its original. (*b*) *Ignatius* the the third Bishop of *Antioch* in *Syria* from the Apostle *Peter*, who also converst with the Apostles themselves, saw a Vision of Angels, praising the Holy Trinity by singing of *alternative Hymns*, and he deliver'd that way of singing, which he had seen in his Vision, to the *Antiochian* Church. Whence the same Tradition was spread over all other Churches. This is the account we have received concerning *alternative Hymns*.

* *Covered, or, Arched Walks.*

(*b*) I cannot imagine whence *Socrates* had this Story. For 'tis manifest, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first Persons, who in *Constantius*'s Reign divided the Quires of Singers at *Antioch* into two parts, and gave them *David*'s Psalms, to be sung *alternatively*, or *by turns*: which usage being first practised at *Antioch*, afterwards spread over all the Churches of the World. *Theodoret* attests this in his *Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24. as does also *Theodorus Mopsuestenus* (a Person ancienter than he) who lived in the same times with *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. *Theodorus*'s words are quoted by *Nicetas in Thesauro Orthodoxæ fidei, lib.* 5. *cap.* 30. Altho' that way of singing Psalms seems to have been used by the *Syrians*, before *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*'s times. For *Theodorus* writes, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first Persons, who translated that kind of *Psalmodie* which they term *Antiphonæ*; [That is, *when one singeth one Verse, another another*] out of the *Syrian* Language into the *Grecian*; and that those two Persons appeared almost the only Authors of this thing, to all the parts of the World. What therefore the *Syrians* had done long before *Flavianus*'s time, (to wit, in singing of *David*'s Psalms *alternatively* in *Syriack*,) that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* ordered to be done, by the *Grecians* of *Antioch* in their singing the Psalms in *Greek*. Vales.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning those termed The Long Monks, *and how* Theophilus *having conceived an implacable hatred against* Johannes *upon their account, made it his business to get him deposed* [*from his Bishoprick.*]

Arcadius and Honorius.

NOt long after this, the Monks together with *Dioscorus* and his Brethren, went from the Solitudes to *Constantinople*. They were accompanied by *Isidorus*, a Person for whom *Theophilus* had heretofore had a great *love; (*a*) but was then become his most deadly enemy upon this account. One *Peter* was (*b*) *Chief-Presbyter* of the *Alexandrian* Church. *Theophilus* had conceived an hatred against him, and took a resolution of ejecting him out of the Church. He charged him with this accusation, that he had admitted a Woman, by Sect a *Manichæan*, to [a participation of] the sacred Mysteries, before he had brought her off from the *Manichæan* Heresie. But in regard *Peter* said that the Woman had renounced her Heresie, and that she had not been admitted [to the *Eucharist*] contrary to *Theophilus*'s mind; *Theophilus* was for that reason highly incensed, in regard he was calumniated. For he affirmed himself to be wholly ignorant of what had been done. *Peter* therefore summon'd *Isidorus* to attest, that the Bishop was not ignorant of what had been done concerning the Woman. It hapned that *Isidorus* was at that very time at the Imperial City *Rome*: For he had been sent by *Theophilus* to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, that he might make a reconciliation between him and *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For *Meletius*'s Adherents made a separation from *Flavianus* on account of his Oath, as has been declared * before. *Isidorus* therefore being returned from *Rome*, and summon'd by *Peter* to give in his evidence, affirm'd that the *Manichæan* Woman was admitted [to the Sacrament] agreeable to the Bishop's consent: and that the Bishop himself administred the [Sacred] Mysteries to her. Hereupon *Theophilus* was highly enraged, and out of anger ejected them both [out of the Church.] This was the occasion of *Isidorus*'s accompanying *Dioscorus* and his Brethren to *Constantinople*; that the designs which had fraudulently been formed against them, might be inspected and laid open before the Emperor himself, and *Johannes* the Bishop. *Johannes* informed hereof, gave the Men an honourable reception;

* *See the second Chapter of this Book.*

(*a*) Besides this reason of *Theophilus*'s hatred against *Isidorus*, *Sozomen* (Book 8. Chap. 12.) relates two other causes. The first was, because *Isidorus* had refused to give evidence in favour of *Theophilus*'s Sister. The second, because he had reproved *Theophilus* for his over-much diligence in building Churches, whereby he wasted the Money of the Church, which ought rather to have been bestowed on the poor. I am easily induced to believe, that these were the Reasons of *Theophilus*'s hatred against *Isidorus*; in regard both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do expressly attest it. Notwithstanding, *Isidorus* was not for these reasons ejected out of the Church; but was condemned by the sentence of the Bishops, on account of *Origen*'s Errors, which he maintained; as *Baronius* has long since informed us from *Palladius* in *Lausiaca*. Vales.

(*b*) S *Arsacius*, who succeeded *Chrysostome* in his Bishoprick, is term'd πρωτοπρεσβύτερος, *Chief-Presbyter*, in the *Acts of the Synod ad Quercum*; and one *Martyrius* is stiled πρωτο-διάκονος, *Chief-Deacon*. *Sozomen* calls this *Peter Arch-Presbyter*. This is a name of honour, not of ancientness. For the Bishops Elected whom they pleased out of the *Colledge of Presbyters* to be *Arch-Presbyters*, as *Liberatus* informs us in *his Breviarium, chap.* 14. Vales.

* *See Book 5. chap. 15.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

ption; and excluded them not from communion of the Prayers; but ſaid, he would not allow them a Communion of the [Sacred] Myſteries, before *cognizance* had been taken of their Caſe. Whilſt the affair was in this poſture, a falſe report is brought to the hearing of *Theophilus*, as if *Johannes* had both admitted them to the Sacred Myſteries, and was alſo ready to give them aſſiſtance. Wherefore [*Theophilus*] made it his whole buſineſs, that he might not only be revenged upon *Dioſcorus* and *Iſidorus*, but caſt *Johannes* alſo out of his [Epiſcopal] Chair. He ſends Letters therefore to the Biſhops of every City, concealing indeed his own deſign, and to appearance blaming therein *Origen*'s Books only: [notwithſtanding,] *Athanaſius*, (who lived long before him,) in confirmation of his own Faith, has frequently made uſe of the authority and teſtimony of *Origen*'s Writings, in *his Orations againſt the* Arians.

CHAP. X.

That Epiphanius [*Biſhop*] *of* Cyprus *being alſo led away by* Theophilus's *Frauds, convened a Synod of Biſhops in* Cyprus, *to determine againſt* Origen's *Writings; and reproved* Johannes *for reading* Origen's *Books.*

HE became reconciled alſo to *Epiphanius* Biſhop of *Conſtantia* in *Cyprus*, with whom he had heretofore diſagreed. For *Theophilus* (*a*) had been angry with *Epiphanius*, in regard he entertained abject thoughts of God, and ſuppoſed Him to have an Human ſhape. Altho' *Theophilus* embraced theſe ſentiments concerning *God*, and reproved thoſe who ſuppoſed the Deity had an human ſhape; yet by reaſon of the hatred he had conceived againſt ſome other perſons, he openly denied his own thoughts; and at that time entredinto a *friendſhip* with *Epiphanius* (with whomhe had before been at difference) as if he had altered his mind, and entertained now the ſame ſentiment with him concerning God. He was very earneſt with *Epiphanius* likewiſe, to convene a Synod of the Biſhops in *Cyprus*, that therein *Origen*'s Writings might be condemned. *Epiphanius* being by reaſon of his ſingular piety, a perſon of a plain diſpoſition, and unacquainted with ſubtlety, was ſoon induced into error by *Theophilus*'s Letters. And having aſſembled a Synod of the Biſhops within the Iſland [*Cyprus:*] prohibits the reading of *Origen*'s Books. He ſent Letters alſo to *Johannes*, intreating him to abſtain from reading *Origen*'s Works; and [requeſting] that he alſo would convene a Synod, and make the ſame determination he had done. *Theophilus* therefore having wound in *Epiphanius*, a perſon famous for his piety, to embrace his own Opinion; and perceiving that his deſign throve according to his wiſh; became more confident, and he alſo himſelf (*b*) aſſembled many Biſhops; in which Convention (agreeable to what had been done by *Epiphanius*) a ſentence of Condemnation was pronounced againſt the Writings of *Origen*, who had been dead (*c*) almoſt two hundred years: Not that this was *Theophilus*'s principal deſign, but [he did it chiefly] to be revenged on *Dioſcorus* and his Brethren. *Johannes* gave little heed to what he was acquainted with, either from *Epiphanius*, or *Theophilus* himſelf; his mind being wholly employ'd about preaching in the Churches; and for that indeed he was extraordinarily eminent: But he altogether ſlighted the Plots and Deſigns form'd againſt him. But after it came to be apparently known to moſt perſons, that *Theophilus* made it his buſineſs to diveſt *Johannes* of his Biſhoprick, then all thoſe Men who had an hatred for *Johannes*, joyn'd in their raiſing calumnious complaints againſt him. And many, as well of the Clergy, as of the *Grandees* who had a great intereſt in the Imperial Palace, ſuppoſing they had a very fair opportunity offer'd them of being reveng'd upon *Johannes*, procured a Grand Synod to be convened at *Conſtantinople*, ſending into divers parts [for the Biſhops,] partly by Letters, and partly by Meſſengers.

(*a*) 'Tis falſe that *Epiphanius* was ever ſo ſimple, as to be addicted to the *Hereſie* of the *Anthropomorphitæ*; he had indeed once received a check upon that account from *John* [Biſhop] of *Jeruſalem*. But *Jerome* has refuted this Calumny, and alſo *Epiphanius* himſelf, in *that Sermon* he Preach'd at *Jeruſalem* in the preſence of *John* himſelf; as *Jerome* (in *his Book to Pammachius concerning the Errors of John of Jeruſalem*) and *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 393) do relate. Wherefore, there was no need of *Theophilus*'s feigning himſelf an *Anthromoporphite*, to curry favour with *Epiphanius*. Both *Socrates* and *Sozomen* were impoſed upon by ſome *Origeniſt*, a favourer of *Ammonius* and *Dioſcorus*, who told them theſe things. For 'twas uſual with the *Origeniſts*, (as *Baronius* has truly remarked,) to fix the Crime of this Hereſie upon the Catholicks, by whom they were condemned. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) *Socrates* (and *Sozomen* who has followed him herein) is miſtaken here, in ſuppoſing that the *Alexandrian Synod* (wherein *Theophilus* condemned *Origen*'s Books togerher with *Origen* himſelf,) was held after that *Synod* convened at *Conſtantia* by *Epiphanius*. 'Tis manifeſt, that *Theophilus* did firſt of all convene a Synod at *Alexandria*, and condemn that *Hereſie* in the Year of Chriſt 399. Which was done after many Conferences concerning that matter, held by the Biſhops who came thither, as *Poſtumianus* informs us in *Sulpicius*'s *Dialogues de Vita B. Martini.* After this *Theophilus* ſent a *Synodick Letter* to all the Biſhops, and he wrote a particular Letter to *Epiphanius*, beſeeching and intreating him that he would convene all the Biſhops of the Iſland, condemn the ſame Hereſie himſelf, and ſubſcribe his *Synodick Letter.* This Letter of *Theophilus*'s is at this day extant, tranſlated by St. *Jerome.* Valeſ.

(*c*) Περὶ διακοσίων ϗ πεῤῥίπου ἐτῶν. The particle ϗ muſt be expunged. Moreover, *Socrates* here uſes a perfect number for an imperfect. And for this reaſon he adds the Term πεῤῥίπου, That is, *almoſt*, or, *thereabout.* But if we would ſpeak exactly, above fifty Years muſt be taken from this number. For *Origen* died on the year of Chriſt 252, as may be made out from what we have ſaid at *note* (*b.*) *and* (*c.*) *on Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 7. chap. 1. From which Year, to the Year of Chriſt 399. wherein *Origen* was condemned in the *Alexandrian* Synod, there are 147 Years. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the [two] Syrian [*Biſhops*] Severianus *and* Antiochus, *how, and for what reaſons they diſagreed with* Johannes.

MOreover, the *Odium* againſt *Johannes* was increaſed by another accident of this nature. There were two Biſhops who flouriſhed at one and the ſame time, by extract they were *Syrians*, [their names] *Severianus* and *Antiochus. Severianus* preſided over the Church of *Gabala*, which is a City of *Syria*; and *Antiochus* over that of *Ptolemaïs* ſcituate in *Phœnice.* Both of them were famous for their eloquence. *Severianus*, though he ſeemed to be very learned, yet did not pronounce the *Greek* tongue exactly and diſtinctly: But whilſt he ſpoke *Greek*, his voice had the ſound of *Syriack. Antiochus* came firſt to *Conſtantinople* from *Ptolemais*; and having for ſome time preached in the Churches [of the Imperial City] with much labour and diligence, and from them procured a great ſum of Money, at length he return'd to his own Church. Afterwards, *Severianus* being inform'd that *Antiochus* had gotten a great deal of Money at *Conſtantinople*, made it his buſineſs to follow his example. Having therefore exerciſed himſelf very much, and made many Sermons, he alſo comes to *Conſtantinople*: Where being courteouſly received by *Johannes*, for ſome time

Arcadius and Honorius.

time he sooth'd and flatter'd him, and was notwithstanding belov'd and honour'd by *Johannes*: In the mean while he grew famous for his Sermons, and on that account came to be taken notice of by *many great Persons [of that City,] and moreover, by the Emperor himself. It hapned that the Bishop of *Ephesus* died at that time, and *Johannes* was necessitated to make a journey thither, to Ordain a Bishop there. Being come to that City, and finding some endeavouring to promote one person to the Bishoprick, others another, (who also strove very earnestly amongst themselves upon their account, for whom they gave their Suffrages;) *Johannes* perceiving that both Parties contended most pertinaciously, and would in no point be obedient to his admonitions; resolv'd to put an end to their contention † without offending either Faction. He himself therefore preferr'd one *Heraclides* his Deacon, by Nation a *Cypriot*, to the Bishoprick. And so both parties desisted from their mutual contentiousness, and were at quiet. On this account *Johannes* was necessitated to stay at *Ephesus* a long time. In the interim that he resided there, *Severianus* gain'd a greater esteem and affection from his Auditors at *Constantinople*. Nor was this thing unknown to *Johannes*; for he was with all imaginable speed acquainted with whatever hapned. When therefore *Serapion* (of whom we have made mention || before) suggested to him, and told him the Church was disturb'd by *Severianus*, *Johannes* was provok'd to an emulation. And having *incidently taken away many Churches from the *Novatianists* and *Quartodecimani*, he return'd to *Constantinople*; where he renew'd the care of the Churches which were incumbent on him. But no body was able to endure *Serapion*'s haughtiness and arrogancy. For in regard he was in possession of a great † interest and favour with *Johannes* the Bishop, his insolence towards all persons was immeasurable. For which reason the *Odium* also against the Bishop became more enkindled. Upon a time, when *Severianus* pass'd by him, *Serapion* refused to give him the honour due to a Bishop; but continued in his seat, demonstrating thereby that he had but a very slight esteem for *Severianus*'s presence. *Severianus* could not bear this contempt of *Serapion*'s; but spake with a loud voice to those that were present, *If* Serapion *dies a Christian, Christ hath not been incarnate.* *Serapion* having gotten this occasion, did openly render *Severianus* odious to *Johannes*. He conceal'd the first Clause of the Sentence [to wit, this,] *if* Serapion *dies a Christian*; and affirmed that *Severianus* said these words only; *doubtless Christ was not incarnate.* He produced a company of his own [Faction] who attested that the words were spoken so. *Johannes* therefore forthwith expels *Severianus* out of the City. This coming to the knowledge of the Empress *Eudoxia*, she reproves *Johannes* severely; and gave order that *Severianus* should forthwith be recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. He return'd immediately. But *Johannes* declined his Friendship; nor could he be induced thereto by the intreaty of any one: (*a*) Till at length the Empress *Eudoxia*, in that Church called *The Apostles*, cast her Son *Theodosius* (who now reigns successfully, but was then a very young Child;) before *Johannes*'s knees, and (*b*) having adjured him frequently by her Son, with much ado prevailed with him to admit of a friendship with *Severianus*. After this manner therefore these two persons were to appearance reconciled: nevertheless they retained a rancour'd mind one towards another. Such was the occasion of *Johannes*'s grudge against *Severianus*.

Arcadius and Honorius.

(*b*) Κατ' αὐτῆς καθοσιώσασα; that is, *having adjured him by her Son.* The Ancients were wont to swear by their Children. So in *Virgil*,

Per caput hoc juro, per spem surgentis Iüli:
I swear by this head, by the hopes of growing Iülus.

After the same manner, when they would earnestly entreat others, they beseeched them by their own Children, and whatever they accounted most dear to themselves. In this manner therefore *Eudoxia* spake to *John Chrysostome* at that time: *By this little Child of mine, and your spiritual Son, whom I brought forth, and whom you received out of the sacred Font; be reconciled with Severianus.* 'Tis certain *Chrysostome* had received *Theodosius Junior* out of the sacred Font, as *Nicephorus* relates at this place, from *Simeon Metaphrastes*, as I suppose. Further, *Baronius* places this reconciliation between *Severianus* and *Chrysostome*, on the year of Christ 401, in the Consulate of *Vincentius* and *Fravitus*. But I had rather place it on the year following. For if it be true that *Theodosius* was then baptized, as we have before related from *Nicephorus*: (which is indeed highly probable; for *Eudoxia* would not have brought her Son into the Church of *the Apostles*, had he not been baptized,) this reconciliation of the Bishops must necessarily happen on the year of Christ 402. For *Theodosius Junior* was born in the Consulate of *Vincentius* and *Fravitus*, (which was the year of Christ 401,) on the *tenth of April*. For so 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in *Marcellinus*'s which was put forth by *Onufrius*. The reading in *Sirmondus's Edition* is false, where it is *on the eleventh of April*. Nor is it credible, that he could be baptized, except in the *Easter* of the year following. If any one notwithstanding shall maintain, that he was baptized a few days after his birth, (as *Marcus* seems to intimate in the Life of *Porphyrius*;) we will allow this, if he pleases. But who can believe, that *Theodosius* would have been brought into the Church by his Mother, and placed at *Chrysostome*'s Knees, before he was a year, or ten months old? *Vales.*

CHAP. XII.

That Epiphanius *coming to* Constantinople, *held Assemblies, and perform'd Ordinations contrary to* Johannes's *mind, that he might gratifie* Theophilus.

NOt long after this, *Epiphanius* the Bishop comes again out of *Cyprus* to *Constantinople*, induced thereto by *Theophilus*'s * Persuasives: He brought along with him † a Copy of a Sentence of a Synod, wherein he had not declared *Origen* to be Excommunicate, but had condemned his Books only. Arriving therefore at Saint *John's Church*, (which is distant from the City seven miles,) and coming ashoar, he celebrated an Assembly, (*a*) and ordain'd a Deacon; after which he entred into the City. That he might gratifie *Theophilus*, he declined *Johannes*'s Invitation, and lodg'd in a little private House. And having called together those Bishops who were then at *Constantinople*, he produced a Copy of the Sentence of Condemnation against *Origen*'s Books, and recited it to them: (*b*) Having nothing

* Or, *Arguments.*

† Τὰ καθαιρετικά.

(*a*) *Baronius* does at this place charge *Socrates* with a mistake, because he has said, that *Epiphanius* ordained a *Deacon* at *Constantinople* without the consent of the Bishop of that City. *Epiphanius* had done that before indeed, in the Diocess of *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as 'tis manifest from *Jerome's Epistles*. *Socrates* therefore, and those that follow him, being deceived by the likeness of the name, thought that was done by *Epiphanius* in the Church of *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*. This device *Baronius* has invented to excuse *Epiphanius*. But, who sees not, that there is no reason, why we should charge *Socrates* with a Lye in those things which he himself was able to see? For what had been once done already by *Epiphanius* in *Palestine*, why could it not afterwards be made use of by the same person at *Constantinople*? For there was not so great a Crime in ordaining a Deacon, whom notwithstanding *Epiphanius* ordained not, but by the entreaty of the multitude that stood by. *Vales.*

(*b*) Instead of [οὐκ ἔχω, *I have nothing*;] it must doubtless be [οὐκ ἔχων, *having nothing*:] in the next line, we read [ἐδόκει, *were pleased*] instead of [δοκεῖ, *is pleased.*] Vales.

thing

(*a*) Instead of [ἕως ἧς ἡ Βασίλισσα, *in so much that the Empress,*] in my judgment it should be [ἕως ἕ ἡ Βασίλισσα, *till at length the Empress.*] Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Nicephorus* words it expressly according to our Emendation. And in *Sozomen* the reading is [εἰσότε, *until,*] which is the same. *Vales.*

† Or, *Liberty and confidence.*

|| Book 6. Chap. 4.

* Or; *By the by.*

† Or, *Without labour*, or, *trouble.*

Or, many of the Magistracy.

Arcadius and Honorius.

thing againſt thoſe Books, only he and *Theophilus* were pleaſed to reject them. Some [of the Biſhops] out of that reverential reſpect they bore *Epiphanius*, ſubſcribed [this Decree of the Synod:] but very many of them refuſed to do it. Amongſt which number was *Theotimus* Biſhop of *Scythia*, who made this anſwer to *Epiphanius*. *I* (ſaid he) *will neither be injurious* (O Epiphanius!) *to a perſon who has long ſince ended his life piouſly; nor dare I attempt ſo impious a fact, as to condemn what our Predeceſſors have in no wiſe rejected; eſpecially when I do not* (c) *know of any ill Doctrine in the Books of* Origen. After this he produced a Book of *Origen*'s, which he began to read, and ſhewed the Eccleſiaſtick Expoſitions [of Scripture which occur'd] therein. And then he ſubjoyn'd theſe words: *They who are injurious towards theſe Writings, perceive not that they fix a reproach upon thoſe very Books, concerning which theſe are written.* This was the return which *Theotimus* (a perſon eminent for his piety and rectitude of life) made to *Epiphanius*.

(c) I agree with *Chriſtophorſon*, who inſtead of [εἰπὼν, *ſaying*,] reads [εἰδὼς, *know*,] and at the end of this clauſe placed a full point.

Notwithſtanding, 'tis my opinion, that there is ſomething more wanting here. And after the word [*Origen*,] I think the place is to be made thus, ταῦτα εἰπὼν, προκομίσας τὸ βιβλίον, *having ſaid theſe Words, and produced a Book*, &c. Which is confirmed by *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus*. And *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* ſeems to have read thus, as may be collected from *his Verſion*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIII.

What this Writer can ſay in defence of Origen.

BUt in regard ſuch as delight in reproaching have impoſed upon many perſons, [and diſſwaded them] (a) from reading *Origen*, as being a blaſphemous Author; I judge it not unſeaſonable to diſcourſe a little concerning them. Vile and deſpicable Men, who of themſelves can't arrive at an eminency, are deſirous of getting a name from diſcommending thoſe who are better than themſelves. The firſt perſon affected with this diſtemper was *Methodius* Biſhop of that City in *Lycia*, named *Olympus*. Then, *Euſtathius*, who for ſome ſmall time preſided over the Church in *Antioch*. After him *Apollinaris*, and laſtly, *Theophilus*. This Meſs of Revilers have calumniated *Origen*, but proceeded not in one and the ſame method. For one has broke out into an accuſation againſt him upon one account, another upon another; whereby each of them hath ſufficiently demonſtrated, that he has fully approv'd of whatever he has not found fault with. For, whereas one blamed him in particular for one opinion, another for another, 'tis manifeſt that each of them has wholly admitted as true what he had not cavil'd at; his ſilence approving of that which he hath not found fault with. *Methodius* indeed, when [in his Books] he had in many paſſages ſeverely inveigh'd againſt *Origen*, does notwithſtanding, afterwards unſay as it were what he had written; and (b) admires the

(a) Inſtead of [ὡς βλασφήμως προσέχειν τῷ Ὠριγένει;] the reading in the *Sfortian* M. S. is [ὡς βλασφήμῳ, &c.] And ſo *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* found it written in his Copy. For thus he renders it: *Sed quoniam detractores*, &c. *But, in regard Revilers, ſtealing privily upon many Perſons, do reject* Origen, *as being a blaſphemous Author.* I read therefore, ὡς βλασφήμῳ μὴ προσέχειν τῷ Ὠριγένει, *from reading Origen, as being a Blaſphemous Author.* Valeſ.

(b) *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 402, does charge *Socrates* here with a Lye and Calumny, becauſe he has ſaid, that *Methodius* (when he had before reproach'd *Origen*,) did afterwards unſay what he had written, and ſet forth his praiſes, in *his Dialogue*, intitled *Xenon*, or, *the Houſe of Entertainment*. But *Baronius* affirms, that *Methodius* did the contrary. For when he had at the beginning praiſed *Origen*, afterwards having detected his Errors, he inveighed againſt him. *Baronius* confirms this by the teſtimony of *Euſebius*, who in the *ſixth Book of his Apology in defence of Origen*, writes thus: *Quomodo auſus eſt Methodius nunc contra Origenem ſcribere, qui hæc & hæc de Origenis locutus eſt dogmatibus: How dares Methodius write againſt Origen now; who has ſpoken in theſe and theſe things, concerning Origen's opinions.* Which paſſage in *Euſebius* St. *Jerome* quotes in *his Apology againſt Rufinus*, to ſhew that he had done the ſame thing which *Methodius* did before. But *Euſebius*, in the place now cited, does not ſay plainly, that *Methodius* had heretofore ſpoken in defence of *Origen*. For he does not ſay [*who had ſpoken theſe and theſe things concerning Origen's opinions*;] but only [*who has ſpoken*, &c.] which may be taken on either ſide. Therefore *Socrates* is not to be charged with a Lye. *Valeſ.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

Man in the (c) the *Dialogue* to which he gave the title of *Xenon*. But, I do affirm, that an addition is made to *Origen*'s commendation, from his being accuſed by theſe perſons. For they who have gotten together whatever they ſuppoſed blame-worthy [in *Origen*,] and notwithſtanding have not in the leaſt found fault with him in theſe their Collections, for entertaining ill Sentiments concerning the Holy Trinity; [theſe Men, I ſay,] do moſt evidently demonſtrate and bear witneſs to his true and orthodox Piety. And by their not blaming him in this particular, they commend him by their own teſtimony. But *Athanaſius* a couragious Defender of the *Homoëuſian* Faith, in *his Orations againſt the* Arians, does with a loud voice cite this Author as a Witneſs of his own Faith, interweaving his words with his own, after this manner; *The moſt admirable and laborious* Origen, (ſays he) *does by his own teſtimony confirm our ſentiment concerning the Son of God, affirming him to be coeternal to the Father.* They therefore who reproach *Origen*, have forgot themſelves [and conſider not] that they ſpeak calumniouſly of *Athanaſius*, *Origen*'s praiſer. But let thus much be ſaid concerning *Origen*. We will now return to the Sequel of our Hiſtory.

(c) *Methodius* wrote his Books commonly in the way of Dialogues, as 'tis apparent both from *his Convivium* which is lately publiſhed by *two Learned Men*; and alſo from *his Books concerning the Reſurrection*, which he had written againſt *Origen*, out of which Book *Epiphanius* produces ſome Excerptions. Of the ſame ſort alſo was *this Dialogue of his*, entitled *Xenon*, that is, *the Houſe of Entertainment, wherein Strangers lodge.* For, as παρθενὼν is *a place for Virgins to dwell in*: ſo ξενὼν is *an houſe for Strangers to dwell in.* This Book is mention'd in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, in *his Excerptions* out of Methodius's Book περὶ ἀναστάσεως, where theſe Words occur; ὅτι τὸ μὴ βάλητε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ, μηδὲ τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, μαργαρίτας μὲν τὰ ξενῶνος τὰ μυστικώτερα τῆς θεοσδότου θρησκείας ἐπαλαμβάνοντος μαθήματα· χοίρους δὲ, &c. ὁ μέγας μεθόδιος φησὶν, &c. Which place the Tranſlator has rendred very ill; it is thus to be tranſlated: *That paſſage in the Goſpel* [*caſt not that which is Holy to the Dogs, nor your Pearls before Swine*] *is thus explained by Xenon, that by Pearls are meant the more ſecret Myſteries of the Religion given by God: But the Hogs*, &c. *the great* Methodius *ſays*, &c. In this *Dialogue* therefore, the title whereof was περὶ ἀναστάσεως, an *Origeniſt* was introduced, by name *Xenon*, againſt whom *Methodius* diſputed, not in his own name, but under another Perſon, as *Photius* atteſts in the *ſame Excerptions*. Hence 'tis apparent, that that Dialogue of *Methodius*'s, which *Socrates* calls *Xenon*, was the ſame to which *Photius* gives the title of περὶ ἀναστάσεως; and that *Xenon* is not to be taken for a place of Entertainment, but rather for a Perſon of the Dialogue. But ſome one will object that in that Dialogue intitled *Xenon*, *Origen* was highly commended by *Methodius*; but in the Dialogue intitled περὶ ἀναστάσεως, *Methodius* terms him a *Centaure*. For ſo 'tis extant in two places in *Photius's Excerptions*. My anſwer is, 'Tis poſſible that in the beginning of that work *Methodius* might have been ſharp upon *Origen*; but in the end or procedure of it, he might ſound a Retreat as it were, and praiſe him highly. Notwithſtanding, if any one has a mind ſtifly to maintain, that the *Dialogue Xenon* differed from that intitled περὶ ἀναστάσεως; then it muſt be ſaid, that *Xenon* was not the proper name of any Man, but that thereby is rather meant the whole School of *Origen*, wherein the *Auditors* and Scholars, coming from divers parts of the World, were converſant. Which in my judgment is the trueſt. 'Tis certain, if ξενὼν were a proper name, it would have the accent in the laſt ſyllable ſave one. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

How Johannes (*having invited* Epiphanius *to come to* [*his Palace*] *and he refuſing, and continuing his holding of ſeparate Aſſemblies in the Church of* the Apoſtles,) *admoniſhed and reproved him, becauſe he did many things contrary*

Arcadius and Honorius.

ry to the Canons. *Whereat* Epiphanius *was terrified, and returned into his own Country.*

(a) JOhannes was in no wise angry, because *Epiphanius* had made an Ordination in his Church, contrary to the Canon; but invited him to come and lodge with him in the Bishop's Palace. But his answer was, that he would neither abide nor pray with him, unless he would expel *Dioscorus* and his Brethren out of the City, and with his own Hand subscribe the Condemnation of *Origen*'s Books. Upon *Johannes*'s deferring to do these things, and saying, that nothing ought rashly to be done * before a determination of a General Council; those that hated *Johannes* put *Epiphanius* upon another design. For they contrive, that at the next Religious Meeting which was to be held in that Church named *The Apostles*, *Epiphanius* should come forth publickly, † condemn *Origen*'s Books in the presence of all the People, excommunicate *Dioscorus* with his Followers, and reproach *Johannes* as being their Favourer. These things were declared to *Johannes*; and on the day following he sends this message to *Epiphanius* (who was then come into the Church) by *Serapion*: Epiphanius, *you do many things contrary to the Canons: First, you have made an Ordination in the Churches under my jurisdiction: Then, without any order from me, you have made use of your own Authority, and ministred in the said Churches: Further, when* (b) *heretofore I invited you hither, you refused to come, and now you allow your self that liberty. Take heed therefore, lest a tumult being raised amongst the People, even you your self incur danger therefrom.* *Epiphanius* having heard this, was fearful and went from the Church: and after he had very much blamed *Johannes*, he began his Voyage to *Cyprus*. Some Persons report, that at his going a-board, he spake these words to *Johannes*; *I hope you will not die a Bishop.* And, that *Johannes* made him this return, (c) *I hope you will not arrive in your own Country.* I cannot positively affirm, whether they who told me these things spake true. Notwithstanding, the event was agreeable to both their wishes. For *Epiphanius* arrived not at *Cyprus*: but (d) after his departure died on Shipboard. And within a small time afterwards, *Johannes* was deposed from his Bishoprick, as we shall manifest in the Procedure of our History.

(a) This beginning is too abrupt, especially in regard that digression concerning *Origen* went before. Therefore in my judgment [ὁ ιβ'] should precede here; and the beginning of the next period should run thus, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, &c. *But his answer was*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *before a Catholick*, or, *general disquisition.*

† Or, *reproach.*

(b) Instead of [πάλιν τε, *and again*] in should in my judgement be [πάλαι τε, *heresofore*;] (although this reading be disagreeable to all our Copies.) For 'tis opposed to what follows, to wit, νῦν, *and now.* Valesius.

(c) The reading in the *Florentine* M.S. pleases me best; which is, ἔλπιζε μὴ ἔτι ἐλθεῖν τῆς σαυτῆς πατρίδος, *do not hope*, Epiphanius, *to arrive in your own Country.* Moreover *Baronius* does deservedly deride these Predictions of *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*, as fabulous and forged. *Socrates* relates them not for true and certain; and in my judgment they are altogether misbecoming Holy Men and Bishops. *Vales.*

(d) *Baronius* does indeed place that contest between *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome* on the year of Christ 402. But concerning *Epiphanius*'s death he dissents from *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and the other Writers, who tell us that *Epiphanius* died soon after, in his return to his own Country. And yet *Baronius* confesses he knows not what year *Epiphanius* died on. Which I cannot wonder at enough. For, whereas *Baronius* follows *Socrates* and *Sozomen* in the foregoing account of that contest which hapned between those two eminent Men, what reason had he to dissent from them about the death of *Epiphanius*? They might indeed have been mistaken in their relating the mutual predictions between *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*; nor is it sufficiently manifest, whether or no they predicted those accidents to one another. But the things which hapned to each of them are most certain, nor could *Socrates* and *Sozomen* be ignorant hereof; the latter of whom was born at *Salamine*, over which City *Epiphanius* had been Bishop; and both of them were almost *Epiphanius*'s Contemporaries. It ought therefore to be look't upon as certain from the Testimony of these Writers, that *Epiphanius* died at the close of the year 402, or at least on the beginning of the year following, before the *Synod ad Quercum*. *Theophilus* informs us hereof in *his Epistle to Saint Jerome*, which Epistle *Jerome* has prefixt before *Theophilus's Paschal Epistles*, which he translated into Latin. For in that Epistle *Theophilus* speaks these Words concerning *Chrysostome* then condemned: *Sed ille, ut cætera ejus flagitia taceam*, &c. *But he, not to mention his other Crimes, admitted the Origenists to a familiarity with himself, and preferred many of them to the Sacerdotal Office; on account of which fact he sadned the Heart of that Man of God* Epiphanius *of Blessed memory, (who shined as a bright Star in the World amongst the Bishops;) and therefore has deserved to hear, Babylon is fallen, is fallen.* Where you see *Theophilus* does speak of *Epiphanius*, as then dead; for he terms him *a Man of blessed memory*: and he intimates, that he was dead before *Chrysostome*'s condemnation. *Vales.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

CHAP. XV.

How after Epiphanius's *departure*, Johannes *made an Oration against Women; and upon that account (by the care of the Emperor and Empress,) a Synod was convened against him at* Chalcedon, *and he is ejected out of his Church.*

FOR, after *Epiphanius*'s departure, *Johannes* received information from some Persons, that the Empress *Eudoxia* had animated *Epiphanius* against him. And being a Person of an hot disposition, and of a ready expression; without delay he made an Oration in the presence of the People, the Contents whereof were the discommendation of all Women in general. The Multitude understands that Oration so, as if it had been * Ænigmatically spoken against the Empress. This Speech is taken in writing by malevolent Persons, and brought to the knowledge of the Emperors. The Empress, informed hereof, complains to the Emperor of the injury done to herself, and tells him that her injury was his. She takes care therefore, that *Theophilus* should forthwith convene a Synod against *Johannes*: which was in like manner urged by *Severianus*; for he still retained his grudge [against *Johannes*.] Within a small interval of time *Theophilus* arrived, accompanied with many Bishops of several Cities [whom he had summoned together by his Letters.] (a) For, the Emperor had given him this order by his Rescript. They flock'd together, most especially, who were displeas'd with *Johannes*, some upon one account, others on another. They came also, whom *Johannes* had turned out of their Bishopricks. For *Johannes* had deposed many Bishops in *Asia*, when he went to *Ephesus* upon account of ordaining *Heraclides*. All of them therefore by agreement met together at *Chalcedon* [a City] of *Bithynia*. One *Cyrinus* was at that time Bishop of *Chalcedon*, by Country an *Egyptian*: he prated [against *Johannes*] before the Bishops, terming him an impious, arrogant, and (b) inexorable person. With which words the Bishops were mightily pleased. But *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, against his will trod upon *Cyrinus*'s Foot: By reason of which

* *Darkly*, or, *obscurely.*

(a) Instead of [τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βασιλέως, &c. *Moreover, the Emperor*, &c.] I had rather it should be [τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ, &c. *For the Emperor*, &c.] Moreover, *Chrysostome* affirms the contrary to what is said here, in *his Epistle to Innocentius.* For he says that the Emperor commanded *Theophilus* to come to *Constantinople* alone, to plead his cause: but, that he came thither, accompanied with many Bishops. Notwithstanding, these things may be reconciled, if we say that the Emperor gave *Theophilus* this order at the beginning, when the Monks had gone to him. But afterwards, at the instigation of his Wife *Eudoxia*, who was angry with *Johannes*, the Emperor commanded *Theophilus* to bring the Bishops out of *Egypt* with him. *Vales.*

(b) Ἀγύναλον. *Musculus* renders it *inflexible*. *Christophorson*, *contumacious*. I would rather translate it *inexorable*; for we fall down at their knees, whom we entreat. *Vales.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

which [bruiſe] he was in very great pain, and could not accompany the reſt of the Biſhops in their paſſage to *Conſtantinople*. He therefore continued at *Chalcedon*; but the reſt ſailed over to *Conſtantinople*. None of the Eccleſiaſticks went out to meet *Theophilus*, nor ſhewed him the uſual reſpect and honour: for he was known to be [*Johannes*'s] open Enemy: The *Alexandrian* Mariners, whoſe Corn-fleet hapned to be there at that time, went forth to meet him, and received him with Acclamations of joy. *Theophilus* refuſed to go into the Church; but took up his Lodgings in one of the Emperor's Houſes named *Placidiana*. Thence-forward many Accuſations were raiſed againſt *Johannes*. Nor was there the leaſt mention now made concerning *Origen*'s Books: but they betook themſelves to other abſurd Criminations. Proviſion being made before-hand after this manner; the Biſhops met at a place * near the City *Chalcedon*, termed *the* † *Oak*, whither they cited *Johannes* immediately, that he might make his Defence in reference to the Crimes he ſtood charged with. Together with him they ſummoned in *Serapion* [his Deacon,] *Tygris* the Eunuch a Preſbyter, and *Paulus* a Reader: For theſe perſons were accuſed together with *Johannes*. But, in regard *Johannes* made uſe of an (*c*) Exception, and refuſed thoſe that ſummon'd him in, as being his Enemies, and appeal'd to a General Council; without any delay they cited him in four times. And when he refuſed to appear, but gave them always the ſame anſwer, they condemned and depoſed him; laying no other crime to his charge but this only, that upon his being ſummon'd he would not appear. This buſineſs being divulged about Evening, put the Multitude into the greateſt tumult imaginable: Wherefore they watched all night long, and would in no wiſe ſuffer him to be taken out of the Church; but cried out, that cognizance ought to be taken of his Caſe in a greater Synod. But the Emperor iſſued out an Order, that he ſhould be forthwith ejected, and carried into baniſhment. *Johannes* underſtanding this, ſurrendred himſelf about (*d*) Noon on the third day after his Depoſition, the People not knowing of it. For he was afraid, leſt a diſturbance might have been raiſed upon his account. So, he was convey'd away [and baniſh'd.]

* Ἐν πρεσαείῳ. See *Euſeb.* Book 7. chap. 11. note (*k.*)

† This was termed *Synodus ad Quercum*, *the Synod at the Oake.*

(*c*) Inſtead of [παρεγγέφετο] it muſt be [παρεγεγράφετο;] which is a *Civil-Law term*: and we have rendred it accordingly. For παρεγγεγραφὴ ſignifies *an Exception*. Now, one kind of *an Exception* is *a refuſal of the Judges*. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) *John Chryſoſtome*, in *his Epiſtle to Innocentius*, does atteſt, that he was put on Shipboard late in the Evening, and carried into baniſhment. Upon which account *Baronius* (at the year of Chriſt 403.) charges *Socrates* with a miſtake here. But, if we weigh *Socrates*'s Words more attentively, we ſhall find them in no wiſe differing from *Chryſoſtome*'s Narrative. For *Socrates* ſays only, that *John Chryſoſtome* ſurrendred himſelf to the Emperor's Officers about Noon; therefore the Emperor's Officers might detain him in cuſtody till the Evening, that he might be conveyed into baniſhment with more ſecrecy in the Night. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

That the People being tumultuous becauſe of Johannes*'s Baniſhment*, Briſo *the Empreſs's Eunuch was ſent to bring him back again to* Conſtantinople.

BUt the people were intolerably tumultuous. And (as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes) thoſe who had conceived an hatred againſt him changed it into a compaſſion, and affirmed him to be calumniated, whom a little before they deſired to ſee depoſed. Upon this account therefore they were the moſt numerous, who exclaimed both againſt the Emperor, and the Synod of Biſhops. But in a more eſpecial manner they fix'd the occaſion of this Calumny upon *Theophilus*. For his frauds could no longer continue concealed; but [were diſcovered] both by many other Indications, and alſo becauſe he communicated with *Dioſcorus* and thoſe termed *the Long Monks*, (*a*) ſoon after *Johannes*'s Depoſition. Moreover, at that time *Severianus* alſo (in a Sermon which he preach'd in the Church,) ſuppoſing he had a fair opportunity of reproaching *Johannes*, ſpake theſe words; *Although* Johannes *had been condemned for nothing elſe, yet his proud and arrogant Diſpoſition was crime ſufficient* [*juſtly to have occaſion'd*] *his Depoſition: For Men are forgiven all other ſins, but God reſiſteth the proud, as the Sacred Scriptures inform us.* Theſe words provoked the Populace to an higher degree of obſtinacy and contention. Upon which account the Emperor gave order he ſhould be recalled immediately. *Briſo* therefore the Empreſs's Eunuch being ſent, found him at (*b*) *Prænetum*, which is a *Mart-Town* ſituate over-againſt *Nicomedia*, and ordered him to return to *Conſtantinople*. But in regard *Johannes*, after he was recalled from exile, refuſed to enter the City, before he had been declared innocent by a greater Judicature; in the interim therefore he abode in a (*c*) Village at ſome diſtance from the City, termed *Marianæ*. Upon his making delays, and refuſing to enter the City, the multitude was incenſed, and forthwith began to caſt forth opprobrious words againſt the Emperors. For which reaſon *Johannes* was forced to return. The Populace therefore went forth to meet him with [expreſſions of] the greateſt veneration and honour, and bring him directly to the Church; entreating him to place himſelf in the Epiſcopal Chair, and (according to his former uſage) pray for peace upon the People. Upon his refuſing to do that, and ſaying that that ought to be done by a determination of the Judges, and that it was neceſſary his Condemners ſhould acquit him; the Multitude grew more inflamed, they being extreamly deſirous to ſee him ſitting in the [Epiſcopal] Chair, and to hear him preach again. At length the People prevailed to have theſe things done. And *Johannes* after he had ſeated himſelf in the Epiſcopal Throne, according to his uſage prayed for peace upon the People: and moreover, being conſtrained thereto, he preach'd a Sermon to them. This thing gave *Johannes*'s Adverſaries an occaſion of [raiſing] another calumnious accuſation againſt him. But concerning that they ſpake not one word then.

Arcadius and Honorius.

(*a*) Yea, he communicated with them, before *Johannes*'s caſe was inquired into: So *Sozomen* tells us, Book 8. Chap. 17. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) This Town's name is written variouſly. *Hieroeles*, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus*, and *Moſchopulus*, call it *Prænetum*. *Sozomen* terms it *Pronetum*. In *Stephanus* 'tis named *Pronellus*. In the *Peutingerian Table* it is called *Pronetio*. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) *Mannours* or *Farms* in the Country, which were at ſome diſtance from the City, were termed προάστια, (as we have remark'd in our Notes on *Euſebius*, Book 7. Chap. 11.

Note (*k.*) which the *Latines* do ſometimes call *Suburbana*. Wherefore *Ortelius* (in *his Theſaurus Geographicus*) is miſtaken, in his ſuppoſing *Marianæ* to be the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; whereas it was a Village, ſo called from its Builder. *Sozomen* (Book 8. Chap. 18.) ſays this Village was then in the Empreſs *Eudoxia*'s poſſeſſion. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

That upon Theophilus*'s deſiring to diſcuſs* Heraclides*'s Caſe then abſent, and* Johannes*'s refuſing to permit him; an Engagement hapned between the* Conſtantinopolitans *and* Alexandrians, *wherein many were ſlain* [*on both ſides.*] *At which* Theophilus *and ſome other of the Biſhops were terrified, and fled from the City.*

BUT in the firſt place *Theophilus* made an attempt to call in queſtion *Heraclides*'s (*a*) Ordi-

Arcadius and Honorius.

(a) Ordination; that ſo, if poſſible, he might make that an occaſion of depoſing *Johannes* [again.] *Heraclides* was not preſent; but was judged in his abſence, as if he had unjuſtly beaten ſome perſons, bound them with chains, and cauſed them to be led thorow the midſt of the City *Epheſus*.

(a) Inſtead of [καὶ ἐ τῶ χειροτονίαν] it muſt undoubtedly be [τὰ χ τῶ, &c.] which is the reading in *Gregorius Alexandrinus's Life of John Chryſoſtome.* Valeſ.

And when *Johannes* and his Favourers affirmed, that judgment ought not to be * paſſed upon thoſe that were abſent; the *Alexandrians* on the contarry ſtifly maintained, that *Heraclides*'s Accuſers ought to be admitted, altho' they accuſed him in his abſence. A tumult therefore and a ſharp conflict was forthwith raiſed between the *Conſtantinopolitans* and *Alexandrians*: And a Fight hapned, wherein many perſons received Wounds, and ſome few were ſlain. Upon ſight hereof, *Theophilus* fled forthwith to *Alexandria*: the ſame thing was done by the other Biſhops, excepting a few who were of *Johannes*'s ſide. And all of them made their eſcape and went to their own [Sees.] Theſe things hapning thus, *Theophilus* was condemned in the judgment of all Men. Moreover, the *Odium* againſt him was increaſed, by his being in no wiſe aſhamed of reading *Origen*'s Books conſtantly after this. Being asked therefore by one, Why he would again embrace thoſe Books which he had condemned; his anſwer was this: Origen's *Books are like a Meadow adorned with all manner of Flowers. If therefore I find any thing that is good amongſt them, I gather it: But if any thing appears thorny to me, that (in regard it pricks) I let alone.* This was *Theophilus*'s anſwer; but he conſidered not this ſaying of wiſe *Solomon*: that † *the words of the wiſe are as goads, and they ought not to kick againſt them, who are pricked by the Precepts* [*contained therein.*] For theſe reaſons *Theophilus* was condemned in all Mens judgments. Moreover *Dioſcorus* (one of thoſe termed *The Long Monks*) Biſhop of *Hermopolis*, (b) died a little after *Theophilus*'s Flight, and was honoured with a ſplendid Funeral, being buried in the Church at *The Oak*, wherein the Synod upon *Johannes*'s account had been convened. But *Johannes* employed himſelf about Preaching: And ordains *Serapion* (for whoſe ſake the *Odium* againſt him had been raiſed,) Biſhop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*. Not long after, theſe things alſo hapned.

Or, made againſt.

†The firſt Clauſe of this ſaying occurs at Eccleſ. 12. 11.

(b) *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Hermopolis* was dead before the Convention of the *Synod at the Oak*, nor was he buried in the Church at the Oak, but in St. *Mocius*'s Church; as *Sozomen* atteſts Book 8. chap. 17. St *Mocius*'s Church was at *Conſtantinople*, as we are informed by *Procopius* and others. Wherefore *Socrates* is miſtaken, who attributes that to *Dioſcorus*, which was rather to have been ſaid concerning his Brother *Ammonius*. For, at ſuch time as the *Synod ad Quercum* [that is, *the Synod at the Oak*,] was ſummoned, *Ammonius* fell into a diſtemper: And having paſſed over to *The Oak*, he died ſoon after, and was honoured with a ſpendid Funeral, in the *Monaſtery* of that place, as *Sozomen* tells us, Book 8. Chap. 17. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning Eudoxia's *Silver-Statue; and how* Johannes *was ejected out of his Church again on account of that, and conveyed into Baniſhment.*

(a) *Marcellinus* (in *his Chronicon*) reports this Statue to have been

A (a) Silver-Statue of the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, cloath'd in a Womans Stole, had been erected upon a Pillar of *Porphyry*. It ſtood upon an high *Baſis*, not very near, nor yet at any great diſtance from that Church named *Sophia*: but there was the diſtance of half the breadth of the Street between them both. At that Statue publick Sports were uſually celebrated. *Johannes* ſuppoſing what was performed [at thoſe Sports] to be done in contempt to the Church, re-aſſumed his uſual freedom and boldneſs of *Speech*, and armed his Tongue againſt thoſe who did theſe things. And whereas he ought to have perſwaded the Emperors by an *Exhortatory Oration*, to abſtain from ſuch Sports; he did not do that; but made uſe of his ſharp Tongue, and reproach'd thoſe who had ordered theſe [Sports] to be performed. The Empreſs did again apply theſe Expreſſions to her ſelf. And ſuppoſing *Johannes*'s words [to be ſpoken] in contempt to her, ſhe makes it her buſineſs to have another Synod of Biſhops convened againſt him. *Johannes*, made ſenſible hereof, preach'd that famous Sermon of his in the Church, the beginning whereof is this: * Herodias *rages again, ſhe is again diſturbed, ſhe dances again, ſhe again deſires to receive* John's *Head in a Charger.* Hereby the Empreſs was more highly exaſperated. And not long after the Biſhops arrived, to wit, *Leontius* Biſhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia the Leſs*: *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* which is in *Piſidia*: (b) *Briſo* of *Philippi* in *Thracia*: *Acacius* of *Beræa* in *Syria*, and ſome others. After theſe Prelates were come, thoſe who had accuſed *Johannes* before, were ſet up again. *Johannes* was embolden'd with a greater degree of confidence before theſe Judges: and deſired that the Crimes he was accuſed of, might be inquired into. [In the interim, the Feaſt of of] *Our Saviour's Nativity* approached, and the Emperor, as he had uſually done before, went not to the Church; but gave *Johannes* notice, that he would not communicate with him, till ſuch time as he ſhould clear himſelf of the Crimes he ſtood charged with. Farther, in regard *Johannes*'s Accuſers ſhew'd a deſpondency and fearfulneſs of mind, by reaſon of his great confidence, the Biſhops that were preſent ſuperſeded their reſearches into any thing elſe, and affirmed that a ſcrutiny was to be made concerning this only, to wit, That after his depoſition he had thruſt himſelf into his Epiſcopal Chair, without having had it adjudg'd to him by the authority of a Synod. When *Johannes* made anſwer, that ſixty Biſhops who held communion with him, had decreed that; *Leontius* rejoyned [in theſe

made in the Conſulate of *Theodoſius Junior* and *Rumoridus*, which was the year of Chriſt 403: his words are theſe, *Eudoxiæ Arcadii uxoris ſuper porphyreticam Columnam argentea Statua juxta Eccleſiam poſita hactenus ſtitit; a Silver Statue of Eudoxia, wife to Arcadius, placed upon a Porphyry-pillar near the Church ſtill ſtands. Theophanes* relates the ſame, who ſays, that that Statue was erected in that place called *Pittacia*, near the Church of St. *Irene*; and that at the dedication thereof the *Præfect* of the City (who was a *Manichæan* and a *Semipagan*) excited the People to ſhout and dance in ſuch a manner, that the Divine Service could not quietly be performed in the Church, becauſe of the noiſe made by the multitude of Dancers. Notwithſtanding, *Baronius* places the Dedication of this Statue on the year of Chriſt 404. But in regard *Marcellinus Comes*, in his *Chronicon* does in expreſs Words place it on the Conſulate of *Theodoſius Junior* and *Rumoridus*, I judge it more ſafe to follow his opinion; provided it be ſaid to have been made after the *Synod ad Quercum*, and after *Chryſoſtome*'s firſt condemnation, that is, about the cloſe of the year 403. And this is confirmed by *Socrates*: For he adds a little after, that when the *Nativity of our Lord* drew near, *Arcadius* gave *Johannes* notice, that he could not come to the Church. Now *John* was depoſed a little before *Eaſter*, in the Year of Chriſt 404. *Valeſ.*

* Πάλιν ἡρῳδιὰς μαίνεται, πάλιν ταράττεται, πάλιν ὀρχεῖται, &c. This Homily occurs at *Tom.* 7. pag. 545. of Sir *Henry Savill's Edition of Chryſoſtome.*

(b) This *Briſo* ſeems to be a different Perſon from *Briſo* the Biſhop, (who (as *Cedrenus* tells us) was one of *John Chryſoſtome*'s Scholars. And *Socrates* ſeems to have put *Philippi* inſtead of *Philippopolis*. For *Philippopolis* is an eminent City of *Thracia*. But *Philippi* is a City of *Macedonia*. Valeſ.

Arcadius and Honorius.

these words,] (c) *But they were the more in number, O Johannes! who condemned you in the Synod.* Again, when *Johannes* urged, that that was not a Canon of the Catholick Church, (*b*) but of the *Arians* making; (for the Bishops * heretofore, convened at *Antioch* in order to the subversion of the *Homoüusian* Faith, out of their hatred to *Athanasius* made that Canon:) [*Leontius* and his Party] rejected his defence, and pronounced sentence against him; not considering, that by making use of that Canon, (*e*) they deposed *Athanasius* also. These things were transacted at the approach of the Feast of *Easter*.

(c) *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 404,) charges *Socrates* with a lye here. For, in the *Synod at the Oak* thirty six Bishops only had condemned *Johannes*; of which twenty nine were *Egyptians*, the rest were of divers Provinces, as *Theodorus* (in *Palladius*, in *his Dialogue concerning the Life of* Chrysostome,) relates from the *Acts of the Synod at the Oak*. But when he was afterwards recalled to *Constantinople*, he had been admitted to Communion by sixty five Bishops. Either therefore *Socrates* must necessarily be mistaken, who has said that *Chrysostome* was condemned by more Bishops than those by whom he had been admitted to Communion and restored; or else it must be said that *Palladius* is out. Unless any one will reconcile these things by saying thus, *viz.* That *Leontius* the Bishop has here reckoned the suffrages of the Bishops together, who had condemned *John Chrysostome* in both Synods, as well that held *at the Oak*, as the other assembled at *Constantinople*. For although, at such time as *Leontius* spake these Words, the Bishops present in the *Constantinopolitane* Synod had not pronounced sentence against *Chrysostome*, yet *Leontius*, who knew they were incensed against *Chrysostome*, made not the least doubt of their Suffrages. *Vales.*

* See *Socrat.* Book 2. chap. 10.

(d) *Palladius* tells us, that this very answer was given by *John Chrysostome*'s defenders, against the Canon of the *Antiochian Synod*; to wit, that that Canon was made by the *Arian Bishops*. But *Chrysostome*'s Adversaries rejected this defence, asserting that Canon to have been made by the Catholick Bishops. And when *Elpidius*, a Bishop of *Chrysostome*'s party, urged them to subscribe that draught of the Creed then promulged by those Bishops; they answered in presence of the Emperor, that they were ready to subscribe it: but they put off that business to another time. Therefore, what must we determine concerning this question? *Athanasius* indeed, in *his Book de Synodis*, does wholly reject that *Antiochian Synod*, together with its draught of the Creed, as having been held by the *Arians* with a design to subvert the *Nicene Creed*. But to *Athanasius* (who cannot be a sufficient Witness in his own case,) we in the first place oppose *Hilarius*, then Pope *Julius*, and lastly, all the Eastern and Western Bishops, who have now at length by a general consent admitted of that Synod. *Hilarius*, 'tis certain, (in *his Book de Synodis*) does fully admit of it, and commends that form of the Creed drawn up there, as being useful and necessary, on account of the Heresies which sprang up after the *Nicene Council*. Moreover, Pope *Julius* wrote a *Synodick Epistle* to all the Bishops who had been convened in that Synod; amongst whom were *Eusebius*, *Narcissus*, *Theodorus*, and *Maris*. Which *Synodick Epistle Athanasius* does record intire, at pag. 739, &c. *Tom. 1. Edit. Paris.* 1626. In the Title and Body of that Letter, *Julius* terms them *Beloved Brethren*; which undoubtedly he would never have done, had he lookt upon them to have been *Arians*. Now, what reason had he to look upon them to be *Arians*, who as yet had not been condemned by the sentence of any Synod; and amongst whom there were many stiff maintainers of the *Nicene Creed*, which *Baronius* himself does not deny? Of which sort was *Dianius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, whom *Julius* names in the first place; concerning whose praises *Basil the Great* has a peculiar Epistle extant. Lastly, all the *Easterns* have acknowledged that Synod to be Catholick, and inserted its Sanctions into the Book of Canons, soon after *John Chrysostome*'s times, as appears from the *Chalcedon-Council*. And at length the *Western Church* has by degrees admitted of those Canons, rendred into *Latine* by *Dionysius Exiguus*. Notwithstanding, in *John Chrysostome*'s times they might be rejected, in regard they were not received by a general consent of the whole Church, nor as yet admitted by the *Romish* Church. Pope *Innocentius*, in his Epistle to the *Constantinopolitan* Church, (which *Sozomen* has recorded, Book 8. Chap. 26.) does in no wise admit of these Canons. *Vales.*

(e) *Christophorson* supposed that these Words were spoken by *Socrates* concerning the Bishops convened in the *Antiochian-Synod*. But I think they are to be understood concerning the Bishops then assembled at *Constantinople* against *John Chrysostome*. And in this sense *Epiphanius Scholasticus* and *Musculus* took this place: For *Epiphanius* has rendred it thus, *Non intelligentes, quod dum hâc regulâ uterentur, Athanasium quoque deponerent; not understanding, that whilest they made use of this Canon, they deposed* Athanasius *also:* and *Musculus* has translated it happily after this manner: *Nec cogitantes, non Johannem se modò, sed & ipsum Athanasium hoc Canone utentes deponere, not thinking, that by using of this Canon, they deposed not only* Johannes, *but even* Athanasius *himself.* Vales.

The Emperor therefore gives *Johannes* notice, that (*f*) he could not come to the Church, because two Synods had condemned him. Wherefore *Johannes* desisted in future, and went not any more to the Church. On which account those of his Party left the Church immediately, and celebrated *Easter* in the publick Baths termed *Constantianæ*. There were with them many Bishops, Presbyters and others of the Ecclesiastick Function; who were termed *Johannitæ*, because from that time they held Meetings in several places apart by themselves. *Johannes* appeared not at all in publick for the space of two months, till such time as the Emperor issued out an Order for his being carried away into Exile. By virtue whereof he was drawn out of the Church, and convey'd into Banishment. On which very day some of the *Johannitæ* set the Church on fire. Whilst that was burning, an Easterly Wind blew, which conveyed the Fire to the (*g*) *Senate-house*, whereby that was burnt. This hapned on the twentieth of *June*, in *Honorius*'s sixth Consulate, which he bore with *Aristænetus*. Moreover, what mischiefs the *Præfect* of *Constantinople* (whose name was (*h*) *Optatus*, an Heathen as to his Religion, and therefore an hater of the *Christians*) did to *Johannes*'s Friends upon account of this Fire, and how he destroyed many of them by a capital punishment, I think fit to omit.

Arcadius & Honorius.

(f) *Christophorson* thought these words were spoken concerning *John*, who after this was withheld from entring the Church. But I had rather they should be understood of the Emperor himself; in which sense *Epiphanius* and *Musculus* take them. Our sentiment is confirmed by that passage in *Socrates*, which occurs a little before in this chapter: where he relates, that *Arcadius* at the approach of *Christmas*, gave *John* notice, that he could not come into the Church, unless *John* (who had been condemned by the sentence of a Synod,) should first clear himself. After the same manner therefore, at the approach of *Easter*, *Arcadius* gives *John* notice, that he could not go to the Church, as long as *John*, condemned now by two Synods, resided therein. *Vales.*

(g) This Edifice was called the *Senate-house*. *The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the *sixth Consulate of Honorius* which he bore with *Aristænetus*, has these words: καὶ αἰφνιδίου ἐκάη ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία σὺν τῷ σενάτῳ ἀπὸ κεκτόντων αὐτὴν τὴν λεγομένων ξυλοκερκῶν ἡμέρᾳ δευτέρᾳ ὥρᾳ ς'. *And on a sudden the Great Church was burnt together with the Senate-house,* [*fired*] *by those who held it, termed the Xylocercetæ, on the second day, at the sixth hour.* See *Chronic. Alexandr.* pag. 714. *Edit. Monach.* 1615. *Zosimus* describes this Structure about the middle of *his fifth Book*. It was in the *Second Ward* of the City *Constantinople*, as we are informed from the *Old Description* of that City, published before the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Vales.

(h) This (if I mistake not) is the *Manichæan* and *Semipagan Præfect* of the City, who, at the dedication of *Eudoxia*'s Statue, had mocked the *Christians*, as we have related before (see Note (*a.*) in this chapter,) from *Theophanes*. *Palladius* (in the *Life of Chrysostome*) speaks concerning the same *Optatus*; that when he was *Præfect* of the City, he compelled the Noble Matrons either to communicate with *Arsacius*, who had been put into *John Chrysostome*'s Bishoprick, or else to pay two hundred pounds of Gold into the Exchequer. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Arsacius, *who was ordained* Johannes's *Successor, and concerning* Cyrinus [*Bishop*] *of* Chalcedon.

SOme few days after, *Arsacius* is ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*; he was Brother to *Nectarius*, who had been *Johannes*'s Predecessor in that Bishoprick, and had governed it well: but he was very aged. For he was above eighty years old. During his calm and peaceable presidency over that Bishoprick, by reason of his singular mildness, *Cyrinus* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, * whose foot *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia* had unawares trod upon, was in so very ill a condition, that his foot putrified, and he was forced to have it cut off. Nor was this abscission performed once only, but it was many times iterated. For † the *Gangrene* preyed upon his whole Body,

* See chap. 15.

† Or, the distemper.

Arcadius and Honorius.

body, in so much that it seized his other foot, which he was forced to have cut off also. I have mention'd this thing for this reason, in regard many persons did affirm, that *Cyrinus* suffered all this on account of the opprobrious words he had spoken against *Johannes*; for he frequently termed him an inexorable person, as I have said *before. And because [about the same time] their fell an hail, [the stones whereof were] of a vast bigness, at *Constantinople* and in the Suburbs round that City; (which hapned in the † fore-mention'd Consulate, about the thirtieth of *September*:) this was said to have been an act of Divine vengeance for *Johannes*'s unjust depositon. These reports had more of credit given to them, and were improved by the Empress's death, which hapned soon after. For she ended her life on the fourth day after the hail fell. Others affirmed, that *Johannes* was deservedly deposed, because, when he was in *Asia* and *Lydia*, he had seized upon many Churches belonging to the *Novatianists*, *Quartodecimani*, and some other [Hereticks, to wit,] at such time as he made a journey to *Ephesus* on account of *Heraclides*'s Ordination. But, whether *Johannes*'s deposition were just, agreeable to their saying who were incensed against him; or whether *Cyrinus* underwent a due punishment for his reproachful language; and whether the hail fell, and the Empress died, upon *Johannes*'s account; or whether these things hapned for other reasons, or for both, God knows, who is the Discerner of things secret, and the just Judge of Truth it self. I have recorded what the common reports of men were at that time.

*Chap. 15.

† See the close of the foregoing Chapter.

CHAP. XX.

How, after Arsacius, Atticus *obtained the* Constantinopolitan *See.*

BUt *Arsacius* did not long survive his taking the Bishoprick: For, on the following Consulate, which was *Stilichon*'s *second*, and *Anthemius*'s *first*, about the eleventh of *November* he died. Many persons being exceedingly desirous of obtaining the Bishoprick, and for that reason much time having been spent, on the following Consulate, which was *Arcadius*'s sixth, and *Probus*'s first, a religious person was promoted to the Bishoprick, his name *Atticus*. By original extract he was of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, but had followed an *Ascetick* course of life from his younger years; and, besides his being furnished with a competency of Learning, he was endowed with a greater degree of natural prudence. But I shall speak concerning this person hereafter.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning Johannes's *departure to the Lord in exile.*

JOhannes being carried into banishment, died at *Comana* upon the *Euxine Sea*, on the fourteenth of (*a*) *September*, in the following Consulate, which was *Honorius* his seventh and *Theodosius*'s second. He was a person (as I have said * before) by reason of his zeal for Temperance, more addicted to anger than bashfulness; and because of his sanctity of life, he always made use of too great a liberty of speech. But it is to me a wonder, how he, who was so zealous a follower of Temperance, should teach in his Sermons, that Temperance was to be contemn'd. For, whereas the Synod of Bishops allowed Repentance but once to those who lapsed after Baptism, he was so bold as to say, [(*b*) *although*] *you have repented a thousand times, approach.* For which doctrine many of his acquaintance rebuked him; but more especially *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatianists*: who wrote a Book against this saying [of *Chrysostome*'s,] and reproved him sharply for it. But, these things hapned long before this time.

Arcadius and Honorius.

* Chap. 3.

(*a*) In what Homily this was said by *Chrysostome*, I cannot find. And yet we have little reason to question *Socrates*'s authority, because he lived in the same times, and could have heard the Sermons, as well of *Chrysostome*, as of *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatians*. Moreover, it may be more certainly concluded from this passage, than from any other, that *Socrates* was a *Novatianist*. For he does both put an ill interpretation upon *Chrysostome*'s saying, and also openly favours *Sisinnius* Bishop of the *Novatian* party, against *John Chrysostome*——You must know further, that this saying was objected to *Chrysostome* by Bishop *Isaacius* in the *Synod ad Quercum*; because he gave Sinners a liberty, in regard he taught, *if you have sinned again, repent again. And, as often as you sin, come to me and I will heal you.* Vales.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Sisinnius *Bishop of the* Novatianists, *what expressions he is said to have used in his discourses with* Johannes.

BUt, I judge it not inopportune, to speak something briefly concerning *Sisinnius*. He was (as I have often said) an eloquent person, and an excellent Philosopher: But in a more especial manner he had taken pains about *Logick*, and was incomparably well versed in interpreting the Sacred Scriptures: In so much that *Eunomius* the Heretick would [out of fear] frequently avoid his judicious and powerful acuteness in discourse. His diet was not slender. But though he was eminently temperate, yet his Fare was sumptuous and magnificent. His way of living was splendid and delicate, [he was clad] in a white garment, and bathed himself twice a day in the publick Baths. Being on a time asked by one, why he that was a Bishop would bathe twice a day; his answer was, *because I cannot bathe thrice.* At another time, when out of respect he went to give *Arsacius* the Bishop a visit, he was asked by one of those about *Arsacius*, why he would wear a garment mis-becoming a Bishop? And where it was written, that a Priest should be cloathed in a white garment? His answer was, *Tell me first where is it written, that a Bishop should wear a black garment?* And when he that asked him, was in doubt [how to return answer] to this contrary question, *Sisinnius* added; *You*, said he, *can never shew that a Priest ought to wear black. But* Solomon *is my Author, whose words are,* * *Let thy garments be white. And our Saviour in the* † *Gospels, appeared cloathed in a white garment. Moreover, he shewed* Moses *and* Elias, *wearing white garments, to the Apostles.* Having with readiness said these and many other such words as these, he was greatly admired by those that were present. When *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Ga-*

* Eccles. 9. 8.

† Luke 9. 29.

(*a*) Instead of [*November*,] it must be [*September*,] as it is in the *Sfortian* M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. Nor did *Nicephorus* read otherwise, who adds, that the day whereon *John Chrysostome* died, was dedicated to the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross. For so it was agreeable, that he who had passed his whole life under the Cross, and had gloried in nothing but in the Cross of his Lord, should be loosed from the Frame of his body on that Festival*, as the same *Nicephorus* does elegantly write. *Vales.*

Arcadius and Honorius.

latia the Less, had taken the Church [there] from the *Novatianists*, and was [at that time] come to *Constantinople*, *Sisinnius* went to him, and entreated him to restore the Church. But *Leontius* in an heat made answer, and said to him, *You* Novatianists *ought not to have Churches, [in regard] you take away Repentance, and exclude the Loving-kindness of God.* After *Leontius* had spoken these and more such ill words against the *Novatianists*, *Sisinnius* made answer, *But no person repents in such a manner as I do.* When *Leontius* added again, *How do you repent?* *Sisinnius* subjoyned, *because I have seen you* (*a*). One time *Johannes* reproved *Sisinnius*, and said to him, *a City cannot have two Bishops*; *Sisinnius*'s answer was, *Nor has it.* *Johannes* being angry hereat, and saying, *you seem desirous of being the only Bishop*; *Sisinnius* replied, *I do not say that*; *but that I am not a Bishop in your account only, when as notwithstanding other persons look upon me to be such.* *Johannes* incensed at that answer, *I* (said he) *will make you leave preaching*; *for you are an Heretick.* To which *Sisinnius* made this pleasant return; *But I will give you a reward, if you will free me from so great pains.* *Johannes* being mollified with this answer, replied, *I will not make you leave off preaching, if that Office be troublesome to you.* So facetious was *Sisinnius*, and so ready at answering. It would be tedious to write and record all his sayings: wherefore, I have accounted it sufficient, by these few to shew what manner of person he was. I will only add this, that he was very eminent for his Learning; on which account all the Bishops that were his Successors, loved and honoured him. Moreover, all the eminent personages of the *Senatorian Order* had a great affection for, and admired him. He wrote many Books; but * he is too studious about words in them, and intermixes Poetick terms. He was more admired for his speaking, than his writing: for, in his Face and Voice, in his Garb and Aspect, and in the whole Motion of his Body, there was a gracefulness. By reason of which [accomplishments] he was beloved both by all Sects, and chiefly by *Atticus* the Bishop. But, I think thus much sufficient [to have been said] concerning *Sisinnius*.

(*a*) In *Suidas*, at the word Σισίννιος, this whole passage in *Socrates* is transcribed, where the word [ἀπεκρίνατο, *he answered*] is wanting. Which word must either be expunged here as superfluous, [which we have done in our Version;] or else the word [ἔφη, *subjoyned*] which went before, must be blotted out, *Vales.*

* Or, *he hunts after words*, &c.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Death of the Emperor Arcadius.

NOt long after the death of *Johannes*, the Emperor *Arcadius* died; a man of a mild and quiet temper, and who at the close of his life gat the repute of a person beloved by God, for this reason. There is at *Constantinople* a very spacious House, which is termed * *Carya*. For, in the Court of this House there is a *Nut-tree*, on which ('tis reported) the Martyr *Acacius* was hanged, and compleated his Martyrdom. On this account a small Church was built near that Tree. The Emperor *Arcadius* desirous to see this Church, went into it [one day:] and when he had said his Prayers, came out again. All those persons who dwelt near that Church, ran together to see the Emperor. Some went out of the House, and made it their business to take their standings before hand in the streets, from whence they supposed they might have a plainer view of the Emperor's Countenance, and of the Guards that were about him. Others followed, until all persons, together with the Women and Children, were got out of the Church. After which, all that great House, the Buildings whereof enclosed the Church on every side, fell down immediately. Hereupon followed an outcry, together with an admiration, because the Emperor's Prayer had delivered so great a multitude of persons from destruction. This hapned thus. [Moreover, *Arcadius*] leaving his Son *Theodosius*, then but eight years old, ended his life in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Philippus*, on the first of *May*: this was the second year of the two hundredth ninety seventh *Olympiad*. He reigned with his Father *Theodosius* thirteen years: after his Father's death [he reigned] fourteen; he lived one and thirty years. This Book contains the † History of twelve years and six months.

† Or, the Space.

* That is, a nut-tree.

Arcadius and Honorius.

* *In other Copies this following passage occurs, not as if it were omitted, but worded in a different manner. We judged it therefore meet to annex it. On which account we have added it at this place.*

* This Appendix is part of the eleventh chapter of this Book, worded in a different manner only. *Musculus*, *Grynæus*, and Dr. *Hanmer* have omitted it in their Versions. *Christophorson*, *Curterius*, and *Valesius* have inserted it in their translations. The *Greek Text* of it occurs in *Stephens's Edition*, and in *Valesius*'s; from which latter we have rendred it into *English*.

BUt, in regard the Bishop of *Ephesus* hapned to die in the interim, *Johannes* was necessitated to go to *Ephesus*, to ordain a Bishop. Being arrived in that City, and some endeavouring to promote one person, others another; he preferred one *Heraclides*, his own Deacon, by Country a *Cypriot*, to the Bishoprick. Whereupon a disturbance being raised in *Ephesus*, because *Heraclides* was [reputed] unworthy of the Episcopate; *Johannes* was forced to stay at *Ephesus* for some time. During his residence there, *Severianus* grew more beloved and esteemed by his Auditors at *Constantinople*. Nor was this unknown to *Johannes*. For he was speedily acquainted with what hapned by *Serapion*, whom he had a singular affection for, and to whom he committed the whole care of his Episcopate, in regard of his piety, his fidelity in all concerns, his prudence in the management of all matters, and his studiousness about defending the Bishops Rights. After some time, *Johannes* returns to *Constantinople*, and personally undertook again a becoming care of the Churches. But between *Serapion* the Deacon, and *Severianus* the Bishop, there arose a great * dissention; *Serapion* opposing *Severianus*, because he strove to out-do *Johannes* in his Preaching; and *Severianus* envying *Serapion*, because *Johannes* the Bishop favoured him highly, and entrusted him with the whole care of his Episcopate, Being thus affected one towards the other, the vehemency of their hatred hapned to be much increased by this reason. To *Severianus* on a time passing by, *Serapion* † shewed not that honour which is due to a Bishop; but continued in his seat; whether it was because he saw him not, (as *Serapion* afterwards affirmed upon oath before the Synod;) or whether it was because he slighted the presence of a Bishop, (as *Severianus* averred) [which of these was truest] I cannot say: God only knows. But *Seve-*

* Μικροψυχία, *a narrowness of mind.*

† Or, *gave not.*

Arcadius and Honorius. *Severianus* could not then bear *Serapion*'s contempt; but immediately, even before *cognizance* had been taken of the Cause in a publick Synod; with an (*a*) Oath condemns *Serapion*, and not only [divests him] of the dignity of a Deacon, but excommunicates him also from the Church. *Johannes* hearing this, took it very ill: But afterwards, when the business came under scrutiny before a Synod, and *Serapion* excused the fact, and averr'd that he saw him not, and also produced witnesses [in confirmation thereof;] the whole Synod of Bishops then convened pardon'd him, and entreated *Severianus* to admit of *Serapion*'s excuse. But *Johannes* the Bishop, that he might fully satisfie *Severianus*, removes *Serapion*, and suspends him from the * Office of a Deacon for a weeks space: although he used him as his Right Hand in all businesses, in regard he was a most acute and diligent person about Ecclesiastick Disputes and Answers. Notwithstanding, *Severianus* could not thus be prevailed with: but made it his whole business to get *Serapion* not only wholly degraded from his *Diaconate*, but excommunicated also. *Johannes* was sorely vexed hereat, went out of the Synod, and left the Bishops then present to determine the Cause, having spoken these words to them: *Do you inquire into the Cause, and make such a definitive Determination as you shall think fit. For I refuse to determine the difference between them.* After *Johannes* had spoken these words, and was risen up, the whole Synod arose likewise, and left the Cause in the same state it was in, blaming *Severianus* rather, because he † acquiesced not in what had been said by *Johannes* the Bishop. But *Johannes* admitted not *Severianus* to a familiarity any more in future: but advised him to return into his own Country, signifying thus much to him: *Severianus*, (said he) *'tis not expedient, that the Dioceſs you are intrusted with should for so long a time continue unlook'd-after, and destitute of the presence of its Bishop. Wherefore, hasten your return to your Churches, and neglect not the Gift [which God hath bestowed] upon you.* When *Severianus* had begun his Journey, the Empress *Eudoxia*, informed hereof, reproves *Johannes*, and causes *Severianus* to be forthwith recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. He came back immediately. But *Johannes* declined a Friendship with him, and could by no persons entreaty be prevailed upon: till such time as the Empress *Eudoxia*, in that Church called *the Apostles*, cast her Son *Theodosius Junior*, then a very young Child, before *Johannes*'s knees, and having conjured him frequently by her Son, with much a-do perswaded him to admit of a Friendship with *Severianus*. After this manner therefore, || *&c.*

(*a*) He means the oath mentioned before, at the 11th chapter, to wit, *if Serapion dies a Christian, Christ hath not been incarnate.* Further, these words [*condemns*] and [*excommunicates*] denote *Severianus*'s Menaces, rather than the thing it self. For *Severianus* Bishop of *Gabali* had no power of condemning or deposing a Deacon of another Dioceſs; but he only threatned to do this, and committed his complaint to the Judgment of the Bishops. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *the honour.*

† Or, *was not obedient to what*, &c.

|| See chap. 11. at the latter end of it.

THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

CHAP. I.

That after the Emperor Arcadius's *Death, (who left his Son* Theodosius, *then eight years old;)* Anthemius *the* Præfect *had the chief management of affairs in the Empire.*

THE Emperor *Arcadius* having ended his Life on the First of *May*, in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Philippus*; *Honorius* his Brother [still] govern'd the *Western* Empire: the *Eastern* was under the Government of * his Son *Theodosius Junior*, at that time eight years of age. *Anthemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* had the chief management of the publick affairs. He was Grandchild to that *Philippus*, * who in *Constantius*'s Reign ejected *Paulus* the Bishop, and introduced *Macedonius* into his See. (*a*) He encompassed *Constan-*

* That is, *Arcadius's Son.*

* See *Socrates* Book 2. chap. 16.

(*a*) *Nicephorus* (Book 14. chap. 1.) relates that this *Anthemius* enlarged the *Pomœrium*, [that is, *a space about the Walls of a City or Town, as well within as without, which was not to be built upon*] of the City *Constantinople*, demolished the old Walls, and built new ones towards *the Continent, which* (says he) are now *standing*: and that he finished the work with incredible swiftness, to wit, within the space of two months. For so I render χερσαῖα τεῖχη, that is, *Walls to the Landward*, and not as *Langus* does, *Brick-walls*. But *Nicephorus* seems to be mistaken, who attributes that to *Anthemius*, which was done long after

after by *Cyrus Præfect* of *Conſtantinople*, (as *Cedrenus* relates in *his Chronicon*,) on the 26th year of *Theodoſius Junior*. Further, I would very willingly expunge this whole Clauſe in our *Socrates*. For it diſturbs the ſenſe, and ſeems to have crept from the Margin into the Text. *Valeſ.*

Honorius and *Theod.* Jun.

tinople with a great wall. Of all the men of his own times, he was accounted, and in reality was the moſt prudent perſon. He never did any thing without advice, but conſulted with many of his acquaintance concerning what ought to be done; chiefly, with (*b*) *Troïlus* the *Sophiſta*, who, beſides the (*c*) wiſdom that was in him, was *Anthemius*'s equal in political knowledge. Wherefore, almoſt all things were done with *Troïlus*'s advice.

(*b*) This *Troilus* the *Sophiſta* was one of *Anthemius*'s chief-eſt friends, as (beſides *Socrates*) *Syneſius* informs us *in his Epiſtle to Troïlus*. *Socrates* mentions the ſame *Troïlus*, at Chap. 6. Book 6. where he ſpeaks concerning *Euſebius Scholaſticus*, who wrote *Gaina's War in Verſe*. *Suidas* has mentioned the ſame Perſon, in the Word Τρωΐλος, where he affirms that he wrote *Politick Orations*, and *Books of Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

(*c*) Inſtead of [τιλίας, *friendſhip*] the reading in the *Florentine* M.S. is truer, thus, [σοφίας, *wiſdom.*] Which Emendation is confirmed by *Nicephorus*. Valeſ. *Valeſius* (in *his account of the Life and Writings of* Socrates *and* Sozomen) reads φιλοσοφίας, *Philoſophy*; which alteration in the reading he makes in *his Appendix to his Notes on* Socrates *and* Sozomen.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Atticus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *what manner of perſon he was as to his Temper and Diſpoſition.*

DUring therefore the Emperors being in the eighth year of his age, *Atticus* was in the third year of his Epiſcopate over *Conſtantinople*, and was highly eminent. He was a perſon (as we have ſaid * before) beſides his great Learning, pious and prudent. Wherefore, he much augmented the Churches under his juriſdiction. For he did not only defended thoſe of his own Creed, but cauſed the Hereticks alſo to admire his prudence. He was in no wiſe vexatious to them; but when he had attempted to terrifie them, afterwards he ſhewed himſelf mild towards them. Nor was he careleſs about his ſtudies: For he beſtowed much pains in reading ancient Writers, ſpending whole nights in peruſing them. Wherefore he was not unacquainted with the Diſcourſes of the *Philoſophers* and *Sophiſtæ*. Moreover, to thoſe that addreſt to him, he was pleaſant and delectable: He groaned with ſuch as were ſorrowful; and, that I may ſpeak ſummarily, according to the Apoſtle's [example,] * *he was made all things to all men.* Formerly, during his being a Presbyter, he made Sermons, gat them by heart, and preacht them in the Church. But afterwards, by his aſſiduity, he procured ſuch a readineſs of expreſſion, as to be able to ſpeak † *extempore*, and followed a *Panegyrical* way of preaching. Notwithſtanding, his Sermons were not ſuch, as were either received by his Hearers with applauſe, or committed to writing. But, concerning his Temper, Morals, and Learning, let this ſuffice. I will now relate thoſe memorable paſſages which hapned in his times.

* Book 6. chap. 20.

* 1 Cor. 9. 22.

† Or, *without præmeditation.*

CHAP. III.

Honorius and *Theod.* Jun.

Concerning Theodoſius *and* Agapetus *Biſhops of* Synnada.

IN (*a*) *Synada* a City of *Phrygia Pacatiana*, one *Theodoſius* was Biſhop, who ſeverely perſecuted the Hereticks in that City, wherein there were many of the Sect of the *Macedoniani*: he drove them not only out of the City, but from the [adjacent] Villages alſo. Which practice of his was not (*b*) agreeable to that of the Orthodox Church, which does not uſe to perſecute; nor was [he incited hereto] by a zeal for the true Faith; but being a perfect ſlave to the love of money, he made it his buſineſs to amaſs riches together, [by taking them] from the Hereticks. Wherefore, he made all imaginable attempts againſt thoſe that embraced the Sect of the *Macedoniani*, putting the Clergy that was under him in arms; and practiſed a thouſand ſtratagems againſt them: nor did he forbear (*c*) binding them [over] to the Courts of Judica-

(*a*) It would be more truly written *Synnada*, with a *double n*. For ſo the name of this City is more frequently inſcribed on *old Coyns*. *Johannes Triſtanus* has produced a *Coyn* of the Emperor *Caracalla*'s, which has this inſcription, Σωνναδέων [*Synnadeon.*] Yet 'tis ſometimes written with a ſingle *n*. So it is in an *old Coyn* of the Emperor *Nerva*'s, in the reverſe whereof *Jupiter* is engraven with this Inſcription,

ΔΙΑΠΑΝΔΙΜΟΝ ϹΥΝΑϹΙS.

This *Coyn* was in the *Archives* of that illuſtrious perſonage the *Lord Bryennius*, concerning the meaning whereof when I was asked by the *Learned Franciſcus Ogerius*, (to whom *Patinus* had communicated *that Coyn*,) my anſwer was; It was to be read thus, διὰ πάνδημον σωναδεῖς. For the *Synnadenſians* worſhipped *Jupiter* under the name of *Pandemos*, becauſe having heretofore been gathered together out of many ſorts of people in *Greece*, by *Acamas*, *Theſeus*'s ſon, they inhabited the City *Synnada*. Whence ſays *Stephanus*, the City was ſo named, ἀπὸ τῆ σὺν ναίειν, *from their dwelling together*. Further, thoſe people out of whom the Colony of the *Synnadenſians* was firſt collected, were of two ſorts; to wit, the *Macedonians*, and the *Athenians*, or *Ionians*, who were in *Aſia*; as the ſame *Stephanus* relates. Whence we underſtand, why (in the Emperor *Caracalla*'s *Coyn*, which *Johannes Triſtanus* has ſet forth,) the *Synnadenſians*, are termed *Dorienſes* and *Ionians*. For, this is the inſcription, σωναδέων δωριέων ἰώνων. For the *Macedonians*, a *Colony* whereof *Acamas* brought thither, were originally *Dorienſes*. But the *Athenians* who went thither with *Acamas Theſeus*'s ſon, and the Colonies which *Acamas* is reported to have gathered out of *Aſia*, were *Ionians*, ſo termed from *Ion* the *Athenian*. Valeſ.

(*b*) It is a famous queſtion, and uſually diſputed on both ſides, whether it be lawful for Catholicks, eſpecially Biſhops, to perſecute Hereticks. In the determination whereof, I am of opinion, that a diſtinction is requiſite. For 'tis certain, that on account of amaſſing Money together it is not lawful for Catholicks to moleſt and vex Hereticks; which thing *Theodoſius* Biſhop of *Synnada* at that time did. Alſo, to perſecute them by criminal ſentences, and to thirſt after their blood, is in like manner unlawful; as *Idatius* and ſome other Prelates of *Spain* did in their perſecution of the *Priſcilianiſts*. To whoſe communion when St. *Martin* had for ſome time joyned himſelf, he acknowledged that great detriment befel him from that thing, as *Sulpicius Severus* does relate *in his Life*. Notwithſtanding, it is and always was lawful for *Catholicks*, to implore the aid of Princes and Magiſtrates againſt Hereticks, that they be reſtrained, and kept within the bounds of duty; leſt they ſhould behave themſelves inſolently over the Catholicks, or leſt they ſhould inſult over and ſcoff at the Catholick Religion. St. *Auguſtine* confeſſes indeed, that heretofore this was his Sentiment, to wit, that Hereticks were not to be moleſted and vexed by Catholicks, but that they were to be invited by all inſtances of manſuetude and mildneſs. But afterwards he altered his opinion, being moſt certainly informed, that the Laws of Princes made againſt Hereticks, are uſeful to Hereticks themſelves in order to their Converſion. And he ſays this was acknowledged by the *Donatiſts* themſelves, who had afterwards returned to the Catholick Church. For they affirmed, that they had never returned to the Church, but had always continued in their error, had they not been provoked and drawn as it were by thoſe Penalties and Mulcts [contain'd in] the Imperial Laws. There is a moſt elegant paſſage of *Auguſtine*'s [about this matter] in *his* 48th *Epiſtle to Vincentius*; to which is to be added another paſſage of the ſame Author, in *his firſt Book againſt* Gaudentius, chap. 23. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Δικασηρίοις αὐτὸς προσδήσαντες: That is, *he drew and bound them as it were to Judges Tribunals*. Tranſlators thought theſe Words were ſpoken concerning Bonds, as if *Theodoſius* the Biſhop had brought the Hereticks bound before the Judges. In which ſenſe *Nicephorus* alſo took this paſſage. But *Socrates*'s words will not bear this meaning *Valeſ.*

ture

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

ture. More especially, he did several ways disquiet their Bishop, whose name was *Agapetus*. But in regard the Governours of Provinces in no wise had (as he supposes) a sufficient power to punish [Hereticks,] he ran to *Constantinople*, and petition'd for Edicts from the *Præfecti Prætorio*. In the interim therefore that *Theodosius* staid at *Constantinople* on this account, *Agapetus*, who, as I have told you, presided over the Sect of the *Macedoniani*, betook himself to a [prudent and] good (*d*) course. For, having communicated the affair to his whole Clergy, and called together the people under him, he perswades them to embrace the *Homoöusian* Faith. Having effected this, he went directly into the Church, accompanied with a great multitude, or rather with the whole body of the People in general. Where * when he had solemnized the Prayers, he took possession of the Chair, wherein *Theodosius* was wont to sit. And having united the people, and professing in future the *Homoöusian* Creed, he became possest of the Churches belonging to *Synada*. These things having been after this manner transacted, *Theodosius* arrives within a short time, and brings along with him a *Præfecturian* assistance; and being ignorant of what had been done, goes immediately to the Church. From whence he was driven by all persons unanimously, and went again to *Constantinople*. Being arrived there, he made complaint before *Atticus* the Bishop, of what had been done against him, to wit, that he had been (*e*) unjustly ejected out of his Bishoprick. *Atticus* knowing that this accident was advantagious to the Church, gave *Theodosius* comfortable words, perswading him with patience to embrace a quiet course of life, and informing him that he ought to prefer the good of the publick before his own private concern. But he wrote to *Agapetus*, [ordering him] to continue in possession of the Bishoprick, and [bidding] him not to be suspicious of any molestation from *Theodosius*'s displeasure

(*d*) Instead of [ἀνοίαν madness] *Nicephorus* and *Christophorson*, read [ἐπίνοιαν, *Course, device*, or *purpose*:] with which reading I am best pleased. *Vales.*

*Or, *when he had celebrated a Prayer.*

(*e*) We read [παραγνώμως, *unjustly*,] agreeable to the reading in *Epiphan. Scholasticus*, and *Nicephorus*. The other reading is παραλόγως, *contrary to reason*, or *unexpectedly*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Paralytical Jew, *who was cured by* Atticus *the Bishop in Divine Baptism.*

THis was one useful accident which befel the Church in the times of *Atticus*. Nor was the state of these times without Miracles, or Cures. For a *Jew*, who had been a **Paralytick* for many years, was confined to his Bed. And when all medicinal Remedies had been applied to him, and no prayers of the *Jews* could do him any good; at length he betook himself to *Christian* Baptism, hoping that this would be his only true and salutary Physician. *Atticus* the Bishop was soon acquainted herewith. Having therefore instructed him in the Rudiments of Christianity, and declared to him the hope in *Christ*, he ordered him to be carried in his Bed to the Font. The *Paralytical Jew* receiving Baptism with a sincere Faith, immediately upon his being taken out of the Water in the Font, was freed from his Disease, and continued sound and healthy in future. This [admirable] Cure, the power of *Christ* vouchsafed to shew to men even in our times: by reason whereof many Heathens believed and were baptized. But the *Jews*, although they seek after Signs, notwithstanding could not be induced [to believe,] by present Miracles. Such benefits as these were conferred upon men by *Christ*.

* *Troubled with the Palsie.*

CHAP. V.

How Sabbatius, *who from being a* Jew *had been made a Presbyter of the* Novatianists, *deserted those of his own Opinion.*

BUt many persons slighting these things, persisted in their Impiety. For the *Jews* did not only disbelieve these Miracles which happened; but such persons also as were studious followers of them, were found to hold the same Sentiments they did. For *Sabbatius*, of whom we have made mention a little * before, not willing to continue in the degree of a Presbyter to which he had been promoted, but being from the beginning ambitious of a Bishoprick, in these times separated from the Church of the *Novatianists*, making the observation of the *Jewish Passover* his pretence. Holding therefore Assemblies that were schismatical and separate from his own Bishop *Sisinnius*, in a place of the City which is termed *Xerolophus*, where *Arcadius*'s *Forum* now is, he attempted an audacious fact * that deserved many punishments. For, on one of his Meeting-days, he read a passage in the Gospel, whereat these words occur, † *Now it was a feast called the Passover of the Jews*; to which he made an addition of his own, that was never written, nor ever heard of before; to wit, these words, *Cursed* (says he) *be that person who celebrates the Passover* (*a*) *not on the days of unleavened bread.* These words of his being heard, spread immediately. And the simpler sort of the *Novatian* Laity, circumvented by this artifice, betook themselves to him. But his fraud proved unsuccessful to himself: and his forgery had an unhappy event: for not long after (*b*) he celebrated the Festival by way of Anticipation, when many persons flock'd to him. And whilst they were keeping *the* (*c*) *Solemn Vigils* by watching all night in the Church, a *Dæmoniacal* terror seised them; as if *Sisinnius* their Bishop was come with a great multitude, [to fall] upon them. Hereupon a a disturbance was raised, as it usually happens, and they being shut by night in a strait place, trod upon one another: in so much that above seventy persons of them lost their lives. For this reason many deserted *Sabbatius*. Notwithstanding, some possest with a * rude anticipate opinion, continued with him. But how *Sabbatius* violated his Oath, and got into a Bishoprick, we will declare by and by.

* Book. 5. chap. 21.

* Πολλῶν κινδύνων ἄξιον, *worthy of many dangers.*

† See *Luke* 22. 1.

*Or, *Rustick*, or, *Clownish.*

(*a*) Ἔξω ἀζύμων. I like not the Version of *Langus* and *Christophorson*, who have rendred this place thus: *maledictus qui absq; azimis pascha celebrat; cursed is he who celebrates the Passover without unleavened Bread.* In my judgment it must be rendred thus, *beyond* [or, *not on*] *the days of unleavened bread.* For in the *Greek* it is not ἄνευ or χωρὶς, that is, *without*: but ἔξω, which imports *beyond, out of*, or, *saving on.* Vales.

(*b*) Τὴν ἐκ προλήψεως ἑορτὴν ἐπιτέλει. Which *Langus* and *Christophorson* render thus: *Cum ex anticipata opinione Festum Paschæ celebraret, when he celebrated the Paschal Festival by an anticipated opinion.* I like *Musculus*'s Version better, who translates it thus: *per anticipationem celebraret, he celebrated* [*the Festival*] *by way of anticipation.* For *Sabbatius* celebrating the Paschal solemnity after the *Jewish* manner, prevented the *Christians*, and kept that Festival before the *Sunday*. If these Words are thus to be understood; it must be written, τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐκ προλήψεως. *Socrates* uses the same term a little lower in this Chapter; where speaking concerning the same thing, his words are: τῇ ἀγερωχικῇ προλήψει κεχρ[illegible]μένοι, *possest with a rude anticipate opinion.* Where notwithstanding, πρόληψις seems to be taken for *an anticipate opinion.* Vales.

(*c*) I understand *The Vigil of the Paschal Festival.* Nor can ἡ ἐξ ἔθους παννυχὶς be any other than the *Vigil of the Paschal Festival.* For *Sabbatius* (although he anticipated *Easter*, and celebrated it with the *Jews* yet) kept *the Vigils* on the *Paschal Sabbath* with the rest of the *Christians*; with whom also he celebrated *Easter-day* in a dissembling and negligent manner, as *Socrates* has related before, in Book 5. chap. 21. And thus this passage in *Socrates* was understood by *Nicephorus*, whose Words *his Translator* hath not rendred well. *Nicephorus*'s words

words are theſe: τῇ δὲ εἰωθυίᾳ πανυχίδι τὸ σεμνὸν γέρας ἀφοσιωμένων, &c. Which are to be tranſlated thus, *But in regard they celebrated the ſolemn Vigil with a congruous worſhip meerly for faſhions-ſake*, &c. Moreover, why *Sabbatius* (although he followed the *Jews* in the obſervation of *Eaſter*, notwithſtanding) would feign a celebration of *Eaſter* with the *Chriſtians*, this in my judgment is the reaſon; becauſe he feared the Laws of the Emperors who hade made a Sanction that they ſhould be accounted Hereticks, who kept not *Eaſter* on one and the ſame day with all other *Chriſtians*. This was the command of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, in the *ninth Law of the Theodoſian Code de Hæreticis*. Valeſ.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning thoſe who at that time were the Ring-leaders of the Arian *Opinion.*

DOrotheus Biſhop of the *Arian* Hereſie (who had been tranſlated by the *Arians* from *Antioch* to *Conſtantinople*, as we have related * before,) having lived an hundred and nineteen years, died in *Honorius*'s ſeventh and *Theodoſius Auguſtus*'s ſecond Conſulate, on the ſixth of *November*. After this perſon *Barba* preſided over the *Arian* Sect: In whoſe time the *Arian* Hereſie was very happy in having two eloquent Men, both whom were dignified with a *Presbyterate*. The name of the one was *Timotheus*; the other was called *Georgius*. *Georgius* was furniſh'd with more of *Grecian* Literature: but *Timotheus* had beſtow'd greater pains about the Sacred Scriptures. Moreover, *Georgius* had *Ariſtotle*'s and *Plato*'s Books always in his hands; but *Timotheus* was † an admirer of *Origen*: And in his Expoſitions of the Sacred Scriptures in publick, he [ſhewed himſelf] not to be unskilled in the *Hebrew* Tongue. *Timotheus* had formerly been an Adherent to the Sect of the || *Pſathyriani*. But *Georgius* had been ordained by *Barba*. I my ſelf diſcourſed with this *Timotheus*, and evidently perceived how ready and expedite he was in returning anſwers to thoſe who queſtioned him, and in explaining the moſt obſcure places which occur in the Sacred Scriptures. He always quoted *Origen* as a moſt evident Witneſs of what he aſſerted. I cannot therefore but wonder, how theſe two perſons ſhould perſiſt [in their adherence] to *Arianiſm*; the one of whom had *Plato* always in his hand; and the other had *Origen* in his mouth. For neither does *Plato* aſſert, that the *ſecond* and *third Cauſe* (as he uſually terms them) took a beginning of Exiſtence. And *Origen* every where acknowledges the Son to be co-eternal with the Father. But, tho' they continued in their own Church, yet the *Arian* Hereſie was by them reduced to a better and more moderate temper. For by their own Doctrine they baniſhed many of *Arius*'s Blaſphemies. But thus far concerning theſe perſons. Not long after this, *Siſinnius* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* died, in the ſame Conſulate, and *Chryſanthus* is ordained, concerning whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

* Book 5. chap. 12.

† Or, *delighted with.*

||See Book 5. chap. 23

CHAP. VII.

How Cyrillus *ſucceeded* Theophilus *Biſhop of* Alexandria.

SOme little time after this, *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* fell into a * *Lethargick* diſtemper, and died in *Honorius*'s ninth and *Theodoſius*'s fifth Conſulate, on the fifteenth of the month *October*. And a contention being raiſed there alſo about the Biſhoprick, ſome endeavoured to place *Timotheus* the *Arch-deacon* in the Epiſcopal Chair; others *Cyrillus*, (*a*) who was *Theophilus*'s Siſter's Son. When a Sedition aroſe hereupon amongſt the People, *Abundatius* Commander of the *Milice* [in *Egypt*] favoured *Timotheus*'s Party. Wherefore, on the third day after *Theophilus*'s death, *Cyrillus* was placed in the Chair, and came to the Biſhoprick with a greater power than *Theophilus* had done: For from that time, the || Biſhops of *Alexandria* (*b*) ſurpaſſing the Sacerdotal degree and bounds, exerciſed a Principality, and took upon them the [Secular] Government of Affairs. *Cyrillus* therefore forthwith ſhut up the Churches of the *Novatianiſts* at *Alexandria*; and in the firſt place he took away all their ſacred Veſſels and Ornaments; after which he deprived their Biſhop *Theopemptus* of all he had.

* Or, *a drouſie diſeaſe.*

|| Or, *the Biſhoprick of Alexandria.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

(*a*) Ὀσίνα δελφιδῆς. *Muſculus* renders it, *who was Theophilus's Nephew by his Siſter. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it, *the Son of his Brother. Nicephorus* (Book 14. chap. 25.) ſays *Theophilus was Cyrillus's Uncle by the Father's ſide*; his Words are, θεῖον πρὸς πατρός: *Theodoret* terms him only θεῖον, *Uncle*. Wherefore I rather believe he was *Cyrillus's mother's brother*. In *Sozomen* there is mention of *Theophilus*'s Siſter. *Facundus Hermianenſis* and *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* term *Theophilus Cyrillus*'s *Couſin-german*; which is ill done: But from thence 'tis clearly intimated, that *Cyrillus* was related to *Theophilus* by his Siſter. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) Inſtead of [παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως, *from the Sacerdotal degree and order*] it muſt doubtleſs be [πέρα τῆς, &c. *ſurpaſſing* [*or beyond*] *the Sacerdotal*, &c.] according as Sir *Henry Savill* had noted at the margin of *his Copy* from *Chriſtophorſon*'s *Book*. Notwithſtanding both Tranſlators have followed the common reading, which is not to be endured. *Socrates*, 'tis certain, ſpeaking concerning the ſame thing at *chap.* 11. *of this Book*, uſes the Word πέρα there: τῆς ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς (ſays he) ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης, ἐπὶ δυνασείαν ἤδη πάλαι παρελθέσης; that is, *The Roman Biſhoprick, having (like that of* Alexandria) *ſurpaſſed the Sacerdotal degree and bounds, and degenerated long before into a ſecular principality*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Maruthas *Biſhop of* Meſopotamia, *and how the* Chriſtian *Religion was by him propagated in* Perſia.

ABout the very ſame time the *Chriſtian* Religion hapned to be propagated in *Perſia*, upon this account. Between the *Romans* and *Perſians* frequent Embaſſies are continually ſent: (*a*) for there are ſeveral reaſons, why they ſhould frequently ſend Embaſſies to one another. There hapned therefore to be a neceſſity at that time, that *Maruthas* Biſhop of *Meſopotamia* (whom we have mentioned a little * before) ſhould be ſent by the *Roman* Emperor to the King of the *Perſians*. The *Perſian* King having found that this perſon was endowed with an eminency of Piety, honoured him highly, and gave him attention, as being really and truly a Friend of God. The *Magi*, (*b*) whoſe intereſt is great with the *Perſian* King, were incenſed hereat. For they were afraid leſt he ſhould perſwade the King to turn *Chriſtian*. For *Maruthas* by his Prayers had cured the King of a Pain in his Head, wherewith he had been a long while troubled, which the *Magi* could not cure him of. Wherefore, the *Magi* betake themſelves to the inventing of a fraudulent deſign. And whereas the *Perſians* worſhip Fire, and the King was wont to adore a Fire which was always burning in a certain Houſe; they hid a Man under Ground, whom (at ſuch time as the King

(*a*) Inſtead of [διάφοροι δὲ, *but there are ſeveral*] it is better thus, διάφοροι γάρ, *For there are ſeveral*, &c. Valeſ.

* Book 6. chap. 15. and 19.

(*b*) Inſtead of [οἱ πολλοὶ, &c. *who are numerous*, &c.] it muſt undoubtedly be [οἱ πολὺ παρὰ τῆ περσῶν, &c. *whoſe intereſt is great with the Perſian King.*] Thus *Nicephorus* reads. *Valeſ.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

King usually * worshipped) they ordered to speak [to this effect,] *that the King ought to be thrust out of doors; for he had done impiously, because he supposed a Priest of the Christians to be dear to God. Isdigerdes* (for that was the *Persian* King's name,) having heard these Words, altho' he reverenced *Maruthas*, notwithstanding had thoughts of sending him away. But *Maruthas*, a Man truly acceptable to God, was very earnest in putting up his prayers, whereby he detected the fraud which the *Magi* had framed.] He addressed himself] therefore to the King in these words, *Be not deluded, O King! But go into* [*the house,*] *and when you shall hear the voice, dig up the ground, and you will discover the Fraud. For the fire speaks not, but the invention of men does this.* The King of the *Persians* is perswaded by *Maruthas*, and goes into the little house again, * where fire is kept always burning. And when he had heard the same voice again, he order'd the place to be dug up where he that utter'd the words, which were supposed to be God's, was found. Therefore, the King was highly incensed, and gave order that the * *Tribe* of the *Magi* should be ‖ *decimated*. After this was done, he spoke to *Maruthas* to build Churches whersoever he pleased. From that time the *Christian* Religion was propagated amongst the *Persians*. Moreover, *Maruthas* having then left *Persia*, return'd to *Constantinople*. But, not long after he was sent Embassador again to the *Persians*. And the *Magi* betook themselves to the invention of Plots and Intrigues again, to hinder his being admitted by the King. (*c*) For by a device they raised a most horrid stink in that place, (*d*) into which the King usually came; and the calumniously accused the *Christians*, as if they had caused it. But when the King, in regard he already had a suspicion of the *Magi*, made a more exact scrutiny about the occasioners [of this stink,] the *Magi* were found again to be the causes of this ill smell. Wherefore he punished many of them again: but he had a greater honour and esteem for *Maruthas*. And he loved the *Romans*, with whom he embraced a friendship. Yea, the King himself wanted but little of turning *Christian*, after *Maruthas*, together with (*e*) *Abdas* the Bishop of *Persia*, had shewed another * Miracle. For both these Persons, when they had fasted long, and been earnest in prayers, cast out a devil that vexed the King's Son. But *Isdigerdes*, before he became a perfect *Christian*, was prevented by Death. His Kingdom devolved to his Son *Varraanes*: in whose time the League between the *Romans* and *Persians* was broken, as we shall declare hereafter.

* Or, *prayed.*

* Or, *where the unquenchable fire was.*

* Or, *Stock, or, Race.*

‖ That is, *every tenth Man put to death.*

* *Tryal, or, Experiment.*

(*c*) We read [ἐπεγόνασι γάρ, *for by a device they raised*, &c.] not [ἐπινόησαν τε, *And by a device*, &c.] Otherwise, a repetition of the same particle would be odious and unpleasant. Many errors in these particles are usually committed by *Transcribers of Books*, whilst they write too hastily. *Vales.*

(*d*) Here we read περίεχεσθαι, instead of περισέρχεσθαι. *Vales.*

(*e*) *Epiphanius Scholasticus* calls this Bishop of *Persia Ablaates*. *Nicephorus* terms him *Abdas*. In the *Sfortian* M.S. he is stiled *Anldas*. Vales.

CHAP. IX.

Who were Bishops of Antioch *and* Rome *at this time.*

ABout the very same times, *Flavianus* died at *Antioch*, and was succeeded in that Bishoprick by *Porphyrius*. After *Porphyrius*, *Alexander* Presided over that Church. At *Rome*, *Damasus* having held that Bishoprick eighteen years, was succeeded by *Siricius*. After *Siricius* had presided there fifteen years, *Anastasius* governed that Church three years; and after *Anastasius*, *Innocentius*. He was the first that began to persecute the *Novatianists* at *Rome*, whom he deprived of many Churches.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

CHAP. X.

That Rome *became subject to the* Barbarians *at that time, and was destroyed by* Alarichus.

AT that very time *Rome* hapned to be taken by the *Barbarians*. For one *Alarichus* a *Barbarian*, (who had been an Allie of the *Romans*, and had assisted the Emperor *Theodosius* in the War against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, on which account he was honoured with (*a*) Roman dignities,) could not bear his fortunate success. He presumed not indeed to seize the Empire; but retired from *Constantinople*, and went into the Western parts. Being arriv'd in *Illyricum*, he laid all places desolate immediately. The *Thessalians* resisted him in his march, about the mouths of the River *Peneus*, from whence there is a pass * over the mountain *Pindus* to *Nicopolis* [a City] of *Epirus*. And coming to an engagement, the *Thessalians* killed about three thousand [of his Forces.] After this the *Barbarians* that were with him, burnt and ruined whatever was in their way, and in fine took *Rome* it self. Which City they destroyed, and burnt the greatest part (*b*) of the admirable works and structures therein: but they made plunder of the mony, and divided it [amongst themselves.] They also forced many of the *Senatorian Order* to undergo various punishments, and [afterwards] slew them. [*Alarichus*] likewise, in contempt to Empire, proclaimed one *Attalus* Emperor. Whom he ordered to go guarded like an Emperor one day; and the next made him appear in a servile habit. After he had done all this, he fled, being terrified with a Rumor, as if the Emperor *Theodosius* had sent an Army to fight him. Nor was this Rumor false; For an Army did really come. And he was unable to bear the fame thereof; but, as I have said, fled away. 'Tis reported, that as he went to *Rome*, he was met by a pious Person that led a monastick life, who adviséd him not to rejoyce in [perpetrating] so great and notorious mischiefs, nor to delight in slaughter and blood: To whom *Alarichus* made this return, *I go not thither of my own accord. But some* * *thing does every day vex and disquiet me, saying, go to* Rome, *and ruin that City.* Thus much concerning this Person.

(*a*) Or, *Roman dignity. Zosimus* (Book 5.) relates, that *Alarichus*, after the expedition against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, wherein he had done excellent service, was Commander of no *Roman* Forces, but returned into *Thracia*, and kept with him those *Barbarians* only, whom he had commanded. But, a little afterwards, when being sent for by *Rufinus*, he had ruined *Græcia* and *Epirus*, he was created *Master of the Militia* throughout *Illyricum*; as *Claudian* informs us in *his second Book against Eutropius.*

——— *Vastator Achivæ*
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præsidet Illyricis. Jam quos obsedit, amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.
Sic hostes pensare solent. ——— Vales.

* Or, *thorow.*

(*b*) Instead of [θαυμασῶν ἐκείνων θεαμάτων, *of their admirable works and structures*] I think it must be [τῶν θαυμασῶν ἐκεῖ θεαμάτων, *of the admirable works and structures therein*:] Which reading we have expressed in our Version. *Vales.*

* Or, *some body.*

CHAP.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Biſhop of Rome.

AFter *Innocentius*, *Zoſimus* was poſſeſt of the Churches at *Rome*, for the ſpace of two years. After whom, *Bonifacius* preſided over that Church three years, who was ſucceeded by *Celeſtinus*. And this *Celeſtinus* deprived the *Novatianiſts* alſo at *Rome* of their Churches, and forced their Biſhop *Ruſticula* to hold his Meetings in private and obſcure Houſes. For till this time the *Novatianiſts* flouriſhed mightily at *Rome*, had many Churches, and aſſembled numerous Congregations therein. But envy * impaired them alſo; the *Roman* Biſhoprick, having (like that of *Alexandria*) ſurpaſſed the Sacerdotal Degree and Bounds, and degenerated long before into a Secular Principality. And for this reaſon the [*Roman*] Biſhops would not permit, even thoſe who agreed with them in the Faith, peacably and quietly to celebrate their Meetings, but took from them all they had; only they praiſed them for their agreement in the Faith. Notwithſtanding, the *Conſtantinopolitan* Biſhops were not thus affected: for they not only permitted [the *Novatianiſts*] to have their Meetings within the City, but had a ſingular love and affection for them alſo, as I have ſufficiently declared already.

* Or, ſeized, or, devoured.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Chryſanthus *Biſhop of the* Novatianiſts *at* Conſtantinople.

AFter *Siſinnius*'s death, *Chryſanthus* was by force made Biſhop. He was the Son of that *Marcianus*, who had been Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* before *Siſinnius*. From his younger years he had had a military Employ in the Palace; afterwards, in the Reign of *Theodoſius the Great*, he was made *Conſularis* of *Italy*, and after that *Vicarius* of the *Britannick* Iſlands; for his management of both which Charges he was much admired. Being grown elderly, he return'd to *Conſtantinople*; and deſiring to be made *Præfect* of that City, he was againſt his will compelled to take the Biſhoprick. For *Siſinnius* having mention'd him at the time of his death, as a fit perſon for the Biſhoprick, the *Novatian* People, with whom *Siſinnius*'s Words were a Law, attempted to draw him by force, even againſt his will. But when *Chryſanthus* fled, *Sabbatius* ſuppoſing an opportune ſeaſon was offer'd him, wherein he might be made Poſſeſſor of the Churches, gets himſelf ordain'd Biſhop by ſome obſcure [Prelates] and ſlights the Oath which he had bound himſelf in. Amongſt thoſe who ordain'd *Sabbatius* Biſhop, *Hermogenes* was one, who had been excommunicated and curſed by *Sabbatius*, for his blaſphemous Books. But *Sabbatius*'s deſign proved unſucceſsful to him: for the People hating * his unreaſonable ambition, (becauſe (*a*) he did all things with a deſign of getting into the Biſhoprick,) made it their whole buſineſs to find out *Chryſanthus*. Whom they found abſconding in *Bithynia*, whence they brought him by force, and preferr'd him to the Biſhoprick. He was a perſon of as great prudence and modeſty, as any man was: and by his means the Church of the *Novatianiſts* at *Conſtantinople* was preſerved and increaſed. He was the firſt perſon who diſtributed Gold * of his own to the Poor. He received nothing from the Churches, ſave only (*b*) two Loaves of the *Bleſſed Bread* every Sunday. Moreover, he was ſo careful about his Church, that he took (*c*) *Ablabius* the eloquenteſt Orator of his own time, from *Troïlus* the *Sophiſta*'s School, and ordain'd him Presbyter: Whoſe elegant and acute *Sermons* are now extant. But *Ablabius* was afterwards conſtituted Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* Church at *Nicæa*, in which City he taught *Rhetorick* at the ſame time alſo.

* See Book 5. chap. 21.

* Or, *his immorality.*

(*a*) Πάνλα σκοπὸν τῷ παρεισδῦναι εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔπραττε. This expreſſion is not in my judgment good *Greek*. *Nicephorus* in regard he lik'd it not, altered it thus: πάντα κάλων ἐκίνει τῷ Ἐπισκοπῇ παρεισδῦναι, *he moved every rope to get into the Biſhoprick.* But in my mind, this place in *Socrates* is to be thus reſtored: ὅτι πάντα σκοπῶ τῷ παρεισδῦναι εἰς τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν ἔπραττε, *becauſe he did all things with a deſign of getting into the Biſhoprick.* Valeſ.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

* Οἰκονόμευ. Muſculus renders it per ſingulas domos, *from houſe to houſe.* Grynæus and Curterius, de ſuis ipſius fortunis, *of his own eſtate.* Valeſius, ex propria pecunia, *of his own money.*

(*b*) The Loaves which the Faithful offered for a ſacrifice, were termed *the Loaves of Benediction.* For ſo *Dionyſius Exiguus* renders the 59th *Canon of the Laodicean Council*; ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον, *That the Bread of Benediction ought not to be offered in Lent, except on the Sabbath and on Sunday only.* Of theſe Loaves ſome were taken for the *Euchariſt*: the reſt were allotted for the food of the Clergy by the Biſhop; who alſo took ſome of them himſelf, as much as he would, as we are informed from this place. You muſt note further, that *Socrates* ſays ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *from the Churches.* For the Biſhop, according to his own arbitrement, diſpoſed of the Oblations of all the Churches, which were under his own juriſdiction. See *Gelaſius's Decretals*, cap. 27. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Ἀβλάβιον τὸν ἑαυτῦ. Sir *Henry Savil* from *Chriſtophorſon*'s Book, at the Margin of *his own Copy*, *hath mended it thus*, τῶν ἑαυτῦ. Which reading *Chriſtophorſon* has followed. But in my judgment, it muſt be thus written, τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, &c. *The beſt Orator of his own time*, &c. The Scholars of the *Sophiſts*, who learned *Rhetorick*, were heretofore termed *Rhetoricians*. Notwithſtanding, all the *Sophiſts* Scholars had not that appellation, but the eminenteſt of them only, who being initiated by a certain Rite, wore a *Rhetorician's Pallium* which was red or ſcarlet-coloured. We are informed hereof by *Cyrillus* in *his Lexicon*: τείβωνες, περιβλήματά τινα. Τῶν μὲν ῥητόρων ἐρυθροί τε καὶ φοινικοῖ· φαιοὶ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων· παρῆσθον δὲ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑκάστην φορούμενον; that is, *Pallium's were certain Cloaks. Some* [*were worn*] *by Rhetoricians, which were red and ſcarlet-coloured: others, by Philoſophers, which were of a dark-colour. This was the Badge, worn by them daily.* But by what Rite *Rhetoricians* were wont to be made at *Athens*, *Olympiodorus* (*in excerptis Hiſtoriarum apud Photium*,) *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Eunapius* do declare. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Fight which hapned at Alexandria *between the* Chriſtians *and* Jews, *and concerning* Cyrillus *the Biſhop's Difference with* Oreſtes *the* Præfect.

ABout the ſame time the *Jewiſh* Nation were driven out of *Alexandria* by *Cyrillus* the Biſhop, for this reaſon: The *Alexandrians* are more ſeditious and tumultuous than any other people; and if at any time they get an occaſion, they [uſually] break out into intolerable miſchiefs: For their rage is not appeaſed without blood. It hapned at that time, that the Populace of that City were tumultuous amongſt themſelves, not upon any weighty or neceſſary occaſion, but by reaſon of that miſchief which abounds in all Cities, I mean an earneſt deſire of looking upon Dancers. For in regard a Dancer gathered great multitudes together on the Sabbath-day, becauſe the *Jews* work not on that day, nor are buſied in hearing their Law, but [ſpend their time in ſeeing] *Theatrical Shows*, that day uſually occaſion'd mutual Factions and Diviſions among the People. And although this was in ſome meaſure regulated and repreſſed by the *Præfect* of *Alexandria*, nevertheleſs the *Jews* conti-

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

continued enraged against those of the contrary Faction: and besides their being always enemies to the Christians, they were much more incensed (*a*) against them on account of the Dancers. Therefore, when *Orestes*, *Præfect* of *Alexandria* (*b*) made a *Police* (so the *Alexandrians* do usually term *publick Orders*,) in the Theatre; some of Bishop *Cyrillus*'s Favourers were present there also, being desirous to know the Orders that were made by the *Præfect*. Amongst whom was a person, by name *Hierax*, a teacher of the (*c*) meaner sort of Learning.

(*a*) Instead of [καθ' ἑαυτὸν] *Musculus* and *Christophorson* read κατ' αὐτὸν, *against them*.] Which reading I like better. Notwithstanding *Nicephorus* retains the common reading. *Vales.*

(*b*) Πολιτείαν ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ ποιοῦντος. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* was mistaken in thinking there was a Festival which the *Alexandrians* called *Politia*. Nor was *Christophorson* less out, in supposing the publick Edicts of the *Imperial Præfects* to be so termed by the *Alexandrians*, which *Orestes* published then in the Theatre. In which he is doubly mistaken. First, because he thought that all the *Imperial Edicts* were by the *Alexandrians* called *Politia*; whereas, those Edicts only had that name, which belonged to the quiet and profit of the City. Agreeable whereto, those Orders made in respect to the prices of Corn and other vendible Commodities, usually exposed to sale in the Market, at *Paris* we now term in *French* a *Police*, and *the Orders of Police*. Secondly, *Christophorson* mistakes in supposing that these Edicts were published by *Orestes* in the Theatre. For *Socrates* does not say so, but only that *Orestes* made, (that is, dictated, or rehearsed to his Officers) these Orders in the Theatre. For the *Roman* Magistrates were wont to sit in Judgment and decide Matters in the Law, in the Theatre, *Circus*, or in any other place they had a mind to. So *Amm. Marcellinus* relates (Book 15.) concerning *Leontius Præfect* of the City. Moreover, the Orders then made by *Orestes*, respected the Theatre, and the *publick Shows*. Vales.

(*c*) Περὶ τὰ γράμματα (which are the terms here used,) do import *the first Rudiments which Children learn*. The teachers hereof are by the *Greeks* termed *Grammatistæ*, and by the *Latines Literatores*. Vales.

He was a zealous hearer of *Cyrillus* the Bishop, and always mighty diligent about raising the * Clappings at his Sermons. The Jewish multitude spying this *Hierax* in the Theatre, cried out immediately, that he came into the Theatre for nothing else, but to raise a sedition amongst the people. Moreover, *Orestes* had long before conceived an hatred against the Secular Government of Bishops, because it diminished much of their power who had been appointed Governours of Provinces by the Emperor; and also more especially, because *Cyrillus* was desirous of prying into his Acts and Orders. Having seized *Hierax* therefore, he made him undergo tortures publickly in the Theatre. With which *Cyrillus* being acquainted, sends for the chief of the *Jews*, and threatned them with condign punishment, unless they desisted from being tumultuous against the Christians. Of which menaces after the Jewish multitude were made sensible, they became more pertinacious; and contrived Plots to damnifie the Christians. The chiefest of which designs of theirs, and which occasion'd their expulsion out of *Alexandria*, I will relate here. Having † agreed upon a Sign amongst themselves, [which was,] that every one of them should wear a Ring on their fingers made of the bark of a *Palm-tree-branch*, they took a resolution of making an attack upon the Christians by a night-fight. One night therefore they sent some persons provided for that purpose, who cried out in all the ‖ streets of the City, that *Alexander*'s Church was on fire. The Christians hearing this, ran some one way, others another, that they might preserve the Church. Then the Jews set upon them immediately, and slew them: they abstained from killing those of their own party, by shewing their Rings; but they murder'd all the Christians they hapned to meet with. When it was

* Κρότους, *Plausus, clapping of Hands*; such as is now used at *Plays*; then belike usual at Sermons.

† Or, *given.*

‖ Or, *in all the Wards of the City.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

day, the Authors of this nefarious fact were not concealed. *Cyrillus* highly incensed hereat, went accompanied with a great multitude to the *Jews Synagogues* (so they term their Houses of Prayer) which he took from them: He also expelled the *Jews* out of the City, and permitted the multitude to make plunder of their Goods. The *Jews* therefore, who had inhabited that City from the days of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, were all forced to remove naked from thence at that time, and were dispersed some in one place, others in another. *Adamantius*, [one of them] (*d*) a Professor of Physick, went to *Constantinople*, and fled to *Atticus* the Bishop; and having turn'd a Professor of Christianity, returned afterwards to *Alexandria* again, and fix'd his residence there. But *Orestes* Præfect of *Alexandria* was highly incensed at what was done; being exceedingly troubled, because so great a City was on such a sudden emptied of so numerous a company of Inhabitants. Wherefore he acquainted the Emperor with what had been done. *Cyrillus* himself likewise made known the *Jews* Wickednesses to the Emperor; nevertheless he sent Messengers to *Orestes*, on accouut of procuring a Reconciliation. For the People of *Alexandria* compelled him to do this. And when *Orestes* would not admit of any conferences about a Reconciliation, *Cyrillus* (*e*) held forth the Book of the Gospels to him, thinking he should by that strike a Reverence into *Orestes*. But when he would not be mollified even by this means, but continued an irreconcileable War between himself and *Cyrillus*; this accident hapned afterwards.

(*d*) Ἰατρικῶν λόγων σοφιστής. These Persons the *Greeks* in one word term ἰατροσοφιστὰς, that is, *Professors of Physick*. Such a one was *Magnus Medicus*, who professed Physick publickly at *Alexandria*; but was a better *Orator* then *Physician*; as *Eunapius* informs us, in *his Book De Vitis Sophistarum*. Such a one also was *Gesius* the Physician in the times of the Emperor *Zeno*; concerning whom see *Stephanus Byzantius, in the word* Γέα. *Damascius* (in *the Life of* Isidorus) spends a great many words about this *Gesius*; and from him *Suidas, in the word* Γέσιος. Where he divides Physick into two parts, *Theory* and *Practice*. Vales.

(*e*) *Cyrillus* therefore held forth the Book of the Gospels, that thereby he might conjure and earnestly beseech *Orestes Præfect* of *Egypt*, to be reconciled with him. We have remarked already (see Book 6. Chap. 11. note *b*.) that the Ancients did usually conjure and earnestly beseech, by those things which they used to swear by. The *Christians* usage was to swear by the Gospels, laying their Hands on those *sacred Books*, as 'tis evidently known. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

That the Monks of Nitria *came down to* Alexandria *in defence of* Cyrillus, *and raised a Sedition against* Orestes *the* Præfect.

SOme of the Monks who inhabited the mountains of *Nitria*, retaining an heat of mind from *Theophilus*'s times, who had armed them unjustly against *Dioscorus* and his Brethren; were incensed with a Zeal then also, and took a resolution of fighting couragiously in defence of *Cyrillus*. About five hundred persons therefore of them went out of their Monasteries, came down to the City, and observe the *Præfect* going forth in his Chariot. They came to him, and called him *Sacrificer* and *Pagan*, and gave him many other reproachful terms. The *Præfect* having a suspicion that a Plot was framed against him by *Cyrillus*, cried out that he was a Christian, and had been baptized by *Atticus* the Bishop at *Constantinople*. But when the Monks heeded not what he said, one of them, by name *Ammonius*, flings a stone and strikes *Orestes* on the head: by which wound he was all over besmear'd with bloud: and his * *Apparitors*

* Or, *officers.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

ritors that attended him, except a very few, receded, ran ſome one way, others another, [and hid themſelves] in the Crowd, to avoid being killed by the throwing of ſtones. In the interim the *Alexandrians* flock'd together, with a reſolution to be revenged upon the Monks on the *Præfect*'s account. They put all the reſt of them to flight; but ſeized *Ammonius*, and bring him before the *Præfect*. He, agreeable to the Laws, (*a*) put him to *the Queſtion* publickly, and tortured him in ſuch a degree, that he died. Not long after he acquainted the Emperors with what had been done. But *Cyrillus* gave the Emperor a Narrative [of the buſineſs] contradictory [to *Oreſtes*'s.] And he took *Ammonius*'s body, depoſited it in one of the Churches, altered his name, calling him *Thaumaſius*, order'd he ſhould be ſtiled a Martyr, and extolled his Magnanimity publickly in the Church, as if he had undergone the Combat in defence of Piety. But the modeſter and more ſober perſons even of the *Chriſtians*, approved not of this favour of *Cyrillus*'s ſhewn towards *Ammonius*. For they certainly knew, that *Ammonius* had undergone the puniſhment of his raſhneſs, and died not under his tortures, as forced to renounce Chriſt. Wherefore, *Cyrillus* himſelf cauſed the memory of this affair to be by little and little buried in ſilence. But that fierce contention between *Cyrillus* and *Oreſtes* ſtopt not here. For it was (*b*) re-kindled by another accident not unlike thoſe foregoing.

(*a*) That is, *tortured him*. Inſtead of [ὑπολαβὼν, *undertaking*,] it muſt undoubtedly be [ὑποκαλῶν, *put him to*, or *made him undergo*,] as Sir *Henry Savil* had mended it at the Margin of *his Copy*. Nor did *Muſculus* read otherwiſe, who has rendred this place thus: *quem ille publicè ſecundum leges torturæ ſubjicit, whom he makes to undergo torture in publick, agreeable to the Laws.* Where you ſee *Muſculus* took the word δημοσίᾳ for *an Adverb*, and is therein followed by *Chriſtophorſon*. For thus he renders it: *Præfectus palàm, uti leges poſtulant, de eo quæſtionem exercere, The Præfect, as the Laws required, put him to the Queſtion openly.* Notwithſtanding, δημοσία may be taken *adjectively* in the ſame ſenſe. I have obſerved a little before from *Amm. Marcellinus*, that the *Roman* Magiſtrates were wont to take Criminals openly and in publick, and torture them; in regard they had their *Apparitors* always about them. Therefore, even whileſt they rode in their Chariots, they put Offenders *to the Queſtion*, as *Marcellinus* relates concerning *Leontius*, and *Socrates* at this place concerning *Oreſtes*. Valeſ.

(*b*) The *Verb*, ἀπέσβεσε, *extinguiſhed*, is in no wiſe agreeably uſed here. I had much rather make it ἀνέφλεξε, *rekindled*. For ἀνῆπτε (which *Verb* Sir *Henry Savil* and the *Geneva-Printers* have ſet in the margin from *Chriſtophorſon*'s Copy,) is not to be born with, in regard it ſignifies, *was kindled*, not, *was renewed*. I found here no alteration in the M. SS. Copies. *Nicephorus* has alſo followed the common reading. For, inſtead of ἀπέσβεσε, *extinguiſhed*, he makes uſe of ἠμαύρωσε, *was obſcured*, or, *obliterated*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Hypatia *the Philoſophreſs.*

THere was a woman at *Alexandria*, by name *Hypatia*: She was daughter to (*a*) *Theon* the Philoſopher: She had arrived to ſo eminent a degree of learning, that ſhe excelled [all] the Philoſophers of her own times, and ſucceeded in (*b*) that *Platonick School* derived from *Plotinus*, and expounded all the Precepts of Philoſophy to thoſe who would hear her. Wherefore, all perſons who were ſtudious about Philoſophy, flockt to her from all parts: By reaſon of that eminent *Gracefulneſs and Readineſs of expreſſion, wherewith ſhe had accompliſh'd her ſelf by her Learning, ſhe addreſſed frequently even to the Magiſtrates, with a ſingular modeſty. Nor was ſhe aſhamed of appearing in a publick aſſemby of men. For all perſons revered and admired her for her eximious modeſty. Envy armed it ſelf againſt this woman at that time. For, becauſe ſhe had frequent conferences with *Oreſtes*, for this reaſon a calumny was framed againſt her amongſt the Chriſtian populace, as if ſhe hindred *Oreſtes* from coming to a reconciliation with the Biſhop. Certain perſons therefore of fierce and over-hot minds, who were headed by one *Peter* a Reader, conſpired againſt the woman, and obſerve her returning home from ſome place. And having pulled her out of her Chariot, they drag her to the Church named (*c*) *Cæſareum*: Where they ſtript her, and murder'd her with Shells: And when they had torn her piece-meal, they carried all her Members to a place called *Cinaron*, and conſumed them with fire. This fact * brought no ſmall (*d*) diſgrace upon *Cyrillus* and the *Alexandrian* Church. For, murthers, fights, and things of that nature, are wholly foreign to the embraces of *Chriſtianity*. Theſe things were done on the fourth year of *Cyrillus*'s Epiſcopate, in *Honorius*'s tenth, and *Theodoſius*'s (*e*) ſixth Conſulate, in the month of *March*, in *Lent*.

(*a*) The incomparably Learned Sir *Henry Savil*, at the margin of his *Copy*, had made this remark, which we thought good to communicate to the ſtudious Reader. *Theo Interpres Ptolemæi, &c.* that is, *Theon Ptolemie's Interpreter, in the 81ſt year of the Diocletian Epocha (which was Valens's fifth year, as I ſuppoſe,) obſerved two Lunar Conjunctions, the one* Synodicam *the other* Panſelenon. *See pag. 277, and 282. of Theon's Comments upon the Almageſtus, Edit. Baſil. 1538. Therefore, 'tis very probable, that this Theon was Hypatia's Father. For, from thoſe Obſervations to Hypatia's death, there are 47 years.* Valeſ.

(*b*) At *Alexandria* there was heretofore a School of *Platonick Philoſophy*, over which, amongſt others, *Hierocles* the *Philoſopher* preſided; as *Damaſcius* (in the *Life of Iſidorus, pag.* 1038,) and *Æneas Gazæus* (*in Theophraſto*) do inform us. But the *Succeſſion* of this School is not to be deduced from *Plotinus*. For *Plotinus* never taught Philoſophy at *Alexandria*. *Plotinus* was indeed inſtructed in Philoſophy at *Alexandria*, by *Ammonius*; but he himſelf never kept a School there, but continued teaching at *Rome* for the ſpace of twenty ſix years compleat, until his death; as *Porphyrius* relates *in his Life*. Wherefore, inſtead of *Plotinus*, I would more willingly put *Ammonius* here. Unleſs we ſhould ſay, that the *Alexandrian School* had aſſociated *Plotinus* to themſelves, as being the eminenteſt Maſter and Inſtructor of the *Platonick Philoſophy*. By this means our *Socrates* may be excuſed. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *wrought no ſmall diſgrace to*, &c.

(c) *Athanaſius* mentions this Church in *his Epiſtle ad Solitarios*, pag. 860. ὅτε ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ ἐν τῷ καισαρείῳ γενομένας θυσίας, καὶ νῦν χεῖρα βλασφημίας, ἃς ἐξ ἐντολῆς αὐτῶν πεποιήκασιν Ἀρειανοί τε καὶ Ἕλληνες: *have not the Arians and Pagans offered ſacrifice in the Great Church, in the Cæſareum, and [performed] blaſphemies againſt Chriſt, by his command as it were?* He means the Cow, which the Pagans would have offered in *the Great Church*, of which he had ſpoken before, at pag. 848. *Epiphanius* ſays a great deal concerning the ſame Church, in *Hæreſ. Arian. chap.* 2. 'Tis called *Baſilica Cæſarea* in *Liberatus's Breviarium*, cap. 18. Valeſ.

(*d*) Tis certain, that *Damaſcius* (in *the Life of* Iſidorus *the Philoſopher*, which by Gods aſſiſtance I will ere long ſet forth larger by half, than it is) does make *Cyrillus* the Author of *Hypatia's* murder. *Damaſcius*'s Words are theſe: ἤδη γέν ποτε σωέβη τὸν ἐπισκοπεύοντα τὼν ἀντινεμβήνν αἵρεσιν κλεινὸν, περιόντα διὰ τὸ ὅλως τῆς ὑπατίας, and ſo on, which occur in *Suidas*. 'Tis a moſt elegant paſſage, which in favour to the ſtudious Reader, I will render into *Engliſh*, and annex it here, repeating *Damaſcius*'s words a little higher. *The Governours alſo of the City* Alexandria, *as ſoon as they came into that City, viſited her in the firſt place. Which has been uſually done at* Athens *alſo. For, though the thing it ſelf be loſt, yet the name of Philoſophy ſeems as yet magnificent and venerable to perſons who hold the principal place in the government of the publick. It happened therefore one time, that* Cyrillus *a Biſhop of the Chriſtian Religion, paſſing by* Hypatia's *houſe, ſaw a great company before her door, both of Men and Horſes; ſome of whom came, others went away, and others ſtayed. And when he had inquired what that multitude meant, and why ſo great a tumult was made, he was anſwered by his followers, That they then ſaluted* Hypatia *the Philoſophreſs, and that that was her houſe. Which when* Cyrillus *had been acquainted with, he was ſo galled with envy, that he forthwith contrived her murder, and that in the moſt nefarious manner. For when* Hypatia *went out of her houſe as ſhe was wont to do, many inhumane Ruffians, who fear neither the puniſhments of the Gods, nor the revenge of Men, aſſault and kill her; defiling their own country with a moſt horrid crime and diſgrace. The Emperor was highly incenſed thereat, and had revenged it, had not* Ædeſius *corrupted the Emperor's friends. The Emperor pardoned the Aſſaſſines. But he drew the revenge upon his own head, and on his own family: For his Nephew underwent the puniſhment.* Thus far *Damaſcius*. Where by *Nephew* he means, as I ſuppoſe, *Valentinianus* the Son of *Placidia*, who was *Aunt* to *Theodoſius Junior*. Valeſ.

(*e*) Καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ἕκτον, *and Theodoſius's Tenth*, &c. *Chriſtophorſon*

*Παῤῥησίαν; confidence and freedom in ſpeaking.

phorson has done ill to mend it thus, *Theodosius's seventh Consulate*; whose Version led *Baronius* into a mistake, as you may see at the year of Christ 415. From the incomparable *Florentine* and *Sforzian* MSS. I have mended this place thus; *Theodosius's sixth Consulate*; which Emendation is confirmed by the *Fasti Consulares*. Vales.

Honorius and *Theod.* Jun.

CHAP. XVI.

That the Jews, *entring upon another War against the* Christians, *were punished.*

SOme time after this, the *Jews* renewed their absurd and impious practises against the *Christians*, and were punish'd [again for them.] At a place named *Inmestar*, which is situate between *Chalcis* and *Antioch* of *Syria*, the *Jews* (as 'twas their usage) exhibited some Sports. During their Sports they perform'd many mad actions, excited thereto by their drunkenness; and in their Recreations reproach'd not only the *Christians*, but even *Christ* himself. And in derision to the Cross, and to them who put their trust in Him that was crucified, they attempted this villainous fact. Having seized a *Christian* Boy, they bound him to a Cross, and hung him up. At first they laugh'd at and jeer'd him: But becoming afterwards inraged, they scourged the Boy till he died. For this reason there hap ned a sharp conflict betwixt them and the *Christians*. And after the Emperors were acquainted with this fact, an Order was issued out to the Governours of the Province, to find out and punish the Authors thereof. Thus the *Jews*, who inhabited that place, were punish'd for the Wickedness they had committed in their Sports.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Paulus *Bishop of the* Novatianists, *and concerning the Miracle done by him, when he was about to have baptized a* Jewish *Impostor.*

AT the same time, *Chrysanthus* also Bishop of the *Novatianists*, having presided seven years over the Churches * of his own Sect, ended his life in the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plintha*, on the twenty sixth of *August*. He was succeeded in the Bishoprick by *Paulus*: who before had been a Teacher of *Roman* Eloquence: but afterwards bad adieu to the *Roman* Tongue, and betook himself to an *Ascetick* course of life: And having gather'd together a Monastery of Religious Men, he followed a way of living not unlike that led by the Monks in the Desart. For I found him to be really such a Person, as *Evagrius* says the Monks who live in the Solitudes ought to be. For he imitated them exactly in all things, in continued fasts, in speaking little, and in abstaining from eating Creatures that have life. Moreover, for the most part he abstain'd from Oyl and Wine. Besides, his care and solicitude about the Poor was eminent and extraordinory. He was very diligent in his visits to the impriſon'd; he interceded likewise for many Persons with the Judges, who readily hearkned to him on account of his eminent Piety. What need I be large in my relation concerning him? I will mention one action of his, highly worthy to be recorded in writing. A *Jewish* Impostor pretending himself converted to the Christian Religion, had been frequently baptized, and by that device had gather'd much money. When he had deceived many Sects [of the *Christians*] by this fraud: (for he had received Baptism from the *Arians* and *Macedonians*:) having no more Persons whom he might put tricks upon, at length he came to *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists*; and affirming that he earnestly desired Baptism, requested he might obtain it from his hand. He approved of the *Jews*'s desire; but said he would not give him Baptism, before he had been instructed in the Grounds and Principles of the Faith, and had exercised himself with fastings several days. The *Jew* therefore having contrary to his own mind, been compelled to fast, was so much the more urgent in his Intreaties for Baptism. Wherefore *Paulus*, because he would not offend him, now grown importunate, by any longer delays, makes provision for his Baptism. And having bought him a white Vestment, and order'd the * Font to be filled with Water, he brought the *Jew* to it with a design to baptize him. But † an invisible act of Divine Power caused the Water to vanish [on a sudden.] In regard the Bishop and those that were present, (having not the least suspicion of any such thing as had hapned) supposed the Water to have run out by the passage underneath, whereby it was usually let out; they filled the Font again, having with great accuracy stopt up its passages every where. And when the *Jew* was brought the second time to the Font, all the Water disappeared again. Then *Paulus* spake these words; *Either you are an Impostor, O Man, or else, being ignorant, you have been baptized already.* A great multitude of People therefore running together to see this Miracle, one of 'em knew the *Jew*, and was certain that it was the same person who had been baptiz'd before by *Atticus* the Bishop. This Miracle was perform'd by the hands of [*Paulus*] Bishop of the *Novatianists*.

Honorius and *Theod.* Jun.

CHAP. XVIII.

How, after the Death of Isdigerdes *the* Persian *King, the League between the* Romans *and* Persians *was broken, and a bloudy War hapned, wherein the* Persians *were worsted.*

AFter the Death of *Isdigerdes* King of *Persia*, by whom the *Christians* in that Country were not persecuted in the least, his Son, by name *Vararanes* succeeded in that Kingdom; and being induced thereto by the *Magi*, he vexed the *Christians* severely, inflicting on them various Punishments and *Persian* Tortures. The *Christians* therefore in *Persia*, constrained thereto by necessity, fly to the *Romans*, entreating them not to neglect, and see them wholly destroyed. *Atticus* the Bishop receives the Suppliants kindly; and made it his business to assist them to the utmost of his power. Likewise, he acquainted the Emperor *Theodosius* with what had hapned. It fell out at the very same time, that the *Romans* were offended with the *Persians* upon another account: because the *Persians* would not restore the Miners of Gold, whom they had hired of the *Romans*; and in regard they had deprived the *Roman* Merchants of their † effects. To this occasion of difference, the flight of the *Christians* in *Persia* to the *Romans* made an accession. For the *Persian* King dispatch'd away an Embassie immediately, to demand the Fugatives. But the *Romans* would in

* Or, *under him.*

* Or, *the belly of the Font.*

† Or, *a certain invisible power of God.*

† Or, *Wares*, or, *Merchandizes.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

no wiſe deliver up thoſe who had fled to them, not only becauſe they were deſirous of preſerving them as being Suppliants, but in regard likewiſe of their readineſs to do any thing in defence of the *Chriſtian* Religion. Wherefore they choſe rather to have a War with the *Perſians*, than permit the *Chriſtians* to be miſerably deſtroyed. Hereupon the League was broken, and a fierce War broke out, concerning which I judge it not inopportune to give a ſhort Narrative. The *Roman* Emperor ſent part of an Army firſt, which was commanded by *Ardaburius*. He made an irruption into *Perſia* through *Armenia*, and ruined one of the *Perſian* Provinces termed *Azazene*. *Narſæus* the *Perſian* King's General marched out to oppoſe him at the head of a great *Perſian* Army. And coming to an Engagement, was worſted, and fled. [Afterwards] he judged it advantagious to make a ſudden irruption through *Meſopotamia* into the *Roman* Territories, being unguarded, [thinking] by this means to be revenged on the *Romans*. But this Deſign of *Narſæus*'s was not unknown to the General of the *Romans*. Having therefore in a ſhort time laid *Azazene* deſolate, he likewiſe marched into *Meſopotamia*. Wherefore *Narſæus* (notwithſtanding he was furniſhed with a numerous Army, yet) could not invade the *Roman* Provinces. But, coming to *Niſibis*, (which is a City ſituate in the Confines [of both Empires] and belongs to the *Perſians*,) he ſent a Meſſage from thence to *Ardaburius*, deſiring they might come to an agreement between themſelves about the management of the War, and that a place and day for an Engagement might be ſet. *Ardaburius* gave the Meſſengers this anſwer: *Tell* Narſæus [*thus*,] *the* Roman *Emperors will not fight when you have a mind they ſhould*. Moreover, the * Emperor perceiving that the *Perſian* muſter'd up the whole force of his Kingdom for the carrying on of this War, placed all his hopes of Victory in God, and beſides ſent vaſt ſupplies of Forces. Now, that the Emperor (in regard he put his whole confidence in God,) received benefit from him immediately, 'twas from hence evident. The *Conſtantinopolitans* being very anxious, and doubtful about the event of the War, the Angels of God appeared in *Bithynia* to ſome Perſons going to *Conſtantinople* about their private concerns, and bad them tell [the *Conſtantinopolitans*,] that they ſhould be of good courage, and pray to God, and be confident that the *Romans* would be Conquerors. For they ſaid, that they themſelves were ſent from God to be the Managers of the War. At the hearing hereof, the City was not only encouraged, but the Soldiers alſo became more bold and valiant. Whereas therefore (as I have ſaid,) the War had been removed from *Armenia* into *Meſopotamia*, the *Romans* ſhut up the *Perſians* in the City *Niſibis*, to which they laid ſiege. And having made wooden Towers, which moved upon Engines, they brought them to the Walls, wherewith they killed many of thoſe who fought from the Walls, and [of them] who ran to their aſſiſtance. *Vararanes* King of *Perſia* hearing that his Country *Azazene* was laid deſolate, and his Army beſieged within the City *Niſibis*, reſolved to go in perſon with all his Forces againſt the *Romans*: But, being afraid of the *Roman* Army, he called the *Saracens* to his aſſiſtance, who were then governed by *Alamundarus*, a valiant and warlike Man. He brought a numerous multitude of *Saracens* with him, and ſpake to the King of *Perſia* to be confident and couragious, he likewiſe promiſed, that he would quickly make the *Romans* his Priſoners, and deliver *Antioch* in *Syria* to him. But the event ſucceeded not according to his promiſe. For God poſſeſt the *Saracens* with a vain and irrational terror. Who ſuppoſing the *Roman* Forces to be falling upon them, became terrified, and not finding how they might make their eſcape, caſt themſelves armed as they were into the River *Euphrates*, wherein about an hundred thouſand Men were drown'd. Theſe things fell out after this manner. But the *Romans* who laid ſiege to *Niſibis*, being informed that the King of *Perſia* was bringing many Elephants along with him were terrified, and having burnt all their Engines which they had made uſe of in the Siege, (*a*) retreated into their own Country. But, what Engagements hapned afterwards; and how *Areobindus*, another *Roman* General, killed the valianteſt Perſon amongſt the *Perſians* in a ſingle Duel; and how *Ardaburius* deſtroyed ſeven valiant *Perſian* Commanders in an *Ambuſcade*; or after what manner (*b*) *Vitianus* another *Roman* General vanquiſhed the Remains of the *Saracen* Forces, I think fit to omit, leſt I ſhould ſeem to digreſs too far from my Subject.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

(*a*) We read ὑπεχώρησαν; not ἐπεχώρησαν. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) In the *Tripartite Hiſtory* which *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* rendred into *Latin*, this *Roman* Commander is termed *Beatianus*. Which name I like beſt. This Victory of the *Romans* over the *Perſians* hapned in the Conſulate of *Euſtathius* and *Agricola*, on the year of *Chriſt* 401, as *Marcellinus* informs us in *his Chronicon*; the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* ſays the ſame; who relates, that the Emperor *Theodoſius* had news of that Victory, in the month *Gorpieus*, on the *eighth of the Ides of September*, on the *third Feria*. This was the *fourteenth* year of *Theodoſius Junior*'s Reign. Wherefore *Theophanes* is miſtaken in *his Chronicle*, who places this Victory of the *Romans* over the *Perſians* on the eighteenth year of *Theodoſius*. Valeſ.

* *Theodoſius.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Palladius *the* Courier.

MOreover, the Emperor *Theodoſius* was in a very ſhort time acquainted with the Actions [of his Forces.] After what manner the Emperor had ſo ſudden an account of what was done in places at ſo great a diſtance, I will relate. It was his good fortune to have a * Servant of a vigorous Mind and ſtrong Body, his name was *Palladius*. This Perſon could ride on Horſe-back at ſuch a rate, that in three days ſpace he could go to thoſe places which are the Boundaries of the *Roman* and *Perſian* Territories, and again in as many days return to *Conſtantinople*. The ſame Man paſſed through all other parts of the World with an incredible ſwiftneſs, whitherſoever the Emperor ſent him. Wherefore, an eloquent Perſon utter'd this Saying on a time concerning him: *This Man by his ſwiftneſs makes the* Roman *Empire, which in it ſelf is large, ſeem to be little.* Moreover, the King of the *Perſians* was amazed when he heard theſe things of this Man. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning *Palladius*.

* Or, *man.*

CHAP.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

CHAP. XX.

How the Persians *had another severe Overthrow given them by the* Romans.

THe *Roman* Emperor residing at *Constantinople*, and being informed of a Victory apparently given him (*a*) by God, was so good, that altho' his Forces had managed the War very fortunately, nevertheless he embraced a Peace. He sends *Helion* therefore (a person whom he had a mighty esteem for) with Orders to make up a Peace with the *Persians*. *Helion* arriving in *Mesopatamia*, [at that place] where the *Romans* had made a great Ditch for their own security, sends one *Maximinus* (an eloquent person, who was (*b*) *Assessor* to *Ardaburius* the General) Embassador about a Peace. When this Person was come to the *Persian* King, he acquaints him with his being sent about a Peace, not from the *Roman* Emperors, (for he affirmed that the Emperor as yet was wholly ignorant of that War: and when he knew of it, he would look upon it as contemptible:) but from his chief Commanders. When the *Persian* King was resolved readily to embrace the Embassy: (for his Army was in great distress, by reason it wanted provisions;) those Soldiers, who amongst the *Persians* are termed *the Immortals*, (their number is ten thousand [and they are] valiant Men,) came to the Emperor. and said, that a Peace was not to be admitted of before (*c*) they had made an attack upon the *Romans*, then careless and negligent. The King is perswaded by them, shuts up the Embassador in prison, and sends *the Immortals* to put their design upon the *Romans* in execution. Being come [to the place appointed,] they divided themselves into two parties, and took a resolution of surrounding part of the *Romans* Army. The *Romans* seeing but one party of the *Persians*, made provision to receive their attack. The other party was not seen by them: For they rusht forth to fight on a sudden. But when the Engagement was just beginning, the Army *Roman* under the command of (*d*) *Procopius Master of the Milice* (Divine Providence so ordering the matter,) appears from an eminence. *Procopius* seeing his Fellow-Soldiers in danger, attacks the *Persians* in the Rear; and so they who a little before had surrounded the *Romans*, were themselves encompassed. After the *Romans* had in a short time slain every man of these, they set upon those who issued forth upon them from the *Ambuscade*, every man of whom likewise they dispatch with their Darts. Thus, those termed *the Immortals* amongst the *Persians*, were all of them manifestly proved to be Mortals; Christ inflicting this punishment upon the *Persians*, because they had murder'd many pious persons that were his worshippers. The *Persian* King, inform'd of this overthrow, pretended himself wholly ignorant of the action: and having given admission to the Embassy, he spake to the Embassador in this manner: *We embrace a Peace, not that We yield to the* Romans: *but We* [*do it to*] *gratifie You, because We have found You to be the prudenteſt Person of all the* Romans. (*e*) Thus the War which had been undertaken upon the account of those *Christians* who lived in *Persia*, was concluded. Which thing happened in the Consulate of the *Two Augusti*, *Honorius* being the thirteenth, and *Theodosius* the tenth time Consul, on the fourth year of the three hundredth *Olympiad*. The persecution [which had been raised] against the *Christians* in *Persia* ceased at the same time also.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

(a) The *Florentine* M.S. inserts two Words here, altogether necessary, after this manner: ἡ ὡς ἐναργῶς [ἐκ Θεοῦ] παρασχεθεῖσαν νίκην, *a victory apparently given him* [*by God.*] Which words (before I had gotten *that Manuscript*,) I had put in at this place, from *Nicephorus*, and *Epiphanius Scholasticus*'s Version. *Vales.*

(b) ἀρδαβουρίου συνδιάδοχος. *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, *Ardaburius the Commanders Colleague*. *Musculus* has traslated it better, *Assessour*. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* renders it *Councellor*, which is the same. Concerning the *Councellors* or *Assessors* of Judges, as well *Civil* as *Military*, I have made many remarks in *my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*; which 'tis unnecessary to repeat here. Further, this *Maximinus* seems to be the same Person, who was afterwards sent Embassador by the Emperor *Theodosius* to *Attalas*; as *Priscus* relates in *his Excerpta Legationum*: Where he attests, that he was nobly descended, and had been very useful to the Emperor in many Affairs. *Vales.*

(c) Instead of [αὐτοῖ] it must undoubtedly be [ἀυτοὶ *they*,] that is, *the Immortals*: So *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil* read. *Vales.*

(d) *Sidonius* makes mention of this *Procopius*, in *his Panegyrick of Anthemius Augustus*; where he relates, that he was Son-in-law to *Anthemius* heretofore Consul and *Præfectus Prætorio*; who during *Theodosius Junior*'s minority, had had the chief management of Affairs in the Empire. *Vales.*

(e) I doubt not but this place is thus to be restored: ὅτω μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐν Περσίδι χειστιανὰς γεγόμενος, ὁ πόλεμος καθεσάλη· ὃ γέγονεν ἐν ὑπατείᾳ δύο ἀυγούστων, *Thus the war which had been undertaken upon the account of those Christians who liv'd in* Persia, *was concluded. Which thing* [that is, which conclusion of the War] *hapned in the Consulate of the two Augusti.* So *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Et hoc modo bellum propter Christianos exortum de Parthorum regione cessavit. Contigit autem Consulatu* Honorii XIII. & Theodosii X. 'Tis certain, in this Consulate the *Persian* War was not waged, but concluded. For it had been begun on the foregoing year, when *Eustathius* and *Agricola* were Consuls, as I have remark'd before; see chap. 18. note (*b*). This is confirmed by *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*, in these Words: Honorio XIII. & Theodosio X. *Coss. Persæ cum* Romanis *pacem pepigere, in* Honorius's *thirteenth and* Theodosius's *tenth Consulate, the* Persians *made a Peace with the* Romans. Vales.

CHAP. XXI.

After what manner Acacius *Bishop of* Amida, *behaved himself towards the* Persian *Captives.*

MOreover, the good Action of *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida*, rendred him much more eminent at that time amongst all Men [than he had been before.] For, when the *Roman* Soldiers would by no means restore the *Persian* Captives (whom they had taken when they ruin'd (*a*) *Azazene*,) to the King of *Persia*; and the Captives, in number about seven thousand, were in the interim destroyed by famine; (which thing was the occasion of no small grief to the King of *Persia*) *Acacius* thought that business was in no wise to be then neglected. (*b*) Having [therefore] called together the Clergy under himself: *Men* [*and Brethren*,] said he, *Our God stands not in need of Dishes or Cups: For he neither eats nor drinks, in regard he wants nothing. Whereas therefore the Church is possest of many Vessels of Gold and Silver by the Beneficence and Liberality of those who belong to it, 'tis agreeable that by a sale of these Vessels we should both* (*c*) *redeem the Captives from the Soldiers, and also provide them Food.*

(a) So he has termed this Province before, at chap. 18. *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, calls it *Arxanes*, or, *Arzanes*; for so 'tis in some Copies. One of the five Provinces beyond *Tigris* was called *Arzanene*, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests, Book 25. which is sometimes termed *Arxanene*, and *Araxiane*, and *Araxene*, as I have remarked at the *aforesaid Book of Amm. Marcellinus*. Vales.

(b) Instead of [συσκαλέσας δὲ τὺς ὑφ' ἀυτῷ κληεικὺς ἄνδρας, ἔφη. *But having called together the Clergymen under himself, he said,*] this place would be written more elegantly, thus [συσκαλέσας τὺς ὑφ' ἀυτῷ κληεικὺς· ἄνδρες, ἔφη, &c. *Having* [*therefore called together the Clergy under himself: Men* [*and Brethren*] *said he*, &c,] And so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. Our Emendation is plainly confirmed also by *Nicephorus*. Vales.

(c) Ῥύσασθαι τὺς στρατιωτὰς τὺς αἰχμαλώτες. *Christophorson* renders it ill, *to redeem the Captive Soldiers*: for those who had been taken Prisoners by the *Romans* in *Arzanene*, were *unarmed*; most of them

them being Boors, who inhabited that Country. Beſides, the *Romans* are termed *Soldiers* by way of *Emphaſis*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Barbarians*, as I have noted at *Amm. Marcellinus*. So our *Soirates* calls the *Romans*, *Soldiers*, almoſt in the next words after theſe. *Valeſ.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

Having diſcours'd of theſe and many other ſuch like things as theſe to them, he order'd the veſſels to be melted down, and having paid the Soldiers a ranſom for the Captives, and fed the Captives [for ſome time,] he afterwards gave them money to bear their charges, and ſent them home to their King. This action of the admirable *Acacius* highly aſtoniſh'd the King of *Perſia*, becauſe the *Romans* made it their buſineſs to conquer their Enemies both ways, as well by War, as by Beneficence. And 'tis ſaid, that the *Perſian* King was very deſirous that *Acacius* ſhould come into his preſence, to the end he might enjoy a ſight of the Man; and that that was effected by the Emperor *Theodoſius*'s order. When therefore God had given ſo eminent a Victory to the *Romans*, many Perſons who excelled for their eloquence, wrote * *Panegyricks* in praiſe of the Emperor, and recited them in publick. Moreover, the Emperor's Wife wrote a Poem in *Heroick* Verſe: for ſhe was a woman of a great eloquence. For, being the Daughter of (d) *Leontius* the *Athenian Sophiſt*, ſhe had been inſtructed by her Father, and cultivated with all manner of Literature. When the Emperor was about marrying of this Woman, *Atticus* the Biſhop made her a *Chriſtian*, and at her Baptiſm, inſtead of *Athanaïs*, named her *Eudocia*. Many perſons therefore, as I have ſaid, recited *Panegyricks*; ſome with a deſign to make themſelves taken notice of by the Emperor; others endeavouring to publiſh the powerfulneſs of their own eloquence; being altogether unwilling, that that Learning they had gotten by much labour, ſhould lie concealed.

* Or, *Panegyrical Orations.*

(d) This is the *Leontius* (if I miſtake not) whom *Olympiodorus* relates by his own care and induſtry to have been promoted to the *Sophiſtick Chair* at *Athens*; when as he himſelf as yet declined it; as *Photius* declares in *his Bibliotheca*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Excellencies, wherewith the Emperor Theodoſius Junior *was endow'd.*

BUt I, who am neither ſtudious about being taken notice of by the Emperor, nor deſirous of making a ſhew of eloquence, have taken a reſolution of ſetting forth thoſe Excellencies wherewith the Emperor is endow'd, ſincerely and without any Rhetorical flouriſhes. For, in regard his Vertues are ſo ſingularly uſeful, my ſentiment is, that to paſs them over in ſilence would be loſs to Poſterity, which would be defrauded of the knowledge thereof. In the firſt place therefore, although he was born and educated in the * Imperial Pallace, yet he contracted nothing of an Effeminacy or Stupidity from that Education. But was [always] ſo prudent, as to be reputed by thoſe who addreſſed to him, to have attained a knowledge and experience in moſt affairs. His patience in undergoing hardſhips was ſuch, that he could endure heat and cold couragiouſly; and would faſt frequently, eſpecially on thoſe days term'd *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*. And this he did, out of an earneſt endeavour of obſerving the Rites of the *Chriſtian* Religion with an accuracy. He govern'd his Pallace ſo, that it differed not much from a Monaſtery. Wherefore he, (a) together with his Siſters, roſe early in the Morning, and recited *alternative Hymns* in praiſe of God. Moreover, he could ſay the Sacred Scriptures by heart. And with the Biſhops who conferred with him, he diſcourſed out of the Scriptures, as if he had been an *Eccleſiaſtick* of a long ſtanding. He was much more diligent in making a Collection of the Sacred Books, and of the *Expoſitions* which had been written thereon, than *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* had been heretofore. For Clemency and Humanity he excelled all Men by far. The Emperor *Julianus*, altho' he was a profeſt Philoſopher, yet could not moderate his rage and anger towards the *Antiochians* who had * derided him; but inflicted moſt acute tortures upon † *Theodorus*. But *Theodoſius* bad farewel to *Ariſtotle*'s *Syllogiſms*, and exerciſed Philoſophy in deeds, getting the maſtery over Anger, Grief, and Pleaſure. He never revenged himſelf upon any one who had been injurious to him. Yea, no Man ever ſaw him angry. Being on a time asked by one with whom he was pleaſed to be familiar, why he never put to death any perſon who had injured him? his anſwer was, *Would to God it were poſſible for me to reſtore to life thoſe that are dead!* To another queſtioning him about the ſame thing, (b) *'Tis no great or difficult thing* (ſaid he) *for him that is a Man, to die: but 'tis God's property only by repentance to reſtore to life him that is once dead.* Further, his practiſe of this Virtue was ſo conſtant and earneſt, that if any perſon had happened to commit a crime which deſerved a capital puniſhment, he was never led ſo far as the City-gates onwards on his way to the place of Execution, before a pardon was granted, whereby he was immediately recalled. When on a time he exhibited a *Show of hunting Wild Beaſt Beaſts in the Amphitheatre* at *Conſtantinople*, the people cried out, *Let one of the boldeſt* (c) Beſtiarii *encounter the enraged Wild Beaſt.*

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

(a) Inſtead of [αὐτὸς τοιγαροῦν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς] it muſt be [ἀυλὲς τοιγαροῦν σὺν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς, *wherefore he, together with his Siſters*;] as *Nicephorus* expreſſes it, Book 14. Chap. 3. The miſtake aroſe from hence, becauſe theſe Particles ἂν and σὺν are uſually confounded one with the other by Tranſcribers. *Valeſ.*

* See *Socrat.* Book 3. chap. 7.

† Book 3. chap. 19.

(b) *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* has rendred the whole place thus: *Non eſt, inquit, magnum neque difficile hominem mori, quia neque Deo ſoli, ſemel mortuum ex pœnitentiâ ſuſcitare. It is not, ſaith he, a great nor difficult thing for a Man to die, becauſe neither* [*is it a great or difficult thing*] *to God alone, by repentance to raiſe a Man once dead.* For you muſt underſtand [*is it a great or difficult thing*] to be uſed *in common* to both clauſes. *Nicephorus Calliſtus* has worded this paſſage thus: ἐδὲν ἔφη, καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα ἀποθνῄσκειν. Θεῷ δὲ ἂν εἴη μόνῳ, τὸν ἅπαξ θανόντα τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἀνακαλέσασθαι. Which words *Langus* has rendred thus: *Nihil eſt novi, dixit, ſiquis homo quum ſit, è vitâ excedat: unius autem Dei eſſe, eum qui ſemel mortuus ſit, per pœnitentiam ad vitam revocare. It is no new thing, ſaid he, that he who is a Man ſhould depart out of this life: but 'tis God's property only, by Repentance to recal to life him who is once dead.* But I like not *Nicephorus*'s uſing τῇ μετανοίᾳ inſtead of ἐν μετανοίαις. For, the diſcourſe here is not concerning *the life of the ſoul*, but *that of the body*. Wherefore, I approve rather of *Muſculus*'s Verſion, who has rendred it thus: *Ex pœnitentiâ verò revocare eum qui ſemel mortuus eſt, non eſt niſi ſoli Deo poſſibile. But by repentance to recal him who is once dead, is a thing poſſible only to God.* Notwithſtanding this Verſion pleaſed not *Chriſtophorſon*, becauſe it may ſeem to attribute repentance to God. But this expreſſion may be born with, in regard God in the ſacred Scriptures is now and then ſaid *to repent himſelf* of ſome fact. *Valeſ.*

(c) *Scaliger* in *his Notes on the fourth Book of Manilius*, and (after him) *Salmaſius* in *his Notes on Capitolinus*, pag. 258, have long ſince obſerved, that the *Greeks* called thoſe παραβόλους (which is the term here uſed,) *who let themſelves out to fight with wild Beaſts.* But I approve not of their confounding the *Confectores* with theſe παραβόλοι. For the *Confectores* were another ſort of Perſons, as I have remarked on *Euſebius*, (Book 4. chap. 15. note *n.*) *who fought not with the wild Beaſts*, but *diſpatcht them at a diſtance.* Valeſ. See *Euſebius Pamphilius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Paleſtine*, chap. 3. note (*b*).

* Or, *in the Empire.*

To

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

To whom he gave this anſwer, *You know not that We are wont to be Spectators at Shows with clemency and humanity.* With which ſaying he inſtructed the People, to be in future delighted with Shows, wherein there was leſs of cruelty. Further, his Piety was ſuch, that he honoured all God's Prieſts; but moſt eſpecially thoſe whom he knew to be more eminent for Sanctity of life. 'Tis reported, that when the Biſhop of (*d*) *Chebron* had ended his life at *Conſtantinople*, he deſired to have his **Hair-cloth-Caſſock*, which (although it was very foul and naſty) he wore inſtead of a Cloak, believing he ſhould thereby partake ſomething of the dead Biſhop's Sanctity. There hapning tempeſtuous weather one year, he was forced to exhibit the uſual and ſet Shows in the *Cirque*, in regard the people were extreamly earneſt for them. But when the *Cirque* was filled with Spectators, the Storm increaſed, and there was a vaſt fall of Snow; at which time the Emperor gave an evident demonſtration, how he was affected towards God; [for] he made proclamation by the Cryer to the People, in theſe words: *'Tis much better, that we ſhould omit the Show, and all joyn in prayer to God, that we may be preſerved unhurt from the imminent Storm.* The Cryer had ſcarce made an end of proclaiming theſe words, when all the People began to ſupplicate God in the *Cirque* with the greateſt joy imaginable, and with a general conſent ſang Hymns to him: and the whole City became one Congregation. The Emperor himſelf went in the midſt [of the multitude] in a private habit, and began the Hymns: nor was he fruſtrated of his hope [at that time.] For the air returned to its former ſerenity; and inſtead of a ſcarcity of Bread-corn the Divine Benevolence beſtow'd a plentiful crop upon all Perſons. If at any time a War was raiſed, in imitation of *David*, he fled to God, knowing him to be the Diſpoſer of Wars; and by his prayers he managed them ſucceſsfully. I will here relate therefore, how, a litte after the *Perſian* War, (when the Emperor *Honorius* was dead, in the Conſulate of *Aſclepiodotus* and *Marianus*, (*e*) on the fifteenth of the month *Auguſt*) by putting his confidence in God, he vanquiſhed the Tyrant *Johannes*. For, 'tis my ſentiment, that the actions which hapned at that time are worthy to be recorded: becauſe what befel the *Hebrews* (who were led by *Moſes*) in their paſſage over the *Red-Sea*, the ſame [almoſt] hapned to the Emperor's Commanders, at ſuch time as he ſent them againſt that Tyrant. Which actions I will relate in ſhort, leaving the ampleneſs of them, which does require a peculiar work, [to be ſet forth at large] by others.

(*d*) This City, and the name of this Biſhop, are equally unknown to me. *Valeſ.*

* Σαγίον; all Tranſlators (whom I have ſeen) except *Valeſius*, renders it *his Sack-cloth*; the *Greek* term comprehends both ſignifications.

(*e*) *Theophanes*, in *his Chronicon*, ſays the ſame. But *Olympiodorus* diſſents; who ſays *Honorius* died on *the twenty ſeventh of Auguſt.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Johannes, *who tyranniz'd at* Rome *after* Honorius *the Emperor's death. And how God * mollified, by* Theodoſius's *prayers, delivered him into the hands of the* Roman *Army.*

* Or, bowed, or, inclined.

Theod. Jun.

HOnorius *Auguſtus* therefore being dead, the Emperor *Theodoſius* informed thereof, conceals it, and deceives the Populace [by feigning] ſometimes one thing, at others another. But he ſends his Military Forces ſecretly to *Salonæ*; which is a City of *Dalmatia*; to the end that if any † Rebellion ſhould happen in the weſtern parts, a force to reſiſt it might not be far off. Having made proviſion after this manner before-hand, he then publiſh'd the death of his † Uncle. But in the interim, (*a*) *Johannes* the chief of the Emperor's *Notaries*, unable to bear the ‖ greatneſs of his own preferment, ſeizes the Empire, and ſends an Embaſſage to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, requiring to be admitted Colleague in the Empire. *Theodoſius* impriſon'd his Embaſſadors, diſpatches away *Ardaburius*, *Maſter of the Milice*, who had done excellent ſervice in the *Perſian* War. He being arrived at *Salonæ*, ſail'd from thence to *Aquileia*, and had ill ſucceſs as he then thought; (but 'twas afterwards demonſtrated to be proſperous.) For, an unlucky wind blew, which drove him into the Tyrant's hands. Who having taken *Ardaburius*, hoped *Theodoſius* would be neceſſitated to elect and proclaim him Emperor, if he were deſirous of preſerving the life of his *Maſter of the Milice*. And the Emperor, when inform'd hereof, was really in an agony, as was alſo the Army which had been ſent againſt the Tyrant, leſt *Ardaburius* ſhould ſuffer any miſchief from the Tyrant. Moreover, *Aſpar*, *Ardaburius*'s Son, when he underſtood that his Father was taken by the Tyrant, and knew that many *Myriads* of *Barbarians* were come to the Tyrant's aſſiſtance, knew not what courſe to take. But, the prayer of the Emperor, beloved by God, at that time prevailed again: For an Angel of God in the habit of a Shepherd, became a Guide to *Aſpar* and the Forces with him, and leads them through the Lake, which lies near to *Ravenna*. For in that City the Tyrant reſided, where he detained the * *Maſter of the Milice* Priſoner. No Perſon was ever known to have paſſed through this Lake. But God rendred that paſſable at that time, which before had been impaſſable. (*b*) When therefore they had paſſed the Waters of the Lake [as if it had been] over dry Ground, they found the Gates of the City open, and ſeized the Tyrant. At which time the moſt pious Emperor gave a demonſtration of his religious affection towards God. For whilſt he was exhibiting the *Cirque-Sports*, news was brought him that the Tyrant was deſtroy'd. Whereupon he ſpeaks to the People: *Come*, ſaid he, *if you pleaſe, let us rather leave our Recreation, and go into the Church, and put up our Thankſgivings to God, in regard his Hand hath deſtroyed the Tyrant.* Theſe were his words; and the Shows ceaſed inmmediately, and were neglected: And all Perſons went through the midſt of the *Cirque*, ſinging praiſes together with him with one conſent of mind and voice, and went into God's Church. And the whole City became one Congregation. Being come into the place of Prayer, they continued there all day.

Theod. Jun.

† That is, *Honorius.*

(*a*) This is the *Johannes*, *Primicerius* [or, *Chief*] of the *Notaries*, who when *Rome* was beſieged, had been ſent Embaſſador to *Alarichus* King of the *Goths*, whoſe Friend and Gueſt he had been, as *Zoſimus* relates, Book 5. *Valeſ.*

‖ Or, *Fortunateneſs.*

* That is *Ardaburius.*

(*b*) Inſtead of [διαβάντες δὲ διὰ ξηρᾶς τὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ, *but having paſſed the water of the Lake through dry ground.*] The reading in the *Florent.* MS. is [διαβάντες γὲ, &c. *when therefore they had paſſed*, &c.] but, in my judgment another Particle is to be added, after this manner, διαβάντες γὲ ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς, &c. *When therefore they had paſſed the Waters of the Lake as if it had been over dry Ground.* Valeſ.

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

CHAP. XXIV.

That, after the Slaughter of Johannes *the Tyrant,* Theodoſius *the Emperor proclaimed* Valentinianus (*the Son of* Conſtantius, *and of his Aunt* Placidia,) *Emperor of* Rome.

MOreover, after the Tyrant's death, the Emperor *Theodoſius* (*a*) became very ſolicitous, whom he ſhould proclaim Emperor of the Weſtern parts. He had a Couſin-German very young, by name *Valentinianus*, the Son of his Aunt *Placidia*. She was daughter to the Emperor *Theodoſius the Great*; and Siſter to the two *Auguſti*, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Valentinianus* had a Father, by name *Conſtantius*, who having been proclaimed Emperor by *Honorius*, and reign'd with him a ſhort time, died ſoon after. This Couſin-German of his he created *Cæſar*, and ſent him into the Weſtern parts, committing the chief management of affairs to his Mother *Placidia*. Moreover, *Theodoſius* himſelf haſtned into *Italy*, that he might both proclaim his Couſin-German Emperor, and alſo (by being preſent there himſelf) inſtruct the *Italians* by his own prudent advice, not eaſily to yield ſubjection to Tyrants. Being gone as far as *Theſſalonica*, he was hindred from proceeding on his journey by a Sickneſs. Having therefore ſent the Imperial Diadem to his Couſin-German, by *Helion* the *Patricius*, he himſelf returned to the City *Conſtantinople*. But, I think this Narrative which I have given concerning theſe tranſactions, to be ſufficient

(*a*) The emendation of this place is owing to the *Florentine* M. S. wherein, inſtead of [ἔμφρων τις ἦν, *was a prudent Perſon,*] 'tis plainly written thus ἔμφορτις ἦν, *became very ſolicitous.*] Valeſ.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Atticus's *Government of the Churches; and that he ordered* Johannes's *name to be written into the* Dypticks *of the Church; and that he foreknew his own death.*

[IN the interim] *Atticus* the Biſhop in a wonderful manner enlarged the affairs of the Church; adminiſtring all things with a ſingular prudence, and by his Sermons inciting the People to Virtue. Perceiving that the Church was divided, in regard the * *Johannitæ* held ſeparate † Aſſemblies, he ordered, that mention ſhould be made of *Johannes* in the Prayers, according as it was uſual for other Biſhops who were dead, to be mention'd; on which account he hoped many would return to the Church. Moreover, he was ſo liberal, that he made proviſion not only for the Poor of his own Churches, but ſent money alſo to the neighbouring Cities towards the relief and comfort of the Neceſſitous. For he ſent three hundred Crowns to *Calliopius* a Presbyter of the Church of *Nicæa*, to whom he wrote this Letter.

Atticus to *Calliopius*, health in the Lord.

I Underſtand, that in your City there are an infinite company of Perſons oppreſſed with hunger, who ſtand in need of the compaſſion of pious Men. By terming them an infinite company, *I mean* a multitude, *not an accurate and determinate number. In regard therefore I have received a ſum of Money from him who with a liberal hand giveth to good Stewards; and* [*whereas*] *it happens that ſome are oppreſſed with want, to the end that thoſe who have wherewithal might be tried, but do not give to the Indigent; take, (dear Friend!) theſe three hundred Crowns, and beſtow them as you ſhall think good: but give them to thoſe who are wholly aſhamed to beg, not to them that throughout their whole lives have declared their Belly to be their Trade. Moreover, when you give, have no reſpect to any Sect or Religion whatever in this particular act; mind this one thing only, to feed the hungry, but not to difference or diſtinguiſh thoſe who embrace not our Religion.*

*See Book 6. chap. 18.

† Or, *aſſemblies without the Church.*

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

After this manner *Atticus* took care even of the Indigent that were at a diſtance from him (*a*). Moreover, he made it his buſineſs to extirpate the Superſtitions of ſome Men. For having one time received information, that thoſe who ſeparated from the *Novatianiſts* on account of the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, had tranſlated the Body of *Sabbatius* from *Rhodes*, (for he had been baniſhed into that Iſland, where he ended his life) and buried it, and did uſually pray at his Grave: he ſent ſome Perſons by Night, to whom he gave order to [dig up] *Sabbatius*'s Body, and * bury it in ſome other Sepulchre. But the Perſons who uſually went thither, when they found the Grave dug up, in future left off worſhipping that † place. Beſides, he was very elegant and happy in impoſing names [upon places.] A || Sea-port ſituate in the mouth of the *Euxine-Sea* (which had anciently been called * *Pharmaceus*, he named † *Therapeia*, leſt at his holding religious aſſemblies there, he ſhould call that place by an infamous name. Another place near adjacent to *Conſtantinople* he named || *Argyropolis*, for this reaſon. * *Chryſopolis* is an ancient Sea-port ſituate in the Head of the *Boſphorus*: many of the ancient Writers make mention of it, eſpecially *Strabo*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and the admirably eloquent *Xenophon* *in his Sixth Book concerning the Expedition of* Cyrus; *and the ſame Author in his Firſt Book concerning the* Grecian *Affairs*, ſpeaks to this effect concerning this City, [*viz.*] that *Alcibiades*, when he had built a Wall round it, ſet up a *Toll* therein, *which conſiſted of a payment of the tenth peny.* For thoſe who ſail out of *Pontus* were compelled to pay *the tenth peny* there. *Atticus* therefore perceiving this place, which was ſituate over againſt *Chryſopolis*, to be pleaſant and delightful, ſaid it was fit and agreeable it ſhould be termed *Argyropolis*. Which ſaying of his † put that name upon the place immediately. When ſome Perſons ſpoke to him that the *Novatianiſts* ought not to hold their Aſſemblies within the Cities; his anſwer was, *You know not how much they ſuffered together with us when we were perſecuted in the Reigns of* Conſtantius *and* Valens. *And beſides* (ſaid he) *they have been* * *Aſſertors of our Faith. For though they made a Separation long ſince from the Church, yet no Innovation about the Faith hath been introduced by them.* Being arrived on a time at *Nicæa* upon account of an Ordination, and ſeeing *Aſclepiades*, a very aged Perſon

(*a*) After theſe Words, there was a whole line and ſomething more wanting; which we have made up from the incomparable *Florent.* and *Sfortian* M. SS. after this manner: ἐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς δεισιδαιμονίας τινῶν ἐκκόψειν ἐσπούδαζεν, *Moreover, he made it his buſineſs to extirpate the Superſtitions of ſome Men.* Which words were in that Copy alſo, which *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* made uſe of, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For thus he renders it: *Sed & ſuperſtitionem quorundam ſtudebat abſcindere, moreover he endeavoured to cut off the ſuperſtition of ſome Men.* But, that *Chriſtophorſon* had conſulted no M. S. Copies of *Socrates*, 'tis evident both from this place and alſo from many others. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Hide it.*

† Or, *That Sepulchre.*

|| Or, *A Station for Ships.*

* That is, *Venomous*, or: *full of poyſon.*

† That is, *A medicine*, or, *cure.*

|| That is, *The Silver-City.*

* *The Golden-City.*

† Or, *Confirm'd that name to the place.*

* Or, *Witneſſes.*

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

Person, Bishop of the *Novatianists* there, he asked him, *How many years have you been a Bishop?* When he made answer [that he had been a Bishop] fifty years; *You are happy, O Man,* (said he) *in regard you have been diligent about so good a Work for such a long time!* He spake these words to the same *Asclepiades, I do indeed commend* Novatus, *but the* Novatianists *I can in no wise approve of. Asclepiades* amazed at this strange expression, replied, how can you say this, O Bishop? To whom *Atticus* made this answer; *I commend* Novatus, *because he refused to communicate with those persons who had sacrificed: for I my self would have done the same. But I do not in any wise praise the* Novatianists, *in regard they exclude the Laïcks from Communion on account of very light and trivial Offences.* To which *Asclepiades* made this return; there are, besides sacrificing, many other Sins *unto death* (as the Scriptures term them,) on account whereof (*b*) you not only exclude *Ecclesiasticks,* but we *Laïcks* also from Communion, leaving to God alone a power of pardoning them. Further, *Atticus* (*c*) foreknew even the time of his own death. For at his departure from *Nicæa,* he spake these words to *Calliopius* a Presbyter of that place: *Hasten to* Constantinople *before Autumn, if you are desirous of seeing me again alive. For, if you delay, you will not find me living.* Upon his saying whereof, he mistook not. For in the twenty first year of his Episcopate, on the tenth of *October,* he died, in *Theodosius*'s eleventh, and *Valentinianus Cæsar*'s first Consulate. Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius* being then in his return from *Thessalonica,* was not at his Funeral. For *Atticus* was interred the day before the Emperor's Entry into *Constantinople.* Not long after *Valentinianus Junior* was (*d*) declared *Augustus,* about the twenty third of that same *October.*

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

(d) *The Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* understood this passage in *Socrates* amiss. For he thought, that *Valentinianus Junior Placidia*'s Son, had been stiled *Augustus* on the 23d of *October:* but *Socrates* says not so; he relates only, that *Valentinianus*'s having been Proclaimed *Augustus* was published at *Constantinople on the twenty third of October.* Which two things are vastly different. *Sigonius* (*Book* 11. *De Occidentali Imperio*) relates that *Valentinianus* was created *Augustus* at *Ravenna on the Ides* (that is, *the fifteenth*) of *October,* in *Theodosius Augustus*'s *eleventh* and *Valentinianus's own first Consulate.* 'Tis certain, on the eighth of *October* in the same Consulate, *Valentinianus* was as yet but *Cæsar,* as we are informed from the 47th *Law in the* Theodosian *Code de Episc. Eccles. & Clericis,* dated at *Aquileia.* By which place *Sigonius* was chiefly induced, to place *Valentinianus*'s being proclaimed *Augustus on the Ides of October,* and to relate it to have been made at *Ravenna.* For in regard it was published at *Constantinople* on the twenty fifth of that same month, it could not have been done later. *Onufrius* (in *his Fasti*) has followed *Sigonius*'s opinion. Further, *Marcellinus* and *Fordaines* (in *his Book De Successione Regnorum*) do mention this Declaration to have been made at *Ravenna:* but *Olympiodorus* and *Idatius* (in *his Chronicon*) say 'twas done at *Rome.* Vales.

(b) Ὑμεῖς μὲν πρὸς τὸς καθ' εἱμαρμένην. The preposition πρὸς must be expunged; which neither *Nicephorus,* nor *Epiphan. Scholasticus,* nor the other Translators do acknowledge. Unless, instead of πρὸς, any one has a mind to substitute πῶς, and read thus; *You in a certain manner exclude Ecclesiasticks.* But, this place wants not difficulty. For, it may seem to be concluded from hence, that Ecclesiasticks in the Catholick Church, who had been excommunicated for more enormous Crimes, were cut off from the Church without all hope of pardon; but Laicks not so. Which may be thus explained. Laicks, who had been separated from Communion on account of publick Crimes, recoverd Peace and Communion again by the remedy of penitency, at least once. But to Ecclesiasticks who had been excommunicated, the door of penitency was shut. For they were not admitted to publick penitency. They continued therefore for ever excommunicated. For which reason Ecclesiasticks were very rarely excommunicated: but were either deposed, or suspended from their Office for some time, or at least reduced to a Laick-communion. But, the *first Canon of the Neocæsarian Synod* does gainsay this; wherein the Ecclesiasticks who had committed Fornication or Adultery, are driven from Communion, and brought to penitency. This passage may be explained otherwise also. For, from such time as *Nectarius* abolished the *Penitentiary,* all Laicks had a free power of communicating left them; nor was any one removed from Communion on account of a deadly Crime, except Ecclesiasticks only. *Vales.*

(c) *Atticus* did not only foreknow the day of his own death, but long before his death, he built himself a Sepulchre, as I am inform'd from an old Epigram; which because 'tis not yet extant in Print, I will here annex:

Παύλε σιλεντιαρίε εἰς τάφον ἀτθικῦ τινὸς κατασκάσαντος.

Ἀτθικὸς ἐς ξωὴν με παναγρέος ἐλπίδα μοίρης
Θυμῷ θαρσαλέῳ ζῶν, ἐλάχηνε τάφον.
Παίζων δ' ἐξείης θανάτου φόβον· ἀλλ' ἐπίδηεν
Ἠέλιος, σοφίης μιμήσετω ἠελίῳ. i. e.

Paulus Silentiarius's *Composure on the Tomb of one* Atticus.

Atticus, *whilest he was living, (in whose mind*
a Fortitude not to be daunted shin'd,)
Dug me his Grave, in common hope of Fate
untractable and incompassionate.

Such were his Virtuous Actions, that Death's fear
and Frightful Terrors, by him slighted were.
But by the Sun, to late posterity
his Sun-like wisdom shall recorded be.

This Epigram is extant in *Constantinus Cephalas's Anthologia,* not yet Printed. 'Tis my sentiment, that *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople* is meant hereby. For I know no other *Atticus,* to whom this Elogy of Wisdom and Virtue can be agreeable. Notwithstanding, this is contradicted by *Paulus Silentiarius*'s being inscribed the Author of this Epigram, who (as 'tis manifest from *Agathias*'s Testimony,) flourished long after *Atticus,* in *Justinian*'s times. Wherefore, either the Inscription of the Epigram, or our Conjecture, must of necessity be false. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Sisinnius, Atticus's *Successor in the* Constantinopolitan *Bishoprick.*

After *Atticus*'s death, a great contest happened about the Ordination of a Bishop, some desiring one person, others another. For, one party ('tis said) were earnest to have *Philippus* a Presbyter; another, *Proclus*; who was a Presbyter also. But the whole Body of the People with a general consent wished *Sisinnius* might be made [Bishop;] who was a Presbyter also himself: he had not been constituted *over any of the Churches within the City, but had been promoted to the Presbyterate in a Village belonging to *Constantinople,* the name whereof is *Elæa*; and 'tis situate over against the Imperial †City: in which Village the Festival of our Saviour's Ascension was from [an ancient] usage celebrated by the whole People in general. All the *Laïcks* were desirous to have this Man [made Bishop,] both because he was a Person singularly eminent for his Piety, and also more especially in regard his diligence in relieving the indigent, was earnest even beyond his power. The desire therefore of the Laïty prevailed: and *Sinsinnius* is ordained on the twenty eighth of *February,* in the following Consulate, which was *Theodosius*'s twelfth and *Valentinianus Junior Augustus*'s second. Afterwards, *Philippus* the Presbyter (because *Sisinnius* was prefer'd before him) was very bitter and large in his (*a*) Invectives against that Ordination,

* Or, *in any of the Churches,* &c.

†*Constantinope.*

(*a*) *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca,* chap. 35.) attests the same; where his words concerning *Philippus Sidetа's Christian History* are these: ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ τῆς ἱστορίας συγγραφῇ, &c. But *in this History he is very severe upon* Sisinnius, *because, when as they were both of the same degree and order, and he himself seemed superiour in eloquence and all sort of literature; yet* Sisinnius *(says he) was elected to the Archiepiscopal See.* Valesius.

in

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

in that [voluminous work, termed the] *Chriſtian Hiſtory*, which he wrote; wherein he calumniates both the perſon ordain'd, and alſo thoſe who had ordain'd him; but more eſpecially the Laity. And his expreſſions are ſuch, that I am unwilling to record them; for I can in no wiſe approve of his raſhneſs, in having been ſo audacious, as to commit ſuch things to writing. But, I judge it not inopportune to ſay ſomething in ſhort concerning him.

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Philippus *the Presbyter, who was born at* Side.

Philippus was by Country a *Sidenſian*. *Side* is a City of *Pamphylia*, at which *Troilus* the *Sophiſta* had his original Extract; of his own relation to whom *Philippus* boaſted. Whilſt he was a Deacon, he had had frequent converſe with * Biſhop *Johannes*. He was a very laborious and painful Student, and had made a Collection of many Books, and thoſe of all ſorts. He imitated the *Aſian* Stile, and wrote many Books. [For, he confuted the Emperor *Julian*'s Pieces, and compiled a *Chriſtian Hiſtory*, which he divided into ſix and thirty Books. Each Book contained many Tomes, in ſo much that in all they were near a thouſand. The † Contents of each Tome equall'd the Tome it ſelf in bigneſs. This work he entitled not *an Eccleſiaſtick*, but *a Chriſtian Hiſtory*. In it he heaped together variety of Learning, being deſirous to ſhew, that he was not unskilled in Philoſophick Literature. For which reaſon, he makes frequent mention therein of *Geometrical*, *Aſtronomical*, *Arithmetical*, and *Muſical* * *Theorems*. He alſo deſcribes Iſlands, Mountains, Trees, and ſeveral other things not very momentous. Upon which account he has made it a looſe work: and therefore hath (in my judgment) rendred it uſeleſs both to the Ignorant, and to the Learned alſo. For, the Ignorant are unable to inſpect the height and grandeur of his Stile. And thoſe that are well verſed in Learning nauſeate his inſipid repetition of words. But let every one paſs a judgment upon thoſe Books according to his own liking. I only ſay this, that the times wherein affairs have been tranſacted are confounded by him. For when he has mentioned the Times of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, he runs back to thoſe of *Athanaſius* the Biſhop. And this he does very frequently. Thus much concerning *Philippus*. 'Tis requiſite that we ſhould now declare what hapned in *Siſinnius*'s Time.

* That is, *Chryſoſtome.*

† Or, *Subject*, or *Argument.*

* *Speculations*, *Precepts*, or, *Axioms.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

That Siſinnius *ordained* Proclus *Biſhop of* Cyzicum: *but the Inhabitants of that City would not admit him* [*to be their Biſhop.*]

THE Biſhop of *Cyzicum* being dead, *Siſinnius* ordained *Proclus* Biſhop of that City. When therefore he was about going thither, the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* prevent him, and ordain a perſon that was an *Aſcetick*, his name *Dalmatius*. And this they did in contempt to a (*a*) Law by which 'twas eſtabliſhed, that the Ordination of a Biſhop [there] ſhould not be made contrary to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Biſhop's mind. But they diſregarded this Law, as being [ſaid they] a perſonal Prerogative granted only to *Atticus*. *Proclus* therefore continued deſtitute indeed of the Precedency over his own Church, but he flouriſhed and grew famous for his Sermons [preach'd] in the Churches of *Conſtantinople*. But we ſhall ſpeak concerning this perſon in due place. *Siſinnius* having ſurvived his being made Biſhop not full out two years, ended his life in the Conſulate of *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*, on the twenty fourth of the month *December*. He was a perſon, for his temperance, good life, and love to the poor, highly eminent. As to his Temper, he was a perſon to whom acceſs might eaſily be had, and of a diſpoſition plain and without falſehood; therefore no lover of buſineſs. For which reaſon buſie men were offended at him; amongſt whom he had the character of a ſlothful perſon.

(*a*) What Law this was and by whom made 'tis uncertain. My Sentiment is, that 'twas an *Imperial Law*, whereby proviſion had been made, that the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* ſhould not ordain themſelves a Biſhop contrary to the conſent of *Atticus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. For if this had been a *Sanction made in a Council of Biſhops*, *Socrates* would have uſed the term *Canon*, rather than have called it *a Law*. After *Atticus*'s death, the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* diſregarded this Law. For they ſaid, that that priviledge had in an eſpecial manner been granted to *Atticus*, and belonged not to his Succeſſors. But, they were miſtaken. For long before *Atticus*, the *Conſtaminopolitan* Prelates had given Biſhops to the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*. For, in *Conſtantius*'s time, *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ordained *Eunomius* Biſhop of *Cyzicum*. See *Liberatus's Breviarium*, chap. 7. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

That after Siſinnius's *death*, [*the Emperors*] *ſent for* Neſtorius *from* Antioch, *and made him Biſhop of* Conſtantinople; *who quickly diſcover'd his own Temper and Diſpoſition.*

AFter *Siſinnius*'s death, the Emperors were pleas'd not to prefer any perſon of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church to that See, becauſe they were men ſtudious of vain-glory: altho' many were very earneſt to have *Philippus*, others not fewer in number [ſtrove to get] *Proclus*, ordained. But they reſolved to ſend for a Forreigner from *Antioch*. For there was a man there, by name *Neſtorius*, born at the City *Germanicia*, who had a good voice, and a readineſs of expreſſion. Wherefore they determined to ſend for him, as being a fit perſon to teach the people. After an interval of three months therefore, *Neſtorius* is brought from *Antioch*: Who was cried up indeed for his temperance amongſt many perſons; but what a temper'd man he was as to other things, the more prudent diſcover'd from (*a*) his firſt Sermon. For, being ordained on the tenth of *April*, in the Conſulate of *Felix* and *Taurus*; addreſſing himſelf to the Emperor, he forthwith utter'd that famous expreſſion in the preſence of all the people. *Give me* (ſaid he,) *O Emperor! the Earth cleared from Hereticks, and in recompence thereof I will give you Heaven. Aſſiſt me in deſtroying Hereticks, and I will aſſiſt you in vanquiſhing the* Perſians. Although theſe words were extreamly pleaſing to ſome of the Vulgar, who had conceived an hatred againſt Hereticks; yet to thoſe

(*a*) Amongſt the Ancients it was wont to be very carefully obſerved, what the Biſhops (eſpecially the Prelates of the greater Churches) ſaid in their firſt Sermon to the People. For from that Sermon a conjecture was made of the Faith, Doctrine, and Temper, of every Biſhop. Wherefore they were wont to take particular notice of, and remember their ſayings. A remark of this nature *Socrates* has made before, at Book 2. chap. 43. concerning the firſt Sermon of *Eudoxius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. And *Theodoret* and *Epiphanius* declare the ſame concerning *Meletius Antiochenus*'s firſt Sermon to the people. *Valeſ.*

(who

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

(who, as I have said, had skill in giving a conjecture of his sentiments from his expressions) neither the levity of his mind, nor his inclination to anger and violence joyn'd with his vainglorioufneſs were concealed: in regard he contained not himself during the ſmalleſt ſpace of time, but broke out into ſuch expreſſions as theſe; and (if I may uſe the Proverb) *before he had taſted the Water of the City*, ſhewed himſelf an inraged Perſecutor. On the fifth day therefore after his Ordination, he takes a reſolution to demoliſh the *Arian*'s Oratory, in which they performed their Devotions ſecretly; whereby he drove thoſe Hereticks to a deſperation. For when they ſaw their place of Prayer pulling down, they threw fire into it and burnt it. Moreover, the fire ſpread further, and conſumed the adjacent buildings. Whereupon a tumult was raiſed all over the City, and the *Arians* made preparations to revenge themſelves. But God the keeper of the City, permitted not the miſchief to gather to an head. However, *Neſtorius* was in future termed *an* (*b*) *Incendiary*, not only by the Hereticks, but by thoſe alſo of his own Faith. For he deſiſted not, but framed intrigues againſt the Hereticks, and did his utmoſt to ſubvert the City. For he attempted to moleſt the *Novatianiſts* alſo, his envy ſpurring him on, becauſe *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* was famous in all places for his piety. But the Emperors by their admonition repreſſed his fury. Now what miſchiefs he did to the *Quartodecimani* throughout *Aſia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and how numerous the multitudes were that came to their deaths by his means at *Miletum* and *Sardis* in a tumult there raiſed, I think fit not to mention. But, what manner of puniſhment he underwent, as well for theſe [wickedneſſes,] as for his unbridled * tongue, I will declare hereafter

(*b*) Πυρκαϊάν. I choſe to render it *an Incendiary* (as *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* does,) rather than *Incendium*, *a Fire*, though, 'tis confeſt, this is the true import of the word. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *open tongue.*

baptized and diſmiſſed them. Being encouraged therefore [hereby,] they marched out (*a*) againſt the *Hunni*, and were not fruſtrated of their expectation: For the King of the *Hunni* (whoſe name was (*b*) *Optar*,) having burſt himſelf in the night by eating too much; the *Burgundions* fell upon the *Hunni* then deſtitute of a Commander in chief, and a few engaged very many, and conquered them. For the *Burgundions* being in number only three thouſand, deſtroyed about ten thouſand of the *Hunni*. And from that time the Nation of the *Burgundions* became zealous Profeſſors of Chriſtianity. About the ſame time, *Barba* Biſhop of the *Arians* died, in *Theodoſius*'s thirteenth and *Valentinianus*'s third Conſulate, on the twenty fourth of *June*, and *Sabbatius* is conſtituted Biſhop in his ſtead. But, let thus much be ſaid concerning theſe things.

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

(*a*) Inſtead of [χατ' ἀρχὰς τυραννων, *againſt the Tyrants*,] it muſt undoubtedly be [χατ' τῶν ὄυνων, *againſt the Hunni*;] For the *Burgundions* were oppreſſed by them, as *Socrates* atteſts. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) This perſon (as I ſuppoſe,) is *Octar* King of the *Hunni*; whom *Jordanes* (in *his Hiſtory of the Goths*, chap. 35.) relates to have been the Brother of *Roa*, and *Mundiuchus Attila*'s Father. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXX.

After what manner the Burgundions *embraced the* Chriſtian *Religion, in the Reign of* Theodoſius Junior.

I Will now relate a thing worthy to be recorded, which hapned about this very time. There is a barbarous Nation, which has its habitation beyond the River *Rhine*, they are called the *Burgundions*. Theſe perſons lead a * quiet life. For they are almoſt all Carpenters; by which [trade] they earn wages, and get a livelihood. The Nation of the *Hunni* by making continual Inroads upon this people, depopulated their Country, and frequently deſtroyed many of them. The *Burgundions* therefore, reduced to a great ſtreight, fly for refuge to no man; but reſolved to commit themſelves to ſome God. And having ſeriouſly conſidered with themſelves, that the God of the *Romans* did vigorouſly aſſiſt and defend thoſe that feared him; by a general conſent they all came over to the Faith of *Chriſt*. Going therefore to one of the Cities of *Gallia*, they made a requeſt to the Biſhop, that they might receive *Chriſtian* Baptiſm. The Biſhop order'd them to faſt ſeven days, in which interval he inſtructed them in the grounds of Faith; and on the eighth day

* Or, *unbuſied.*

CHAP. XXXI.

With what Miſeries the Macedoniani *were afflicted by* Neſtorius.

MOreover, *Neſtorius* behaved himſelf contrary to the uſage of the Church, (*a*) and cauſed others to imitate himſelf in ſuch things, as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Biſhop. For, one *Antonius* Biſhop of *Germa* a City in the *Helleſpont*, imitated *Neſtorius*'s rage towards the Hereticks, and made it his buſineſs to perſecute the *Macedoniani*, taking the *Patriarch*'s order as a pretext for his Apology. The *Macedoniani* for ſome time endured his vexatiouſneſs. But after *Antonius* began to diſquiet them more vehemently; being unable to undergo his moleſtation any longer, they [grew deſperate, and] brake out into a cruel madneſs; and having privately ſent ſome men who preferred what is pleaſant before that which is good, they murder him. The *Macedoniani* having perpetrated this villanous fact, *Neſtorius* took hold of what had been done as an occaſion of his own rage. And he perſwades the Emperors to deprive them of their Churches. As well thoſe Churches therefore which they had before the old walls of *Conſtantinople*, as them [they were poſſeſt of] in *Cyzicum*, were taken from them; as were likewiſe many others, which they had in the Villages of the *Helleſpont*. Some of them came over to the [Catholick] Church, and embraced the *Homoöuſian* Faith. But, as 'tis proverbially ſpoken, *Drunkards never want Wine, nor contentious perſons ſtrife*. It hapned therefore, that *Neſtorius*, who buſied himſelf in expelling other perſons, was himſelf turned out of the Church, for this reaſon [following.]

(*a*) In my own judgment, I have mended this place very happily. For, whereas there was no ſenſe in the common reading, (which is this, καὶ ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἑαυτὸν μισεῖσθαι ἐποίει, *and otherwiſe cauſed himſelf to be hated in ſuch things*; by a very ſmall change I have mended the place thus, καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τοὺς ἀυτὸν μιμεῖσθαι ἐποίει, *and cauſed others to imitate himſelf in ſuch things*. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* left it thus written. Otherwiſe, what he adds concerning *Antonius* Biſhop of *Germa*, would in no wiſe agree with that which goes before. At the very next Words, inſtead of [ὡς τὰ ὑπ' ἀυτῦ γενόμενα δείκνυσιν, *as 'tis apparent from what hapned from him*,] I read [ὡς τὰ ἐπ' ἀυτῦ γενόμενα δείκνυσιν, *as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Biſhop*.] Which Emendation ſeems to me altogether neceſſary. For, that which follows concerning *Antonius* the Biſhop, was in no wiſe done by *Neſtorius*. Valeſ.

CHAP.

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Presbyter Anaſtaſius, *by whom* Neſtorius *was perverted to Impiety.*

ANaſtaſius the Presbyter, who had come from *Antioch* with *Neſtorius*, was his intimate Acquaintance. *Neſtorius* had an high eſteem for him, and made uſe of his advice in the management of buſineſs. This *Anaſtaſius* being preaching one time in the Church, utter'd theſe words, *Let no man ſtile* Mary * *Theotocos*; *For* Mary *was a woman. But 'tis impoſſible for God to be born of a woman.* The hearing hereof diſturbed many perſons, as well of the Clergy as Laity. For they had been heretofore taught to confeſs Chriſt to be God, and in no wiſe to ſeparate him as man from the Divinity on account of his Incarnation; whereto they were induced by the Apoſtle's words, who ſaith, *Yea, though we have known Chriſt after the fleſh; yet now henceforth know we him no more.* (a) And [again,] *wherefore leaving the diſcourſe concerning Chriſt, let us preſs forwards to perfection.* A diſturbance therefore having been raiſed in the Church (as I have ſaid) [about this matter;] *Neſtorius* endeavoured to confirm *Anaſtaſius*'s expreſſion; (for he was unwilling, that the man for whom he had ſo great an eſteem, ſhould be reproved as having ſpoken blaſphemy;) and made frequent diſcourſes concerning it in the Church, in which he propoſed contentious queſtions concerning this thing, and every where rejected this term *Theotocos*. This queſtion therefore being entertained in one manner by ſome, and in another by others; on this account a diſſention aroſe in the Church. And being engaged in an encounter by night as it were, ſometimes they aſſerted theſe things, at others thoſe, affirming and in like manner denying one and the ſame thing. But *Neſtorius* was ſuppoſed by moſt men to entertain ſuch ſentiments, as to aſſert the Lord [Chriſt] to be a meer man, and to introduce the opinion of *Paul* of *Samoſata* and *Photinus* into the Church. Now, ſo great a controverſie and diſturbance was raiſed about this matter, that 'twas thought neceſſary a General Council [ſhould be convened.] But I my ſelf, after my reading the Books (b) publiſh'd by *Neſtorius*, found him to be an ignorant perſon. And I will declare the truth unfeignedly. For, his vices which I have ſpoken of already, I have not mention'd out of any hatred to him, nor will I, to gratifie any man, leſſen my account of the good which I found in him. *Neſtorius* ſeems not to me, to be a follower either of *Paul* of *Samoſata*'s opinion, or of *Photinus*'s, nor in the leaſt to aſſert the Lord [Chriſt] to be a meer man. But he was put into a fright by this term [*Theotocos*] only, as if it had been a Bugbear. And this befel him meerly by reaſon of his great Illiterateneſs. For being naturally endowed with eloquence, he was ſuppoſed to be a man of learning; but in reality was unlearned and ignorant. He likewiſe ſcorned to read the Books of ancient (c) Expoſitors. For being puft up with pride by reaſon of his ability to ſpeak well, he minded not reading the Ancients with any thing of accuracy; but thought himſelf better than any man elſe. To begin therefore from hence, he was wholly ignorant, that in the *Catholick Epiſtle of* St. *John* (to wit, in the ancient Copies thereof,) it was thus written; (d) *every ſpirit which ſeparates Jeſus* [*from God*] *is not of God.* For this ſentence has been expunged out of the ancient Copies by thoſe, whoſe deſire is to ſeparate the Divine Nature from the * Human *Oeconomy*. Wherefore, the ancient Expoſitors have made this very remark, to wit, that ſome perſons have depraved this Epiſtle, being † deſirous to ſeparate the Manhood of Chriſt from the Deity. For the Humanity is joyn'd to the Divinity. (e) Nor are they any more two, but one. The Ancients emboldened by this teſtimony, ſcrupled not to ſtile *Mary Theotocos*: For *Euſebius Pamphilus* (in *his third Book concerning the Life of Conſtantine,*) has theſe expreſs words. *For* * Emanuel *endured to be born for us. And the place of his Nativity is amongſt the* Hebrews *termed* Bethlehem. *Upon which account the Empreſs* Helena *moſt dear to God, adorned the place, where the* † God-bearing *Virgin was delivered, with admirable Monuments, and illuſtrated that ſacred Cave with all manner of Ornaments.* And Origen (in *the firſt Tome of his* [*Comments*] *upon the Apoſtle's Epiſtle to the Romans,*) expounding in what manner [*Mary*] may be termed *Theotocos*, handles that Queſtion largely. 'Tis apparent therefore, that *Neſtorius* was wholly ignorant in the Writings of the Ancients. For which reaſon, as I have ſaid, he oppoſes this only term [*Theotocos.*] For, that he

* That is, *The Mother of God*, or, *the Virgin that bore God*: A term that made a great diſturbance in the Chriſtian World, as the Reader will ſee hereafter.

(a) *Nicephorus*, when he wrote out this paſſage of *Socrates*, added the word [*again,*] ſhewing thereby, that the following words were taken out of St. *Paul's Epiſtle*. Indeed, the Words immediately preceding occur at 2 *Cor.* 5. 16; but whence theſe are quoted, I cannot yet find. *Valeſ.*

(b) Sir *Henry Savill*, had remarked at the margin of his Copy, that in his judgment, inſtead of [δοθεῖσιν *propoſed,*] it ſhould be [ἐκδοθεῖσιν, *publiſhed.*] And a little after, where the reading is [φυσικὸς γὰρ ἐυλαλὸς ὤν; *for being a natural eloquent man*] *that Learned Knight* had written in the margin *fortè* φυσικῶς, *perhaps it ſhould be* [φυσικῶς, *naturally*;] to which emendation we agree, as by our Verſion appears. For *Nicephorus*, who has extracted this paſſage out of *Socrates*, words it thus. *Valeſ.*

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

(c) Inſtead of [ἑρμηνεύειν] it muſt undoubtedly be [ἑρμηνέων, or ἑρμηνευτῶν, *Expoſitors,*] though the ſame error be in *Nicephorus* alſo. But *Socrates* himſelf does a little after this, ſhew it ſhould be ἑρμηνέων: For, his Words are οἱ παλαιοὶ ἑρμηνεῖς, *The Ancient Expoſitors.* Valeſ.

(d) In the *firſt Epiſt. of* St. *John* chap. 4. verſ. 2, 3; the words in the Greek Copies now extant are theſe: Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔστι· καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν. *Every Spirit that confeſſeth that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God. And every Spirit that confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is not of God.* In the Latin Copies 'tis thus worded: *Omnis ſpiritus qui confitetur Jeſum Chriſtum in carne veniſſe, ex Deo eſt: & omnis ſpiritus qui ſolvit Jeſum, ex Deo non eſt; every Spirit which confeſſes Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is of God: and every Spirit which ſeparates Jeſus, is not of God.* In that *Greek Copy* therefore, which the old *Latine Tranſlator* made uſe of, it was written thus: Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, *every Spirit which ſeparates Jeſus from God is not*; as *Socrates* atteſts it to have been written in the ancient Copies. Notwithſtanding *Socrates* ſeems to have read, Πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν; which words we have expreſt in our Verſion. For *Socrates*'s following Words are, ὥς τινες ἐν βαρυηγήσαντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, &c. *that ſome perſons have depraved* [*or, corrupted*] *this Epiſtle, being deſirous to ſeparate the Manhood of Chriſt from his Deity* [*or, Man from God.*] In the *Alexandrian Copy* (the various readings whereof *the Engliſh* have given us,) this place in *John* is thus written; Καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, *And every Spirit which confeſſes not Jeſus, is not of God.* Which comes nearer to the vulgar reading. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Diſpenſation of Man.*

† Or, *to ſeparate Man from God.*

(e) *Socrates* miſtakes here; and whileſt he reproves *Neſtorius*, falls into the Error of *Eutyches*, who though, *that after the Union, there was not two, but only one nature in Chriſt.* Unleſs we ſhould ſay, that *Socrates* ſpeaks concerning the *Perſons*, not the *Natures*. By this means *Socrates* might be excuſed, if his Words would admit of this ſenſe. 'Tis certain, ἀνθρωπότης, and ἄνθρωπος (concerning which terms theſe Words are ſpoken) do altogether ſignifie *Natures*, not *Perſons*. Valeſ.

* That is, *God with us.*

† Τὸν θεοτόκον τοῦ κυρίου.

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

he asserts not Christ to be a meer man, as *Photinus* and *Paul* of *Samosata* did, we are evidently informed even from his own discourses which he hath publish'd. Wherein he does in no place destroy the *Hypostasis* of the Word of God; but every where professes him to have a proper, real and peculiar Person and Existence: nor does he deprive him of a subsistence, as did *Photinus* and *Paul* of *Samosata*. Which Tenet the *Manichæans* and *Montanus*'s followers have been so audacious as to assert. That this was *Nestorius*'s opinion, I my self have found, partly by reading his own works, and partly from the discourses of his Admirers. Further, this frigid and empty discourse of *Nestorius* has raised no small disturbance in the World.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the horrid Wickedness committed upon the Altar of the Great Church by the Fugitive Servants.

THese things having been transacted [after this manner,] there hapned a most detestable fact, perpetrated in the Church. For, the Servants of one of the Great Men, Fellows that were Barbarians, having by experience found their Master to be cruel, fled to the Church, and with their swords drawn leapt upon the Altar. Being intreated to go out, they could by no means be prevailed upon; but hindred the Divine Services. And holding their naked swords in their hands for [the space of] many days, they stood in a posture to make resistance against any one that approached them. Moreover, when they had killed one of the Ecclesiasticks, and wounded another, at last they slew themselves. Whereupon, one of those then present said, that the prophanation of the Church was no good sign, [in proof whereof] he added two *Iambicks* of a certain old Poet:

(a) *For such* Prognosticks *happen in that while,*
When horrid Crimes the Churches do defile.

(a) *Nicephorus* quotes these two Verses, thus:
Σημεῖα δὲ τὸ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ,
Ὅταν τι ναοῖς ἐγκατασκήψῃ μύσος.
But the latter Verse would be written better thus:
Ὅταν τι μύσος ἐγκαθασκήψῃ ναοῖς. Vales.

Nor was he who spake these words, mistaken in his Sentiment: For (as it was conjectured,) a Division amongst the people, and his Deposition who had been the Occasioner of this Division, was hereby portended.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning the former Synod at Ephesus *convened against* Nestorius.

FOr within a small interval of time, the Bishops in all places were by the Emperor's Edict order'd to meet together at *Ephesus*. Immediately after the Feast of *Easter* therefore, *Nestorius* went to *Ephesus*, accompanied with a great and promiscuous multitude, where he finds many Bishops met together. But *Cyrillus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria* made some delays, and came not till about *Pentecost*. On the fifth day after *Pentecost*, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* atriv'd. Whilst *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch* was slow in coming, the [Prelates] that were present began to debate the Question. And *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* made some onsets [of dispute,] being desirous to disturb and terrifie *Nestorius*; for he had conceived an hatred against him. Moreover, when many asserted the Deity of Christ, *Nestorius* expresst himself thus, *I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old. And therefore I am clear from your bloud; nor will I in future come to you any more.* Having said this, he afterwards held Conventions with the other Bishops, who were Followers of his Opinion. So that the persons present were divided into two Factions. Those of *Cyrillus*'s party * staid in the Council, and cited in *Nestorius*. But he refused to come in, and defer'd his appearance till the arrival of *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch*. Whereupon those of *Cyrillus*'s party, (after they had several times read over *Nestorius*'s Discourses about this Question, which he had made to the people; and from the reading thereof had given in their judgment, that he had constantly spoken blasphemy against the Son of God) deposed him. When this was done, (a) *Nestorius*'s party made up another Synod apart by themselves, and depose *Cyrillus*, and together with him *Memnon* Bp. of *Ephesus*. Not long after these transactions, *Johannes* Bishop of *Antioch* arrived: and being informed of what had been done, was highly displeased with *Cyrillus*, as being the Occasioner of the disturbance which had hapned, in regard he had with so much rashness and precipitancy proceeded to the deposition of *Nestorius*. But *Cyrillus*, and together with him *Juvenalis*, to revenge themselves upon *Johannes*, depose him also. These affairs being after this manner confused and disturb'd, *Nestorius* perceiving this contention had arrived to such a height as to ruin communion, retracted, and termed *Mary Theotocos*, saying, *Let* Mary *be styled* Theotocos, *and let all animosities cease.* But tho' he made this retractation, yet no body admitted of it. For at this present he continues deposed, and lives in exile at *Oasis*. And this was the conclusion of the Synod held at that time. These things were done in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Antiochus*, on the twenty eighth of *June*. But *Johannes* after his return to *Antioch*, assembled many Bishops, and deposed *Cyrillus*, who was then gone home to *Alexandria*. However, they laid aside their enmity soon after, came to a reconciliation, and restored one another to their Episcopal Chairs. But after *Nestorius*'s deposition, a most violent disturbance seized the Churches of *Constantinople*: For the people were divided by reason of his frigid and empty babbling, as I have said already. But all the Clergy by a general consent *Anathematiz'd* him. (For so we *Christians* do usually term the sentence against a Blasphemer, when we propose it to publick view on a pillar as it were, and render it visible to all persons.)

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

* Or, *made up the Synod.*

(a) *Socrates* mistakes at this place, in attributing that to *Nestorius* which was done by *John* Bp. of *Antioch*. Therefore *Evagrius* and (who has follow-ed him) *Nicephorus* do deservedly reprehend our *Socrates*. Now, the business, as we are informed from the *Acts of the Ephesine Synod*, was transacted in this manner. When *Nestorius* had been condemned and deposed by the holy Synod, and the Letters of *Deposition* had been sent to him, he sent forthwith a relation to the Emperor *Theodosius*, wherein he complained of his Adversaries violence, and that they would not expect the coming of the Eastern Bishops, who, 'twas said, would quickly be there. This relation was subscribed by ten Bishops of *Nestorius*'s Party. On the fifth day after, comes *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, with the Eastern Bishops. Who having understood what had been done, assembled together the Bishops (as well as the Eastern Prelates whom he had brought with him, as those ten, which (as we have said) had subscribed *Nestorius*'s Relation,) and deposed the Bishops *Cyrillus* and *Memnon*. At this Little Council of *Johannes*'s, *Nestorius* himself was not present, because having been condemned by an Episcopal sentence, he had not been restored by the determination of a Synod. But the Bishops of his party, whom the sentence of the Synod had in no wise touch'd, were present.

preſent. Wherefore *Socrates* may be excuſed, if we ſay that theſe words [ὁς καὶ νεστόριον] do not denote *Neſtorius himſelf*, but *the Biſhops who were of his party, and had ſubſcribed his Relation.* But in the other particulars *Socrates* is not to be excuſed. *Valeſ.*

Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.

CHAP. XXXV.

How, after Neſtorius's *Depoſition, when ſome were deſirous of placing* Proclus *in the Epiſcopal Chair, other Biſhops elected* Maximianus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople.

[AFter this] there was another debate about the Election of a Biſhop: And many were for chooſing *Philippus*, whom we have mention'd a little * before; but more † nominated *Proclus*. And the opinion of thoſe [who voted] for *Proclus* had carried it, had not ſome of the moſt powerful perſons hinder'd it, who ſaid 'twas forbidden by the Eccleſiaſtick Canon, that he who had been nominated Biſhop of any City, ſhould be tranſlated to another || See. This having been ſaid and believed, compelled the people to be quiet. After an interval therefore of four months from *Neſtorius*'s Depoſition, a perſon by name *Maximianus*, is elected to the Biſhoprick: As to his courſe of life he was an *Aſcetick*; but had himſelf alſo been made one of the Presbyters. He had long before gotten the repute of a pious and holy perſon, becauſe at his own charge he had built Monuments, wherein Religious Perſons might be buried after their deceaſe. He was a man of mean accompliſhments in ſpeaking, and deſirous of leading a life void of buſineſs.

* See chap. 26, and 27.

† Or, *Elected.*

|| Or, *City.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Inſtances, whereby this Writer does (as he ſuppoſes) evince, that a Tranſlation from one See to another is not prohibited.

BUt in regard ſome Perſons, by alledging the Eccleſiaſtical Canon, have hindred *Proclus*, who had then been nominated Biſhop of *Cyzicum*, from being ſeated [in the Epiſcopal Chair of *Conſtantinople*;] my deſire is to ſay ſomething briefly concerning this matter. Thoſe Perſons who undertook to ſpeak theſe things at that time, in my judgment ſpake not true; but either feign'd them out of an *Odium* [they had conceived] againſt *Proclus*, or elſe were wholly ignorant of the Canons, and of ſeveral other things of great uſe to, and frequently practiſed in the Churches. For, *Euſebius Pamphilus, in the ſixth* * *Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, relates, that *Alexander* Biſhop of one of the Cities in *Cappadocia*, coming to *Jeruſalem* on account of Prayer, was detained by the Inhabitants of that City, and conſecrated Biſhop in the room of *Narciſſus*, and in future preſided over the Churches there as long as he lived. So indifferent a thing it was amongſt our Anceſtors, for a Biſhop to be tranſlated from one City to another, as often as neceſſity requir'd. And if it be requiſite to annex the Canon to this our Hiſtory, it will be demonſtrated in what a manner they have bely'd that Canon, [who have quoted it] in order to their hindring *Proclus*'s Ordination. The (*a*) Canon therefore runs thus. *If any perſon who has been ordained Biſhop of a Church, goes not to that Church over which he has been ordained* [*Biſhop,*] *not by reaſon of his own Faults, but either becauſe of the People's refuſal* [*of him,*] *or for any other neceſſary cauſe* [*not proceeding from himſelf;*] *this Perſon ſhall be partaker of the Honour and Miniſtration, provided he moleſts not the affairs of that Church wherein he ſhall celebrate Aſſemblies. But he ought to embrace whatever the Synod of the Province,* (*b*) *having had* Cognizance *of his Caſe, ſhall think good to determine.* [*Beveridge.*] But *Socrates* is miſtaken, in thinking that the Biſhops relied upon this Canon, that they might exclude *Proclus* from the *Conſtantinopolitan See.* 'Tis true indeed, that *Proclus* was one of their number who are meant in the aforeſaid Canon. For after he had been ordained Biſhop of *Cyzicum* by *Siſinnius Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, he was not admitted by the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*, as *Socrates* has related before. But the Biſhops who were againſt *Proclus*'s Election, relied not upon this Canon, but quoted the *twenty firſt Canon* [which occurs at *pag.* 450. *Tom.* 1. *Edit. Bever.*] of the ſame Synod in confirmation of their own opinion; the Contents whereof are theſe: Ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ πολιτικῆς ἐτέρας εἰς ἑτέραν, &c. *A Biſhop ought not in any wiſe to remove from one See to another, neither ruſhing into it wholly on his own accord, nor forcibly compell'd by the People, nor yet neceſſarily conſtrain'd by the Biſhops: but let him continue in that Church, which God has at firſt allotted to him, nor let him remove from thence, agreeable to the Priſtine determination made concerning this matter.* Our *Socrates* is therefore miſtaken, who has put *the eighteenth Canon of the Antiochian Synod*, inſtead of *the one and twentieth.* He is out in this alſo, to wit, in ſuppoſing, that theſe Words in the cloſe of *the eighteenth Canon* [ἐνδέχεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν, ὅπερ ἂν, &c.] do favour his own opinion. Thoſe Words we have rendred thus: *Suſcipere autem debet quicquid Provinciæ Synodus de ejus negotio judicans conſtituerit, But he ought to embrace whatever a Synod of the Province, having had* Cognizance *of his Caſe, ſhall think good to determine. Socrates* thought this to be the conſequence of theſe Words, *viz. That if a Synod of the Province ſhould think fit to tranſlate the aforeſaid Biſhop to ſome other See, that Biſhop ought to obey that determination.* But 'tis plain that he is out, in regard Tranſlations of Biſhops are expreſly forbidden in *the twenty firſt Canon.* Valeſ.

(*a*) This is *the eighteenth Canon of the Synod at Antioch.* [*Socrates* ſpeaks of this Synod at Book 2. chap. 8; and this very Canon occurs at p. 447. Tom. 1. *Edit. Beveridge.*]

(*b*) Κείνατα τὸ πρεσβύτερον δόξαν. Which Words *Dionyſius Exiguus* renders thus, *Quod viſum fuerit judicando Decreverit, ſhall by judging Decree what ſhall ſeem good. The old Tranſlator* alſo (whoſe Verſion was heretofore in *Henricus Memmius's Library*, and has lately been publiſhed at *Paris*) renders it after this manner: *Sed ſpectare eum oportere, quouſque Provinciæ Synodus de eo quæ eis videntur ordinet, But he ought to expect, till ſuch time as a Synod of the Province ſhall determine concerning him what they think good.* Where you may remark by the by, that the *old Tranſlator* in *his Copy*, read not the Word [τελεία, *perfectly*;] as neither did *Socrates.* The ſame Phraſe occurs above in the *Appendix to the ſixth Book*, where *Johannes* ſpeaks to the Biſhops thus. Τὸ πρεσβύτερον ὑμῖν καταξιώσας αὐτοὶ διαλαβόντες καὶ κείνατα δόξαν: Which we have thus rendred into *Latin, Cauſam ad vos delatam perpendentes ipſi ac dijudicantes definite.* But 'tis better to tranſlate it thus, *quodcunque vobis viſum fuerit*, &c. *Valeſ.* Our *Engliſh Rendition* of that place is this, *Do you inquire into the Cauſe, and make ſuch a definitive determination as you ſhall think fit.*

This is the Canon. Now, to make it evident, that many Biſhops have been tranſlated from ſome Cities to others, by reaſon of the Churches neceſſities now and then [intervening;] I will [here] annex the Names of ſuch [Biſhops] as have been tranſlated.

(*c*) *Perigenes* had been ordain'd Biſhop of *Patræ*. (*c*) *Perigenes* had been born and baptized at *Corinth* the *Metropolis* of *Achaia*: having afterwards been made a Clergy-man, he continued Presbyter of the ſame Church a long while with great Integrity. Afterwards when he had been promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Patræ* by the Biſhop of *Corinth*, and the Inhabitants of *Patræ* had refuſed to receive him, he was forced to return to *Corinth.* The Biſhop of which City dying not long after, the *Corinthians* requeſted he might be their Biſhop; which requeſt of theirs they made known to *Bonifatius* Biſhop of *Rome.* But *Bonifatius* would do nothing in that Affair, before he had received the Letters of *Rufus* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, who was deputed the *Vicegerent* of the *Apoſtolick See* throughout *Achaia* and *Macedonia.* He wrote therefore two Letters to him concerning this buſineſs, to which was annext the *Corinthians* Requeſt. Theſe Letters bore date in the Conſulate of *Monaxius* and *Plintha.* Afterwards, when *Bonifatius* had receiv'd *Rufus*'s Letters, he approv'd of *Perigenes*'s Election, and wrote a Letter to him and the *Corinthians.* I have Collected theſe things from two Letters of *Bonifatius* to *Rufus*, which Letters were lately publiſh'd at *Rome* by *Lucas Holſtenius* a Learned Perſon, and one that has deſerv'd well of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity. Further, this *Perigenes* was preſent at the *Epheſine Synod* convened againſt *Neſtorius.* For in the *Firſt Action* thereof occur theſe Words, περιγένης κεκλημένου τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *of Perigenes* [*Biſhop*] *of Corinth in Greece.* Valeſ.

* Chap. 11.

But

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

But in regard the Inhabitants of the foresaid City refused to admit him, the Bishop of *Rome* ordered he should be constituted Bishop in the *Metropolitan* See of *Corinth*, the Bishop of that Church being dead. Over which Church *Perigenes* presided as long as he liv'd. *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum* was first of all Bishop of *Sasimi* one of the Cities in *Cappadocia:* Afterwards he was made [Bishop] of *Nazianzum*. *Melitius* had formerly presided over the Church in *Sebastia*, and afterwards he Govern'd that in *Antioch*. *Alexander* Bishop of *Antioch* translated *Dositheus* Bishop of *Seleusia* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. (d) *Reverentius* [was removed] from *Arci* [a City] of *Phœnice*, and afterwards translated to *Tyre*. *Johannes* was translated from (e) *Gordum* [a City] of *Lydia* to (f) *Proconnesus*, and presided over the Church there. *Palladius* was translated from *Helenopolis* to *Aspuna*. *Alexander* was trasslated from *Helenopolis* to *Adriani*. (g) *Theophilus* was translated from *Apemea* [a City] of *Asia*, to *Eudoxiopolis* anciently termed (h) *Salambria*. *Polycarpus* was translated from *Saxantapristi* [a City] of * *Mœsia*, to *Nicopolis* of *Thracia*. *Hierophilus* was translated from *Trapezopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia* to *Plotinopolis* in *Thracia*. (i) *Optimus* was removed from *Agdamia* in *Phrygia* to *Antioch* [a City] of *Pisidia*. *Silvanus* was translated from *Philippopolis* in *Thracia*, to *Troas*. Let thus many be sufficient to have been named at present, who were removed from their own Cities to other [Sees.] But I judge it useful to speak something in short concerning *Silvanus*, who was translated from *Philippopolis* in *Thracia* to *Troas*.

(d) In the *Sfortian* M. S. this Person is call'd *Reverentius*. But in *Nicephorus* 'tis *Reverentius*, which is truer. *Epiphan. Scholasticus* terms him *Reverentius* also. In the *fourth book* of the *Jus Græco Romanum*, *chap. De Translationibus Episcoporum*, he is corruptly stiled *Revenus*. Vales.

* Or, *Mysia.*

(e) *Nicephorus* makes *Gordum* a City of *Lycia*, not *Lydia:* but all other [Writers] assign it to *Lydia*. Further, this *Johannes* Bishop of *Proconnesus* was present at the *Ephesine Synod*, as 'tis recorded in the *first Action* of *that Council*. Vales.

(f) In the *Florentine Manuscript* 'tis *Proconnesus*. In *Nicephorus*, in the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, and in the *Acts of the Ephesine Council*, 'tis written *Proiconnesus*. *The Author of the Etymologicon* in the word περικόννησος) defends both readings. And deduces the original of this name (which has the Letter (*i*) added) from hence, either because this Illand furnishes the other Illands with marmour, περίκα, that is *Gratis*, *freely*, or *for nothing*; or else from the Word περίξ, which signifies *Hinnuleum*, *a little Hind*. But *Dionysius Athenienſis* (in his Book [entitled] κτίσεις, which he wrote *concerning the building of Cities*,) says 'twas call'd *Proconesus* from the multitude of *Harts* there, which they term περόκας. Others will have its name derived from a Vessel which the *Greeks* call περόκην, because when the *Milesii* at first brought a Colony thither, they were met by a Virgin carrying such a Vessel. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens's Edit.* 'tis termed *Preconesus*.

(g) In the *fourth Book of the Jus Græco-Romanum*, pag. 93; he is termed *Theosebius*. And so he is called in the *Tripartite History* (which *Epiphan. Scholasticus* translated;) and in *Ivo Carnotensis* (in *Prologo Decreti.*) But *Nicephorus* terms him *Philippus*, which I wonder at. *Vales.*

(h) From the *Florentine* and *Sfortian Manuscripts*, and from *Nicephorus* and *Epiphan. Scholasticus*, instead of *Salabria*, we have made it *Salambria*. 'Tis a City of *Thracia*, which the *Greeks* heretofore termed *Selymbria*, as *Strabo* and *Stephanus* do attest: But afterwards 'twas called *Salambria*. So in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense: Mansio Salamembria* [*is mentioned which was*] 44 *Miles distant from Constantinople*. Vales.

(i) This is the *Optimus* Bishop of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, of whom the Emperor *Theodosius* makes mention in the *third Law of the Theodosian Code*, *de Fide catholicâ*; to whom (together with *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*,) the Charge and Administration of the Churches of *Asia* is commited. *Vales.*

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning Silvanus, *who was translated from* Philippopolis *to* Troas.

Silvanus had formerly been a *Rhetorician* [in the School of] *Troïlus* the *Sophista*. But in regard he proposed to himself an accuracy in the profession of the *Christian Religion* as his chief design, and exercised himself in the severities of an *Ascetick life*, [on account hereof] he refused to (a) wear the *Rhetoricians Pallium*. But afterwards *Atticus* the Bishop (b) laid hold of him, and ordained him Bishop of *Philippopolis*. After he had lived three years in *Thracia*, and found himself unable to endure the cold (for he had a very thin, lean, and infirm body;) he entreated *Atticus*, that he would ordain another in his stead, affirming that he refused to live in *Thracia* upon no other account, than because of the cold. Another person therefore having for this very reason been ordain'd in his room, *Silvanus* continued at *Constantinople*, and with a most exquisite diligence followed an *Ascetick* course of life. He was so great a stranger to delicateness and fineness, that he would frequently appear in publick amongst so numerous a concourse of people as were in that populous City, shod only with Sandals made of (c) *Spartum*. After some interval of time the Bishop of the Church

(a) Τείβωνα φορεῖν. *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, thus, *Pallium Philosophicum*, *the Philosophic Pallium*, adding a word of his own, to wit, *Philosophic*. But *Socrates* speaks not concerning the *Philosophic Pallium*, but concerning *that of the Rhetoricians*. For he says, that *Silvanus* had before been a *Rhetorician*, that is, an *Advocate* out of *Troïlus* the *Sophist*'s School: but afterwards left off his *Pallium*, and embraced a *Monastick life*. Concerning the *Rhetoricians Pallium*, see what we have remarked before at Book 7. chap. 12. Note (*c.*) To which may be added this passage out of *Theophylactus Simocatta's Menodia*, *which he spoke in praise of the Emperor* Mauricius, *after* Phaucas's *death*: ἀνακειρίθωσαν οἱ λόγοι τῷ κρότων, τὴν εὐφημίαν αἱ μῶσαι. Τὸ λιτὸν ἀθῆναι τριβώνιον. Which words *Theophylactus* himself cites in the *Eighth Book of his History*, chap. 12. Whence it may gathered, that the *Rhetoricians Pallium was white*, *not red*, or *scarlet coloured*, as we have noted before from *Cyrillus* and *Basilius Grammaticus*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* speaks also concerning the *Rhetoricians Pallium*, in *his twentieth Oration concerning the praises of* Basilius, pag. 328. *Edit. Paris*, 1609. where *Billius* (by the same mistake) has rendred it *Pallia Philosophica*, *the Philosophic Palliums*. Vales.

(b) I agree not with *Christophorson*, who has rendred this place so, as if *Atticus* had sent for *Silvanus* to come to him. What need was there of sending for him, who was present at *Constantinople*, to wit, a *Rhetorician* in the School of *Troïlus* the *Sophist*, who taught Rhetorick at *Constantinople*. The word συλλαβεῖν signifies something more, to wit, *to lay hold of*, and *use force toward any person*. By this term therefore *Socrates* shews, that *Silvanus* was against his own will, and with a reluctancy, made Bishop of *Philippopolis* by *Atticus*. *Philippopolis* is the *Metropolis* of that Country, strictly and properly called *Thracia*. You must know further, that the Ordination of the *Metropolitanes* of *Thracia*, belonged then to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. For the *Patriarchs* by a certain singular priviledge ordained *Metropolitanes*, as I have observed at large in *my Dissertation on the sixth Canon of the* Nicene *Council*. [*The Learned Reader will meet with this Dissertation of* Valesius's *at pag.* 188. *of his Notes on* Socrates *and* Sozomen, *Edit. Paris*, 1668.] Hence 'tis, that the same *Atticus*, *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, ordained the said *Silvanus* Bishop of *Troas*, upon the request of the Inhabitants of that City. For *Alexandria Troas* [or, *Alexander's Troas*,] was the *Metropolis* of *Phrygia*. This is in express words established by the *twenty eighth Canon of the* Chalcedon *Council*, [which occurs at Tom. 1. pag. 145. *Edit. Beveredg.*] which treats *concerning the priviledges of the Constantinopolitane See:* to wit, that the *Metropolitanes* only of the *Thracian*, *Pontick*, and *Asian Diœceses*, should be ordained by the *most holy Constantinopolitane See:* the Decrees being (as usually) first made by the common consent of the Clergy and Laity, and directed to the *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*. For thus *the aforesaid Canon* does determine, ψηφισμάτων συμφώνων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων, *The Decrees made as usually*, *being agreed upon and transmitted to him*. The Canon means the *Decree of Request*, such a one as the *Corinthians* sent to *Bonifatius*, desiring they might have *Perigenes* for their Bishop; as we have observed before at Chap. 36, Note (*c.*) *Vales.*

(c) Ἀπὸ χορτίνων σανδαλίων. *Christophorson* renders it, *Sandaliis indutus fœno confectis*, *shod with Sandals made of Hay*. *Epibanius Scholasticus* (who is followed by *Langus*, *Nicephorus's Translator*, Book 14. Chap. 39.) translates it *soleas de sparto*, *Sandals of Spartum*.

Spartum is a kind of Shrub like our Broom, of which they made Bonds to tie their Vines, Ropes for Ships, and (as it ſeems) *Sandals* alſo. Such *Sandals* as theſe were thoſe termed *Carbatinæ*; concerning which ſee *Julius Pollux Onamaſt.* Book 7. chap. 22, *Heſychius* (in the word καρβατίνη, ſays *they were mean ſhoes worn by the Peaſants*; and expounds that term thus, μόνον τὸν πόδημα, *a ſhoe with one ſole.*

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

of *Troas* departed this life. On which account the Inhabitants of *Troas* came [to *Conſtantinople*] to deſire a Biſhop. Whilſt *Atticus* was conſidering whom he ſhould ordain, it happned that *Silvanus* came to give him a viſit. As ſoon as *Atticus* ſaw him, he (*d*) laid aſide his care [about that affair] immediately, and ſpoke to *Silvanus* [on this wiſe,] *You have no further excuſe for your avoiding the Care and Government of* [*this*] *Church. For* Troas *is not a cold place. Behold, God has provided you a convenient place for the infirmneſs of your Body. Delay not therefore, Brother, but go to* Troas. Wherefore *Silvanus* removed to that City: where he did a Miracle, which I will now relate. A vaſt Ship for carrying of burthens, made for the conveyance of great pillars, (ſuch a veſſel they term *Plate*;) had been newly built on the ſhore of *Troas*. This Veſſel was to be launched. But tho' many ropes [were faſtned to the Ship,] and a great number of perſons [did their utmoſt] to hale it [Seaward,] yet it was not in any wiſe to be moved. After this had been done for many days, then they thought that a Devil detain'd the Veſſel. Wherefore, they went to Biſhop *Silvanus*, and entreated him to make a Prayer in that place. For they believed, that by that means only the Ship was to be drawn into the Sea. But he entertaining modeſt thoughts of himſelf, ſtiled himſelf a Sinner, and ſaid, That was a work to be done by ſome righteous perſon, not by him. When they continued their ſuit with a greater earneſtneſs, he went to the ſhore: Where after he had pray'd, he * took hold of one of the ropes, and bad them ſet cloſe to the buſineſs. And when they had haled the Ship on a little, ſhe ran ſwiftly into the Sea. This Miracle perform'd by *Silvanus*'s hands, ſtirred up thoſe of that Province to piety. But *Silvanus* was a good Man as to other things alſo: For perceiving that the Eccleſiaſticks made a gain of their Contentions who were engag'd in Suits at Law, he would never make any one of the Clergy a Judge: but receiv'd the Libels of the *Litigants* himſelf, and called one of the faithful Laicks to him, whom he knew to be a lover of juſtice; to whom he committed the hearing of the cauſe, [by which means] he (*e*) freed the *Litigants* from contentiouſneſs. For theſe reaſons *Silvanus* got himſelf a great name amongſt all Men. Thus much concerning *Silvanus*, which altho' declared by way of digreſſion, (yet in my judgment) the mention hereof * is not unuſeful. But let us return to that place, from whence we have digreſſed. After *Maximianus* therefore was ordain'd Biſhop of [*Conſtantinople*] in the Conſulate of *Baſſus* and *Antiochus*, about the twenty fifth of *October*, the affairs of the Church were in a ſedate and quiet poſture.

(*d*) Inſtead of [Ἐπέθετο, *laid upon*] we read [Ἀπέθετο, *be laid aſide*] agreeable to *Chryſtophorſon*'s and Sir *Henry Savil*'s reading. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *touch'd.*

(*e*) In *Robert Stephens's Edition* the reading is [ἀπήλασεν, *he drove.*] In the *Florent.* MS. 'tis ἀπήλλασεν. Wherefore, I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote [ἀπήλλαξεν, *he freed*, or *releaſed.*] For the common reading, in my judgment, is not to be born; although *Nicephorus* confirms it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Has not been unfruitful.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

Concerning the Jews *in* * Crete, *how many of them turned Chriſtians at that time.*

* This Iſland is now termed *Candia.*

ABout the ſame time, many of the *Jews* [who dwelt in *Crete*, turn'd *Chriſtians*, on account of this calamitous accident. A certain *Jew*, who was an *Impoſtor*, feign'd himſelf to be *Moſes*; and affirm'd himſelf to have been ſent from Heaven, that he might (*a*) lead out the *Jews* who inhabited that Iſland, and conduct them through the Sea. For he was (as he ſaid) the ſame perſon who preſerved the *Iſraelites* heretofore [by leading them] through the *Red-Sea*. For the ſpace of one whole year therefore he travelled about to all the Cities of that Iſland, and perſuaded the *Jews* who inhabited therein, to believe theſe things. And he exhorted them to leave their money and poſſeſſions: for he promiſed, that he would lead them through a dry Sea into the Land of Promiſe. They, deceived by ſuch hopes as theſe, neglected all employments; and moreover deſpiſed the things they poſſeſſed, permitting any perſons they met with to take them. When the day was come which had been ſet by this *Jewiſh Impoſtor*, he himſelf went before, and they all followed with their Wives and little Children. He leads them therefore to a Promontory which * ran out into the Sea, and order'd them to caſt themſelves from thence into the Ocean. They who came firſt to the precipice, did ſo, and loſt their lives immediately, part of them being daſh'd [in pieces] againſt the rocks, and part drowned in the *waters*: And many more of them had periſh'd, had not ſome *Fiſhermen* and *Merchants* (who were *Chriſtians*,) by the diſpoſal of Divine Providence hapned to be preſent. Theſe perſons drew out and ſaved ſome of them who were almoſt choaked with the waters; who having been in ſo imminent danger, were then ſenſible of their own madneſs. They kept the others alſo from caſting themſelves into the Sea, by telling them that thoſe were deſtroyed who had thrown themſelves in firſt. The *Jews* therefore, having at length underſtood the Impoſture, blamed their own indiſcretion in believing. But when they endeavoured to [ſeize] the † *Pſeudo-Moſes* and kill him, they could not apprehend him: For he diſappear'd [on a ſudden;] and this made moſt men ſuſpect that he was a deſtructive Devil, who had cloathed himſelf with an human ſhape, that he might deſtroy their Nation in that Country. By reaſon of this calamitous accident, many of the *Jews* then in *Crete*, bade adieu to *Judaiſm*, and ‖ embraced the Faith of the *Chriſtian Religion.*

(*a*) In ſome Copies the reading is [ἐκλάβη] at which word *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* and *Nicephorus* with good reaſon were diſpleaſed; and therefore both of them omitted it. In my judgment it ſhould be [ἐκβάλῃ, *might lead out.*] Valeſ.

* Or, *hung over into, &c.*

† Or, *falſe-Moſes.*

‖ Or, *betook themſelves to.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning the Fire which hapned in the Church of the Novatianiſts.

NOt long after this time, *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* gat the repute of a perſon truly beloved by God, and indeed rendred [his own reputation] far greater than what it had been before. For, there hapned a moſt furious

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

rious fire [at *Constantinople*,] such a one as had never † been known before. For a great part of the City was destroyed by this Fire: In so much that the (*a*) greatest Granaries, and that termed *the* (*b*) *Achillean Bath*, were burnt down. At length the Fire, consuming [all things in its way,] approach'd the *Novatianists* Church, which stands near *Pelargus*.

† Or, *happened.*

(*a*) Τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θείων. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ὡρείων with an *aspirate*. And *Langus* translates it *Barns*, or *Granaries*. *Musculus* renders it *Maxima ædificia, the greatest Edifices*. *Christophorson, fortissima munimenta, the strongest Fortresses*. I had rather follow *Langus*. For ὠρεῖον is a barbarou Greek Word, which signifies a *Barn* or *Granary*; as *Meursius* has long since observed in his *Glossary*. In the *Kings Copy* I found it written ὀρεῖον at this place. Further, there were five publick *Barns* or *Granaries* at *Constantinople*; to wit, four in the *fifth Ward*. Vales.

(*b*) In the *Alexandrian Chronicle* (pag. 728. *Edit. Monach.* 1615,) the Words are these: *On Theodosius Augustus's fourteenth Consulate which he bore with* Maximus, *there arose a great fire from the* Neorium, *which burnt down the Granaries and the Achillean Bath, in the month* Loös, &c. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* renders it, *Thermas quæ vocantur Achilleæ, that termed the Achillean Bath*. Which Rendition is confirmed by *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*, (pag. 26. Edit. Paris, 1619;) at the Consulate of *Maximus* and *Paterius*, which was the year of Christ 443. *His Coss.* (says he) *Thermarum quæ Achilleæ dicuntur, Encœnia facta, in their Consulate, that termed the Achillean Bath was* [after it had been rebuilt] *dedicated*. And *the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicon* affirms the same (pag. 730. *Edit. ut prius,*) in these Words ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων, &c. *In the same Persons* [that is, *Maximus*'s and *Paterius*'s] *Consulate, the publick Bath termed Achilles was dedicated*, in the month *Audunæus, before the third of the Ides of* January. The *Achillean Bath* therefore (after it had been consumed by fire, in the *fourteenth Consulate* of *Theodosius* which he bore with *Maximus*, on the year of Christ 433,) was rebuilt and dedicated on the tenth Year after. *Vales.*

When therefore *Paulus* the Bishop saw his Church in danger, he rush'd into it [and ran] as far as the Altar, where he * commended the Preservation of the Church and the things therein to God; nor did he omit the pouring forth his Prayers both for the City and for the Church. † And God heard his Prayer, as 'twas demonstrated by the event. For tho' the Fire brake into the Church through all the Doors and Windows, yet it did no harm. It wholly consumed many adjacent Edifices on every side of it: but you might have seen the Church it self in the midst of the whole Fire, triumphing over its raging Flames. And when this Fire had continued two whole days and as many nights, it was wholly extinguished, after it had burnt down a great part of the City. But the Church appear'd entire and untouch'd. And (which is more to be admired) there was not the least * appearance of Smoak to be seen on its Timber or Walls. This hapned about the sixteenth of *August*, in *Theodosius*'s fourteenth Consulate which he bore with *Maximus*. Since which time the *Novatianists* do celebrate [the Memory of] their Church its having been preserved, every year about the sixteenth of *August*; on which day they put up their Thanksgivings to God: And all Persons in a manner, not only *Christians* but very many *Pagans* also, since that time honour that place, by reason of the Miracle which hapned therein; and have a veneration for it as being truly holy. But thus far concerning these things.

* Or, *committed.*

† Or, *But God heard the Man.*

* Or, *token*, or *footstep.*

CHAP. XL.

That Proclus *succeeded* Maximianus *the Bishop.*

Maximianus having quietly govern'd the Churches two years and five months, died in the Consulate of *Areobindus* and *Aspar*, on the twelfth of *April*. That day hapned to fall on the Week of *Fasts*, [to wit] the Week which immediately precedes the Feast of *Easter*: and it was the * fifth day of that Week. At which time the Emperor *Theodosius* made a prudent provision for this affair. For lest a debate should arise again about the Election of a Bishop, which might raise a disturbance in the Church; he delay'd not, but whilst *Maximianus*'s Body lay as yet unburied, ordered the Bishops that were present [in the City] to place *Proclus* in the Episcopal Chair. For the Letters of *Cælestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he approved of (*a*) this [Election,] were then come; which Letters he had sent to *Cyrillus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, to *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch*, and to (*b*) *Rufus* [Bishop] of *Thessalonica*; informing them, that nothing hindred him (who had been nominated and actually was Bishop of one City) from being translated to another. Therefore after *Proclus* was placed in the Episcopal Chair, he made a Funeral for the Body of *Maximianus*. But we have now an opportunity of speaking something in short concerning *Proclus*.

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

* That is, *Thursday* in the *Passion Week.*

(*a*) Instead of [τοῦτο] I read [τότε,] as did Sir *Henry Savill* and *Christophorson*. Moreover I agree with *Baronius*, who (at the year of Christ 434,) has truly remarked, that these Letters of *Cælestine* Bishop of *Rome* were not written on this year, but two years before; to wit, when (after *Nestorius*'s Deposition,) they were busie about Electing a Bishop of *Constantinople*. 'Tis certain on this year (when *Areobindus* and *Aspar* were Consuls) *Cælestine* was dead, and *Xystus* had succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Rome*. Vales.

(*b*) *Valesius* has told us before (at *note* (*c.*) *on chap.* 36,) that *Rufus* Bishop of *Thessalonica* was deputed the Vice-gerent of the Apostolick See [that is, *Rome*] throughout *Achaia* and *Macedonia*. He adds here, *that he had the same Vice-gerency throughout* Illyricum, *as the Epistles of* Innocentius *and* Bonifatius Bishops of Rome *do declare, which are to be seen in* Lucas Holstenius's Roman Collection. *For* (*continues* Valesius) *the Bishops of* Thessalonica *had that priviledge from the times of* Pope Damasus, *as we learn from the* same Collection. Balsamo (*in* his Comments *on the* Synod in Trullo, pag. 359 Edit. Paris, 1620.) *affirms, that the Bishops of* Thessalonica *were heretofore the Legates of the* Roman Bishop; *and that the Bishop of* Rome *has a power of constituting Legates in the* Constantinopolitane Patriarchate; *but denies that he has a power of ordaining Bishops*; *wherein* Balsamo *is much mistaken. For these Provinces, which then when* Balsamo *wrote, were under the* Constantinopolitane Prelate, *had heretofore been under the Bishop of* Rome. *Further, the* Nicene Synod *has determined, that the ancient usages should be observed.* Thus far *Valesius*. But, as you see, he gives no reason to confute what *Balsamo* has said, to wit, *that the Bishop of* Rome *has no power to ordain Bishops within the Constantinopolitane Patriarchate*. And therefore I will (and so may the *Reader* too, if he pleases) suspend my belief, till some reasons are assigned. This passage in *Balsamo* (here quoted by *Valesius*) occurs in Dr. *Beveredge's Synod*. Tom. I, p. 154. See *the Learned Doctor's Notes*, pag. 126.

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning Proclus *the Bishop, what manner of Man he was.*

Proclus was from his younger years a Reader, he frequented the Schools, and imployed his time in [the study of] *Rhetorick*. Being come to Man's estate, he was for the most part conversant with *Atticus* the Bishop, and had been his *Notary*. When he had made a great Proficiency, *Atticus* promoted him to the *Diaconate*. Having been preferr'd to the *Presbyterate*, *Sisinnius* (as I have said * before) ordained him Bishop of *Cyzicum*. These things had hapned long before this. But 'twas at this time that he obtained the Chair of the *Constantinopolitane* Church. He was a Person endowed with as good a Disposition and Morals, as was any Man whatsoever. For having been educated under *Atticus*, he studiously imitated

* At chap. 28.

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

all that was good in him. (*a*) But he exercised a patience far greater than *Atticus*. For he, * now and then, shew'd himself terrible to Hereticks. But *Proclus* was calm and mild to all persons: (*b*) in regard he foresaw that they might be brought [to embrace the true Faith] by this means, rather than by force. For being resolv'd to vex and disquiet no Heresie whatever, he preserv'd the Dignity and Honour of his Mildness and Manfuetude intire and unviolated, and [as if he had been some pledge] restored it to the Church. In which particular thing he imitated the Emperor *Theodosius*. For 'twas his fix'd and unalterable determination, not to make use of his Imperial Power and Authority against Criminals: And *Proclus*'s resolution was, not to value any ones entertaining such Sentiments concerning God, as were different from those embraced by himself.

* Ἐν καιρῷ, *upon occasion.*

(*a*) In *Rob. Stephens's Edition*, the reading is, πλὼν δὲ ἀνεξικακίαν πλέον ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐξήσκησεν, *But he exercised a patience far greater than he* [Atticus] *had.* The word [ἐξήσκησεν, *had*] is wanting in the *Sfortian* MS. Wherefore I doubt not but *Socrates* left it written thus, πλὼ δὲ ἀνεξικακίαν πλέον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἐξήσκησε, *But he exercised a patience far greater than* Atticus. Which Emendation is confirmed by *Epiphan. Scholasticus* and *Nicephorus*, for *Nicephorus* (Book 14. ch. 38.) words it thus; ἀνεξικακος δὲ καὶ πλέον ἢπερ ἐκεῖνοι, *Moreover, he was far more patient than they,* [that is, *than* John Chrysostome *and* Atticus.] And *Epiphan. Scholast.* renders it thus: *Sed in isto patientia potior apparebat, but in him a better* [or more desirable] *patience appear'd.* Vales.

(*b*) We read [τούτῳ δὴ, *in regard* —— *by this means*;] before which words we have put a *Colon.* Vales.

CHAP. XLII.

That this Writer *spends many words in praise of the Emperor* Theodosius Junior's *Probity.*

ON account hereof therefore, *Proclus* was highly commended by the Emperor. For * He himself also was like to such as were true Prelates; nor did he any wise approve of those, who were desirous of persecuting others. Yea, I can speak it with confidence, that for meekness he excelled all those who were true and genuine Ecclesiasticks. (*a*) And what is recorded of *Moses* in the *Book of* Numbers *; *Now the Man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth*; the same may be now said of the Emperor *Theodosius*, to wit, that he is very meek, above all the Men which are upon the face of the Earth. For by reason of this his meekness, God hath subdued his Enemies under him, without military Engagements, as hath been demonstrated by his † Victory over the Tyrant † *Johannes*, and [shall be made evident] from the Destruction of the || *Barbarians*, which succeeded that soon after. For what manner of assistances have been given by God to Just Men heretofore, such like have even in our times been bestow'd on the most Pious Emperor, by the God of the Universe. Nor do I write this out of flattery, but I will give a Narrative of Affairs (which all Men have been throughly acquainted with,) as they truly are.

* That is, *Theodosius.*

(*a*) The discourse will be more graceful and Emphatical, if we add a Particle thus, καὶ καθάπερ, &c. *And what is recorded,* &c. and so make this the beginning of a period. Thus *Nicephorus* reads it. *Vales.*

* Numb. 12. 3.

† See Book 7. chap. 23.

|| *See the following chapter.*

CHAP. XLIII.

How great Calamities those Barbarians *underwent who had been the Tyrant* Johannes's Auxiliaries.

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

FOr after the Slaughter of the Tyrant, those *Barbarians* whom he had called to his assistance against the *Romans*, made preparations to over-run [and ruin] the *Roman* * Provinces. When the Emperor heard of it, according as his usage was, he committed the care of this affair to God: and having been earnest in Prayers, not long after obtain'd what he desired. Further, it will be advantagious, to hear what [Calamities] befel the *Barbarians*. Their Commander in chief, whose name was (*a*) *Rougas*, is killed by a clap of Thunder. Then follow'd a Plague, which destroy'd most of the Men under his command. Nor was this only sufficient; but Fire also descended from Heaven, and consumed many of those who remained. And this put the *Barbarians* into the greatest terror imaginable, not so much because they had dared to take up Arms against the valiant Nation of the *Romans*; as in regard they found them assisted by a powerful God. Moreover, *Proclus* the Bishop preach'd a Sermon at that time in the Church, wherein he applied a Procephy [taken] out of *Ezechiel* to the deliverance effected by God at that juncture; [for which discourse] he was greatly admired. The Prophecy runs thus: *And thou son of man, propheſie against* (*b*) Prince Gog, Rhos, Misoch *and* Thobell. *For I will judge him with death, and with bloud, and with an overflowing rain, and with stones of hail. And I will rain Fire and Brimstone upon him, and upon all those with him, and upon many Nations* [*which are*] *with him. And I will be magnified and glorified, and I will be known in the eyes of many Nations. And they shall know that I am the Lord.* On account thereof therefore, as I have said, *Proclus* was much admired. But on the Emperor, because of his meekness, many other [Blessings] were conferred by Divine Providence. Amongst which this was one, [which I will now relate.]

* Πράγματα, *affairs.*

(*a*) In *Priscus's History of the Goths*, the King of the *Hunni* is termed *Rouas*, who was succeeded by *Attalas*. In *Jordanes* he is call'd *Roäs*, the Brother of *Octar* and *Mundiuchus*, the Uncle of *Attalas*. *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Translator, calls him *Roïlas*, for what reason I know not: For in *Nicephorus* 'tis *Rougas*, as well as here in *Socrates*. Vales.

(*b*) See Ezech. 38. ver. 2, 22, & 23. In the *Septuagint Version*, at v. 2. the words are ἄρχοντα ῥὼς *Prince Rhos.* But the term ῥὼς is wanting in the *vulgar Translation*, instead whereof *Hieronymus* has rendred it thus, *Principem capitis Mosoch, Prince of the chief of Mosoch.* Wherefore, what *Langus* remarks here concerning the *Russi*, is in my Judgment foreign to this place. *Vales.* In the *Hebrew*, the Words of this Text are נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ which in the *margin* of our *English Version* is render'd exactly, thus, *Prince of the chief of Meshech. Socrates* quotes this whole Text out of *Ezechiel*, in the Words of the *Septuagint Version*, and we have translated them accordingly. The difference between the *Greek Version* and *Original Hebrew* at this Text is great. Our *English Translators* (as they generally do, so here) follow the *Hebrew.*

CHAP. XLIV.

That the Emperor Valentinianus Junior *married* Eudoxia *the Daughter of* Theodosius.

HE had a Daughter by his Wife *Eudocia*, her name *Eudoxia*. His * Cousin German *Valentinianus*, whom he had made Emperor of the Western Parts, desired he might marry this [Princess.] To which when the Empe-

* See Book 7. chap. 24.

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.* Emperor *Theodosius* had given his consent, and both the *Augusti* (after they had deliberated about celebrating the marriage at some place on the Frontiers of both Empires,) had resolved each to make a journey half way, and do it at *Thessalonica*: *Valentinianus* sends *Theodosius* intimation by Letter, that he should not give himself that trouble: for, that he would come in person to *Constantinople*. Having therefore secured the Western parts [with a sufficient guard,] he comes to *Constantinople* on account of the marriage. Which having been celebrated in the Consulate of (*a*) *Isidorus* and *Senator*, he took his Wife, and returned into the western parts. Such a felicity as this befel the Emperor at that time.

(*a*) These persons were *Consuls* on the year of *Christ* 436.

But *Prosper*, *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*, and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, disagree from *Socrates*. For those Authors relate, that this marriage was celebrated on the year following, whereon *Aëtius* bore his second Consulate with *Sigisvultus*, in the month of *November*. The same is confirmed by *Jordanes* in *his Book de successione Regnorum*; where, after he has spoken concerning the Whoredom committed by *Honoria* with her *Procurator Eugenius*, which was done in the Consulate of *Areobindus* and *Aspar*, on the year of *Christ* 434. He adds these words; *Posthæc tertio anno Valentinianus, &c. On the third year after this the Emperor* Valentinianus *comes from* Rome *to* Constantinople, *in order to his marrying* Eudoxia *daughter to the Emperor* Theodosius: *and having given all* Illyria *as a Gratuity to his Father-in law, after the Celebration of the Marriage, he returned with his Wife to his own Kingdoms.* *Cassiodorus Senator* attests the same concerning the Donation of the *Western Illyricum* (Book 11. *variarum*, Epist. 1. pag. 684. *Edit. Aurel. Allobrog.* 1622.) in these words: *Placidiam mundi opinione celebratam, avorum* [or, *principum*, or, *aliquorum*, as 'tis in some Copies,] *Prosapia gloriosam purpurato filio studuisse percepimus; cujus dum remisse administrat Imperium, indecenter cognoscitur imminutum. Nurum denique sibi amissione Illyrici comparavit, factaque est conjunctio regnantis, divisio dolenda provinciis.* Vales.

CHAP. XLV.

That Proclus *the Bishop perswaded the Emperor to translate the Body of* Johannes *from the place of his Exile* [*where he had been buried,*] *to* Constantinople, *and to deposite it in the Church of* The Apostles.

* He means those termed the *Johannitæ*. See Book 6. ch. 18. † Or, *by prudence.*

NOt long after this time, *Proclus* the Bishop reduc'd * those [to the Church] who had made a separation [from it] on account of Bishop *Johannes*'s deposition; having mitigated their disgust by a † prudent expedient. What that was, we must now relate. After he had perswaded the Emperor [to give his consent thereto,] he brought the body of *Johannes*, which had been buried at *Comani*, to *Constantinople*, on the thirty fifth year after his deposition. And when he had carried it through the City publickly, in great pomp and state, he deposited it with much honour and solemnity in that termed the Church of *The Apostles*. Those persons therefore who had made a separation on *Johannes*'s account, were by this means prevailed upon, and became united to the Church. And this hapned in the sixteenth Consulate of the Emperor *Theodosius*, about the twenty seventh of *January*. But I cannot forbear wondring here, how [it came to pass,] that Envy should assail and corrode *Origen* after he was dead, and yet spare *Johannes*. For *Origen* was excommunicated by *Theophilus* about two hundred years after his death. But *Johannes* was admitted to communion by *Proclus*, on the thirty fifth year after he died. So great was the difference between *Proclus*'s disposition, and that of *Theophilus*. But prudent Men are not ignorant, (*a*) in what manner these things have been, and daily are, done. *Theod.* Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

(*a*) By these words *Socrates* does plainly discover his Opinion. For he would say, that these things are usually done through envy, or out of favour. For because *Origen* was condemned by *Theophilus*, so many years after his death; that *Socrates* ascribes to *Theophilus*'s envy towards *Origen* himself, or against those termed the *Long Monks*. And whereas *John Chrysostome* was brought back with honour into his own Country, on the thirty fifth year after his death; that *Socrates* attributes to the love and benevolence of *Proclus* and the people of *Constantinople*. But I am not of *Socrates*'s opinion: For although in affairs of this nature, the affections of Men have some effect; yet Divine Justice and Providence, whereby the Church is governed, does always over-rule. *Origen* therefore was condemned for his heterodox Opinions; and *John Chrysostome*, being consecrated for his Integrity of Life and Doctrine, continues in the Church to this very day. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning the Death of Paulus *Bishop of the* Novatianists, *and concerning* Marcianus *who was his Successor.*

SOme little time after the removal of *Johannes*'s body, died *Paulus* also, Bishop of the *Novatianists*, in the same Consulate, about the twenty first day of *July*: Who at his own Funeral reduced all the disagreeing Heresies into one Church in a manner: For they all accompanied his body to the * Grave with singing of Psalms: because whilst he lived, all [Sects] loved him exceedingly for his † Sanctity of life. But because the same *Paulus* performed a memorable action just before his death, I judge it useful to insert it into this History, for their advantage who shall peruse this Work. For, that during his sickness he observ'd his usual *Ascetick* [discipline as to his] diet, and transgressed not in the least [the rules] thereof; and, that he never omitted performing the [usual] prayers with a fervency; [all this] I think fit to leave unmention'd; lest by spending time in giving a narrative hereof, I should obscure that memorable and most useful action (as I have said) which he performed. What that is, must now be declared. Being near dying, he sent for all the Presbyters belonging to the Churches under him, to whom he expresst himself thus: *Take care about electing a Bishop* [*over your selves*] *whilst I am alive; lest afterwards your Churches be disturbed.* When they made answer, that the election of a Bishop was not to be left to them: *for in regard* [said they] *some of us have one Sentiment, others another, we shall never nominate the same person: But we wish, that you your self would name that Man whom you desire* [*to be your Successor.*] To which *Paulus* made this return: *Deliver me then this Profession of yours in writing* [*to wit,*] *that you will elect him whom I shall appoint to be chosen.* When they had done that, and confirmed it by their subscriptions, (*a*) he sat on his bed, and (without discovering it to those who were present, wrote *Marcianus*'s name in the paper. This Person had been promoted to the *Presbyterate*, and likewise had been instructed in an *Ascetick* course of life under *Paulus*: but was then gone to travel. After this he sealed up the

* Or, *Tomb.*

† Or, *Rectitude.*

(*a*) Ἀναλαβόντας τῆς κλίνης. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ὑπερκαθίσας, *he sate upon*; in which Author these Words are added καὶ χάρτιον λαβών, *and having taken the Paper*: which seem altogether necessary. *Vales.*

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

the Paper himſelf, and cauſed the chief of the Presbyters to ſeal it up alſo, and then deliver'd it to one *Marcus*, (who was Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* in *Scythia*, but had at that time made a journey to *Conſtantinople*;) to whom he ſpake theſe words: *If God ſhall permit me to continue much longer in this life, reſtore this* * Depoſitum *to me* [*now*] *committed to your truſt to be kept ſafely. But, if it ſhall pleaſe him to remove me out of this World, in this Paper you will find whom I have elected to be my Succeſſor in the Biſhoprick.* When he had ſpoken theſe words, he died. On the third day therefore after his death, when they had unſealed the Paper in the preſence of a great multitude, and found *Marcianus*'s name therein, they all cried out that he was a worthy and fit Perſon. And without delay they diſpatch'd away ſome Meſſengers who might ſeize him. They took him by a pious fraud at his Reſidence in *Tiberiopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia*; from whence they brought him along with them, and about the twenty firſt (*b*) of the ſame Month ordained, and placed him in the Epiſcopal Chair. But enough concerning theſe things.

* This Pledge, or, Gage.

(*b*) Altho' our M.S. Copies alter not the reading here; yet I agree with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil*, who have mended it thus. [*of the month Auguſt.*] Doubtleſs, in regard *Paulus* Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* died on the twenty firſt of *July*, and the Paper wherein he had named *Marcianus* to be his Succeſſor, was unſealed three days after his death, as *Socrates* has told us before; 'tis not to be ſuppoſed, that *Marcianus* could be ordained Biſhop on the twenty firſt *of the ſame month*, to wit, *July*; in regard he abſconded in *Tiberiopolis* a City of *Phrygia*: from whence he was to be brought to *Conſtantinople*, that he might be there conſtituted Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLVII.

That the Emperor Theodoſius *ſent his Wife* Eudocia *to* Jeruſalem.

MOreover, the Emperor *Theodoſius* offer'd up his Thankſgivings to God for the Benefits which he had conferr'd upon him. And this he performed, by honouring *Chriſt* with ſingular and eminent Honours. He likewiſe ſent his Wife *Eudocia* to *Jeruſalem* (*a*) For ſhe had obliged her ſelf alſo to a performance of this Vow, if ſhe might ſee her Daughter married. But the Empreſs herſelf alſo * beautified the Churches at *Jeruſalem*, and all thoſe in the Eaſtern Cities, with various Ornaments, both when ſhe went thither, and likewiſe at her return.

(*a*) Inſtead of [ᾧ χ̀ αὐτὴ ταύτην ἐυχὴν, &c. *For he had obliged himſelf to a performance*, &c.] I doubt not but it ſhould be [ᾧ χ̀ αὐτὴ, *for ſhe had obliged her ſelf*;] that is, *Eudocia*. Thus *Epiphan. Scholaſticus* read, as appears from his Verſion; which is thus, *Hoc enim & ipſa votum habuerat, ſi filiam videret nuptam, For ſhe her ſelf alſo had* [*made*] *this vow, if ſhe might ſee her Daughter married.* Valeſ.

* Or, *honour'd.*

Theod. Jun. and *Valentinianus.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

Concerning Thalaſſius *Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia.

ABout that very time, to wit, in *Theodoſius*'s ſeventeenth Conſulate, *Proclus* the Biſhop attempted a wonderful thing, the like to which has not been performed by any of the Ancient Biſhops. For *Firmus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* being dead, the *Cæſareans* came [to *Conſtantinople*,] and requeſted they might have a Biſhop. And whileſt *Proclus* was conſidering whom he ſhould prefer to that See, it hapned that all the Senators came to the Church on the Sabbath, to give him a viſit, amongſt whom was (*a*) *Thalaſſius* alſo, a perſonage who had born a *Præfecture* over the Provinces and Cities of *Illyricum*. But [though] (as it was reported) he had been the Perſon pitch'd upon who was about to have the Government of the *Eaſtern* parts committed to his care by the Emperor; [yet] *Proclus* laid his Hands on him, and inſtead of his being conſtituted a *Præfectus Prætorio*, made him Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. Thus ſucceſsful and proſperous were the Affairs of the Church. But I will here cloſe my Hiſtory, with my Prayers [to God,] that the Churches in all places, the Cities, and Provinces may live in peace. For, as long as peace flouriſhes, thoſe that are deſirous to do it, will have no ſubject for their writing an Hiſtory. For we our ſelves (who have perform'd what you enjoyn'd us in Seven Books, O Sacred Man of God, *Theodorus!*) ſhould have wanted matter for this our Hiſtory, if the Lovers of Seditions and Tumults would have been quiet. This Seventh Book contains [an account of Affairs tranſacted during] the ſpace of two and thirty years. The whole Hiſtory, which is comprized in Seven Books, contains the ſpace of an hundred and forty years. It begins from the firſt year of the two hundredth ſeventy firſt *Olympiad*, wherein *Conſtantine* was proclaimed Emperor; and ends at the ſecond year of the three hundredth and fifth *Olympiad*, whereon the Emperor *Theodoſius* bore his ſeventeenth Conſulate.

(*a*) This is the *Thalaſſius*, or *Thalaſſus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, to whom *The one Law* (*Tit. 6. Legum Novellarum Theodoſii Junioris*) was directed, which is dated at *Conſtantinople*, on the *third of the Ides of Auguſt*, in *Theodoſius*'s ſeventeenth Conſulate which he bore with *Feſtus*. After this Day therefore, on this very Year, *Thalaſſius* was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea* by *Proclus*.

Which action of *Proclus*'s *Socrates* does not without cauſe wonder at, as new, and not practiſed by former Biſhops. *Nectarius* indeed, when he was *Prætor* of *Conſtantinople*, had been created Biſhop of that City. But, the Emperor's conſent had been firſt obtain'd, as *Socrates* has told us before. But here *Proclus*, meerly by his own impulſe, laid his Hands on a *Præfectus Prætorio*, who by the Emperor had been deſign'd to the Government of the *Oriental Præfecture*. Notwithſtanding, it is to be underſtood, that the Emperor's conſent was afterwards obtained, who approved of what *Proclus* had done. But, in promoting inferior Magiſtrates to Eccleſiaſtick Degrees, the Prince's conſent was in no wiſe neceſſary. For the *Præfectus Prætorio*'s approbation was ſufficient, under whoſe diſpoſe the Preſidents of Provinces were. We have an eminent inſtance hereof in the *Life of* St. *Germanus Altiſſiodorenſis*, which was written by *Conſtantius Preſbyter*. Which *Germanus* being Preſident of a Province, and *Amator* Biſhop of *Altiſſiodorum* [a City in *France*, now call'd *Auxerre*] having a mind to appoint him his Succeſſor; *Amator* procur'd the conſent of *Julius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Gallia*'s, before he attempted to do that; as 'tis related in Book 1. chap. 3. *concerning the Life of* St. *Germanus*. Further, this *Thalaſſius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* was preſent at the *falſe Synod* at *Epheſus* [convened] againſt *Flavianus*, as we are inform'd from the *Acts of the ſaid Synod*, which are recorded in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Council*. Valeſ.

The End of *Socrates Scholaſticus's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.*

THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

Evagrius Scholasticus

EPIPHANIENSIS,

(And [One] of the EX-PRÆFECTS,)

IN SIX BOOKS.

Translated out of the GREEK, according to that Edition set forth by VALESIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1673.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the said Historian; which are done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annexed an Account of the foresaid *Historian*'s *Life*, and *Ecclesiastick History*, Collected by VALESIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.

LONDON:

Printed by *J. M.* for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row.* M DCC VIII.

OF

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

VALESIUS'S ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, AND Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, OF

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienſis.

Evagrius Scholaſticus was by Nation a *Syrian*, as was alſo † *Theodoret*: Born at *Epipania* (which was a City of *Syria Secunda*;) as he himſelf has declared in the Title of his own Work. Thererefore I wonder at *Gerardus Voſſius*, who (in *his Book de Hiſtoricis Græcis*, pag. 498,) relates that *Evagrius* was born at *Antioch*. But *Evagrius* himſelf, (both in the *Title of his Hiſtory*, and alſo in *his Third Book*, Chap. 34,) does expreſsly atteſt that he was born at *Epiphania*. For, ſpeaking there concerning *Coſmas* Biſhop of *Epiphania*, his Words are theſe; Κοσμᾶς τὴν ἡμέτεραν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἣ τὸν ὀρόντην συνοικον ἔχει, &c. *Coſmas Biſhop of our Epiphania, in the Vicinage whereof runs the* [*River*] *Orontes*, &c. Beſides, *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca*, chap. 29,] affirms that *Evagrius* was born in *Epiphania*, a City of *Syria-Cœle*. But, which is ſtrange, *Nicephorus Calliſtus* does in two places term our *Evagrius* (not *Epiphanienſis*, but) Ἐπιφανῆ, that is *Illuſtrious*. For, in *Nicephorus's Firſt Book*, chap. 1. the words are theſe; ὅθεν ἡμῖν Εὐάγριος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς, &c. *Moreover*, Evagrius *the Illuſtrious*, &c. And, in Book 16. Chap. 31; *Nicephorus* quoting a paſſage of *Evagrius*, out of *his Third Book*, Chap. 34. (which paſſage I have juſt now mentioned) expreſſes himſelf thus, οἷα δὲ καὶ Εὐάγριος ὁ Ἐπιφανὴς περὶ σεβήρου ἱστόρησεν, *Moreover, in like manner as* Evagrius *the Illuſtrious has related concerning* Severus. But my Sentiment is, that Tranſcribers have miſtook at both thoſe places, and have written Ἐπιφανὴς [*Illuſtrious*] inſtead of Ἐπιφανεύς [*Epiphanienſis.*] Doubtleſs, *Nicephorus* might have been evidently inform'd, from *Evagrius*'s own Words which he there produces, (which we have alſo quoted above,) that *Evagrius* had been born at *Epiphania*. Further, *Evagrius* was born in the Reign of *Juſtinianus Auguſtus*, on the Year of Our Lord 536, or 537, as I have demonſtrated from *Evagrius*'s own Teſtimony, in *my* † *Notes on Book* 4. *Chap.* 29. *of his Hiſtory*. On the Year of *Chriſt* 540, his Parents committed him to the care of a *School-Maſter*, that he might learn *the Letters*. At which time (when *Thomas* Biſhop of *Apamia* had given notice to the Neighbouring Cities, that on a ſet Day he ſhould ſhow the enlivening Wood of the Croſs, which was kept at *Apamia*;) *Evagrius* was lead to that City by his Parents, and with his own Eyes ſaw that Miracle, which was then perform'd in the Church; as himſelf atteſts

† He was Biſhop of *Cyrus*; and ſet about writing *an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* (which *Valeſius* has publiſh'd with the other *Greek Hiſtorians of the Church*) towards the latter end of *Theodoſius Junior's* Reign, at the ſame time that *Socrates* and *Sozomen* wrote theirs. He beganwhere they did, (to wit, from thoſe times whereat *Euſebius* cloſed *his Hiſtory*;) and ended with them; *viz.* at the latter end of *Theodoſius Junior's* Empire. 'Tis more than probable, that he wrote after *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. For (1) all the Ancients were of this Opinion. (2) He that reads *his Hiſtory*, will find it nothing elſe but a Supplement of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* their Hiſtories. (3) *Theodoret* himſelf, in the *firſt Chapter of the firſt Book of his Hiſtory*, ſays theſe Words: τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστείας τὰ λειπόμενα συγγράψαι πρόσομαι, *I will attempt to commit to writing the Remains of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.* (4) Laſtly, He publiſhed *his Hiſtory* after the Year of Chriſt 448. (as *Valeſius* demonſtrates in *his Preface before his Hiſtory*;) whereas *Socrates* and *Sozomen* had finiſhed their Hiſtories on *the Seventeenth Conſulate of Theodoſius Jun.* that is, in the Year of Chriſt 439. He is moſt particular in his Account of the Affairs of the *Eaſtern Church*, in regard he liv'd there. *His Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory* are but *five in number* (as he himſelf intimates at the cloſe of *his fifth Book*;) wherein he comprehends the Affairs tranſacted in the Church, during the ſpace of 105 Years.

† See *Evagrius's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, Book 4. chap. 29. Note (*f.*)

teſts in *his Fourth Book*, Chap. 26. Now, this hapned on the Year of *Chriſt* 540; when the *Perſians*, having made an irruption into *Syria*, had burnt *Antioch*: which was done in *Juſtinus Junior's Conſulate*, as we are informed by *Marcellinus Comes*, and *Marius* in *his Chronicon*. Two years after this, when † *The Lues Inguinaria* began to rage in the *Eaſt*, *Evagrius* was as yet under a School-Maſter, learning *the Letters*, and was ſeiz'd by *that Peſtilence*, as he himſelf atteſts, Book 4. chap 29. Having afterwards left the Schools of the *Grammarians*, he betook himſelf to the Study of *Rhetorick*. And when he had made a great proficiency in *that Art*, he was regiſtred * amongſt the company of *Advocates*. Whence he got the Appellation of *Scholaſticus*: which term ſignifies *a Lawyer*, as *Macarius* informs us in *his fifteenth Homily*, in theſe Words: † *He that deſires to have a knowledge in* Forenſian Caſes, *goes and learns the* Notes [Letters, *or*, Abbreviatures.] *And when he has been the firſt there, he goes to the School of the* Romans, *where he is the laſt of all. Again, when he comes to be the firſt there, he goes away to the School of the* Pragmatici [*or*, Practicants] *where he is again the laſt of all, and* Arcarius [*or*, Novice.] *Then, when he is made* a Scholaſticus, *he is* Novice, *and the laſt of all the* Lawyers. *Again, when he comes to be the firſt there, then he is made a* Preſident [*or* Governour *of a* Province.] *And when he is made a* Governour, *He takes to himſelf an* Aſſiſtant [Councellor] *or* Aſſeſſor. In *Macarius's Greek Text*, I have mended it thus, ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πραγμάτα, *he that deſires to have a knowledge in Forenſian Caſes*; not as 'tis in the common reading, ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν γράμματα, *he that deſires to have a knowledge in Letters*. Further, in what City *Evagrius* practiſed the Law, 'tis uncertain. Notwithſtanding, my conjecture is, that he pleaded Cauſes at *Antioch*: in which City there were three *Fora* [that is *Courts of Judicature*] or *Tribunals*; and as many *Schools of Advocates*, as I have obſerv'd from *Libanius*, in my Notes on *Evagrius*, Book 1. * chap. 18. 'Tis certain, he could not be an *Advocate* at *Epiphania*, (which, as we have declared already, was the place of his Nativity;) in regard that City had no *Judiciary Forum*, but brought its Cauſes to *Apamia*, in which City the *Conſularis* of *Syria Secunda* held a Court of Judicature. But, for my believing *Evagrius* to have been an *Advocate* at *Antioch*, rather than at *Apamia*, this is my chief Reaſon; becauſe he was moſtly converſant in that City, where he married a Wife alſo, and begat Sons of her. He married a Daughter likewiſe in that City, as himſelf atteſts in his *Fourth Book*, chap. 29. And after ſhe, together with her Son, had ended her Life by the Peſtilential diſeaſe, on the 10*th* year of *Mauricius*; *Evagrius*, depriv'd of his Wife and Children, remarried, and took to Wife a young Virgin in that City, as he relates *B.6. ch.*8. Where he atteſts alſo, that the whole City kept holiday on that account, and celebrated a publick Feſtivity, * both in *Pompous Shows*, and alſo about his marriage-bed. Whence 'tis by the way apparent, how great his authority was at *Antioch*. Moreover, he wrote *his Hiſtory* at *Antioch*, as may be Collected from *the twentieth* * *chapter* of *his Firſt Book*. Where ſpeaking concerning the *Empreſs Eudocia's Jeruſalem-journey*, he ſays, ſhe came to *Antioch*: ἡ χρόνοις ὕστερον ὅτε τὴν ἀγίαν ἐπεφοίτα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλιν, ἐνταῦθα πε γίνεται, that is, *a long time afterwards, in her journey which ſhe made to the Holy City of Chriſt our God, ſhe* [*Eudocia*] *comes hither*, (to wit, *to Antioch.*) *Evagrius* therefore liv'd at *Antioch* when he wrote this Hiſtory. Hence 'tis that *Evagrius* is ſo diligent in recounting the *Works* and *Publick Edifices* of the City *Antioch*; as may be ſeen in *his Firſt Book*, chap. 18, and in *his Third Book*, chap. 28. At which places he does not obſcurely intimate, that he liv'd at *Antioch*, whileſt he wrote theſe things. Hence 'tis alſo, that he mentions with ſo much care and diligence, the Earth quakes, wherewith *Antioch* was now and then ſhaken: and that in the *Notation* of the times he always makes uſe of the *Antiochian* Years. Laſtly, this may be Collected from the *ſeventh chapter* of *his Sixth Book*, where he relates, that *Gregorius Patriarch* of *Antioch* (having been accuſed of *Inceſt*, before *Johannes*, *Comes* of the *Eaſt*, by a Silver-ſmith,) appealed to the Emperor, and to a Synod. And when he went to *Conſtantinople*, in order to the proſecution of his his Cauſe before the Emperor and Synod, he took *Evagrius* along with him, as his *Aſſeſſor* and Councellor, that he might make uſe of his advice. By which Words *Evagrius* does plainly enough declare himſelf to have been an *Advocate* and a Lawyer. For *Aſſeſſors* were wont to be taken out of their Body, as well by the *Civil* as *Military* Magiſtrates. Nor was *Evagrius* Councellor to *Gregorius* in this criminal Affair only, but in other Cauſes alſo. For in regard *Gregorius* was *Patriarch* of the *Oriential* Church, and * could not but have the Examination of many Cauſes every Day, he muſt neceſſarily ſtand in need of ſome *Aſſeſſor*, who might ſuggeſt to him the *Forms of Right* and of the Laws. Indeed, *Evagrius*'s Words do fully declare what I have ſaid. For he ſaith; † Περὶ τούτων μοὶ ἓν ἐμοῦ παρεδρεύοντος καὶ παρόντος γε αὐτῷ, κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἔφοδον, τῶν ἀπολογίαν ὑφέξων, *Having me therefore his Aſſeſſor and Companion, he went to the Emperor's* [*City, Conſtantinople,*] *in order to the making his defence againſt theſe* [*Accuſations.*] But let the Studious determine concerning this Matter, according to their own arbitrement. 'Tis ſufficient for me, to have propoſed my Conjecture to the Readers. Further, the ſame *Gregorius* made uſe of *Evagrius*'s Judgment, not only in *Judiciary proceedings*, but in writing *Letters* alſo, and *Relations*, which he now and then ſent to the Emperor; in *his Sermons* likewiſe and *Orations*; as *Evagrius* atteſts at the * *cloſe of his Hiſtory*. Which † Volume when *Evagrius* had publiſhed, not

† *The Plague in the Groyn.*

* Or, *in the number.*

† Ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν πράγματα, ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ μανθάνει τὰ σημεῖα· καὶ ὅταν γένηται ἐκεῖ πρῶτος, ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν χολὴν τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν, καὶ ἔστιν ὅλων ἔσχατος. πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅταν γένῃ πρῶτος, ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὴν χολὴν τῶν πραγματικῶν, καὶ ἔστι πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅλων ἔσχατος, ἀρχάριος· εἶτα ὅταν γένῃ χολαστικὸς, ὅλων τῶν δικολόγων ἀρχάριος καὶ ἔσχατος ἔστι· πάλιν ὅταν ἐκεῖ γένῃ πρῶτος, τότε γίνεται ἡγεμών. Καὶ ὅταν γένῃ ἄρχων, λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ βοηθὸν τὸν συνκάθεδρον.

Valeſius quotes this paſſage out of *Macarius*, in *his Notes* on *Socrates*, book 6. chap. 6. Note (*f.*)

* See *Note* (*b*) in *that chapter.*

* *Tum in Pompa, tum in Pomp.*

* See *note* (*b*) in *that chapter.*

* Or, *ought to have*, &c.

† See *Evagrius* book 6. chap. 7.

* See *Evagrius* book 6. chap. 24.

† That is, the Volume of *Relations, Letters*, &c.

not without the consent of *Gregorius* the *Patriarch*, in the Reign of *Tiberius Constantinus*; he had the Dignity of a *Quæstorius* bestow'd upon him by the same Emperor. And not long after, when he had made *an Oration concerning the Praises of* Mauricius Augustus, *on account of the Birth of the most noble Child* Theodosius, he receiv'd the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture* from the same *Mauricius*; as he himself attests *at the close of his History*. *Evagrius*'s Words there are thus translated by *Christophorson*: *Pro quibus duos honoris gradus consecuti sumus: Quæsturam à* Tiberio Constantino, *& munus Tabularum servandarum, in quibus Præfectorum nomina inscribebantur, à* Mauricio Tiberio: *For which we have obtained two Degrees of Honour: A Quæsture of* Tiberius Constantinus, *and the Office of keeping the Tables, wherein the Names of the Præfects were inscribed, of* Mauricius Tiberius. Which ill Rendition deceived *Gerardus Vossius* and *Philippus Labbæus*. For *Vossius* (in *his* * *Book de Historicis Græcis*,) treading in *Christophorson*'s steps, says thus: *Pro duobus autem hisce Libris ait gemino se honore esse affectum. Nam à* Tiberio Constantino *Quæsturâ fuisse ornatum: Sed à* Mauricio *consecutum esse, ut Tabulis publicis præesset: Now, for these two Books, he says, he had a double Honour conferred on himself. For he was honoured* [*as he saith*] *with a Quæsture by* Tiberius Constantinus: *And, that he obtained of* Mauricius, *the having the charge of the publick Tables.* But *Philippus Labbæus* (in *his Dissertation de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*,) hath † *interpolated* Christophorson's *Version* after this manner: *Seque duos honoris gradus ait consecutum: & primùm à* Tiberio Constantino *ad Quæsturam evectum; tum à* Mauricio *munus adeptum servandarum Tabularum, in quibus non tàm nomina, quàm ipsa Præfectorum acta inscribebantur: And he says that he himself obtained two Degrees of Honour: And in the first place, that he was preferred to a Quæsture by* Tiberius Constantinus; *and secondly, That he procured of* Mauricius *the Office of keeping the publick Tables, wherein not only the Names, but the Acts of the Præfects were inscrib'd.* *Musculus* has done much better, who hath render'd the Passage in *Evagrius* thus: *Quarum etiam Gratiâ duas dignitates sumus consecuti: à* Tiberio Constantino *Quæstoratum largiente,* Mauricio *verò* Tiberio *Literas Hyparchicas mittente, on account of which* [*Volume of Relations, Letters,* &c.] *we have obtained two Dignities:* [*one*] *from* Tiberius Constantinus, *who gave us a Quæstorate; and* [*another*] *from* Mauricius Tiberius, *who sent us his Hyparchicall Letters.* He would have said, *The Codicills of a Præfecture*, which the *Latines* term * *Letters* also, as I have long since observ'd in *my Notes on Ammianus Marcellinus*. Hence 'tis, that in the Title of *his History*, *Evagrius* terms himself ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, [*one*] *of the Ex-Præfects*, because *he had been rewarded with the Codicills of an honorary Præfecture by the Emperour.* After this, the same *Evagrius* published *Six Books of Ecclesiastick History*, beginning from those times wherein *Theodoret* and *Socrates* had closed their Histories; that is, from the *Ephesine Synod*, wherein *Nestorius* was condemned and deposed: to wit, from the Year of *Christ* 431. And he has continued *his History* to the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Mauricius*, which was the Year of *our Lord* 594. In *his Third Book*, at Chap. 33, speaking concerning *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch*, he says that at such time as he wrote these Things it was the *Six hundredth forty first year of the Antiochians*. In regard therefore the *Antiochian-Hera* precedes *that of our Saviour's Nativity* forty eight Years; if from the number 641 we substract 48 Years, it will be the Year of Christ 594. The same may also be Collected from Book 4. Chap. 29. where *Evagrius* writes, that whilest he penned this History, *that Plague in the Groyne*, which had almost wholly destroy'd the whole World, had already rag'd two and fifty Years. Now, this Plague began to rage two Years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*, that is, in the Year of Christ 542. To which number of Years if you add 52, it will be made *the Year of Christ* 594. Further, *Evagrius*'s diligence is chiefly to be commended, because, undertaking to write *an Ecclesiastick History*, he made a Collection of whatever was pertinent to that Subject, out of the best Writers, to wit, *Priscus*, *Johannes*, *Zacharias*, *Eustathius*, and *Procopius* [who were all] *Rhetoricians*. His Style likewise is not to be found fault with. For it has as a Beauty and Elegancy; as *Photius* does also attest. But the chief thing commendable in *Evagrius* is, that of all the *Greek Writers of Ecclesiastick History*, he is the only Person, who has kept the Doctrine of the true Faith intire and undefiled; as (after *Photius*) *Baronius* has observ'd in *his Annals*. Notwithstanding, he deserves Reproof for this, *viz.* because he has not used so much diligence in searching out the Monuments of *Ecclesiastick Antiquity*, as in reading *Profane Writers*. Indeed, almost the whole *Sixth Book* is spent in a *Narrative* of the *Persian War*. Besides, his Style in many places is *Redundant* and *Luxuriant*, as *Photius* has truly remark'd in *his Bibliotheca*. An Instance of which *superfluity of Expression* you have in Book 1. Chap. 2. where he speaks concerning *Nestorius* after this manner: Ἡ θεομαχῶσα γλῶσσα, τὸ καϊάφα δεύτερον συνέδριον, &c. *that Tongue full of Hostility against God, that second Sanhedrim of Caiphas*, &c. and, in Book 2. Chap. 3. where he describes S^t *Euphemia's Church*, which was at *Chalcedon*: The same *redundancy of Style*, the Studious Reader will of himself easily observe, in many other places.

Moreover, *R. Stephens* was the first Person that Printed *Evagrius's History in Greek*, from one only *Manuscript Copy* belonging to the *Kings Library*, *which Manuscript* is very new, and not extraordinary good. For in many places 'tis defective and imperfect. But we have mended and perfected *Evagrius*'s *History* in so many places, from *two Manuscript Copies* of the best note, that it may seem now to have been first publish'd. The first of *the Copies* was the *Florent. Manuscript*, [taken] out of S^t *Laurence's Library*, which the most famous *Michael Erminius* compared with the *Geneva Edition*, and sent me the *Various Readings* written out with his own Hand. On which account I profess my self very much

* Pag. 274. Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1651.

† *Repaired*, or, *put a new face upon.*

* Or, *Letters-Patents.*

obliged to him. This Manuscript is the best and ancientest of all the Copies of *Evagrius*. For 'tis written in Parchment, [and was transcribed] about five hundred Years since more or less, as I have been inform'd by one that saw it, *viz. Emericus Bigotius*, an excellent Scholar, and a Person who has deserved well of Learning: By whose Favour and Intervention I receiv'd the fore-mention'd *Various Readings*, sent by the most famous *Michael Erminius*. In the same *Florentine Manuscript*, some not unlearned *Scholia* were written in the Margin, which we have put into *our Annotations*, in their due places. But, the Reader is to take notice, that in this *Florentine Manuscript* is contain'd *Socrates Scholasticus's History* also, the various Readings whereof the same *Erminius* sent me long since, written out with his own Hand; as I have attested above four Years since, in *that Preface* I prefixt before *my Edition of Socrates* and *Sozomen*. The *second Manuscript Copy* was taken out of the Library of that *most Illustrious Prelate* Dionysius Tellerius, *Arch-Bishop* of *Rheims*: This is no very ancient Copy; but 'tis a good One, and transcrib'd by the Hand of a Learned Man. This Copy was of great use to us in many places, as we have now and then shewn in *our Annotations*.

THE

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanensis*, And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

The *Writers* Preface [wherein he declares] on what account he betook himself to the Writing of this present History.

EUSEBIUS *Surnamed* PAMPHILUS, *a Person both eminently Eloquent as to other things, and so powerful in his Writings also, that by his Perswasives he might be able (if not to render them* (a) *perfectly Orthodox, yet) to prevail upon his Readers so far as to embrace our* [*Sentiments:*] Eusebius *surnamed* Pamphilus [*I say,*] Sozomen, Theodoret, *and* Socrates, *in the best and most accurate manner have set forth in Writing, both the Advent of* [*our*] Compassionate God *amongst us, and* his Ascent *into the Heavens; and also those things which the Divine Apostles, and other Martyrs have couragiously performed in their Combats* [*in defence of the Faith;*] *Moreover, whatever else hath been transacted by those of our Religion, whether praise-worthy, or otherwise, till some* (b) *part of the Emperor* Theodosius's *Reign. But, in regard no Person hath hitherto given an orderly Narrative of the Transactions that hapned afterwards, which* [*notwithstanding*] *are not much inferior to them; I have resolved (though I am but little versed in such things,) to undertake this Work, and to compile an History of those Affairs; being very confident, that by his assistance, who infused Wisdom into Fishermen, and made the Tongue of a Brute utter an articulate Voice; I shall raise Affairs already buried in Oblivion, give Life to them by my Discourse, and render them immortal by an* [*eternal*] *Commemoration: to the end that every one of my Readers may know, what* [*has been done,*] *when, where, how, against whom, and by whom Affairs have been transacted, until our own times: And* [*to the end that*] *nothing worthy to be remembred, may lie concealed by a remiss and dissolute Sloth, and (which is its next Neighbour,) Oblivion. Divine Assistance therefore being my Guide, I will begin, where the Authors I have already mentioned, closed their History.*

(a) I like not *Christophorson's* Version, who has rendred Ἀλαν ἀκειδεῖς, *Perfectè Christianos, perfectly Christians.* I would rather render it *perfectly Orthodox.* For the followers of true opinions are properly termed ἀκειδεῖς. *Photius* (in *his Bibliotheca*) speaks thus concerning *Socrates Scholasticus*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν ὑ λίαν ἐστὶν ἀκειδής. *Moreover in his Sentiments he is not very Orthodox.* The meaning of this place therefore, is this: *Eusebius* (although he be very fit to perswade his Readers to embrace the Christian Religion, yet) is not able to make them very accurate in the Doctrine of the *Christian* Faith, in regard he himself seems to have inclined towards the opinion of the *Arians*. For, this was the Sentiment of many Persons concerning *Eusebius Pamphilus*; whom I have sufficiently answered, in *the Preface I have written to the same Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History.* Vales.

(b) The Word [μέρος, *part*] is wanting in *the Kings*, in the *Florentine*, and in the *Tellerian* M. SS. nor is it in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. The *Geneva-Printers* were the first that put in this Word, from *Christophorson's Copy*, the *Various Readings* whereof are extant at the end of the *Cologn-Edition*. *Christophorson* has expressed this Word in his Version. For thus he renders it: *Ad aliquam partem Regni Theodosii, to some part of Theodosius's Reign.* But it seems more elegant to me, to suppress, rather than add this Word. If a Word must be added, I had rather add χρόνου, *time.* Vales.

CHAP. I.

That, after the Destruction of the impious Julian, *when the Heresies had been a little quieted,* * *the Devil afterwards disturbed the Faith again.*

* Or, the wicked Devil.

WHen the impiety of *Julian* had now been drowned in the blood of the Martyrs, and *Arius*'s madness bound in the Fetters made at *Nicæa*; and when *Eunomius* and *Macedonius*, (a) driven away by the Holy Spirit [as it were

(a) Ἐκβαθέντων, *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil* have mended it thus, ἐκβιαθέντων, *compelled*, or, *rejected by force.* But, that reading it much better, which the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. give us, to wit, ἐκβεβαθέντων, *driven away —— as it were by an impetuous wind.* 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Shipwrack'd Persons who are driven away by the violence of a Storm. *Evagrius* compares the Holy Spirit to a wind, by the force whereof *Eunomius* and *Macedonius* being driven away, were at length Shipwrack'd at *Constantinople*, to wit, condemn'd in the *Constantinopolitan Synods*. Vales.

by an impetuous wind,] had been ſhipwrack'd about the *Boſphorus*, and at the ſacred City *Conſtantinople*: when the Holy Church having laid aſide her late filth, and recovering *her priſtine beauty and gracefulneſs, was cloathed † *in a veſture of gold wrought about with divers colours*, and made fit for her Lover and [Celeſtial] Bridegroom: the Devil, Virtue's enemy, unable to bear this, raiſes a new and ‖ unuſual kind of war againſt us; contemning the worſhip of Idols, which now lay trampled under foot, and abandoning *Arius*'s ſervile madneſs. He was indeed afraid of making an attack againſt [our] Faith, [openly] as an enemy, in regard it was fortified by ſo many and ſuch eminent Holy Fathers; and [becauſe] he had loſt many of his Forces in the Siege thereof. But he atttempts this buſineſs in ſuch a method [rather] as thieves make uſe of, by inventing certain Queſtions and Anſwers, whereby he in a new manner *perverted the erroneous to *Judaiſm*; the Wretch being inſenſible that he ſhould be foil'd † even this way. For, that one (*b*) term, which before he had made the ſharpeſt reſiſtance againſt, he now admires and embraces: rejoycing mightily (tho' he could not wholly *vanquiſh us, yet) that he was able to adulterate even but one word. Having therefore many times (*c*) wound up himſelf within his own malice, he (*d*) invented the change of one letter, which might indeed †lead to one and the ſame ſenſe, but notwithſtanding would ſeparate the underſtanding from the tongue; leſt with both they ſhould confeſs and glorifie God in a concordant and agreeable manner. Further, in what manner each of theſe things was perform'd, and what concluſion they had, I will declare in their due places and times. Whereto I will likewiſe add whatever elſe I could find worthy to be related, altho' it may ſeem foreign to my ſubject; [reſolving] (*e*) to cloſe my Hiſtory where it ſhall ſeem good to the compaſſionate and propitious Deity.

*Or, *being reſtored to her priſtine*, &c.

† See the *Septuagint Verſion*, at Pſalm 45. verſ. 9.

‖ Or, *monſtrous.*

* Or, *reduced.*

†Or, *even frombence.*

(*b*) He means *the term Homöouſios*, [that is, *Co eſſential.*] For the malignant Devil made his chiefeſt reſiſtance againſt this word, in regard it was the *Beeſom* as it were of all Hereſies, and the firmeſt fortreſs of the true Faith. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *remove.*

* Or, *draw.*

(*c*) Ἰλυσπῶμενος; a term uſed to denote the manner *how a ſerpent moves*; which is incomparably well expreſt by *Virgil*, in theſe words,

——— *Sinuatque immenſa volumine terga,*
And he winds up his vaſt Back in a Roll, or, *Volume.*

(*d*) Inſtead of [ἐπέχνωσε] I had rather make it [ἐτέχνασε;] as it is in the *Tellerian* MS. Further, 'tis very intricate, what word *Evagrius* ſhould mean here. The term *Homoiöuſios*, [that is, *of like ſubſtance*, or, *eſſence*] might indeed be meant. But, becauſe in this word there is *an addition* (rather than *a change*) of one Letter, [to wit, *of the Letter I*;] therefore *the Præpoſitions* [ἐξ, and ἐν,] that is, [*of*, and *in*] are rather to be meant: *which Præpoſitions* raiſed great Stirs and Commotions in the Church, on account of the *Eutychian Hereſie*; ſome affirming that Chriſt was to be adored, [as ſubſiſting] *of two natures*, others, [as ſubſiſting] *in two natures.* Valeſ.

(*e*) This place wants not difficulty. *Muſculus* renders it thus: *Ubi abſolutam hanc hiſtoriam benigno Deo commendavero, Where I ſhall have commended this compleated Hiſtory to the benign God.* But this rendition is not to be born with: Therefore *Chriſtophorſon* has tranſlated it otherwiſe, to wit, after this manner: *Ibique finem ſcribendi faciam, ubi Deo clementi ac propitio viſum fuerit, And there I will make an end of writing, where it ſhall ſeem good to the mild and propitious God.* But, neither does this tranſlation fully ſatisfie me: For, firſt, *Evagrius* ſays not, ἀποθησόμεθα, in the *future tenſe*, but ἀποτιθέμεθα, in the *preſent tenſe.* Secondly, I do not remember that I ever read this phraſe [ἀποτίθεσθαι τῷ ἱστορίᾳ] in ſuch a ſenſe as to import, *to finiſh an Hiſtory.* Ἀποτίθεσθαι ſignifies properly *recondere*, *to lay up*: whence ἀποθήκη imports *a repoſitory*, or, *ſtore-cellar for Wines.* It ſignifies alſo *to lay on the ground*, or, *depoſite in a monument.* *Heſychius* in his *Lexicon* renders ἀπόθετος by ὁ κείμενος, *he who lieth.* The ſame *Heſychius* ſays ἀποτίθεσθαι does ſignifie ἐκτίθεσθαι, *to expoſe*, or, *ſet forth. Which ſignification* is contrary to *the former.* For, *to hide*, and *to ſet forth*, or, *promulge*, are contrary the one to the other. I had rather therefore render this paſſage of *Evagrius* thus, *Hiſtoriam editurus, quando clementi placuerit Deo*, [*and*] *ſhall put forth my Hiſtory, when it ſhall pleaſe the gracious God.* Notwithſtanding, if any one ſhall prefer *Chriſtophorſon's Verſion*, I will not much reſiſt it. 'Tis certain, *Evagrius* (in the ſeventh Chapter of *his firſt Book*) uſes theſe words, τὸν βίον ἀπέθετο, ſo as to ſignifie, *he ended his life.* Nevertheleſs, in the thirteenth Chapter of *this Book*, *Evagrius* uſes this word in this ſenſe, *viz. to relate*, or, *ſet forth.* For thus he ſays, γέγραφε δὲ καὶ λογίως ἀπέθετο καὶ θεοδώρητος, &c. *Moreover*, Theodoret *alſo wrote, and elegantly ſet forth*, [or, *related*,] &c. And in the 11th Chapter of *this Book*, ἀπετέθη is uſed in the ſame ſenſe, inſtead of ἐξετέθη, *he ſet forth.* Alſo in the beginning of *his ſecond Book*, Evagrius *uſes* ἀποθώμεθα, inſtead of ἀνθώμεθα, *we will ſet forth.* Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

How Neſtorius *was detected by his Diſciple* Anaſtaſius, *who in* his Sermon, *term'd the Holy Mother of God, not* * Theotocos, *but* † Chriſtotocos: *for which reaſon* [Neſtorius] *was pronounced an Heretick.*

* That is, *the Woman who bore God.*

† That is, *the Woman who bore Chriſt.*

FOr as much as *Neſtorius* (that tongue full of hoſtility againſt God, that ſecond *Sanhedrim* of *Caïphas*; that ſhop of blaſphemy, wherein Chriſt is again (*a*) bargain'd for, and ſold; *his* natures being divided and torn in ſunder, of whom not one bone had been broken on the very Croſs it ſelf, according as it is written; nor had his woven-coat in any wiſe been rent by the murderers of God) has rejected and abandon'd the term *Theotocos*, ([a word] long ſince framed by many of the [moſt] approv'd Fathers by [the inſpiration of] the Holy Spirit:) and, inſtead thereof, has coin'd and form'd [the term] *Chriſtotocos*, an adulterate coin [as it were,] ſtamp'd by himſelf: and has refilled the Church with innumerable wars, making an inundation of civil blood therein: I ſhall not, I ſuppoſe, want matter agreeable and fit for the compoſure of an Hiſtory, nor [ſhall I deſpair] of bringing it to a concluſion, if (by the cooperation of Chriſt, who is God above all) I ſhall begin from the blaſphemy of the impious *Neſtorius*. Now, the war of the Churches had its original from hence. [There was] one (*b*) *Anaſtaſius* a Presbyter, (a perſon of a very unſound opinion, an ardent lover of *Neſtorius* and his *Jewiſh* ſentiments) who had accompanied *Neſtorius* in the journey he made in order to [his entring upon] the Biſhoprick [of *Conſtantinople.*] In which journey (having had a conference with *Theodorus* at *Mopſueſtia*, and heard his opinions,) *in quâ Chriſtus denuò trucidatur & divenditur, inſtruxit*; *who furniſhed up a ſhop of Blaſphemy, wherein Chriſt is again killed and ſold.* Neither of them have rendred it well: For, neither is this expreſſion [*to be called to judgment*] agreeable to a ſhop; nor is there any ſuch *Greek word* as συμφωνεῖται. I wonder at Sir *Henry Savil*, who ſet this moſt ridiculous emendation of *Chriſtophorſon's*, at the margin of his Copy. It ſhould have been rendred thus, *That ſhop of Blaſphemy, wherein Chriſt is again bargain'd for, and ſold at a price.* For σύμφωνω ſignifies properly, *I make a bargain*; and σύμφωνον is *a bargain*, or, *agreement*; as it is in the *old Gloſſes.* Which term occurs frequently in the Books of the *Greek Lawyers.* Valeſ.

(*a*) Συμφωνεῖται. 'Tis ſtrange that both *Tranſlators* have err'd in their Verſions of this place. For, *Muſculus* renders it thus: *officinæ blaſphemiæ, in quâ rurſus adjudicium vocatur & venditur Chriſtus, That ſhop of blaſphemy, wherein Chriſt is again called to judgment, and ſold. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it after this manner: *Qui blaſphemiæ officinam, in quâ Chriſtus denuò trucidatur & divenditur, inſtruxit*; *who furniſhed up a ſhop of Blaſphemy, wherein Chriſt is again killed and ſold.*

(*b*) This *Anaſtaſius* was *Syncellus* to *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople.* Which is atteſted by *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*, and by *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius.* For the *Patriarchs* had their *Syncelli* (that is, *thoſe that kept in the ſame Cell with them, or thoſe that dwelt with them*) whom they choſe out of the Order of Presbyters. So, in the *Epiſtle of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod to* Hormiſda *Biſhop of* Rome, *about the Election of* Epiphanius *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople: which Epiſtle *Baronius* records at the year of Chriſt 520. Amongſt the Legates ſent from the Synod, is named *Heraclianus* Presbyter of *the Greater Church*, and *Co-habitator*, [that is, *the perſon who dwelt with him*] to *Epiphanius* the *Patriarch.* *Epiphanius* himſelf alſo had formerly been *Presbyter* and *Syncellus* to *John*, *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, as *Dioſcorus* atteſts in *his Epiſtle to Pope* Hormiſda. Laſtly, *John* had alſo been *Presbyter* and *Syncellus* to *Timothy*, *Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*; as *Victor Tunonenſis* informs us in *his Chronicon*, in theſe words: *Agapeto V. C. Coſ. Timotheus C. P. Epiſcopus, Obtrectator Synodi Chalcedonenſis, quinto die Aprilis occubuit, & Johannes Cappadox in cellâ propriâ atque Presbytero Epiſcopatum tradidit*; [*on my peril, mend it thus*, & Johanni Cappadoci Syncello proprio atque Presbytero

Presbytero Episcopatum tradidit; *there is nothing more certain than this emendation:*] that is, *in the Consulate of the most famous* Agapetus Timothy *Bishop of* Constantinople, *the Reviler of the* Chalcedon *Synod died on the first of* April, *and delivered the Bishoprick to* John *the* Cappadocian, *his own Syncellus and Presbyter.* The *Syncelli* were chosen also out of the Order of *Deacons.* So, *in the third Action of the* Chalcedon *Synod*, one *Agorastius* a *Deacon*, is term'd *Syncellus* to *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria.* Lastly, in *Eunodius* there is a Precept extant, whereby all Bishops are order'd to have their *Cellulani*, [that is, *Chamber-fellows*, or *Persons that were to keep in the same Cell with them.*] Which Precept runs thus: *Nullum ergo sacerdotem antiquis & modernis legibus obsequentem, &c. Our Will is, that no Priest who is obedient to the ancient and modern Laws, and none of the Levites shall reside in any place without a Person well approved of. And if the slenderness of any Person's Estate shall not permit him to have a Companion, he himself shall become Cell-fellow to another.* The *Patriarchs* therefore were not the only Persons who had their *Syncelli.* 'Tis certain, *Stephanus* is recorded to have been *Syncellus* to *Syncleticus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, by *Ephremius*, in *Photius.* Vales. See *Meursius*'s *Glossary*, in the word Σύγκελλος.

was perverted from piety, as (*c*) *Theodulus* has related, treating hereof in one of *his Epistles.* [This *Anastasius*,] in a Sermon he preach'd to the people that lov'd Christ, in the Church of *Constantinople*, was so audacious as openly and plainly to speak [these words;] *Let no person term* Mary Theoticos; *for* Mary *was a woman: but, 'tis impossible for God to be born of a woman.* The people that loved Christ being highly offended at the hearing hereof, and [supposing,] not without reason, that this expression open'd a way to blasphemy; *Nestorius*, the Author of this blasphemy, did not only not curb [*Anastasius*,] nor undertake the patronage of such Sentiments as were orthodox and true: but also, openly and manifestly added strength to what *Anastasius* had said, and pertinaciously maintain'd disputes about these [points.] And sometimes he would insert and intermix his own opinions; and by belching forth the poyson of his own mind, attempted to teach such [doctrines] as were far more blasphemous. In so much that, to his own destruction, he utter'd these words, *I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old*; as 'tis plainly related by *Socrates* in his account hereof, and [in the *Acts*] of the *former Ephesine Synod.*

(*c*) I have found no mention of this *Theodulus* any where else. For, whereas *Nicephorus* names him at Book 14. ch. 32. that mention of him is borrowed from our *Evagrius.* Notwithstanding, this person seems to have been that *Theodulus* a Presbyter in *Cœle-Syria*, who in the reign of *Zeno Augustus* wrote many things; as 'tis attested by *Gennadius Massilienſis*, and by *Marcellinus Comes*, in *his Chronicon.* Vales.

CHAP. III.

What Cyrillus the Great *wrote to* Nestorius, *and how the* third Synod *at* Ephesus *was convened, to which* Johannes [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch *and* Theodoret *came late.*

WHich [assertions] when *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, [a Prelate] of famous memory, had reproved by his own Letters; and *Nestorius* had defended them in his answers thereto; (*a*) nor could be prevail'd upon, either by those [Letters] written [to him] by *Cyrillus*, or them [sent him] by *Celestinus* Bishop of the *Senior Rome*; but fearlessly vomited forth his own poyson against the whole Church: [*Cyrillus*,] (for which he had just cause,) made his request to *Theodosius Junior*, who at that time sway'd the Scepter of the *Eastern Empire*, that by his order the *first Synod at* Ephesus might be convened. The (*b*) Imperial Letters [therefore] were dispatch'd away, both to *Cyrillus*, and also to the [Bishops that] presided over the Holy Churches in all places. [*Theodosius*] appointed the day of the Synod's Convention to be on the *day of the Holy *Pentecost*; whereon the life-giving Spirit [of God] descended (*c*) upon us. *Nestorius*, in regard *Ephesus* is not far distant from *Constantinople*, came thither first. Also *Cyrillus* and the [Bishops] about him arriv'd before the day appointed. But *Johannes* Bishop of *Antioch*, together with the [Bishops] about him, was absent at the set day; not willingly, ((*d*) as it seems to many persons, from the Apology he made [in excuse for his not coming at the time appointed;]) but because he could not gather together the Bishops of his Province sooner. For the Cities [belonging to] the Bishops [under him,] are twelve days journey distant from that City (heretofore called *Antioch*, but now) term'd *Theopolis*, to a man that is an expedite and nimble Traveller; but, to others [who are not so good at travelling] they are more [than twelve days journey distant.] And *Ephesus* is at least thirty days journey distant from *Antioch.* Wherefore [*Johannes*] affirmed, that he could in no wise meet at the appointed day, [if he should set out] when the Bishops, whom he had about him, had celebrated that termed the (*e*) *New Sunday* within their own Sees.

* In the year of *Christ* 431. see Dr. *Beveredge*'s *Annot. in Can. Concil. Epbes* p. 103.

(*a*) We have perfected this place from the incomparable *Florentine* MS. by adding some words, which had been unhappily omitted by Transcribers. For, whereas in *Robert Stephens*'s *Edition*, this clause is worded thus; καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς Κυείλῳ, οὐδὲ τοῖς Καλεστίνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης ἐπισκόποις ἐπείθετο: we have alter'd it after this manner: καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς Κυείλῳ, οὐδὲ τοῖς Κελεστίνῳ τῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης ἐπισκόπῳ γεγραφέσιν ἐπείθετο; *nor could be prevailed upon, either by those* [*Letters*] *written* [*to him*] *by* Cyrillus, *or them* [*sent him*] *by* Celestinus *Bishop of the* Senior Rome. Which I therefore thought good to give an Advertisement of, that the Readers might know, that we have neither added nor diminished any thing, except by the authority of *that most incomparable Manuscript.* Besides, the *Tellerian Manuscript* agrees with the *Florentine Copy.* Vales.

(*b*) There is extant an Epistle of *Theodosius Junior*'s, which they commonly called *Sacra.* For so *Theodosius* himself terms it, in *his Epistle to the Ephesine Synod.* In the *Latine Version* of *this Epistle* the title is worded thus: *Sacra Imperatoria, missa Alexandriam ad Cyrillum Episcopum & Episcopos Metropolitanos ejus Regionis.* But the *Greek* words have a different import; they run thus: Θεῖον γράμμα ἀπεσταλὲν ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κυείλῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ χώραν τῆς μητροπόλεων ἐπισκόποις; that is, *the Sacred Letters sent to* Alexandria *to* Cyrillus, *and to the Metropolitane Bishops every where:* for κατὰ χώραν has the same import with καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν, *in every Region.* And this is confirm'd by *Theodosius* himself in *the same Epistle*, where he says, that by the same Copy he wrote πρὸς τοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεων ἐπισκόπους, *to the Bishops of Metropolis's every where.* But instead hereof, our *Evagrius* words it thus: γραμμάτων Βασιλικῶν, &c. *The Imperial Letters* [*therefore*] *were dispatch'd away, both to* Cyrillus, *and also to the* [*Bishops that*] *presided over the Holy Churches in all places.* Vales.

(*c*) The term [ἡμῖν, *upon us*] displeased *Nicephorus.* Therefore instead thereof he substituted these words [τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀποστόλοις, *on the holy Apostles.*] But, this emendation was needless: for the term [ἡ ἵν, *upon us*] is at this place put for the *Church of God*, which at that time resided in the Apostles. Indeed, the Holy Spirit had descended on *Mary* before, at such time as she conceived the Son of God: and afterwards upon Christ, when he had been baptized in *Jordan.* Which happened to them by a special priviledge. But the Holy Spirit descended first on the day of *Pentecost* upon the Church of God by the Apostles; for the Apostles deliver'd the same Spirit (which they then receiv'd,) afterwards to their Successors, by imposition of Hands. *Vales.*

(*d*) Ὡς πολλοῖς ἀπολογήμενος δοκεῖ. *Nicephorus*, instead of the word [δοκεῖ, *as it seems*] uses [ἔλεγε, *he said.*] But *Christophorson* read thus; ὡς πολλοῖς ἀπολογεμένοις δοκεῖ. For he renders this place after this manner: *Johannes Præsul Antiochiæ, &c.* John *Bishop of* Antioch, *together with his* [*Bishops,*] *was absent at the day appointed; not willingly indeed, as it seems to many persons, who have a mind to defend this fact of his.* Notwithstanding, I cannot approve of this emendation; altho' Sir *Henry Savil* hath set it at the margin of *his Copy.* *Musculus* renders this place thus: *Verùm præter animi sui sententiam, sicut & multis moram illam excusans, ostendit, But contrary to his own mind, as he has also demonstrated to many persons, in his excusing that delay.* But I am of opinion, that no alteration is to be made here, and do render the place thus: *But* Johannes *Bishop of* Antioch, *together with the* [*Bishops*] *about him, was absent at the set day; not willingly, as it seems to many persons from the Apology he made*, &c. doubtless, there can no other sense of these words. *Vales.*

(*e*) The *Greeks* heretofore termed *the first Sunday after Easter* νέαν, or, καινὴν κυριακὴν, *the New Sunday.* So *Gregorius Nazianzenus* calls it in *his nineteenth Oration*, which he spake at the Funeral of his own Father *Gregorius.* There is extant an Oration of the same *Gregorius*'s (to wit, *his* 43 *Oration*) upon this *New Sunday:* in *which Oration* he gives a reason, why this day should be called *New Sunday.* Further, *the Synod in Trullo Can.* 66, terms *this Sunday* (which we now *commonly* call *Dominicam in Albis, the Sunday in the Albs,*) καινὴν κυριακὴν, *New Sunday.* Vales. Mr. *Smith* (in *his Account of the Greek Church*,

Church, pag. 32. *Edit. Lond.* 1680.) tells us, that *the Greeks* do ſtill term *this Sunday*, καινὴν & νέαν, *the New Sunday*: and that 'tis alſo called κυριακὴ διανεωτιμος. *Meurſius* ſays it ſhould be κυριακὴ διανεωτισιμος, that is, *regenerating*, or, *renewing Sunday*. See *Meurſius*'s *Gloſſary*, in the word διανεωτισιμος.

CHAP. IV.

How Neſtorius *was depoſed by the Synod, before the arrival of* [*the Biſhop of*] Antioch.

WHen therefore fifteen days were paſt beyond the day prefixt, the Biſhops who had been called together for that reaſon (ſuppoſing that the Eaſtern [Biſhops] would not come at all, or if they did, that much time would be ſpent before they could be got together) [meet together in one place] (*a*) the divine *Cyrillus* adminiſtring, and the place of *Cæleſtinus*, who (as it has been ſaid) governed the Biſhoprick of the *Elder Rome*: they ſummon in *Neſtorius* therefore, entreating him that he would give in his anſwer to [the accuſations] brought againſt him: Who on the day before promiſed to come, if there ſhould be an occaſion for it; but [afterwards] neglected to fulfil his promiſe; and having been thrice call'd, after that he appear'd not; [whereupon] the Biſhops convened undertook the examination [of the matter.] And when *Memnon* Biſhop of *Epheſus* had reckon'd up the days which had paſſed after the ſet day, (they were in number ſixteen days;) and when the Letters of the divine *Cyrillus*, which had been written by him to *Neſtorius*, and alſo *Neſtorius*'s [Letters] to *Cyrillus* had been read; moreover, when that ſacred Letter of the famous *Cæleſtinus*, which he ſent to the ſame *Neſtorius*, had been annexed: Further, when *Theodotus* Biſhop of *Ancyra*, and *Acacius* who preſided over the * See of *Melitina*, had declared thoſe blaſphemous Expreſſions, which *Neſtorius* had manifeſtly and openly belch'd forth at *Epheſus*: [laſtly,] when many ſayings of the holy and moſt approved Fathers, who have expounded the right and ſincere Faith, had been joyn'd together; and alſo, when the various Blaſphemies fooliſhly and madly utter'd by the impious *Neſtorius*, had been reduced into an Order: [I ſay, after all theſe things had been done] the Holy Synod pronounced ſentence [againſt *Neſtorius*] in theſe expreſs words: *Moreover, in regard the moſt Reverend* Neſtorius *would neither obey our Summons, nor admit the moſt Holy and moſt Religious Biſhops ſent by Us, We have been forced to proceed to an examination of his impious expreſſions. And having found, both from his Letters and Writings which have been recited, and alſo from his own words which he hath lately ſpoken in this* Metropolis, [*which expreſſions of his*] *have been confirm'd* [*by the teſtimony of many perſons,*] *that his Sentiments and Doctrines are impious; being neceſſarily induced thereto, both by the* [*authority of the*] *Canons, and alſo by the Letter of our moſt Holy Father and Fellow-Miniſter* Cæleſtinus *Biſhop of the* Roman *Church, after many tears we have proceeded to* [*the pronunciation of*] *this ſad ſentence. Therefore,* Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *who has been blaſphemed by him, hath determined by this preſent Holy Synod, that the ſame* Neſtorius *is* * *diveſted of the Epiſcopal Dignity, and* [*excluded from*] *all manner of Sacerdotal Convention.*

(*a*) Here, and in *Robert Stephens*'s *Edit.* this paſſage is worded thus: Κυρίλλῳ τῷ θεοσεβεῖ διέποντος, καὶ τὸν κελεσίνου τόπον, τῷ ἐπισκοπὴν, ὡς ἔφημεν, τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης φυλαττούσης; *The Divine* Cyrillus *adminiſtring*, &c. In which clauſe (as the *Learned* Doctor *Barrow remarks, in his Treat. of the Pope's Suprem. pag.* 289;) *a word ſeemeth to have fallen out.* *Zonaras* (on the 1 Can. *Synod. Epheſ. Tom.* 1. *Edit. Bever.* pag. 100.) expreſſes this paſſage more plainly, in theſe words: Περιστάντος τοὺς Ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις κυρίλλου Πάπα ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντος δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον κελεσίνου, *The Holy* Cyril *Pope of* Alexandria *preſiding over the Orthodox Fathers, and alſo holding the place of Celeſtine.* And *Photius* thus: τὸ ῥώμης κελεσίνου ἐπλήρου τοὺς καθέδραν καὶ πρόσωπον, [*Cyril*] *ſupplied the ſeat and the perſon of* Celeſtine [*Biſhop*] *of* Rome. From which Authors 'tis plain, that *Cyrillus* had the diſpoſal of *Celeſtine*'s ſingle ſuffrage, and that Pope's legal concurrence with him in his Actings in that Synod: But *Cyrillus* had no *Authoritative Precedency* from *Celeſtine*, becauſe the Pope could by no delegation impart *that*, himſelf having no title thereto, warranted by any Law, or by any Precedent; *that* depended on the will of the Emperors, who diſpoſed of *it* according as they ſaw reaſon. A notable inſtance whereof we meet with in the *next Epheſine Synod* (which in deſign was a *General Synod*, legally convened, though by ſome miſcarriages it proved abortive;) mentioned by *our Evagrius* in the 10th Chapter of this *Book*: where, tho' *Julius*, (or rather *Julianus*) *Pope Leo's Legate* was preſent; yet by the Emperor's Order (ſee the words of *his Letter*, Syn. Chalced. Act. 1. p. 59.) *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* preſided. *Nicephorus* (Book 14. Chap. 34.) tells us, That in regard *Celeſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* could not be preſent at this Synod, by reaſon of the dangers of ſuch a voyage, he made *Cyrillus* his Deputy: and that from this time *Cyrillus* and the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Alexandria* challenged the name of *Pope*, &c. Doubtleſs *Nicephorus* is miſtaken herein. For, *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* (in his third Epiſt. to *Philemon*, part of which is quoted by *Euſebius*, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* Book 7. c. 7.) mentioning *Heraclas*, his Predeceſſor in the *Alexandrian See*, ſays theſe words concerning him: τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν κανόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίτου πάπα ἡμῶν ἡρακλᾶ παρέλαβον, *I received this Rule and Canon from* Heraclas *our Bleſſed Pope.* And *Athanaſius* (in *his ſecond Apologetick*, Tom. 1. pag. 786, *Edit. Paris*, 1627.) has recorded an Epiſtle written to him from *Iſchyras*, which has this title, Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίτῳ πάπα, *To* Athanaſius *the Bleſſed Pope.* Therefore theſe words of *Nicephorus*'s are (as *Valeſius* ſays truly in his *Note here*) *inepta & falſiſſima, fooliſh and moſt untrue.* And, that other remark of *Valeſius*'s here, which he makes from the former part of the now cited paſſage in *Nicephorus* (to wit, *that as well* Nicephorus, *as thoſe from whom he borrowed this, doubted not but the Biſhop of* Rome *was the Sovereign Judge of all the Churches*;) is queſtionleſs no leſs fooliſh and falſe. 'Tis indeed true, that the Biſhops of *Rome* have ſome Centuries ſince claim'd an Authority not only of preſiding in, but alſo of indicting and convening General Councils. But, how unjuſt this Claim is, as well in reſpect of Right, as Practice, will be evident to him, who with attention and conſideration ſhall peruſe *theſe Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorians.* Look back to what *Socrates* ſays in the *Froeme to his fifth Book*: σωνεχῶς καὶ τοὺς Βασιλεῖς (ſays he) τῇ ἱστορίᾳ συμπλέκομεν, &c. *We do continually include the Emperors in this our Hiſtory, becauſe from ſuch time as they began to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, the affairs of the Church have depended on them; and the greateſt Synods have been, and at this preſent are convened by their determination and appointment.* But, for a moſt full and compleat ſatisfaction in theſe points, viz. *concerning the Biſhop of* Rome's *Sovereign Power to indict and preſide in General Councils*: I refer the Reader to the *Learned* Dr. *Barrow's Treatiſe of the Pope's Supremacy*, pag. 274, &c.

* Or, Chair.

* Or, removed, or, eſtranged from.

CHAP. V.

That Johannes [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch, *coming* [*to* Epheſus] *after five days, depoſes* Cyrillus [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria, *and* Memnon [*Biſhop*] *of* Epheſus; *whom the Synod pronounced innocent ſoon after, and depoſed* Johannes *and his Party. And how, by* [*the interpoſition of*] *the Emperor* Theodoſius, Cyrillus *and* Johannes *were reconciled, and confirm'd* Neſtorius's *Depoſition.*

AFter this moſt legal and juſt Sentence, *Johannes* [Biſhop] of *Antioch* comes to *Epheſus*, together with the Prelates about him, arriving [there] five days after [*Neſtorius*'s] Depoſition. And having convened * thoſe [Biſhops] of his Party, depoſes *Cyrillus* and *Memnon*. But when *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* had preſented Libels to that Synod which had been convened with them, (although † *Socrates*, through ignorance, has related [this matter] otherwiſe,) *Johannes* is ſummoned to give an account of that Depo-

* Or, *thoſe* [*Prelates*] *about him.*

† *See Socrates* Book 7. c. 34. *and alſo note* (*b*) *in that* Chapter.

Depoſition which he had made. Who not appearing after he had been thrice call'd, *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* are abſolv'd from their Depoſition: but *Johannes* and the [Biſhops] of his party are ſeparated from holy Communion, and from all ſacerdotal Authority. [Further] *Theodoſius* at firſt approv'd not of *Neſtorius*'s Depoſition; but having afterwards been inform'd of his Blaſphemy, when he had written very pious Letters to the Biſhops, *Cyrillus* and *Johannes*, they come to a mutual Agreement, and confirm'd *Neſtorius*'s Depoſition.

CHAP VI.

Concerning Paulus [*Biſhop*] *of* Emiſa's *journey to* Alexandria, *and* Cyrillus's *commendation* [*of* Johannes] *on account of* [*his*] *Letter.*

WHen *Paulus* Biſhop of *Emiſa* was arriv'd at *Alexandria*, and had made a diſcourſe, which is ſtill extant, in the Church concerning this matter. At which time alſo *Cyrillus*, having highly commended *Johannes*'s Letter, wrote word for word thus: † *Let the Heavens rejoice, and the Earth be glad. For the partition-wall is demoliſhed, that which caused grief and ſadneſs is ceaſed, and the occaſion of all manner of diſſention is taken away; in regard Chriſt the Saviour of us all, has* * *reſtored peace to his own Churches; and the moſt Religious Emperors, and moſt dear to God, have invited us thereto. Who having been the moſt incomparable Emulators of their Anceſtors piety, do preſerve the true Faith firm and unſhaken in their own Minds: and they take an exquiſite care of the Holy Churches, to the end they may obtain both a far-ſpread and immortal Glory, and alſo render their Empire moſt highly renowned. To whom even the Lord of Hoſts himſelf diſtributes good things with a* * *plentiful hand, gives them* [*power*] *to vanquiſh their Adverſaries, and freely beſtows Victory* [*on them.*] (*a*) *For he cannot lie who has ſaid,* As I live, ſaith the Lord, I will glorifie them who glorifie me. *When therefore my Lord and moſt Religious Brother and Fellow-Miniſter* Paulus *was come to* Alexandria, *we were filled with joy, and that moſt deſervedly, in regard ſo great a Perſon* [*was come to be*] *an Interceſſor, and was willing* (*b*) *to undergo Labours above* [*humane*] *ſtrength: That he might vanquiſh the Envy of the Devil, unite Diviſions, and by removing Offences on both ſides, crown both Our and Your Churches with Concord and Peace.* And after the interpoſition of ſome words, [he adds:] *Moreover, that this diſſention of the Church was altogether frivolous and* (*c*) *inexcuſable, we have been now fully ſatisfied, ſince my Lord the moſt Religious Biſhop* Paulus *has brought a Paper which contains an irreprehenſible Confeſſion of Faith; and has affirmed, that it was written by* Your Sanctity, *and by the moſt Religious Biſhops there. Now, the Confeſſion runs thus, and 'tis inſerted in the very ſame words into this our Epiſtle. But concerning* Theotocos, and ſo forth. *When We had read theſe* (*d*) *Your ſacred words, and perceived, that We Our Selves embraced the ſame Sentiments;* (*For*, there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm;) *We glorified God the Saviour of all Men, rejoycing mutually, becauſe as well Your, as Our Churches, do profeſs a Faith which is agreeable, both to the divinely inſpired Scriptures, and alſo to the Tradition of our Holy Fathers.* Theſe things may be known by him who is deſirous of having an accurate account of thoſe affairs tranſacted at that time.

†This letter of *Cyrillus* to *Johannes* occurs entire in *Binius*, Tom. 2. pag. 594. Edit. *Paris.* 1636.

* Or, *miniſtred.*

†Or, *rich.*

(*a*) In the incomparable *Florent.* MS. I found it written [διαψεύσωνται, *cannot lie*] which is the truer reading. In the *Acts of the Epheſine Synod*, where this Epiſtle is recorded. (See *Binius*, as before, p. 595.) it is [διαψεύσωται, *will not lie.*] But the reading of the *Florent.* MS. is confirm'd by *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian* MS. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens*, the reading here is, διεψεύσατο, *hath not lied.*

(*b*) Τοῖς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πόνοις περισομιλῆν. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place very ill, thus, *Et graviores quàm vires ferebant, ſuſcepit in concionando labores*; *And in Preaching has undertaken far greater pains than his ſtrength would bear. Muſculus* tranſlates it thus: *Et laboribus vires excedentibus collocutionem ſuſcepiſſet, And with labours exceeding his ſtrength had undertaken a conference.* Neither of them has rendred it well. Περισομιλῆν πόνοις, imports, *to endure or undergo labours.* So, ὁμιλῆν τύχαις, ſignifies, *to bear the viciſſitudes of fortune. Plutarch* (in *Marius,*) ſpeaking concerning *Jugurtha*, ſays theſe words, ὥστω τὶς ἦν ποικίλος ἀνὴρ τύχαις ὁμιλῆσαι, that is, *ſo various was that Perſon as to his Diſpoſition,* [*which was fitted*] *to bear the changes of fortune.* Moreover, theſe words [ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, *above ſtrength*] may be underſtood two ways: For we may either underſtand ἀνθρωπίνην, *humane*, (which we have done;) or elſe ἰδίαν, *his own. Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have embraced the latter ſenſe; as did he alſo, who rendred the *Acts of the Epheſine Council* into *Latin.* Valeſ.

(*c*) Here, and in the *Acts of the Epheſine Council*, the reading is ἀνεύφορος, *inexcuſable*, or, *inopportune.* But, in the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written, ἐν ἐυάρμοσος, and *incongruous.* Valeſ.

(*d*) In the *Acts of the Epheſine Council*, and in *Nicephorus*, inſtead of [ἡμῶν, *our*] it is [ὑμῶν, *your*;] which doubtleſs is the truer reading, *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VII.

What the impious Neſtorius *writes concerning his own ſufferings; and how his Tongue having at laſt been eaten out with worms, he ended his life at* Oäſis.

BUT after what manner *Neſtorius* was baniſh'd, or what befel him after that, or in what manner he departed out of this life, and what rewards he receiv'd on account of his Blaſphemy; [theſe particulars] have not been related by the Writers of Hiſtory. All which had been forgotten, and had been wholly loſt and ſwallowed by [length of] time, nor had been ſo much as heard of; had not I accidentally met with a Book of *Neſtorius*'s, which contains a Narrative of theſe things. This Father of blaſphemy therefore, *Neſtorius*, (who has not raiſed his building on that foundation which was laid, but hath built [his houſe] on the ſand, and [therefore] it has ſoon faln down, according to our Lord's parable;) making an Apology (which was his deſire,) in defence of his own blaſphemy, (*a*) againſt thoſe who had accuſed him, (becauſe he had introduced ſome innovation contrary to what was fitting, and had not rightly requeſted that a Synod ſhould be convened at *Epheſus*;) amongſt other things writes [to this effect:] that he, wholly compelled thereto by neceſſity, had betaken himſelf * to [the defence of] this part, in regard the Holy Church was divided, ſome affirming that *Mary* was to be term'd † *Anthropotocos*, others, ‖ *Theotocos.* That therefore (as he ſays) he might not offend in one of theſe two, [*viz.*] (*b*) leſt he ſhould either joyn things mortal with thoſe that are immortal, or elſe leſt (by betaking himſelf to the other ſide) he might be deprived of that other party [who defended the term *Theotocos*:] he invented the word *Chriſtotocos.*

(*a*) Πρὸς τὺς ἐγκαλέσαντας. In the incomparable *Florentine* MS. I found it written [πρὸς τὺς ἐγκαλέσαντας ὁι, *againſt thoſe who had accuſed him*;] which is doubtleſs the truer reading: ὁι has the ſame import with αὐτῷ, *him.* Valeſ.

* Ἐς τῆτο τάξεως.

† That is, [*the Virgin*] *who bore man.*

‖ *She who bore God.*

(*b*) The meaning of this place is very obſcure; it is in my judgment, thus to be explained: After that Sermon of *Anaſtaſius* the *Presbyter*, who was *Neſtorius*'s *Syncellus*, (See Chap. 2. Note *b.*) there aroſe a great diſſention in the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church;

Church: in regard ſome affirm'd, that *Mary* was to be termed *Theotocos*; others *Anthropotocos*. And when the Sedition increaſed daily, *Neſtorius*, deſirous to appeaſe it, invented a certain middle term, *viz.* that *Mary* ſhould in future be termed *Chriſtotocos, the Virgin who bore Chriſt*: leſt, if he ſhould term her *Theotocos*, he might ſeem to joyn things mortal with thoſe that are immortal: (which thing he [that is, *Neſtorius*] look'd upon to be impious:) or leſt, if he had embraced the term *Anthropotocos*, the other party (to wit, thoſe who defended the term *Theotocos*,) ſhould have revolted from him, and held their Aſſemblies apart. This is the meaning of this place; which neither *Muſculus* nor *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood. Therefore, inſtead of [ἢ ἀθάνα]α συμπλεκουδ́ων,] it muſt be [ἢ τὰ ὄντα, ϗ ἀθάνα]α συμπλεκομέ́νων.] In the *Tellerian* MS. I found this reading, ἢ ἀθα: ἀτω συμπλεκομέ́νω. Valeſ.

He intimates further, that at firſt the Emperor *Theodoſius*, out of that affection he bore towards him, confirm'd not the [ſentence of] * depoſition pronounc'd againſt him: but afterwards, that when ſome Biſhops (*c*) of both parties had been ſent from the City *Epheſus* to *Theodoſius*; (*d*) and when he alſo himſelf requeſted it, he was permitted to return to his own Monaſtery; which is ſcituate before the Gates of that City, now called **Theopolis*, and is not expreſsly named [there] by *Neſtorius*. But, they ſay, (*e*) it is now termed *Euprepius*'s [Monaſtery,] which, as we aſſuredly know, ſtands before the [City] *Theopolis*, diſtant from thence not more than two furlongs. Moreover, the ſame *Neſtorius* ſays, that having reſided there during the ſpace of four years, he had all imaginable honour conferred upon him, and enjoy'd all manner of reverence and reſpect: but that afterwards, by the Edict of [the Emperor] *Theodoſius*, he was baniſhed into that place called *Oäſis*. But he has concealed that which is the principal thing. For, during his reſidence (*f*) there, he in no wiſe deſiſted from his own blaſphemy. In ſo much that *Johannes* Biſhop of *Antioch* gave [the Emperor] an account thereof, and *Neſtorius* was condemned to perpetual Baniſhment. (*g*) He wrote alſo another Book, compoſed in the manner of a Dialogue, to a certain *Egyptian* as it were, concerning his baniſhment into *Oäſis*; wherein he ſpeaks more at large concerning theſe things. But, what puniſhments he underwent on account of the Blaſphemies * coyn'd by him (not being able to lie conceal'd from [God's] all-ſeeing Eye,) may be known from other Letters, ſent by him to the Governour of *Thebäis*. For, in thoſe [Letters] you may find, after what manner (in regard he had not yet undergone condign (*h*) puniſhment,) the judgment of God ſeized him, and involv'd him in (*i*) captivity, a calamity of all [afflictions] the moſt miſerable. But, in as much as he was to endure greater puniſhments, he was let go by the *Blemmyæ*, amongſt whom he had been a Captive. And removing from place to place about the utmoſt borders of *Thebäis*, by the Edicts of *Theodoſius*, who had determin'd that he ſhould return; and being daſh'd againſt the earth, he ended his days agreeable to his own forepaſt life: [like] a ſecond *Arius*, declaring and * foreſhewing by his calamitous death what rewards are appointed for [thoſe who utter] blaſphemy againſt Chriſt. For both thoſe † Perſons blaſphemed *Chriſt* in a like manner; *Arius*, by terming him a Creature; and *Neſtorius*, by thinking him to be a Man. To * whom (becauſe he complains, that *the Acts* at *Epheſus* were not rightly compoſed [and made up,] but were framed by fraud and an illegal artifice of *Cyrillus*'s;) I would willingly ſay [thus much:] Why (ſince *Theodoſius* was his favourer,) was he baniſh'd, and, without obtaining the leaſt commiſeration, condemned to ſo many Exiles, and concluded his life after ſuch a manner as this? Or why (if the ſentence [pronounced] againſt him by *Cyrillus*, and the other Prelates about him, were not divine,) both of them being now numbred amongſt thoſe departed [and dead], (at which time, as it has been ſaid by one of the Heathen Sages, (*k*) *that which appears not any more in ſight* [or, *that which ſurvives not any longer*] *is honoured with a Benevolence that hath no enemy*;) has he himſelf been condemned as a Blaſphemer and an Enemy of God; but *Cyrillus* is praiſed and extolled [by all Perſons,] as having been a loud [and eminent] Preacher, and a great Defender of Orthodox Sentiments? but leſt we ſhould be accuſed for writing what is falſe, come on, let us bring forth *Neſtorius* himſelf into the midſt, giving a relation concerning theſe very things.

* Or, ejection.

(*c*) Ἔρῤῥ ν τε καϰεῖθεν; that is, *of both parties, as well* Catholicks, *as* Neſtorians. *Muſculus* has render'd it ill, thus, *ultro citroque, to and fro.* Valeſ.

(*d*) Inſtead of [ἀυτῶ τε ἀυτῶ δηθέντ⟨ς,] the reading in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. is [ἀυτῶ τε αὖ δηθέντος, *and when he alſo himſelf requeſted it.*] Valeſ.

*That is, *Antioch*. See chap. 3.

(*e*) From the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* MS. I have mended this place thus: νῦν τὸ ἐυπρεπίυ πεῤῥσαγορεύεϑαι, *it is now termed Euprepius's* [*Monaſtery:*] the reading before was very fooliſh, thus, νύ⟨ϑισα. Valeſ.

(*f*) To wit, in the aforeſaid Monaſtery, which was called *Euprepius*'s Monaſtery. *Valeſ.*

(*g*) I like neither *Chriſtophorſon*'s not *Muſculus*'s Verſion of this place. The latter of whom renders it thus: *Scripſit autem & alium librum more dialectico, velut ad Egyptium quendam de exilio ſuo compoſitum. But he wrote another Book alſo in a Logical manner, to a certain Egyptian as it were, compoſed concerning his own Exile.* And *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it thus: *Scripſit præterea Neſtorius alium Libellum acutè & ſubtiliter*, &c. *Moreover*, Neſtorius *wrote another little Book, acutely and ſubtilly*, &c. What need was there of acuteneſs and Logical ſubtilty in a little Book, wherein *Neſtorius* treated concerning his own baniſhment into *Oäſis!* Therefore I judge it better to render theſe Words, [διαλεκτικῶς συγκείμενον] thus [*compoſed in the manner of a Dialogue.*] And thus *Nicephorus* expounded theſe Words of *Evagrius*. For inſtead thereof, he makes uſe of the Word διαλογικώτερον, *more by way of Dialogue* Which term *Langus* renders, *diſertius, more eloquently*: As if *Nicephorus* had ſaid, λογικώτερον. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *brought forth.*

(*h*) In *Nicephorus*, (book 14. chap. 36.) inſtead of ὑπεξελεύσεως, *torture*; the reading is truer, thus, ἐπεξελεύσεως, *puniſhment.* And ſo I found it written in the *Tellerian* MS. *Valeſ.*

(*i*) I have mended this place from the incomparable *Florentine Manuſcripts*; wherein the reading is thus [αἰχμαλοσία τῆ πάντων ἐλεεινοτάτη συμφορᾷ, *Captivity; a calamity of all* [*afflictions*] *the moſt miſerable*; than, which emendation, there is nothing more certain. The reading in *Nicephorus* is the ſame alſo. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, 'tis thus worded: αἰχμαλάσας τῆ πάντων ἐλεεινοτάτη συμφορᾷ. Valeſ.

* Or, *ratifying*, or, *confirming.*

† That is, *Arius* and *Neſtorius.*

* That is, *to Neſtorius.*

(*k*) Tranſlators, in regard they had perſuaded themſelves, that the word ἐμποδὼν does always ſignifie *an hindrance*; have fallen into various Errors. For *Langus* renders it thus: *Et ambo vos jam ex vitâ hâc exceſſiſtis*, &c. *And both of you have now made your departure out of this life: at which time, as one of the Heathen Sages has ſaid, nothing hinders, but that every Perſon may be honoured by a free benevolence of Men, no Adverſary intervening.* And *Chriſtophorſon* has tranſlated it after this manner: *Quando, ut ſapienti inter Gentiles ſcriptori placet*, &c. *At which time, as it pleaſes a prudent Writer amongſt the Heathens, every one is uſually honoured with a firm and concordant benevolence of all Men, provided there be nothing which may lawfully be an impediment.* But, the term ἐμποδὼν does not always ſignifie *an Impediment*, or *Hindrance*. For, the Ancients, as well *Rhetoricians* as *Philoſophers*, uſed ἐμποδὼν in ſuch a Senſe as to ſignifie the ſame with ἐν ποσὶ *to be in ſight*, or, *appear openly*; as *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and *the Author of the Ethymologicon* do inform us. But, the *Latter Writers*, and eſpecially *Hierocles the Philoſopher*, have uſed that Word to ſignifie *an Impediment* or *Hindrance*. Therefore *Muſculus* has rendred this Paſſage in *Evagrius* beſt of all, thus: *Quando ſicut quidam exterorum Philoſophorum dixit, quod non eſt amplius ſuperſtes, ſine ullius invidiâ & contradictione cum benevolentiâ honoratur*; *When, as one of the foreign Philoſophers has ſaid, that which ſurvives not any longer, is honoured with benevolence, without the Envy and Contradiction of any one.* Further, in the Margin of the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, there is ſet at this place, τυκυδίδυ, that is, *this Sentence is taken out of Thucidides.* 'Tis extant in *Thucidides's ſecond* Book, pag. 128. *Edit. Francofurt.* 1594; *in the Funeral Oration which* Pericles *made.* Valeſ.

Recite

Recite to me therefore [O *Neſtorius!*] ſome paſſages in the expreſs words of your own Letter, which you wrote to the Governour of *Thebaïs*. *Becauſe of ſome* [*Controverſies*] *lately agitated at* Epheſus *concerning the moſt Holy Religion; by an Imperial Order we inhabit* Oäſis *otherwiſe* [*called*] Ibis. And after the interpoſition of ſome Words, he adds: *But after the aforeſaid* [Oäſis] *was totally deſtroyed by* (l) *a* Barbarick *Captivity, and by fire, and ſword; and we were diſmiſſed by the* Barbarians, *who on a ſuddain, how I know not,* * *were moved with a compaſſion towards us, and after they had terrified us with menacing Declarations, that we ſhould immediately go out of that Country, in regard the* Mazices *would ſuddenly take poſſeſſion of it after them; we are come to* Thebaïs *together with the remainder of the Captives, whom the* Barbarians (*out of commiſeration*) *brought to us, for what intent I know not. Moreover, they have been every one permitted to go whither they deſired: but we by coming publickly to* Panapolis, * *do exhibit our ſelves. For we were afraid, leſt any one,* † *by taking an occaſion from our Captivity, ſhould either frame an accuſation of flight againſt us, or elſe* [*form*] *a forged invention of ſome other fault. For malice is productive of all manner of calumnies. Wherefore, We beſeech Your* * *Magnificence, to take care* (*according to that proviſion the Laws have made,*) *of our Captivity, and not to deliver a Captive, who is ſubject to miſchief, to the evil Arts of Men; leſt all Generations ſhould from hence forth cry out, That 'tis better to be the* Barbarians *Captive, than to fly for refuge to the* Roman *Empire.* Then, having added an Oath, he made his requeſt [to the Governour] thus: [*That You would pleaſe*] *to give the Emperor an account of our Remove from* Oäſis * *hither, which hapned from our being diſmiſſed by the* Barbarians: *that ſo, whatever determination ſhall be well pleaſing to God, may now at length be made concerning us.* [Alſo, out of] the ſame *Neſtorius*'s ſecond Letter to the ſaid Governor: *Whether You will account this preſent Letter from Us to Your Magnificence, as* [*written*] *from a Friend, or as an admonition from a Father to a Son, hear, I beſeech you, with patience the Narration* [*contained*] *therein concerning many* [*Matters,*] *written from us, wherein We have been as brief as poſſibly could be.* Oäſis *otherwiſe* [*termed*] Ibis, *having been ſeveral ways ruin'd of late, by an incurſion made into it by a multitude of the* (m) Nomades.

(l) Inſtead of [χὴ βαρβαεικῆς αἰχμαλόσεως] the reading as it ſeems, ſhould be [διὰ βαρβαεικῆς αἰχμαλοσίας, *by a Barbarick Captivity.*] In the *Florentine and Tellerian* M. SS. and in *Nicephorus*, 'tis αἰχμαλοσίᾳ, *by Captivity.* Valeſ.

* Or, *recovered a Compaſſion,* &c.

* That is, *To Panopolis.*

(m) In that Letter of *Neſtorius*'s mentioned before, the people who ruined *Oäſis* are termed *Blemmyæ*. Wherefore, *Nomades* ought here to be taken for an *Adjective*. Notwithſtanding, it may be the proper name of a Nation of *Barbarians*. 'Tis certain, the *Nubæ*, neighbours to the *Blemmyæ*, (who made frequent incurſions into the Country of *Oäſis*, as *Procopius* informs us, in Book 1. *Perſic.*) were termed *Nomades* alſo, or *Numides*; which is atteſted by *Stephanus*.——But ſome one will object, if *Neſtorius* ſpeaks here concerning one and the ſame Captivity of *Oäſis*, how can that ſtand, which he ſays in the beginning of this Epiſtle, in theſe words: Ὀάσεως τὴς ἴδιας ἐκ πολλῶν πρώην ἀφανισθείσης. For, the incurſion of the *Blemmyæ* into *Oäſis* (in which *Neſtorius* had been taken Captive by the *Barbarians*, and was preſently diſmiſſed,) had hapned but a little while before, as he himſelf atteſts. But, the incurſion of the *Nomades* had hapned long before; as 'tis apparent from *Neſtorius*'s words in this laſt Epiſtle, which were juſt now cited. To all this I anſwer, that theſe words ἐκ πολλῶν πρώην, do not ſignifie *long ſince*, as *Langus*, *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* thought. For, the *Adverb* πρώην, ſignifies *lately*, as every body knows. Doubtleſs, this incurſion had hapned a little before *Neſtorius* wrote theſe things. Therefore, ἐκ πολλῶν ought to be referred to the word ἀφανισθείσης. So that, 'tis the ſame as if he ſhould have ſaid, *Oäſis having been ſeveral ways ruin'd of late:* to wit, by fire, ſlaughters, and a *Barbarick* Captivity; as *Neſtorius* has ſaid above. *Valeſ.*

And after ſome words. *Theſe things having happened thus, (by what impulſe, or on what occaſion Your Magnificence was moved thereto, I know not;) we have been ſent by* Barbarian *Soldiers from* Panopolis, *to* Elephantina,] *a Town*] *ſituate in the Borders of the Province* Thebaïs; *towards which we have been dragg'd by the forementioned military aſſiſtance. And when we had been tired by our travelling more than half that Journey, we again met with an Order of your Magnanimity by word of mouth,* [*whereby we were commanded*] *to return to* Panopolis. *Having therefore been wearied with the Miſeries* (n) *of this ſo long a Journey, our Body being infirm and aged, and our Hand and Side tired, we came again to* Panopolis, *in a manner breathing forth our Soul. And whilſt we were as yet cruciated with the Calamities and Miſchiefs of* [*our*] *Pains, another Order written by Your Magnanimity* * *came in great haſt, whereby we were convey'd again from* Panopolis *to a place adjoyning thereto.* (o) *When we ſuppoſed, that we ſhould ſtop here, and were in expectation of the moſt Victorious Emperours determination concerning us; on a ſudden another* [*Decree*] *was again drawn up againſt us, without any Commiſeration, in order to another,* [*to wit,*] *a fourth Baniſhment.* And after ſome few Words, [he continues.] *But, I beſeech you, let what has been done be ſufficient, and* [*may it be enough*] (p) *to have Decreed ſo many Baniſhments againſt one Body: And,* (q) *after the Relations* [*which have been ſent to their Imperial Majeſties*] *by Your Magnificence, permit, I humbly beſeech you, that an accurate account* [*of our condition*] *may be made known to our moſt Victorious Emperors, even by us alſo, by whom that ought* [*to be done.*] *Theſe are our Advices, as to a Son from a Father.*

(n) The reading here, is, τὴς σὴς ὁδοιπορείας, *of this your journey:* and 'tis the ſame in *Nicephorus*. Notwithſtanding, I doubt not but it ſhould be, τὴς τόσης ὁδοιπορείας, *of this ſo long a journey.* And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Hen. Savil* read it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *came flying*

(o) Inſtead of [ταῦτα ςήσεσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν λογιζομένων, *when we ſuppoſed theſe things againſt us would ſtop*] I think it ſhould be thus: ἐνὶ ταῦτα ςήσεσθαι ἡμῶν λογιζομένων, *when we ſuppoſed we ſhould ſtop here.* Thus *Muſculus* ſeems to have read, who renders it in this manner: *Et cùm illic hæſuros nos arbitraremur, And when we thought we ſhould ſtop there.* Valeſ.

(p) Inſtead of [χὴ τὸ τοσαύτας,] it muſt be χὴ τῷ τοσαύτας. For, the word [ἀρκέσθητι] which preceded immediately, is underſtood. In the *Tellerian* M. S. the particle [τὸ] is wanting. *Valeſ.*

(q) Tranſlators ſaw nothing at this place; who by a ſmall fault were induced into a great error. Inſtead of [ἀνεχθεῖσι] it muſt undoubtedly be [ἀνενεθχεῖσι] *Preſidents of Provinces* were heretofore wont to give the Emperor an Account of all things which hapned with them. The doing whereof was termed ἀναφέρειν, and *the Relation it ſelf* ἀναφορὰ, as I have noted on *Amm. Marcellinus*. Concerning *theſe Relations of Preſidents, Severianus* ſpeaks, in *his firſt Oration in Hexaëmeron*; the paſſage whereof I will annex here, becauſe the Tranſlator underſtood it not: ὥσπερ γὰ, ἀδελφοὶ, οἱ ἀπο τὴς ἀναφορῶν ἀρχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντα μηνύουσιν. ὅτω χὴ οἱ ἄγγελοι τῷ θεῷ, &c. *For, Brethren, as the Preſidents by* [*ſending*] *Relations, make known all things* [*that are tranſacted with them*] *to the Emperor: ſo alſo the Angels,* &c. The Tranſlator renders it, *the Maſters of the Libels and Suggeſtions*; which rendition is ill. For ἄρχοντες in *Chryſoſtome* and the other writers of that age, are nothing elſe but *Preſidents* or *Governours of Provinces*. And ἀναφορὰ imports nothing elſe but *Relation* or *Narrative*. Wherefore, in *Severianus*, it muſt be written thus; ὥσπερ γὰ διὰ τὴς ἀναφορῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες, &c. *Valeſ.*

But if you be angry now, as you have been heretofore, do what you think good; ſince * *no reaſon is powerful enough to ſway your mind.* After this manner [*Neſtorius*] in his Letters ſtrikes and leaps, with his Fiſts and Feet,

* Or, *no reaſon is more powerful than your mind.*

and

* Or, *the Empire.* and reviles * the Emperors and Magiſtracy; having not been made prudent by the miſeries he ſuffer'd. But I have † read a certain Writer declaring his Latter end [after this manner, to wit,] *That his Tongue having been eaten out with worms, he departed to greater and immortal puniſhments [which are to be inflicted on him.]*

† Or, *heard.*

CHAP. VIII.

How, after Neſtorius, Maximianus, *and after him* Proclus, *then* Flavianus, *were made [Biſhops of* Conſtantinople.]

AFter that deſtructive Peſt *Neſtorius*, *Maximianus* ſucceeded in the Epiſcopate of the famous [City] *Conſtantinople*; under whom the Church of God enjoy'd all imaginable peace and tranquility. When he was taken from amongſt Men, *Proclus* enters upon the Government of that See, who had heretofore been ordain'd Biſhop of *Cyzicum*. And after he was gone the common way † of mankind, *Flavianus* ſucceeded in that Chair.

† Or, *of Men.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the unfortunate Eutyches, *and how he was depoſed by* Flavianus [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople; *and concerning the ſecond (to wit, that thieviſh) Synod at* Epheſus.

IN † his times, the controverſie about the impious *Eutyches* was ſtarted; a particular Synod having been convened (*a*) at *Conſtantinople*: [to which Synod] *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* (who was the firſt perſon that had [heretofore] refuted *Neſtorius*'s Blaſphemy, being until then but a *Rhetorician*) preſented Libels. Therefore, when *Eutyches*, after he had been ſummon'd [to the Synod,] came not: And at his appearing [afterwards] had been convicted of having ſaid theſe words: *I confeſs, that our Lord* † *had two natures before the union: But, after the union, I confeſs, but one nature:* (He aſſerted alſo, *that the Body of our Lord was not of the ſame ſubſtance with our Bodies.*) [After this, I ſay,] he is depoſed. But when he had preſented a *ſupplicatory Libel* to *Theodoſius*, * pretending that the Acts of thoſe convened [in that Synod] had been falſified by *Flavianus*; in the firſt place a Synod of [the Biſhops] that were near Neighbours to *Conſtantinople* was aſſembled. In which (*b*) ſome of the Magiſtrates alſo being preſent therein) *Flavianus* is judged. And when this Synod had confirmed *the Acts*, as being true; a ſecond Synod is convened at *Epheſus*.

† That is, *Flavianus*'s.

(*a*) Inſtead of [χτ τῦ κωνσανλινυ] it muſt undoubtedly be [χτ τὴν κωνσανλινυ, *at Conſtantinople*; which is the reading in the *Telleian* MS. and in *Nicephorus*, Book 14. chap. 47. where *Langus* renders it thus: *Flavianus Synodo Provinciali apud Conſtantinopolim coactâ, &c. Flavianus, a Provincial Synod having been convened at Conſtantinople*, &c. Whom *Chriſtophorſon* has follow'd. Notwithſtanding, I had rather render it *a particular Synod*, as *Muſculus* does. Indeed, that Synod conſiſted only of thoſe Biſhops, who at that time hapned to make their abode at *Conſtantinople*, on account of ſome Eccleſiaſtick affairs: Which Prelates they commonly termed ἐνδημοῦντας ἐπισκόπους, *Biſhops that made their reſidence for ſome time only in the City. The Acts of this Conſtantinopolitan Synod* under *Flavianus*, are related in the *Firſt Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*; where theſe words occur [ſee *Binius*, Tom. 3. pag. 80.] συναχθέισης τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης συνόδυ τῆς ἐνδημούσης ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ μεγαλοπόλει, &c. *The Holy and Great Synod having been convened [conſiſting of ſuch Prelates as] reſided for ſome time in the forenamed Great City*, &c. If any one be deſirous of knowing the names of thoſe Biſhops then convened, they occur in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Synod*. Valeſ. See *Binius*, Tom. 3. pag. 125. *Edit. Pariſ.* 1636.

† Or, *conſiſted of two natures.*

* Or, *as if the Acts*, &c.

(*b*) Καὶ τισὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων. which words *Chriſtophorſon* hath rendred ill; thus, *Some Prelates of Churches*; whereas he ſhould have tranſlated it, *ſome of the Magiſtrates*. *Nicephorus* therefore (Book 14. chap. 47.) has rightly explain'd theſe words of *Evagrius*, after this manner: Ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἱερέων παρῆσαν, καὶ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτυ τινὲς, *in which [Synod] there were preſent both others of the Prelates, and alſo ſome of the Senate. The Actions* of this *ſecond* Conſtantinopolitan *Synod under* Flavianus are extant, recorded in the *firſt Action of the* Chalcedon *Council*. See *Binius*. Tom. 3. pag 129. *Edit. ut prius*. Where *Florentius* the moſt magnificent *Patricius*, *Mamas* the *Comes* and *Proximus*, [that is, *Clerk*] of the *Deſk of Libels and Sacred Cognitions*, and *Macedonius* the *Tribune* and *Notary*, are ſaid to have been preſent at this Synod. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. X.

What was tranſacted by Dioſcorus *and* Chryſaphius [*at*] *the* * *abſurd Synod at* Epheſus.

* Παράλογον συνόδιον, *unexpected*, or *abſurd Synod*. *Valeſius* renders it, *the illegitimate Synod*: *Curterius* terms it, *the mad Synod*.

AT this Synod *Dioſcorus*, Succeſſor to *Cyrillus* in the See of *Alexandria*, was appointed to preſide: (*a*) Which thing was effected by the artifice of (*b*) *Chryſaphius* (a perſon of great intereſt in the Imperial Pallace at that time,) out of [his] hatred to *Flavianus*. There met [at this Synod] at *Epheſus*, *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, (*c*) who had been at the former *Epheſine* Synod, together with many other Prieſts [whom he had] about him. Together with theſe met *Domnus*, *Johannes*'s Succeſſor in the *Antiochian* See: alſo Biſhop (*d*) *Julius*, who filled the place of *Leo* Bp. of the Seniour *Rome*. *Flavianus* likewiſe was preſent with them, together with the Biſhops about him:

(*a*) In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, the reading was [τῶ τεχνάσανλϖ χρυσαφίυ] but *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *H. Savil*, by tranſpoſing the words, have mended it thus, τεχνάσανλϖ τῶ χρυσαφίυ. I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote thus: τῶτο τεχνάσανλος χρυσαφίυ. *Which thing* [that is, *Dioſcorus*'s Precedency in that Synod] *was effected by the artifice of* Chryſaphius. Further, *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates and points this whole paſſage, in this manner: *Hujus concilii* Dioſcorus, *qui in* Alexandriæ *Epiſcopatum poſt* Cyrillum *ſucceſſit, quò odium in* Flavianum *incenderetur, præſes deſignatus fuit. Chryſaphius enim hanc rem callidè molitus fuerat. Of this Council* Dioſcorus, *who ſucceeded* Cyrillus *in the Epiſcopate of* Alexandria, *to the end that the hatred againſt* Flavianus *might be inflamed, was appointed Preſident. For* Chryſaphius *had craftily attempted this thing.* But *Muſculus*'s opinion ſeems far better to me, who before theſe words πρὸς ἔχθρας φλαυιανῶ, places a ſubdiſtinction. For he renders it thus: *Præſidebat autem ei Synodo* Dioſcorus *poſt* Cyrillum Alexandrinus *Epiſcopus*; *id quod ita odio* Flaviani *inſtituerat* Chryſaphius, &c. *At that Synod preſided* Dioſcorus *Biſhop of* Alexandria *after* Cyrillus; *which thing* Chryſaphius *had ſo order'd out of [his] hatred to* Flavianus, &c. Inſtead of theſe words [πρὸς ἔχθρας, (or ἔχθραν, as Sir *Henry Savil* mends it) *out of* [*his*] *hatred*;] *Nicephorus* has theſe, διὰ ἔχθραν ἰὼν φλαυιανῶ, *by reaſon of his hatred reſiſting* [or, *breaking out againſt*] Flavianus. *Valeſ.*

(*b*) At the margin of the *Florentine Manuſcript*, this *Scholion* is ſet: Δεῖ τὸν δυσσεβῆ χρυσαφίυ σημείωσαι ὡς ἀεὶ οἱ κοιτωνικοὶ εὐνοῦχοι τὰς ὀρθοδόξυς ἀρχιερεῖς ἐκακώσαν; That is, *Note concerning the impious* Chryſaphius, *that the Eunuchs of the Bed-chamber have always done miſchief to the Orthodox Arch-Biſhops.* Of which thing we have an eminent inſtance in *Euſebius*, chief [Eunuch] of the Bed-chamber, who in *Conſtantius*'s Reign perſecuted *Athanaſius*, and the other Catholick Prelates. *Valeſ.*

(*c*) Τῶ καὶ πρότερον ἐν ἐφέσῳ χωμῶν. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words amiſs; as if *Evagrius* had ſaid, that *Juvenalis* had formerly been Biſhop of *Epheſus*. But *Evagrius* does not ſay ſo; but only, that *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* had been heretofore at *Epheſus*, to wit, in the *former Epheſine Synod*, wherein *Neſtorius* had been condemn'd. *Valeſ.*

(*d*) The reading in *Nicephorus* is the ſame; but 'tis corrupt, inſtead of *Julianus*. For ſo it is truly written in the *Acts of the ſecond* Epheſine *Synod*, which are recorded in the *firſt Action of the* Chalcedon *Council*; *Poſt conſulatum* Zenonis & Poſthumiani *V V. C C. Die ſexto Idus* Auguſti, &c. *After the Conſulate of the moſt famous Perſonages* Zeno *and* Poſthumianus, *on the ſixth of the Ides of* Auguſt, *in the third Indiction, a Synod is convened in the Metropolis* Epheſus, *by the command of the moſt Religious and moſt Chriſtian Emperors; and the moſt Reverend*

rend and moſt Holy Biſhops, Dioſcorus of Alexandria, and Biſhop Julianus (who was the Deputy of the moſt Holy and moſt Bleſſed Leo, Biſhop of the Roman Church) ſate in the Holy Church, which is call'd [Saint] Mary's. *Baronius*, at the year of Chriſt 449, relates from *Marianus*'s *Chronicon*, that this *Julianus* was Biſhop of *Puteoli*. Notwithſtanding as it is now extant in *Marianus Scotus*'s *Chronicon*, the Biſhop of *Puteoli* is not called *Julianus* but *Julius*, who was ſent with *Hilarus* the Deacon by Pope *Leo*, to the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*. But, in the Subſcriptions of the Biſhops who Subſcrib'd to this *ſecond Epheſine Synod*, (which Subſcriptions are Recorded in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 141.) he is term'd *Julianus* the Biſhop. For theſe are the Words there: *Julianus Epiſcopus, tenens locum ſanctiſſimi Epiſcopi Romanæ Eccleſiæ, interpretante ſe Florentio Epiſcopo Lydiæ, dixit, &c.* From which Words it ſeems to be concluded, that this *Julianus*, who was preſent at the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*, was *Julianus* Biſhop of *Cöe*; who two Years after was preſent at the *Chalcedon Council*, and held there alſo the Place of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, as it frequently occurs, recorded in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Synod*.——— Obſerve here *Baronius*'s Inconſtancy; who when he had written at the Year of Chriſt 449, that that *Julianus* (who was Legate of the Apoſtolick See at the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*) was Biſhop of *Puteoli*; afterwards (at the Year of Chriſt 451. Chap. 78.) makes him Biſhop of *Cöe*. *Valeſ.*

(e) *Theodoſius* having given an Order to *Elpidius* in theſe expreſs words: *Let thoſe* [*Prelates*] *who before have been the Judges of* Eutyches *the moſt Religious* * Archimandrite, *be preſent and ſilent: but let them in no wiſe take the place of Judges, but expect the common* † *Sentence of all the moſt Holy Fathers; in regard thoſe things which have been judged by them, are now under ſcrutiny.* In this Synod *Eutyches* is reſtored (his Sentence of Depoſition being revok'd) by *Dioſcorus* and thoſe about him; * as the Contents of the *Acts* thereof do ſhew. And *Flavianus*, and *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum*, are condemned and depoſed. At the ſame Synod, *Ibas* Biſhop of the *Edeſſeni* is excommunicated; and (f) *Daniel* Biſhop of *Carræ* is depoſed: as is alſo (g) *Irenæus* of *Tyre*, and *Aqualinus* of *Byblus*. Moreover, ſome things were tranſacted [there] on the account of (h) *Sophronius* Biſhop of *Conſtantina*.

(e) The *ſacred Commonitory* (or, *Letters Mandatory*,) of the Emperor *Theodoſius* to *Elpidius*, *Comes* of the *Sacred Conſiſtory*, and to *Eulogius* the *Tribune* and *Prætorian Notary*, is extant in the *Acts* of the *Epheſine Conventicle* [or, *little Council*] which are recorded in the firſt Action of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 46, where theſe words here related by *Evagrius* do occur. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Abbot.*

† Or, *Suffrage.*

* Or, *as 'tis contained in the Acts.*

(f) A little before the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*, *Ibas* [Biſhop] of *Edeſſa*, and *Daniel* Biſhop of *Carræ* had been accuſed before the Emperor *Theodoſius* by their own Clergy. The Emperor gave order, that cognizance of their Cauſe ſhould be taken in a Synod at *Berytus*, in the preſence of *Damaſcius*, *Tribune* and *Prætorian Notary*. The *Acts of this Council* [at *Berytus*] are extant, recorded in the *tenth Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, (See *Binius*. Tom. 3. pag. 377.) which begin thus: *Poſt Conſulatum Flavii Zenonis & Poſthumiani, &c. After the Conſulate of the moſt famous Perſonages* Flavius Zeno *and* Poſthumianus, *on the Calends of* September, *in the ſecond Indiction, &c.* I doubt not but it ſhould be written, *Conſulatu Zenonis & Poſthumiani, In the Conſulate of* Zeno *and* Poſthumianus. Otherwiſe, this Synod would have hapned after the *Epheſine little Council*, which was convened after the Conſulate of *Zeno* and *Poſthumianus*, in the Month of *Auguſt*. Now, the *Berytian Synod* cannot be placed after that *Epheſine Synod*, in regard mention is made therein of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and of *Domnus* of *Antioch*: Both which, 'tis manifeſt, were depoſed in the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*. Add hereto the Teſtimony of *Liberatus* the Deacon, who relates in his *Breviarium*, that this *Berytian Synod* was convened before *Eutyches* had framed his Hereſie. *Valeſ.*

(g) Long before the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*, *Irenæus* had been driven from his Biſhoprick, by an Edict of the Emperor *Theodoſius*; and *Photius* had been put into his See. 'Tis certain, *Photius* preſided at the *Berytian Synod*, which had been convened on the Year before the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*. But, becauſe *Irenæus* had been ejected by the Emperor's Order, not by the Determination of a Synod, therefore he was depoſed in the *ſecond Epheſine Synod*. Valeſ.

(h) 'Tis ſtrange, how much Tranſlators have erred in the Verſion of this place: For *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s *Tranſlator*, renders it thus: *Decrevit hæc Synodus quoque de Sophronio quædam, &c. This Synod alſo decreed ſome things concerning* Sophronius, *who had come at that time to* Conſtantinople, *on account of ſeeing that City. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner: *Nonnulla ibidem acta fuere contra Sophronium Epiſcopum Conſtantinopolitanum, Some things were acted there againſt* Sophronius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople. But he ought to have ſaid *Biſhop of* Conſtantina. For *Sophronius* was Biſhop of *Conſtantina*, as 'tis apparent from the *ſecond Antiochian Synod* under *Domnus*, which is inſerted in the 14th *Action of the* Chalcedon *Synod*. The ſame *Sophronius* was afterwards preſent at the *Chalcedon Synod*, as 'tis recorded in the *Acts of that Synod*. Now, *Conſtantina* is a City of *Phœnice*. Valeſ.

* *Theodoret* Biſhop of *Cyrus* was depoſed alſo by them, as was likewiſe *Domnus* [Biſhop] of *Antioch*. (i) What became of that Prelate afterwards, I cannot find. When theſe things had been tranſacted in this manner, the ſecond Synod at *Epheſus* was diſſolved.

* This was he who wrote the *five Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory.*

(i) In the place of *Domnus* Biſhop of *Antioch Maximus* was ſubrogated, as *Liberatus* informs us in his *Breviarium*: Who was afterwards confirm'd in his Biſhoprick by Pope *Leo*, as we read in the *Tenth Action of the* Chalcedon *Council*. Notwithſtanding, the ſame *Maximus* appointed *Domnus*, as long as he liv'd, a certain Allowance out of the Revenue of his Church, that being content with his Maintenance, he might in future be quiet: Which thing was approved of by the other Patriarchs in the *Chalcedon Council*, as may be ſeen in the *fore-cited Action*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XI.

This Writer's *Apology in Defence of the Variety* [*of Opinions*] *amongſt us* [Chriſtians] *and his Deriſion of the* Pagan *Trifles.*

BUT, let * none of the Heathens deride us, becauſe the latter [Biſhops] depoſe the former, and always find out ſome new thing [which they add] to the Faith. For we making Reſearches after the ineffable Love of God [towards Men] which is paſt finding out, and being deſirous to honour and extol it in the higheſt manner, do betake our ſelves to this or that [Opinion.] Nor was any one of thoſe, who invented Hereſies amongſt the *Chriſtians*, ſo weak, that he would † deſignedly blaſpheme; nor has [any ſuch Perſon] fallen into an Error, with a deſire to diſhonour the Deity: but 'twas rather his Suppoſition, that if he ſhould aſſert this Opinion, he ſhould ſpeak better than * thoſe who went before him. Beſides, thoſe [Points] which are eſſential (a) and fundamental, with a general conſent we all confeſs and acknowledge. For 'tis the *Trinity* which we adore, and the *Unity* which we glorifie: And God the Word, begotten before [all] ages, who was incarnate by a ſecond Generation, out of his Compaſſion * to Man. But if Innovations have been introduc'd about ſome other [Points,] they have proceeded from God our Saviour's giving [us] a free liberty of judging concerning theſe things; to the end that the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church may † reduce the things that are ſaid on the one ſide and on the other, to what is decent and pious, and || may [make them] fall into one exact and right way. And for this reaſon the Apoſtle [St. *Paul*] has moſt perſpicuouſly and truly ſaid: * *There muſt be alſo Hereſies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifeſt* [*among you.*] And in this alſo the unſpeakable Wiſdom of God is to be admired, who hath ſaid to the Divine [Saint] *Paul*]: † *For my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs.* For, for what reaſons the Members of the Church have been rent in ſunder, for the very ſame [cauſes] the true and irreprehenſible || *Dogmata* have been more accurately poliſh'd and ſet forth; and the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church has increaſed, and been advanced even to the Heavens. But the nouriſhers of Heatheniſh Error, who are not deſirous of finding out either [the Nature of] God, or his providential Care about Men, do mutually overthrow both

* Or, *none of thoſe who are mad upon Idols.*

† Πεῤῥωσοτύπως, *originally*, or, *primarily.*

* Or, *him who went before him.*

(a) Τὰ μὲν συνεχῆ καὶ κύρια. In *Nicephorus* (Book 14. chap. 48. where he tranſcribes this Paſſage of *Evagrius*,) the reading is [καὶ καίρια, *and opportune*] which reading is not ſo good as I judge. Yet, I found it expreſsly ſo written in the *Tellerian* MS. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *To the Creature.*

† Or, *Captivate.*

|| Or, *May meet in one exact, &c.*

* 1 Cor. 11. 19.

† 2 Cor. 12. 9.

|| *Doctrines* or *Points.*

both their own and their Anceſtors Opinions. For they invent Gods upon Gods, and chooſe and name them from their own perturbations of Mind; to the end that by taking to themſelves ſuch Gods, they may procure pardon for their own luſts and debaucheries. So forſooth, he who amongſt them [is accounted] the ſupream Father of Men and Gods, having *metamorpohz'd* himſelf into a Bird, laſciviouſly ſnatch't up the *Phrygian* Boy; and as the reward of his uncleanneſs, gave him his Cup (*b*), permitting him to begin to drink an inviting Cup to himſelf, that ſo both of 'em might in common ſwallow down their ſhame together with their *Nectar*. The ſame [*Jupiter* defiled himſelf] with infinite other Impieties, which have been interdicted even amonſt the vileſt of Men. And having changed himſelf into all the ſhapes of irrational Creatures, (he himſelf being of all the moſt brutiſh) is made an **Androgynus*, and (*c*) bears a Child not in his belly, but on his thigh, to the end that theſe things contrary to nature might be done by him. At which birth *Bacchus* [is brought forth,] who was himſelf an *Androgynus* alſo, and brought a reproach upon both Sexes: he was the Prince of drunkenneſs, of ſotiſhneſs cauſed by fulneſs of Wine, of Surfeits and Debauches proceeding from ſo profuſe drinking, and of all the diſtempers riſing therefrom. To this (*d*) *Ægiochus*, this *loud Thunderer*, they aſcribe this (*e*) as ſome brave and great [Action,] they term him Parricide (a Villany judg'd by all Men to be of the greateſt magnitude) becauſe he drove *Saturn*, who had unfortunately begat him, out of his Kingdom. What [Tranſactions] of *Theodoſius*'s Reign, manifeſt and evident to the Eyes of all Men.

(*b*) Τῷ φιλοπσίαν προπίνειν ἐπιτρέψας. He means (I ſuppoſe) that Story, which we are told concerning *Ganymed* Son of *Tros* K. of *Troas* (which was one part of *Phrygia*.) This Boy, *Jupiter* having turn'd himſelf into an Eagle, ſnatch't up, and admitted him his Cup-bearer, in the room of *Hebe*, whom he had diſplaced; and makes him his *Catamite*.

* *A Perſon that is both male and female.*

(*c*) The Story is this. *Semele*, 'tis ſaid, being great with child by *Jupiter* (to whom that God had ſworn to give whatever ſhe ſhould ask of him) was by *Juno*'s craft put upon making this requeſt to him; viz. *That he would lie one night with her in the ſame manner he uſed to lie with* Juno. The God-lover granted her deſire; and *Semele* is burnt up with Thunder: but the Boy was taken out of her womb, and put upon *Jove*'s thigh; of whom he was deliver'd (in ſuch manner as Women are) at the due time. On which account *Bacchus* (who was the Child thus brought forth) had the name of *Bimater*, *one that had two Mothers*.

(*d*) 'Tis an *Epithet* given to *Jupiter*, either (1) becauſe he wore the ſacred *Ægis*, [that is, *Breſt-plate*,] or (2) becauſe he was the raiſer of Storms, or rather (3) in regard he wore the Skin of the *Goat Amalthæa*, which had been his Nurſe. See *Servius upon Virgil's 8th Æneid. Col.* 1320. *Edit. Baſil.* 1586.

(*e*) In ſtead of [ᾧ τὶ σεμνὸν, *and ſome brave*, &c] I doubt not but it ſhould be [ὡς τὶ σεμνὸν, *as ſome brave*, &c.] For, in theſe Books of *Evagrius*, ᾧ is frequently uſed inſtead of ὡς. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *has had Divinity attributed to it*; or, *has been deified.*

* Or, *has* ſhould I ſay of Whoredom, which * has been conſecrated amongſt them, over which they have made the *Cyprian Venus*, begotten of a Shell, to preſide; which [Goddeſs] abominates continency as a moſt execrable thing and altogether intolerable: But ſhe is delighted with Whoredoms and all manner of filthy Actions, wherewith 'tis her deſire to be appeaſed. With whom *Mars* commits an unclean act, and by the craft of *Vulcanus* is [taken and] expoſed to the view and deriſion of the other Gods. Any one may alſo deſervedly laugh at their *Phalli*, their *Ithyphalli*, *Phallagogia*, their vaſt *Priapus*, and *Pan* who is worſhipped with an obſcene Member; and at their Myſteries [celebrated] at *Eleuſine*, commendable for this thing only, [to wit] that the Sun ſees 'em not, but they are condemn'd to dwell in darkneſs. But, leaving theſe things as well to the obſcene worſhippers as to the worſhipped, let us ſpur on our Horſe † to the end of the Race, and render the remaining

† Ἐπὶ τὸν νύσσαν *to the Mark*, or, *Goal.*

CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Emperor Theodoſius *[proſecuted and] expell'd the Hereſie of* Neſtorius.

THe ſame Emperor wrote a moſt pious Conſtitution, extant in the *Firſt Book* of that termed *Juſtinian's Code*, which is in number *The Third* of the *Firſt Title*. In which [Conſtitution, *Theodoſius*] incited thereto by God, has *with all Suffrages* (as 'tis proverbially ſaid) condemn'd * him, for whom he had heretofore had a ſingular Affection (as *Neſtorius* himſelf has related;) † and has denounced an *Anathema* againſt him, recorded in theſe expreſs words: *Moreover, We decree, That thoſe who* ‖ *emulate the impious Faith of* Neſtorius, *or follow his deteſtable Doctrine, (if they be Biſhops, or Eccleſiaſticks) ſhall be ejected out of the Holy Churches: But if they be Laick, they ſhall be* Anathematized. The ſame Emperor made other Laws on account of our Religion, which do ſufficiently demonſtrate the Ardency of his Zeal.

* *Neſtorius.*

† Or, *has ſurrounded him with an* Anathema.

‖ Or, *imitate.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Saint Symeon *the* † Stylite.

† Or, *who dwelt in* [or, *upon*] *a pillar.*

IN theſe times, *Symeones*, [a perſon] of an holy (*a*) and moſt celebrated memory, flouriſh'd and was * eminent: he was the firſt perſon that inſtituted the Station upon a pillar, the circumference of whoſe manſion was ſcarce two cubits; at which time *Domnus* preſided over the Church of *Antioch*: Who when he was come to *Symeones*, and had admired his ſtation and manner of life, was deſirous of ſome more ſecret [converſe with him.] Both of them therefore met together, (*b*) and having conſecrated the immaculate Body [of *Chriſt*,] they gave one another the Vivifick Communion. This Perſon in the fleſh emulated the converſe of the celeſtial powers, withdrew himſelf from affairs upon Earth, and putting a force upon nature, which tends downward, purſued things ſublime. And having plac'd himſelf in the midſt, [as it were] between Heaven and things upon Earth, he converſed with

* Or, *conſpicuous.*

(*a*) Καὶ πάνυ ἀοσίμου μνήμης. Sir *H. Savil* in *his copy* makes it one word, thus, παναοσίμου. But I had rather write it πανααοσίμου; for ſo *Grecians* do uſually ſpeak; as when they ſay πανεύφημον *moſt eminently laudable*, παναγὲς *moſt holy*, and the like. Our *Evagrius* ſpeaking hereafter concerning *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, gives him this Elogy, Γρηγορίου τοῦ παναοσίμου, *the moſt celebrated* Gregorius. Valeſ.

(*b*) Heretofore the Presbyters celebrated the Church-Service together with the Biſhop, and receiv'd the *Euchariſt* from his hand. So in the *tenth Action of the* Chalcedon *Council*, *Baſſianus* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, in his *Supplicatory Libel* to *Marſianus* the Emperor, amongſt other things ſays theſe words: Τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ λειτουργήσαντες πάντες ὁμοῦ, &c. *Having on the day after, all of us perform'd the Publick-Service together*, &c. And, at a great diſtance from that place, the ſame *Baſſianus* ſays, pag. 303. ἑτέρου πρεσβυτέρου μοῦ, &c. Stephanus *my Presbyter was with me four years*; *he perform'd the Publick-Service with me, communicated with me, and receiv'd the Communion from me, as from his Biſhop.* The ſame uſage alſo was heretofore practiſed in the *Roman* Church, to wit, that the Presbyters ſhould every day celebrate the Publick-Service together with the Biſhop of *Rome*, and receive the Communion from his hand. But on Sundays, when the Presbyters were neceſſitated to perform the Publick-Service apart in their own *Titles*, [*Pariſhes*, or, *Cures*,] on account of the People committed to their charge; they receiv'd the Lord's Body ſent by the *Acolythi* from the Biſhop of *Rome*; that they might not ſeem to be ſeparated from the Communion of their own Biſhop, eſpecially on that day; as Pope *Innocent* informs us in his *Epiſtle to* Decentius. Valeſ.

God,

God, and together with the Angels glorified him: offering to God from the earth his supplications for men, and procuring from heaven the supernal benevolence upon men. This persons * Miracles have been written by one that was an eye-witness of what he did. *Theodoret* also Bishop of *Cyrus* † has recorded them very eloquently. [c But] we have found, that they have been most especially defective in this [following passage,] which to this day is preserved amongst those of the Holy Solitude, and from which very persons, we have received it. When therefore *Symeones*, that Angel upon earth, that Citizen in the flesh of the *Jerusalem* which is above, had instituted this new, and [hitherto] unknown way of living to men; the Inhabitants of the Holy Desert send a messenger to him, whom they ordered to enquire [of *Symeones*,] what this new and strange course of life was, and why he left that way which had been troden and worn by the Saints, and proceeded in another new one, [hitherto] wholly unknown to men? And [they bade the messenger tell him] that they commanded him to come down, and go on in the way of the Elect Fathers. Now, if he should shew himself [d] ready [and willing] to come down, their order was, that he should be permitted to follow his own [way.] For by his obedience [they said] it would be manifest, that by the direction of God he had undertaken this troublesome and afflictive way of living. But if he refused, and would be the servant of his own will, nor would with a readiness forthwith obey their admonition, ['twas their order] that he should be pulled down by force. When therefore the messenger was come to him, and had acquainted him with the command of the Fathers, and *Symeon* had forthwith put down one of his feet, resolving to fulfil the Order of the Fathers; [the messenger who had been sent to him] permitted him to proceed on in his own way; and spake these words [to him:] *Be strong, and behave thy self like a man: thy station is of God.* This truly memorable action [of *Symeon*'s] which I have related here, is omitted by those who have written concerning him. [Further,] this person was in so high a manner influenced by the power of divine grace, that when the Emperour *Theodosius* had issued out an Order, that the Synagogues of the *Jews* inhabiting *Antioch* (which had been taken from them by the *Christians*,) should be restored to them again; he wrote to the Emperour with so much freedom and confidence, and reproved him so smartly, (revering [God] only his own King,) that the Emperour *Theodosius* revok'd his own Orders, fulfilled all things in favour of the *Christians*, removed the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who had suggested these things to him, from his Government, and entreated the most [e] Holy and *Aereal* Martyr in [these] express words, *That he would put up his supplications and prayers for him, and impart to him his own blessing.* Moreover, *Symeon* spent six and fifty years in this afflictive and austere course of life. In the first Monastery, wherein he had been imbued with the precepts of a divine life, [he spent] nine years; and seven and fourty in that place called * *The Mandra*: during ten years [of which time] he performed his combat in a certain narrow place; [he dwelt] seven years in the shorter pillars, and thirty years upon a pillar of fourty cubits long. His most sacred body, after his departure out of this life, in the succeeding times was brought to *Antioch*, [to wit,] when *Leo* sway'd the Imperial Scepter, and *Martyrius* presided over the Church of *Antioch*; at which time also *Ardaburius Master of the Oriental Milice*, came to *Symeon*'s *Mandra*, accompanied with those Military Forces he had about him, and with other multitudes; and guarded the most precious dead body of the blessed *Symeones*, to the end that the neighbouring Cities might not meet together and steal it. His most holy body therefore is convey'd to *Antioch*, very great Miracles having been performed even by the way. The Emperour *Leo* desired it might be given to him by the *Antiochians*. But the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, presented a *supplicatory Libel* to him, wherein were contained these words: *In regard we have no wall to our City,* ([f] *For 'tis fallen by reason of the wrath* [*of God:*]) *we have brought* [*hither*] *the most Holy Body that it may be to us instead of a wall and a Fortification.* By which words the Emperour *Leo* was prevailed upon, granted their request, and permitted them [to enjoy] the Holy Body. Many of this person's [Reliques] have been preserved until our times. Even I my self have seen his holy Head, (several Ecclesiasticks being then present,) at such time as the most celebrated *Gregorius* was Bishop of *Antioch*; when *Philippicus* requested, that the precious Reliques of the Saints might be sent to him, in order to the guarding and defending the *Oriental* Milice. And, which is to be wondred at, the hair of his Head was not faln off; but is preserved perfect and entire, as if he were yet alive, and conversant amongst men. The skin also of his forehead was wrinkled indeed, and become hard; but 'tis as yet preserved whole, as are also most of his teeth, [g] excepting so many of them as have by force been taken away by the hands of faithful persons. [Which teeth of his] do by their * form declare, what, how great and eminent a man of God this *Symeones* was. There lies likewise at his head, a chain made of iron which he wore about his neck; with which his much-renowned Body, worn out by austerities, hath shar'd the honours [given] by God.

* Or, *Predictions.*

† See *Theodoret*'s works, Tom. 3. pag. 876, &c. *Edit. Paris*, 1642.

c This place has been several ways corrected by Learned men, to wit, by *Christophorson*, and *Curterius*, or rather by those from whose Copies they transcribed these emendations. For some, after the word ἀξιαλειποτ ς, add *the verb* εἰσίν. Others read ἀξιαλέλοιπεν, and understand that concerning *Theodoret* only. But I suppose this place is to be restored thus: ἐν ᾧ τὰ μάλιστα παρελοιπότας καθειλήφαμεν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν σωζόμενον ἀξιᾷ τῆς ἁγίας ἐρήμου παρ' αὐτῶν παρειλήφαμεν. And so I have rendred it: nor do I doubt but *Evagrius* wrote it thus. *Vales.*

d In the incomparable *Florentine* MS. I found these words, written at the Margin; πνθμαπκῆ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ χειρῷ ἦ ἐξ πατέρων περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Συμεῶνος κείσις: that is, *The judgment of the Fathers concerning the Great* Symeon [*was*] *truly spiritual in Christ.* Vales.

e These seem to be

f After this clause, *Nicephorus* adds these words; σεισμὸς μέγας γεγονὼς, *a great earthquake having happened.* Vales.

g Οἱ μὴ ὅσοι. *Christophorson & Sr Henry Savil* have mended this place thus; [ὅσοι μὴ χερσὶν, *as many as have not by force*, &c.] But the place may be mended by a smaller change, thus: εἰ μὴ ὅσοι, &c. *excepting so many of them as*, &c. Instead of these words, *Nicephorus* uses, πλὴν ὅσοι; which is more elegant. *Vales.*

* Διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, by [their] *figure, form*, or *shape*: *Valesius* renders it, *by their greatness.*

For that dear and friendly Iron deſerted not *Symeones*, even when dead. I would have given [h] a particular account of this Perſon's performances, (which would yield no ſmall advantage, both to my ſelf relating them, and alſo to thoſe who ſhould read them;) were it not, that *Theodoret* ([i] as I have ſaid before) hath declared them more at large.

h Inſtead of [ὅπως τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον] I had rather it ſhould be [ὃ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον, *a particular account of this Perſon's*, &c.] Which emendation ſeems to me to be altogether neceſſary; although *Nicephorus* defends the common reading. *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read according as I have ſaid. *Valeſ.*

i Ὡς ἔφθω εἰπών. I am of the ſame mind with Sir *Henry Savil*, who in the margin of his Copy has mended it thus; ὡς ἔφθω εἰπών, *as I have ſaid before.* The ſame fault is corrected before in this Chapter, where the Synagogues are ſpoken of, which the *Antiochians* had heretofore taken away from the *Jews*. And ſo it is plainly written in the *Tellerian* Manuſcript. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the Star which appears frequently in the Piazza *about the Pillar of Saint* Symeon, *which* this Writer *and others have ſeen: and concerning the ſame* Saint's *Head.*

BUt come on, I will inſert another thing alſo into this Hiſtory, which I my ſelf ſaw. I had a great deſire to ſee the Church of this holy Perſon. It is about three hundred furlongs diſtant from * *Theopolis*, ſituate on the very top of an hill. Thoſe who live thereabouts call it [a] *The Mandra*; the moſt holy [*Symeones*,] I ſuppoſe left this name to the place of his *Aſcetick* exerciſes. The riſing of the hill extends to the length of twenty furlongs. The fabrick of the Temple repreſents the form of a Croſs, beautify'd with Portico's of four ſides, [b] Oppoſite to thoſe Portico's are placed Pillars, curiouſly framed of poliſh'd ſtone, whereon the Roof is gracefully rais'd to an heighth.

* That is, *Antioch.*

a Inſtead of [μανδείαν, *The Mandria*] in the *Tellerian* MS. and *Nicephorus*, it is μάνδραν, *The Mandra.* For ſo *Evagrius* himſelf terms it twice, in the foregoing Chapter. But what *Evagrius* adds, to wit, that Saint *Symeones* gave that Name to that place wherein he had exerciſed himſelf in the ſtudies in a more auſtere Philoſophy, is to be further inquired into. *Evagrius*'s words are theſe: τῆς ἀσκήσεως δίμαι τὸ παναγὲς συμεῶν τὴν θεσπηγείαν τῷ χώρῳ καταλιπόν. *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil* mend it thus, καλαλιπόνς: wherein they are greatly miſtaken. They perceived not that *Evagrius* is wont ſometimes to tranſpoſe words. This place therefore in *Evagrius* is thus to be conſtrued: τὸ παναγὲς τὸν θεσπηγείαν καλαλιπόν τῷ χώρῳ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, *The moſt holy* [Symeones,] *I ſuppoſe, left*, &c. So *Nicephorus* underſtood this place in *Evagrius*. For thus he words it: μάνδραν μὲν ὡς εἴρηται, &c. *The Inhabitants call the place of his Aſcetick exerciſes* The Mandra, *as has been ſaid; the Holy* [Symeon] *having given it that name.* Yet, any one may conjecture, that that name was given to that place after *Symeon*'s death, when many Monks flock'd thither, and had built a Monaſtery there. For *Mandra* ſignifies a *Monaſtery*, being a Metaphor taken from *Hovel*'s, wherein Sheep or Goats are foddered; which are called *Mandræ*. Hence the *Abbots* of Monaſteries are termed *Archimandritæ*, as may be ſeen in the *Chalcedon Council*, and in the *Novels of the Emperours*. *Theodorus Lector* ſpeaks concerning this Monaſtery of *Symeon*, in book 1. *Collectan*; where he ſays, Δανιὴλ ὁ θαυμάσιος, &c. *The Admirable* Daniel, *who came out of* Symeon's Mandra, *went upon the Pillar at* Anaplum. *Symeon Metaphraſtes* does likewiſe mention this Monaſtery in *his Life of* Daniel *the Stylite*, *chap.* 7. at which place *Metaphraſtes* ſhews that this Monaſtery was built whilſt *Symeon* was living. Concerning which, neither *Theodoret*, nor *Evagrius*, ſpeak one word. But, I will not hide this, viz. that in the *Tellerian* M. S. the reading at this place is, καλαλιπούσης *Valeſ.*

b Παραπεπήχασι ὑπὸ ταῖς στοαῖς. *Chriſtophorſon* renders this place thus: *Porticibus vero columnæ adjunctæ ſunt, To the Portico's are adjoyned Pillars.* Nor is *Muſculus*'s Verſion much different; who tranſlates it thus: *Inſunt autem porticibus columnæ, There are in the portico's pillars.* But the Greek term Παραπεπήχασι ſeems to import ſomething more. *Evagrius* makes uſe of the ſame word in book 4. chap. 31. where he deſcribes the Church of *Saint Sophia*. The place there is thus worded: ἐν δεξιῷ ὃ καὶ καλὰ τὸ ὀνώνυμον κίονες αὐτοῖς παραπεπήχασι. Which paſſage I have rendred after this manner: *In dextro autem ac ſiniſtro latere, ex adverſo fornicum poſitæ ſunt columnæ, On the right hand and on the left, oppoſite to the Arches are placed Pillars.* Doubtleſs, this word παραπήχασι, does either ſignify that which I have ſaid [to wit, *to place over againſt*, or *oppoſite*,] or elſe *juxta ponere, to place near.* *Langus*, *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlatour, renders theſe words of *Evagrius*, which we have placed at the beginning of this Note, after this manner; *Juxta porticus hæ ex ſaxo poliſto columnæ decentiſſime conſtructæ ſunt, near theſe portico's there are pillars of poliſh'd ſtone moſt gracefully built.* Valeſ.

c In the midſt, there is an *open* Court, wrought with a great deal of art: in which [Court] ſtands the Pillar forty cubits long, wherein that incarnate Angel upon earth led a celeſtial life. In the Roof of the ſaid *Portico's*, there are [d] *Clatri*, (ſome term them *Windows*;) [e] verging both towards the foremention'd open Court, and alſo towards the *Portico's*. At the left ſide therefore of the Pillar, I my ſelf [f] together with the whole multitude there gathered together, (the Countrymen being dancing about the Pillar,) have ſeen in the Window a Star of a vaſt magnitude, running all over the Window and glittering, not once, nor twice, nor thrice, but often: which [Star] vaniſh'd frequently, and appear'd again on a ſudden.

c *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood this place much amiſs. For thus he has rendred it: *Verſùs medium Templum, atrium eſt ſub dio, towards the middle of the Church there is an open court. Evagrius*

d Κλειθείδια. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have tranſlated it *Cancellos, Lattiſes*; which I can by no means approve of. For κιγκλίδες ſignify *Cancelli.* I would therefore rather render it *Clatri.* In the *Old Gloſſes* *Clatri* are thus deſcribed; κανόνες, οἱ ἐν τοῖς δυείοιν ὀβελίσκοι, *Squares*, (that is, *Croſs-bars*, or *Lattiſed-bars*) *or Bars that are in windows.* But in the *other Gloſſes*, *Clatrare* is expounded κλείειν, *claudere, to ſhut.* The Original therefore of the *Greek* and *Latine* word is the ſame. *Valeſ.*

e I am of the ſame opinion with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil*, who inſtead of ἀποκεινόμενα, *anſwering*, mended it thus; ἀποκλινόμενα, *verging*, or *declining.* Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* defends the common reading, to wit, ἀποκεινόμενα *anſwering.* Moreover, *Nicephorus* adds ſome words, which are not at this day extant in our *Evagrius*. The paſſage is thus worded in *Nicephorus*: ἄφ' ἧς αὐταῖς δὴ τῆ σταῖς καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν θεωμένιον ὑπαιθρον ἀποκείνεται, καὶ χώραν δίδωσι τοῖς ἡσημένοις ἐκλὸς ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔκ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξοθεν. Which place in *Nicephorus Langus* renders thus: ——— *Porticibus ipſis & ſubdiali quæ dicta eſt aulæ reſpondentes, locumq; volentibus dantes, ut ex ipſo templo extra, & rursùm ab exteriori templi parte in templum proſpicere poſſint*; *Which* [clatri] *are anſwerable both to the* Portico's *themſelves, and alſo to the ſaid open Court, and afford a place to thoſe that are deſirous of looking out, from within the Church; and again, of looking into the Church, from its outward part.* Whence *Nicephorus* had this, I know not; unleſs it were from *Symeon Metaphraſtes*, who had written the Life of *Symeones* the *Stylite*. *Nicephorus* does indeed atteſt, that he himſelf had read *Metaphraſtes*'s *Life of Symeones.* And 'tis not likely, that *Nicephorus* ſhould have added this of his own head. Now, for what reaſon theſe words were added, I have as to me it ſeemeth apprehended; To wit, *Metaphraſtes* (or, if you will, *Nicephorus* himſelf,) thought that the Women, who were in no wiſe ſuffered to go into that ſacred Edifice, beheld that Star, here mentioned, from theſe Windows. But, he is much miſtaken, as we ſhall declare by and by. *Valeſ.*

f *Muſculus* renders this paſſage thus; *Cum univerſo collecto illic agreſtium circa columnam ſaltantium populo, Together with the whole multitude* [or *people*] *of the Countrymen there gathered together dancing round the Pillar.* Whom *Chriſtophorſon* has followed; having expunged the *comma*, which is placed after the word [*together.*] But this rendition is not to be born with. For the Countrymen were not the only Perſons then in the Church of Saint *Symeon*, when this Star was ſeen by *Evagrius*. But many Citizens were there alſo at that time, of which number *Evagrius* was one. Beſides, the People which *Evagrius* ſays were there gathered together at that time, were in the *Portico* at the left hand of the Pillar. But, the Ruſticks were in the *Atrium*, [or *open Court*,] dancing about the Pillar. *Valeſ.*

But

But this happens only on those days, observed in memory of that most holy Person [*Symeon.*] There are those who say, (nor are we to disbelieve the Miracle, both because of their credibility who affirm it, and by reason of other things which we our selves have beheld:) that they have seen even [g] his very Person flying up and down this way and that way, with his long beard, and his head covered with a * *Tiara*, as it was wont to be. The men who come to this place, have free liberty to enter in, and go round the Pillar many times together with their beasts that carry burdens. But a most exquisite care is taken, (for what reason I cannot say,) that no woman should go into the Church. Therefore, *they* stand without [the Church,] at the Porch, and behold the Miracle. For [h] one of the [Church] Gates is placed exactly opposite to the glittering Star.

[g] Αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο. In *Nicephor.* the reading is πέφυκεν, which I think to be right est. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written σεσωσμένον, the accent being changed. *Vales.*

* A round ornament, worn by *Princes* and *Priests* on their heads; it was heretofore the dress of the *Persian* women.

[h] Ἡ μία τῆς θυρῶν. Instead of the word [θυρῶν, *Gates*,] *Nicephorus* made it [θυρίδων, *Windows*] which was ill done, as I have remarked above at Note (*e.*) For, the women could not see through the window, in regard they [the women] were in the Porch, but the windows were placed in the very top of the *Portico's*, into which the women were forbid to come. *Johannes Langus* therefore, having followed our *Evagrius*, has upon a good account corrected *Nicephorus*. For, thus he renders it; *Mulieres quoque, sed extra templum ad postes stantes, miraculum hoc spectant. Janua enim una ex adverso stellæ fulgentis locata est. Women also, but they stand without the Church at the gate, do behold this Miracle. For one of the gates is placed over against the shining Star.* Vales.

judgments upon what they see, are not [byassed] either by affection or hatred. They perswade him therefore, [b] to be a partaker of the salutary Regeneration, and to take the Sacerdotal yoak upon him, [c] although he had not as yet embraced the Doctrine of the Resurrection, * nor would be induced to believe that Article: they having most truly conjectured, that these [Sentiments] would follow these Persons other virtues, [in regard] the divine grace would permit [him] to have nothing imperfect. Nor was their expectation frustrated. For, what and how great a Person he proved, is sufficiently attested by the Epistles which he wrote with much Elegancy and Learning after his [undertaking] the Sacerdotal Function, by the [d] Oration he spoke to [the Emperour] *Theodosius* himself, and by those other useful Works of his that are extant.

[b] Or, *to count himself worthy of the salutary Regeneration*; that is, Baptism, as far as may be collected from these and the following words. *Evagrius* seems to have thought, that *Synesius* was baptized and promoted to the Episcopal dignity at one and the same time. And yet, that this is false, *Petavius* proves by many Arguments, in *his Notes upon* Synesius, pag. 2 and 3. Notwithstanding, *Evagrius* is followed by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*, and by *Nicephorus* book 14. chap. 55. Although *Nicephorus* says not that *Synesius* had been baptized and ordained at one and the same time; but, that when *Theophilus* had prevailed with him to receive *Christian-baptism*, afterwards he endeavoured to perswade him to enter upon the Episcopal Function. See *Nicephorus*'s words, at the book and chapter now cited. *Vales.*

* Or, *nor would think so.*

[c] Many Persons, I perceive, have perswaded themselves, that when *Synesius* was elected Bishop by the Inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, he wholly disbelieved the Resurrection of Bodies. Notwithstanding, that this is not true, *Synesius* himself attests in *his 105th Epistle*, which he wrote to his brother *Euoptius*, who was then at *Alexandria*. In that Letter, he gives reasons why he could not undertake the Bishoprick offered to him. ——— One of which is, *The Resurrection of Bodies*. His Sentiment concerning which point, he declares in these words; τῷ καθωμιλημένῳ ἀνάστασιν ἱερόν τι καὶ ἀπόῤῥητον ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ πολλοῦ δέω ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὑπολήψεσιν ὁμολογῆσαι, *That much spoken of Resurrection I account a Sacred and Mystical thing, and am far from assenting to the opinions of the Vulgar.* *Synesius* therefore did not wholly deny the Resurrection of the dead; but expounded it agreeable to the *Platonicks*, and to *Origen*. *Baronius* (at the Year of Christ 410,) thinks, that whatever is said by *Synesius* in *this Epistle*, is not spoken seriously, but feignedly and dissemblingly, that he might decline the burthen of a Bishoprick. But *Petavius* has deservedly found fault with this opinion of *Baronius*. For he says, that 'tis much more likely, that *Synesius* wrote these things to his brother in a manner agreeable to what he then thought. But, that having been afterwards instructed by *Theophilus* and other Prelates, before he was made a Bishop, he embraced a true opinion concerning the Resurrection. *Lucas Holstenius* has at large examined *this Question*, in a *peculiar Dissertation*, which in favour to the Studious, we have set forth at the *close of our Annotations*. [The Learned Reader will meet with *this Dissertation, de Synesio & de fugâ Episcopatûs*, at the Close of the third Vol. of the *Ecclesiastick Historians set forth by* Valesius, at pag 202 of *Valesius's Notes.*] In the interim, the Reader is to be advertised, that there is a Mistake in the Contents of this Chapter, and in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, where *Synesius* is termed Bishop of *Cyrenæ*. *Synesius* was indeed by Country a *Cyrenæan*. But he was Bishop of *Ptolemaïs*, which is a City in *Cyrenaïca*. Vales.

[d] He means the Oration *de Regno*. Which notwithstanding was not spoken to *Theodosius Junior*, but to *Arcadius* in the Year of Christ 400, that is, ten Years before *Synesius* had undertaken the Bishoprick; as *Dionysius Petavius* has rightly observed in *his Notes at that Oration of Synesius*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Saint Isidorus Peluſiota, *and* Synesius *Bishop of* Cyrenæ.

During the same [*Theodosius*'s] Reign flourished *Isidorus* also, * *whose glory* (to use a Poetick Expression,) *is far spread*, a Person celebrated amongst all men, both for his Actions and Eloquence. This man † macerated his Body with Labours in such a manner, and fatned his Soul with sublime and divine doctrines to so high a degree, that he lived an Angelick life upon earth, and was always the living ‖ Monument both of a Monastick life, [a] and also of a Contemplation upon God. He wrote many other [pieces] filled [with passages] of manifold utility; he wrote also to the celebrated *Cyrillus*, from which [Letters] 'tis evidently demonstrated, that he flourished in the same times with the divine [*Cyrillus.*] But because 'tis my endeavour to adorn * this History as much as 'tis possible, come on, let *Synesius* [Bishop] of *Cyrenæ* come forth, that he may beautify our History † with the eminency of his own Name. This *Synesius* was accomplished with all other [Arts and Sciences;] but * excelled in Philosophy to so high a degree, that he was the Admiration of those *Christians*, who in passing their

* Οὗ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔβη. Or, *melted his flesh.* ‖ Or, *Image.*

[a] *Nicephorus* (book 14. chap. 53. where he transcribes this passage of *Evagrius*) words it thus; τῆς ἐς θεὸν θεωρίας, *of a contemplation upon God.* The same Reading I found in the *Tellerian* MS. It may also be mended thus; τῆς ἐνθέου θεωρίας, *of a divine contemplation.* [In *Robert Stephen's* Edition, the Reading here is, τῆ ἐς ἐνθεωρίαν.] Further, there is an illustrious Elogy of this *Isidorus Peluſiota*, extant in *Ephremius* Bishop of *Antioch* in his Epistle to *Zenobius Scholasticus*, which *Photius* records in his *Bibliotheca*. Where he says, *That he was by birth an* Alexandrian, *and venerable amongst the Archbishops themselves*, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὢν ἔτυχε καὶ τοῦ κύρους καὶ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης αἰνίττομαι. Vales.

* Or, *these things.* † Or, *with his own memory.* * Or, *exercised Philosophy.*

a *Evagrius* does frequently quote the History of this *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* in his following books. For instance, in chap. 12 of *his second book*, in chap. 10. and 28. of *his third book*, and in the fifth chapter of *his fourth book*. But he is a far different Person from

CHAP. XVI.

How the Divine Ignatius, *having been removed from* Rome, *was deposited at* Antioch.

At the same time also, as 'tis recorded by [a] *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* and others, the Divine *Ignatius* (after he had obtained, agreeable to his desire, the bellies of wild beasts for his Tomb, in the *Amphitheatre* at *Rome*;

that Johannes, of whom *Evagrius* makes mention at the close of the last chapter of *his fifth book*. For, this *Johannes*, last mentioned, had written an History of affairs from the latter end of *Justinian*'s Reign, unto the Reign of *Mauritius*, as *Evagrius* does there attest. (See *Evagrius* book 5 chap. 24.) But the former *Johannes* had recorded the affairs transacted in the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, *Leo*, and *Zeno*, as may be concluded from those passages, which *Evagrius* has taken out of that *Johannes*. And he had closed *his History* at the Destruction of *Antioch*, which happened on the ninth Year of *Justinus Senior*, as *Evagrius* relates. Further, that *Johannes* which I have mentioned in the second place at the beginning of *this Note*, was born at *Epiphania*. For *Evagrius* (in the fore-cited place, *viz.* book 5. chap. 24.) terms him *his fellow-Citizen* and *Kinsman*. Now, *Evagrius* was by original extract an *Epiphanian*, as I have shown in *My Account of his Life and Ecclesiastick History*. But, the *Johannes Rhetor*, whom *Evagrius* mentions in this chapter, (if I may have leave to conjecture,) seems to me to have been an *Antiochian*. For, whatever passages our *Evagrius* cites out of him, belongs to the City of *Antioch*. I have been more large in my Annotation on these thing, for this reason, that I might correct the Mistake of *Johannes Vossius*, who in *his Comment de Historicis Græcis*, has confounded these two *Johannes*'s, one with the other. *Vales.*

and after his stronger bones which were left [undevoured,] had been conveyed to *Antioch*, [and deposited] in that place termed the [b] *Cœmitery*; many years after [all this, I say,]) is removed: the All-good God having instilled it into the mind of *Theodosius*, to bestow greater honours upon that [c] *Theophorus*, and to dedicate a Temple (which the Inhabitants termed *The* [d] *Tychæum*,) heretofore consecrated to *Dæmons*, to that Valiant Conquerour and Martyr.

[b] The obscurity and ill punctation of this place, led *Nicephorus* in the first place, and after him *Christopherson*, into a Mistake. The obscurity of this passage arose from hence, because our *Evagrius*, according to his usage, includes too many words in one and the same period, which were to have been divided into more periods. Therefore, after the word [*Cœmitery*] a distinction is to be placed, which neither *Nicephorus* nor *Christopherson* saw. *Nicephorus* thought, that the Reliques of *Ignatius* were brought from *Rome* to *Constantinople* in the times of *Theodosius Junior*, and having been carried to *Antioch* by the same Emperour's order, had been deposited there in the *Cœmitery*. Which is most notoriously false. For, long before *Theodosius Junior*'s Reign, the Reliques of the *Martyr Ignatius* had been deposited in the *Cœmitery* of the City *Antioch*, as Saint *Jerome* does expressly attest in *his book de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* where these are his words concerning *Ignatius*. *Reliquæ corporis ejus Antiochiæ jacent extra portam Daphniticam in Cœmiterio, The Remains of his body lie at* Antioch, *without the* Daphnitick *gate in the Cœmitery.* *Theodosius Junior* therefore translated not the Reliques of *Ignatius* from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, and after that to *Antioch*; but he ordered them to be removed out of the Cœmitery which was without the City of *Antioch*, and carried into the City. Thus, 'tis certain, *Musculus* understood this passage in *Evagrius*, as appears from his Version. For he has rendred it thus; *Tunc & divinus Ignatius, posteaquàm sicuti voluerat*, &c. *Then also the divine* Ignatius, *after (according as he had desired) he had obtained the bellies of wild beasts instead of a sepulchre, in the* Roman Ampitheatre, *and his bones as being the stronger [parts of him] had been left by the beasts, were carried to* Antioch, *and buried in the* Cœmitery, *a long time after) is removed by* Theodosius, &c. *Musculus* seems to have expunged the Article ἀ, that the whole place might be construed after this manner; ἐπειδὴ τάφων ἐχόντως ἀπεκομίσθη, &c. Which I very much approve of. *Vales.*

[c] Τὸν Θεοφόρον. This seems to have been the *Sur-name* of the Blessed *Ignatius*. Which is concluded from hence, because we read this Title prefixt before all *his Epistles*, Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, *Ignatius who also [is termed] Theophorus.* In the *Martyrdom of the Blessed* Ignatius, Archbishop *Usher* has set forth, *Ignatius* stiles himself *Theophorus* in the presence of the Emperour *Trajan*. And, being asked, who *Theophorus* was, he answers; *He who bears Christ in his breast.* Vales. See *Socrat. Eccles. Histor. book 6. chap. 8. note (a.)*

[d] The Heathens attributed to all Cities their *Genii*, to whom they built Temples, which in Greek were termed τυχαῖα or τυχεῖα; as I have remarked at *Eusebius Pamphilus's book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, chap. 11. note (q.)* *The Temple of the publick Genius of the City of* Antioch is mentioned by *Amm. Marcellinus* book 23. pag. 238; which *Julian* in *his Misopog.* terms τὸ τῆς τύχης ἱερόν. *Vales.*

That therefore which had heretofore been the *Temple of the publick Genius*, is made a pure Church, and holy Temple [dedicated] to *Ignatius*; his sacred Reliques having with great pomp been conveyed into the City on a Chariot, and deposited in that Temple. On which account, a solemn Festival and a [day of] publick joy is celebrated [yearly] even till our times; which [Festival] has been rendred more magnificent by *Gregorius* Bishop [of that place.] These things were done here, [because] from that time God would honour the pious memories of [his] Saints. For, the impious and destructive *Julian*, that Tyrant, hateful to God, (in regard *Apollo Daphnæus*, * who made use of [e] *Castalia* for a voice and † an Oracle, could not give any answer to the Emperour consulting his Oracle, because the holy * *Babylas*, his near neighbour, had quite stopped up his mouth:) against his will, and forc'd thereto by stripes [as it were,] honoured the Saint with a removal: (at which time a spacious Church was erected to him before the City, which [structure] continues standing at this day:) to the intent that the *Dæmons* might in future freely perform their own [business,] according as ('tis reported) they had before-hand promised *Julian*. This affair therefore was by the dispensation of God our Saviour ordered in this manner, to the end that the power of those who had suffered Martyrdom might be made manifest, and that the sacred Reliques of the holy Martyr, removed into an undefiled place, might be honoured with a most beautiful Church.

* Or, *who had Castalia*, &c.

† Or, *Prophecy.*

* *See Socrat. Eccles. Hist.* book 3. chap. 18.

[e] He means the *Castalian* Fountain. Concerning which *Am. Marcellinus*, *Gregorius Nazianz.* and others have related many things. *Gregorius*'s words in *his second Invective against Julian* (*Tom. 1. pa. 127. Ed. Paris. 1609*) are these: πάλιν ἡ κασταλία ἐσίγησεν, καὶ σιγᾷ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἃ μανθάνομεν, ἀλλὰ γελῶμεν· πάλιν ἀνδριὰς ἄφωνος ὁ Ἀπόλλων· πάλιν ἡ δάφνη φυτόν, &c. *Castalia hath been silenced again, and is silent, and it is water not uttering* Oracles, *but exciting laughter.* Apollo [*is become*] *a dumb statue again.* Daphne [*is*] *a tree again*, &c. At which words of *Gregorius*, see (if you please) what the *Scholiast Nonnus* has remarked, chap. 21. I should not have taken notice of this, had I not perceived that neither of the Translatours had seen it. *Vales. Nonnus's Scholion* (which *Valesius* here referrs his Reader to,) is this: *Castalia fons erat in Antiochia*, Castalia *was a fountain in* Antioch, *at which* Apollo *is by the Antients reported to sit, and to give forth Oracles at the water. And when any persons came thither on account of consulting the Oracle, that water (as 'tis reported) sent forth gentle blasts and puffs of wind; and then the Priests, who were about the Fountain, declared those things which the will of the Dæmon had brought forth.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning Attila *King of the* * Scythæ; *and how he destroyed the Provinces of the* East *and* West. *And concerning the strange* † *Earthquake and other dreadful prodigies which happened in the World.*

* τῶν σκυθῶν. *Valesius* renders it The Hunni.

† Or, *wonder.*

IN these very times, that much-talk't-of War was raised, by *Attila* King of the *Scythæ*. Which War *Priscus* the *Rhetorician* has written with much accuracy and eloquence, relating [to us] in a singular neatness and elegancy of stile, how * he undertook an Expedition against the *Eastern* and *Western* parts [of the Empire,] how many and how great Cities he took and reduced to a subjection to himself, and [lastly] after the performance of what great [Actions] he departed out of this life. Whilst the same *Theodosius* swayed the [Imperial] Scepter, a most terrible and horrid [a] Earthquake, which exceeded all others that had been before, happened almost throughout the whole World. In so much that many Towers belonging to the Imperial City [*Constantinople*] fell down flat, and that called the *Long-wall* of *Cherronesus* fell likewise; the Earth also was rent in sunder, and many Villages sank down into it: Moreover, many and almost innumerable calamitous Accidents

* *Attila.*

[a] This Earthquake happened on the year of Christ 447 in the Consulate of *Ardabures* and *Callepius*; as *Marcell.* reports

in his Chronicon, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle doe relate. Marcellinus's words are these: *Ingenti terræmotu per loca varia imminente, plurimi urbis Augustæ muri recenti adhuc reædificatione constructi, cum quinquaginta septem turribus corruerunt: An exceeding great Earthquake being imminent through several places, a vast part of the walls* [or, most of the walls] *of the Imperial City which had been but very lately rebuilt, fell down, together with fifty seven Towers.* Which words I have annexed for this reason, that I might shew that *Evagrius*'s words here have been misunderstood by Translatours; who rendred these words [ἀνὰ τὸ βασιλίδα] thus [*in Palatio, in the Palace*;] when as they ought to have rendred them, *in the Imperial City.* By which name *Evagrius* usually calls *Constantinople.* Vales.

dents hapned both at Land and Sea. For, some Fountains were wholly dryed up; and in other places abundance of water gushed forth, where there had been none before. Trees, of themselves vastly rooted, were thrown up into the air [b]together with their roots. And many heaps of earth were on a sudden made up into mountains. The Sea threw forth dead fishes [upon its shore,] and many Islands therein were swallowed up. Ships making their Voyages at Sea, were seen upon dry ground, the waters having receded [and left them.] Many places in *Bithynia*, in the *Hellespont*, and in both *The Phrygias*, were sorely damnified. This calamity raged over the whole earth for some time; notwithstanding, it continued not with that vehemency wherewith it began: but abated by small degrees, till such time as it wholly ceased.

[b] Σὺν τοῖς σφίσι ῥίζαις. The *Rules of Grammar* do require, that we should write σὺν ταῖς σφῶν ῥίζαις, *together with their roots.* In the *Tellerian* MS. the reading is σὺν ταῖς. A little before, where the reading is διαχύναι τὴν γῆν, *the earth was dissipated*; the *same Manuscript* has it written thus: διασύναι τὴν γῆν, *the earth was separated*, or, *rent in sunder.* Vales.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the [*publick*] *Buildings* in Antioch, *and who they were that erected them.*

[a] Instead of [τὴν ἡμετέραν θρησκείαν διαπρέποντες;] it must, I think, be [τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ θρησκείᾳ διαπρέποντες, *Personages eminent for*, &c. For, this reading is required by the *Rules of Grammar.* Vales.

IN these very times [of *Theodosius*'s Reign,] *Memnonius*, *Zoïlus*, and *Callistus*, [a] Personages eminent for [their profession of] our Religion, were sent by *Theodosius* to be [b] Governours of *Antioch*. *Memnonius*, with much of beauty and accuracy raises from the very ground that [Æ-difice] which by us also is termed *the Psephium*, leaving an open *Atrium* [or, *Court*] in the *middle*. *Zoïlus* [built] the *Royal Porticus*, which [is placed] [c] at the South-side of *Rufinus* [*his Porticus*;] and retains his name even to our age, although the buildings have [frequently] been altered on account of various calamitous accidents. Moreover, *Callistus* has raised a most magnificent and splendid structure (which as well the Ancients as those of our Age, have termed *Callistus's Porticus*,) before * that Palace which is made the Court of Judicature, directly oppoſite to the *Forum*, in which there is a most beautiful house, the [d] *Prætorium* of the *Masters of the Milice.* After these persons, *Anatolius* being sent *Master of the Milice* into the *East*, built that termed *Anatolius*'s *Porticus*, and beautified it with matter of all sorts. These [Remarks] (though they are foreign to our design in hand, yet) [will not seem] unhandsome and contemptible to lovers of Learning.

* Or, *those buildings which are made*, &c.

[b] That is, *to be Consulares of Syria.* For, the *Consularis of Syria* governed the City *Antioch*, and the other Cities of *Syria-Cœle*. Further, take heed of supposing, that these three men (to wit, *Memnonius*, *Zoïlus* and *Callistus*) were sent at one and the same time by *Theodosius*, to preside over the *Antiochian Jurisdiction*. For this was not the usage of the *Romans*. We ought therefore to understand, that each of them had been sent at several times, one after the other, by *Theodosius*. You must know further, that 'twas usual for the *Consulares* of *Syria*, that they might ingratiate themselves with the *Antiochians*, to erect some publick structure. *Libanius* informs us hereof (in *his Antiochic.* pag. 370. Tom 2. *Edit. Paris.* 1627.) in these words: ὃ δὴ θαυμαστὸν, εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κρείττω τὴν ἄλλων, &c. *'Tis no wonder therefore, if that* [City] *which excells the rest in other things, which, after she has vanquished other* [Cities] *in the study and exercise of wisdom, has* [out-done] *even herself, should render those who come to be her Governours, her Lovers. The beginning, middle, and close of each of which persons Government, is this, to make some addition to the City.* The same *Libanius* a little before in *the same page*, says there were three *Tribunals* in the City *Antioch*, and as many *Scholes of Advocates*, to wit, equal to the number of the *Tribunals*, [or *Judicatories.*] The first *Tribunal* seems to have belonged to the *Præfectus Prætorio of the East*, whose residence was at *Antioch*. The second was the *Tribunal* of the *Comes of the East*. The third was the *Jurisdiction of the Consularis of Syria Cœle*. *Libanius*'s words are these: ἀνὰ δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς παιδείας, τρεῖς χορὶ ῥητόρων, ἰσάριθμοι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγείρονται: which passage is to be rendred thus: *For, besides the Erudition which is in the* Decuriones, *three Scholes* [or, *Quires*] *of Advocates are* [there] *assembled, equal in number to the Judicatories.* Vales.

[c] The reading in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and here is this [πρὸς τὸ νότιον τῆς ῥοφίνε πλευρᾶς, *at the Southern part of Rophinus's side.*] The *Geneva-Printers*, from *Christophorson's Copy*, have set it forth thus: τῆς τῦ παλατίε ῥυφίνε πλευρᾶς, *at the* [*Southern*] *side of Ruphinus's Palace.* Sir *Henry Savil* also, in *his Copy* which I have by me, has expunged the word *Rufinus*, and in stead thereof has substituted these [τῦ παλατίε ὄροφον, *the Roof of the Palace.*] And thus *Christophorson* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he has rendred it thus: *Qui ad Australe latus tecti palatii, quod Rufini nomen obtinet, spectat*; *which looks towards the southern side of the Roof of the Palace, which bears the name of Rufinus.* But in regard these words [τῦ παλατίε] or [τῦ παλατίε ὄροφον] occur not, either in *the Kings*, or in *the Florentine*, or *Tellerian* M.SS. in my judgment, they ought deservedly to be expunged. *Vales. Valesius* has rendred this passage thus: *quæ ad meridianum latus porticus Rufini sita*; which we have expresst in our *English Version.* The import of the *Greek*, if rendred word for word, is this, *at the Southern part of Rophinus's side.*

[d] Τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸ καταγώγιον. *Musculus* renders it, *Mansionem ducum, the Mansion of the Duces, or, chief Military Commanders. Christophorson's* Version is not much different; for he renders it thus: *è regione fori in quo pulcherima domus est quam præfecti præsidiorum incolere solent*; *Over against the Forum wherein there is a most beautiful house, in which the Præfects of the Milice* [or, *of the Military Forces,*] *do usually dwell.* But, by στρατηγὸς in this place, in my judgment, must be understood, (not the *Military Commanders in chief*, or, *Masters of the Milice* but) the *Magistrates* or *Duumviri*, who in *Greek* were termed στρατηγοὶ, as I have already remarked in *my notes* on *Am. Marcellinus*, and *Eusebius*; [See *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* book 7. chap. 11. note (*p.*) and book 8. chap. 11. note (*c.*)] Now, why I suppose this word is rather thus to be taken here, this is the reason, because that house is said to have been in the *Forum*, over against the Palace wherein was the Court of Judicature. Moreover, such a house as this seems to be more agreeable to a *Municipal Magistrate*, than to *a Rector of the Milice.* Besides, these houses were in *Greek* termed στρατήγια. Such a one was the *Strategium* at *Constantinople*, as I have noted at the *first Book of Socrates*, [chap. 16. note (*d.*)] Although the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in *The Transactions of the Emperour Severus*, brings another reason of this word. But now, having examined the business more attentively; by στρατηγὸς I understand here the *Masters of the Milice throughout the East*, who had a splendid *Prætorium* in the *Forum* of the City *Antioch*. *Theophanes* mentions this *Prætorium*, *in his Chronicon*, pag. 147. ἀνήφθη γὰρ τὸ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῦ μαρτυρίε τῦ ἁγίε στεφάνε, καὶ ἕως τῦ πραιτωρίε τῦ στρατηλάτε ἐφθασεν; *For the fire was kindled from the Church of Saint Stephen, and burnt* [or, *went*] *as far as the Prætorium of the Master of the Milice.* Vales.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning the several Wars, which hapned both in Italy, *and* Persia, *during the Reign of* Theodosius.

* During the times of the same *Theodosius*, frequent Rebellions hapned in *Europe*, whilest *Valentinianus* was Emperour of *Rome*. Which *Theodosius* repressed, by sending great Forces both by Land and Sea, [which made up] [a] as well a *Foot Army*, as a *Naval* strength. Moreover, he vanquished the *Persians* (* who were grown insolent, *Isdigerdes*, Father to *Varanes*, being then their King,

* Or, *during the same times of* Theodosius.

[a] Πεζικῶν τε καὶ ναυτικῶν στρατῶν. If we would follow the Laws of

Grammar; it must be made νπ-ατῷ. But because ὑπάτευσεν is not used in the plural number, I would rather make it πζικᾶ τε ἡ ὑπάτῃ ςρατῷ; as the reading is in the *Tellerian* M.S. In the incomparable *Florentine* M.S. 'tis plainly written πζικῷ. Valesius.

† See *Socrates*, book 7. chap. 8, and 18.

King, or as † *Socrates*'s Sentiment is, during the Reign of *Varanes* himself:) in such a manner, that on their request to him by their Embassadours, he gratified them with a Peace, which [b] lasted until the twelfth year of *Anastasius*'s Reign. These transactions have been related by other Writers; and are also very handsomely reduced into an *Epitome*, by *Eustathius* the *Syrian* of *Epiphania*, who has likewise written *The Siege of Amida*. At the same time, as 'tis said, the Poets [c] *Claudianus* and [d] *Cyrus* flourished. Further, this *Cyrus* arrived at the heighest Chair of the *Præfects*, which [grand Officer] our Ancestours termed *The Præfectus Prætorio* [or *Præfect of the Court.*] He was also *Master of the Western Milice*, at which time *Carthage* was taken by the *Vandals*, those *Barbarians* being [then] governed by *Genserichus*.

[b] Here it must be διήκεσε; not διήκησε, as it is in *Robert Stephens's Edit.* Valesius.

[c] This is the *Claudian*, whose excellent Verses are at this day extant. But, a twofold difficulty occurrs at this place: (1) How a *Latine* Poet should come to be mentioned here by *Evagrius*? (2) Why he is placed by the same *Evagrius* on the times of *Theodosius Junior*, when as *That Claudian*, whose verses we now have, flourished in the Reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, as *His writings* inform us? The answer to the first Question is easie. For *Claudian* wrote not only *Latine*, but *Greek Poems* also. On which account, in the *Old Epigram* which was inscribed on the *Basis* of *his Statue*, he is said to have had the soul of *Virgil* and *Homer* also, transfused into him. He began to write a *Latine Poem* first in the year of Christ 395, whereon *Olybrius* and *Probinus* were Consuls. He wrote an Elegant Poem on their Consulate, which is still extant. When this attempt had succeeded happily to *Claudian*, it encouraged him to the writing of *Latine* verses afterwards; whereas he had published only *Greek* Poems before, as himself attests in *his Elegy to Probinus*, in these words:

Romanos bibimus primùm Te Consule fontes,
Et Latiæ cessit Graja Thalia togæ.

Incipiensque tuis à facibus omina ceti,
Fataque debebo posteriora Tibi.

'Tis certain, *Claudian* was by Nation a *Grecian*, born at the City *Alexandria*, as *Suidas* informs us at the word κλαυδιανός. *Claudian* himself also attests the same, in *his Poem to Hadrianus Præfectus Prætorio*, (who was himself also an *Alexandrian.*) For he writes thus concerning *Alexander* the *Macedonian*;

Conditor hic patriæ. Sic hostibus ille pepercit.

And in the *close of the same Poem*, he has these words:

Sæviet in miseros cognata potentia cives.
Audiat hæc commune solum, longéque carinis
Nota Pharos, &c. Valesius.

[d] The *Poet Cyrus* was by Nation an *Ægyptian*, born at the Town *Panopolis*. Who having on account of his poetick faculty been highly acceptable to *Eudocia Augusta*, wife to *Theodosius Junior*, (for this woman was φιλοεπὴς, *a Great lover of verses:*) is promoted by the Emperour *Theodosius* to the *Præfecture of the Prætorium*, and to *That of the City*. He was also *Ex-Consul*, and *Patricius*, as *Suidas* relates. But afterwards, when the *Empress Eudocia*, on account of some unknown reasons, had left the Palace, and was gone to the City *Jerusalem*; *Cyrus*, deprived of his power, is made Bishop of *Cotyæum* a City of *Phrygia*, or rather of *Smyrna*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* and *Theophanes* do inform us. He lived till the times of *Leo Augustus*, as *Suidas attests*. *Theophylact* (in the 8th book of *his History*, chap. 8.) makes mention of this *Cyrus* the *Consul* and *Poet*; where he says, that the Church of the *God-bearing Virgin* at *Constantinople*, was built by him, in the times of *Theodosius Augustus*. Valesius.

CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Empress Eudocia, *and her daughter* Eudoxia; *and how* [Eudocia] *came to* Antioch, *and* [*went*] *to* Jerusalem.

[MOreover,] this *Theodosius* married *Eudocia*, (after she had received salutary Baptism; by original extract an *Athenian*, [a Woman] eloquent and beautiful;) by the mediation of *Pulcheria Augusta* his sister. By her *Theodosius* had a daughter, [by name] *Eudoxia*, whom, when she afterwards came to be marriageable, the Emperour *Valentinianus* married, having [on that account] gone from the *Elder Rome* and arrived at *Constantinople*. [a] But,] a long time after this, [*Eudocia*] in her journey which she made to the Holy City of Christ our God, [b] comes hither: this manner: ἡ δὲ χρόνοις ὕςερον, *But a long time after this, she*;] that is, *Eudocia*. For, unless you add this particle; what follows will be meant concerning *Eudoxia*, *Eudocia*'s daughter; of whom *Evagrius* has spoken just before. But, the adding of this particle [δὲ, *But*] shews that the discourse is not now concerning *Eudoxia*, but her Mother *Eudocia*. Valesius.

[a] A particle is to be added here, after

[b] Εὐδαίμονα γίνεται. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* understood this place very erroneously. For, they supposed that by the word εὐδαίμονα the City of *Jerusalem* was meant; when as the City *Antioch* is to be understood. For *Evagrius* wrote *his History* at *Antioch*, in which City he had fixt the Mansion of his own fortunes, as we have shown in *our account of his Life and Ecclesiastick History*. Moreover, *Nicephorus* fell into the same mistake with *Musculus* and *Christophorson*. For in *his* 14th *book*, *chap.* 50. where he writes out this passage of *Evagrius*, he understands the word [εὐδαίμονα] of the City *Jerusalem*. But, 'twas easie to have perceived from *Evagrius*'s following words, that these words could not have been meant of the City *Jerusalem*. For *Jerusalem* was not a Colony of *Greeks*, but rather of *Jews*, and after that, of *Romans*. Nor did *Ulpianus*, *Libanius*, and the other writers here mentioned by *Evagrius*, write concerning the City *Jerusalem*. Nor, lastly, could the Empress *Eudocia*, who by original extract was an *Athenian*, speak to the Citizens of *Jerusalem* in this verse,

Ὑμετέρης γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι.

I boast that I am of Your Stock and Blood.

'Tis certain, the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* does say, that *Eudocia* made an Oration to the *Antiochians* out of a Golden Chariot, *Valesius.*

And having made an Oration in publick to the people here, she closed her Speech with this Verse:

I boast that I am of Your Stock and Blood.

(Intimating thereby the *Colonies* which had been sent hither out of *Greece*. If any one be desirous of having an exact account of these [Colonies,] [c] *Strabo the Geographer*, *Phlegon*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arrianus*, and [d] *Pisander the Poet*, have written concerning them with great accu-

[c] That place in *Strabo*, which *Evagrius* points to here, is extant in *his* 16th *book*; page. 750. *Edit. Paris.* Valesius.

[d] There were two *Pisanders*, *Poets*. The one a *Rhodian*, who wrote *the Poem Heraclea in two books*, which treates concerning *Hercules's Actions*. Some make this *Pisander* ancienter than *Hesiod*. Others place him on the *thirty third Olympiad*, as *Suidas* relates. The other *Pisander* was a *Lycaönia*, born at *Larindi* a Town of *Lycaönia*, son of the *Poet Nestor*. *Suidas* says he flourish'd in the Reign of *Alexander* son of *Mammea*. He wrote *six books* in *Heroïck Verse*, ἡρωϊκῶν θεογαμιῶν, *concerning the marriages of the Heroes and Goddesses*, which were stuft with all manner of History, as *Suidas* attests. *Zosimus* mentions this work in *his fifth Book*: where he speaks concerning the building of the City *Hemona*: ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς ἱςορεῖ πείσανδρος, ὁ τὴν κατὰ ἡρωϊκῶν θεογαμιῶν ὁπτεσφῆ πᾶσαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἱςορίαν συνειλοχώς: which words of *Zosimus*, *Leunclavius* translates in this manner; *Sicuti Pisander Poeta memoriæ prodidit, qui heroicarum divinarumque nuptiarum titulo totam hanc propemodùm historiam complexus est, As Pisander the Poet has recorded, who under the Title of Heroick and Divine marriages, has in a manner comprized this whole History.* This is not the meaning of *Zosimus*'s words. For *Zosimus* says, *that Pisander the Poet, in that Poem of his concerning the mariages of the Heroes and Goddesses, has in a manner comprehended all History.* *Suidas* does likewise attest the same; whose words concerning *Pisander* are these: ἔγραψεν ἱςορίαν ποικίλην δι' ἐπῶν. ἣν ὁπτεσφῶς ἡρωϊκῶν θεογαμιῶν ἐν βιβλίοις ἕξ, *he wrote a various History in verses; which he intituled, concerning the marriages of the Heroes and Goddesses, in six books.* In this work therefore, *Pisander* had written concerning *Triptolemus the Argive*, and concerning *Iö*, who were the first that built *Antioch*, a City of *Syria*. Further, this work seems to have been comprehended in *sixteen books*, and not *in six*, as 'tis erroneously extant in *Suidas*. For *Stephanus* in *his book de Urbibus*, cites *the tenth, and fourteenth book of Pisander*. Valesius.

racy:

racy: as have also [e] *Ulpianus*, [f] *Libanius*, and [g] *Julianus*, [all] most incomparable *Sophistæ*.) On which account, the *Antiochians* at that time honoured her with a Statue artificially made of Brass, which Statue continues standing at this day. By her perswasion, *Theodosius* made a very great addition to [this] City, extending its wall as far as the Gate which leads to the *Suburbs* of *Daphne*; as may be seen by those who are desirous of it. For even in this our age [the foundation of] the old wall is visible, its remains leading them by the hand as 'twere, who have a mind to view it. Notwithstanding, there are those who affirm, that the *Elder Theodosius* enlarged the wall; and bestowed two hundred pound weight of Gold upon [h] *Valens*'s *Bath*, part whereof had been consumed by fire.

[e] This is *Ulpianus* the *Antiochian Sophist*, who taught *Rhetorick* first at *Emesa*, and afterwards at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Constantine*, as *Suidas* attests. *Eunapius* mentions him in the *Life of Proæresius* the Sophist.

This person therefore, amongst the *other Orations* which (as *Suidas* relates,) he wrote, had composed a *peculiar Oration in praise of his own Country*, wherein he spake concerning the Colonies at several times brought into it. *Vales.*

[f] *Libanius* the *Antiochian Sophist* wrote *an Oration*, with this Title, *Antiochius*, which is still extant, published in the *Second Tome of his Works*. Nor is it to be doubted, but *Evagrius* means *this Oration* at this place. Further, in the said Oration, *Libanius* with great accuracy recounts all the *Greek* Colonies, which at several times had been brought to *Antioch*. Amongst these he reckons also those *Athenians*, whom *Seleucus*, after the destruction of the City *Antigonia*, had brought to *Antioch*. Vales.

[g] Who this *Julianus* the *Sophist* should be, I have not yet found. There was one *Julianus* a *Cappadocian*, the most eminent of all the *Sophists* of his own time, who taught *Rhetorick* at *Athens*. Concerning whom *Eunapius* relates many passages, in *his book de Vitis Sophistarum*. *Suidas* says he flourisht in the times of *Constantine the Great*. But whereas he says, that he was Contemporary with *Callinicus* the *Sophist*, therein he contradicts himself; in regard *Callinicus* the *Sophist* lived in the Reign of *Philippus* and *Gallienus*. I am apt to think therefore, that there were two *Julianus*'s *Sophists* at *Athens*. The former of whom lived in the same times with *Callinicus* the *Sophist*. But the other flourisht in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*.

[h] *Amm. Marcellinus* mentions *this Bath* in *his* 31 *book*, near the beginning: his words are these; *Vocesque Præconum audiebantur assiduè, mandantium congeri ligna ad Valentini Lavacri succensionem, studio ipsius principis conditi. And the voices of the Cryers were heard continually, ordering wood to be heaped together in order to the burning of* Valens's *Bath*, *built by the endeavour of that Prince.* Vales.

CHAP. XXI.

That Eudocia *did* [*many*] *good actions about* Jerusalem; *and concerning the different Life and Conversation of the* Monks *in* Palestine.

FRom this City therefore, *Eudocia*[a] went twice to *Jerusalem*. On what account [she did this,] ‖ or what *her primary design* (as they say) was, must be left to *Historians*; who notwithstanding, in my jugdment, seem not to declare the truth.

[a] The reading in *Robert Stephens* is [διαφιλνεῖται, went.] *Nicephorus* read [δὶς ἀφιλνεῖται, *went twice.*] For (book 14. chap. 50.) he words it thus: καὶ δὶς δὲ λόγος ἔχει ταύτῃ ὁπὶ τῶν ἱεροσολύμων ἀφίκεσθαι, *And 'tis reported that she went twice to Jerusalem.* Which reading *Christophorson* has followed, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders this place thus: *Eudocia vero Constantinopoli Hierosolymam bis profecta est*, *But* Eudocia *went twice from* Constantinople *to* Jerusalem. And thus I found it expresly written in the *Tellerian Manuscript*. *Eudocia*'s former journey to *Jerusalem* hapned on the *sixteenth Consulate of Theodosius* which he bore with *Faustus*, on the year of Christ 438, as *Baronius* has rightly observed from *Socrates* and *Marcellinus*'s *Chronicon*. On the year following, she returned from *Jerusalem* to *Constantinople*, carrying along with her the Reliques of Saint *Stephen* as *Marcellinus* relates in *his Chronicon*. But, Writers are not agreed, on what year her *second Jerusalem-journey* hapned. *Baronius* places it in the Reign of *Marcianus Augustus*. But I do maintain, that this second journey was undertaken by *Eudocia Augusta* long before *Marcianus*'s Empire, whilest *Theodosius* survived. For *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* (at *the* XVIII. *Consulate of* Theodosius Augustus *which he bore with* Albinus, which was the year of Christ 443) writes thus: *Severum Presbyterum & Joannem diaconum Eudociæ Reginæ*, &c. Saturninus *the Comes of the Domesticks, being sent by the Emperour* Theodosius, *kills* Severus *the Presbyter and* Joannes *the Deacon of* Eudocia Augusta, *who were ministring at the City* Ælia. Eudocia, *by what grudge* [*or grief*] *incited thereto I know not, killed* Saturninus *forthwith: and being immediately deprived of her Royal servants, by the command of the Emperour her Husband, he stay'd to die at the City* Ælia. The same is confirmed by the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*. For he relates, that in the same Consulate *Paulinus* the *Master of the Offices* was slain by the Emperour *Theodosius*'s order: and therefore, that *Eudocia* being aggrieved (for she knew that *Paulinus* had been slain on her account;) requested of the Emperour *Theodosius*, that a liberty might be allowed her of going to *Jerusalem*. Notwithstanding *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* places *Paulinus*'s slaughter on the year of Christ 440, *Valentinianus* being then the fifth time Consul with *Anatolius*. Therefore, if *Eudocia* went the second time to *Jerusalem* on account of *Paulinus*'s slaughter, according to *Marcellinus*'s opinion, that hapned on the year of Christ 440. Further, concerning *Saturninus* the *Comes* (whom *Eudocia Augusta* ordered to be slain at *Jerusalem*,) there is a passage extant in *the History of Priscus Rhetor*, pag. 54; which I will annex here: Καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπένευσε βασιλεὺς, καὶ σατορνίλῳ πρεσβύτῃ, καὶ ἡδὺ κοσμικῷ, δυνατέρᾳ εἰρήνῃ σώσειν. Τὸν δὲ σατορνίλον ἀνῃρήκει ἀδυναίς ἢ καὶ εὐδοκία. ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῖς ὀνόμασιν.

But after her arrival at Christ's holy City, she performed many things in honour of God [our] Saviour. For she built * religious Monasteries, and those they term the [b] *Lauræ*.

* Or, *pure.*

[b] A *Laura* differs from a *Monastery*, because a *Laura consists of many Cells far disjoyned one from another*. But *a Monastery is inclosed within one wall*. And in a *Laura the Hermites* [or, *Anachoretes*] lived: but in a Monastery the Monks lived together. *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* informs us hereof, in *his Life of Euthymius*, in these words; *Te autem oportet venire ad meam Lauram, &c. But it behoves you to come to my Laura, and to pull down the Cells of the Brethren to the very foundations. But* [*you must*] *build a Monastery there, where you have built my Cœmetery. For it pleases God, that the place should not be a Laura, but a Monastery rather.* The same *Cyrillus*, in the *Life of Saint Saba*, does frequently declare the same difference between a *Laura* and a *Monastery*. Our *Evagrius* also at this place observes the same difference between the *Phrontisteria* [*Monasteries*] and the *Lauræ*. For in the *Phrontisteria* (says he,) the Monks lived in flocks, [or, companies,] made use of a common table, and performed the diurnal and nocturnal prayers together. But, in the *Lauræ*, the *Anachoretes* lived separately, shut up in small Cells. *Vales.*

In which, the way of living is different: but [there] conversation * is directed to one and the same scope of piety. For some live in companies, and are desirous of none of those things which depress [the soul of man] to the earth. For they have no Gold. But why do I mention Gold, when as not one of them has either a † garment of his own, or any thing of food [properly belonging to himself?] For, that * garment or short coat, wherewith one is cloathed now, is by and by put on by another: so that, one's garment seems to belong to all of them, and all of them to have a right in the use of one's garment. A common table is spread for them, not covered with dainty provisions, nor with any other meats; but furnished only with herbs and pulse, of which they are supplied with such a quantity only, as is sufficient to keep them alive. They pour forth their common prayers to God all day and all night long, afflicting and † wearying themselves with labours in such a manner, that they seem to look like some dead persons with graves [c] above the earth. They frequently perform those termed the [d] *Fasts of Superposition*, continuing their fasts during the space of two, or three whole days. There are some of them who fast five days, and more, and [after that] with much adoe take necessary food.

* Or, *Terminates in one and the same pious design.*

† Ἰσως ἐσθῆς.

* *Short cloak.*

† Or, *pressing.*

[c] I am of the same mind with *Christophorson*, who (instead of [ὑπὸ γῆν, *under the earth*]) read [ὑπὲρ γῆν, *above the earth*;] which latter reading *Nicephorus* (book 14 chap. 50.) has followed. Besides, the word [δοκεῖ, *seem*] was wanting here; which we have put in from the *Florentine* MS. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written, ὑπὲρ γῆν, *above the earth.* Vales.

[d] Τὰς καλυμμὰς ὑποθέσεις. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have rendred this place very ill. *Nicephorus* has explained it well in this manner:

manner: ἔτοι δὲ πολλάκις καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ὑπερδέχονται καὶ ἡμερῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ πεμπ[άσιοι καὶ] πλεῖόν τινος διαλείποντες ἄσιτοι: that is, *theſe perſons frequently extend their faſts to the length of two and three days. There are thoſe* [*of them*] *who for five days and more, continue without taſting of meat. Dionyſius Petavius* alſo, in the *fifth chapter of his Miſcellaneous Exercitations againſt Salmaſius*, has rightly expounded this place of our *Evagrius*; to wit, concerning *Superpoſition*, which was the moſt exquiſite ſort of faſt among the *Chriſtians*. But, whereas *Petavius* conjectures, that inſtead of ὑπερθέσεις, it ſhould be written here ὑπερθέσεις; in this I cannot aſſent to him, in regard this emendation recedes too far from the footſteps of the vulgar reading. Indeed, at this place I would rather make it ὑπερθεσίμους. But, you muſt underſtand [ἡμέρας, *days*] or [νηστείας, *faſts.*] The *Latines* have termed it *Superpoſitionem*, *Superpoſition*; inſtead of *Jejunium*, *faſt*: as may be ſeen in the *Eliberitane Council*, and in *the Pœnitential Canons*. See what we have remarked at the *fifth Book of Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* chap. 24, *note (m.)* In the incomparable *Tellerian* MS. I found it written ὑπερθεσίμους, as I had conjectured. *Valeſ.*

Again, others enter upon a contrary Courſe of life, ſhutting themſelves up alone in very ſmall houſes which have ſuch a breadth, and ſuch an heighth, as that they cannot ſtand upright in them, nor yet with conveniency lie down; [thus] † Heb 11. 38. they continue with patience † *in Dens and Caves of the earth*, according to the Apoſtle's expreſſion. Other ſome live together with the Beaſts, and make their prayers to God in ſome Coverts of the Earth which are paſt finding out. Moreover, another way of living has been found out by them, which tranſcends * all the degrees of fortitude and ſufferance. For, penetrating into a Deſert ſcorched [with the Sun,] as well men as women, and covering thoſe parts only which modeſty forbids to be named, they expoſe the reſt of their bodies naked to the ſharpeſt and moſt intenſe colds and heats of the air, equally deſpiſing heats and colds. They wholly reject that food which men uſually eat; and feed upon the ground (on which account they are termed [c] *Boſci*,) whence they take no more than ſufficeth to keep them alive. So that, in time they become like unto beaſts, and the ſhape of their [bodies] is depraved and altered, and the Sentiments of their minds in future becomes diſagreeable to thoſe of other men: whom when they ſee, they run from; and being purſued, thy either [make their eſcape] by the ſwiftneſs of their feet, or [f] get into ſome impaſſable places in the ground to hide themſelves. Moreover, I will relate another thing, which I had almoſt forgot, although it is the principal thing of all. There are ſome perſons amongſt them, though but very few, [g] who, after they are arrived at a freedom from perturbations of mind by [a continued exerciſe of] virtue, return to the world, and ſhewing themſelves to be mad in the midſt of crowds of men, they thus trample upon vain glory, which Coat (according to wiſe *Plato*,) the ſoul does uſually put off laſt.

* Or, *all manner of*, &c.

[c] Βοσκὸς; that is, *Pabulatores, Feeders upon the ground. Sozomen* (book 6. chap. 33.) relates, that ſome Monks in *Meſopotamia* were called by this named becauſe they were the firſt who found out this ſtricter ſort of abſtinence. *Valeſ.*

[f] Inſtead of [ποιέζονται] the reading in the *Florent.* MS. is truer; which is this, πειέζονται *get into.* Beſides, inſtead of ἑαυτοῦ, it muſt be made ἑαυτοῖς. *Valeſ.*

[g] I have reſtored this place partly from the *Florent.* and partly from the *Tellerian* MSS. after this manner: ὅτι ἐπὰν διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ ἀπαθὲς ἔτι) τύχωσιν, *who, after they are arrived at the freedom from Perturbations of mind by* [*a continued exerciſe of*] *Virtue.* In the *Florent.* MS. the reading is [εὐπαθὲς, *obnoxious to injuries:*] but in the *Tellerian* MS. and in *Nicephorus* 'tis [ἀπαθὲς, *free from perturbations of mind*] A little after this, inſtead of [φερόφρες, *turning themſelves about,*] it muſt undoubtedly be mended thus [φερέφρες, *mad;*] which is the reading in *Nicephorus.* Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens's Edition*, this whole paſſage is thus worded and pointed: ὅτι ἐπὰν δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ εὐπαθὲς ἔτι) τύχωσιν, ἐς κόσμον ἐπανίασι ἐν μάσις τοῖς δοξύδοις. Καὶ φερόφρες, &c. Which I cannot make ſenſe of.

* Or, *ſtudied*, or *deviſed.*

Further, they have * learned to eat with ſuch undiſturbedneſs as to their paſſions and affections, that, [h] if need ſo requires, [they eat] with *Victuallers* and *Retailers of Proviſion*, without blushing either at the place, or the perſon, or at any thing elſe. They often frequent the publick Baths alſo, and for the moſt part converſe with and bath themſelves in the company of Women; having vanquiſhed their paſſions to ſuch a degree, that they * put a force upon nature her ſelf, and are not to be [i] inclined to [what is proper to] their own nature, either by the ſight, or touch, or even the very embracing of a woman. But with men, they are men, and with women they are women; it being their deſire to partake of both Sexes, and not to be of one.

* Or, *tyrannize over.*

rendred this place thus: *Adeo etiam ſine delectatione cibum capiunt, &c. They alſo take their meat ſo much without delight, and exerciſe ſo auſtere a diſcipline in that thing, that if neceſſity compells them to go into a Victualling-houſe, or a Brothel-houſe, they neither avoid the place, &c.* Chriſtophorſon, no doubt following *Nicephorus*'s expoſition, who (book 14. chap. 6.) has rendred *Evagrius*'s words thus: ἀπαθῶς ἔνθεν ἐσθίουσες, κἂν ἐν καπηλείῳ ἢ μαιεωτείῳ εἰ τοῦτο δέηοι δρᾶν, &c. *They eat without affection and commotion of mind, although* [*it be*] *in a Victualling-houſe, or baudy houſe, if there be a neceſſity of doing this.* But I have reſtored this place from the incomparable *Florent.* MS. in this manner: κἂν ἐπὶ καπήλοις ἢ παλιγκαπήλοις δέηοι, *if need ſo requires* [*they eat*] *with Victuallers or Retailers of Proviſion.* What a παλιγκάπηλος was, and how he differed from a κάπηλος, I think every body knows. How much a κάπηλος differs from *a Merchant*; ſo much a παλιγκάπηλος differed from a κάπηλος. The *old Gloſſes* render παλιγκάπηλον *in Latine* dardanarium, *one that buys proviſions to ſell them again.* Valeſ.

[i] The conjecture of Learned men diſpleaſes me not; who inſtead of [μηδὲ ἀποχειδῶνται, &c. *and will not anſwer to*, &c.] have mended it thus, μηδὲ ἀποκλιδῶνται, *and are not to be inclined to*, &c. Which latter reading *Chriſtophorſon* has followed, as 'tis apparent from *his Verſion.* Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* has retained the vulgar reading to wit, that firſt mentioned. *Valeſ.*

To ſpeak briefly therefore, in this incomparable and divine way of living, virtue enacts laws contrary to nature, having eſtabliſhed Sanctions of her own, to wit, not to impart to any of them a ſatiety of thoſe things [which are] neceſſary [for life.] But * their Law commands them to be hungry, and thirſty, and to cover the body ſo far only, as neceſſity † requireth. And, their way of living is ſo equally and exactly poized and balanced, that when they tend diametrically oppoſite, they are not in the leaſt ſenſible of any alteration [of things,] although the diſtance between them be vaſt. For, things contrary are in ſuch a manner mixed in them, (the divine grace joyning things not to be mixt, and again ſeparating them;) that life and death, (which two are contraries, both in nature, and in the things themſelves,) dwell together in them. For where [there occurs] paſſion or perturbation, it behoves them to be dead and buried. But when 'tis [the time of] prayer to God, then [they muſt be] Robuſt in body, Vivid and Vigorous, although they are grown decrepid with age. Moreover, [k] both Sorts of life are ſo complicated and conjoyned in them, that although they have indeed wholly put off the fleſh, [yet] they live ſtill, and converſe with the living, adminiſtring medicines to bodies, offering up the deſires of ſuppliants to God, and [laſtly] performing all other things agreeably to their former life; [l] excepting only that they do not want neceſſaries, nor are limited to any place; but they hear all, and converſe with all.

* That is, *the Monaſtick Law.*

† *Forceth*, or, *urgeth.*

[k] *Joannes Langus* expounds theſe words concerning *the preſent and future life.* For he has rendred the place of his *Nicephorus* in this manner: *Vitam utramque illi, &c. They do ſo complicate and conjoyn both lives, to wit, the future, &c.* But in my judgment by theſe words [*both ſorts of life*] the *Secular*, and *Monaſtick* life are to be underſtood: which is, plainly confirmed by *Evagrius*'s following words. For he ſays, πάντα ἄλλα ὁμοίως τῇ πρώτῃ βιοτῇ διαπραττόμενοι, *and performing all other things agreeable to their former life.* Valeſ.

[l] The reading of this place is truer in *Nicephorus*, thus πλὴν ὅσῳ μὴ τῆς ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας ἔτι) καὶ τόπῳ περιορίζωσι, *excepting only that they do not want neceſſaries, nor are limited to any place.* Valeſ.

There

There are amongst them frequent and unwearied bendings of the knees, and [after them] [m] Laborious ſtations; Deſire being the only recreation of their Age, and of their voluntary infirmity. They are a kind of *Champions* without fleſh, *Wreſtlers* without blood; who inſtead of a ſplendid banquet and delicious dainties, have a faſt, and, in place of a full-furniſh'd Table, nothing (as near as 'tis poſſible) that they may taſt of. Whenſoever a ſtranger comes to them, though it be in the morning, yet they receive him with a ſingular hoſpitality, and friendly invitation to eat and drink; having found out another ſort of faſting, to wit, to eat even againſt their will. So that this thing ſtrikes [all men] with an aſtoniſhment, that (whereas they want [n] ſo many [neceſſaries] for ſufficient food, yet) they are contented with ſo very few: being enemies to their own wills and nature, but ſlaves [o] to the deſires of their neighbours; that in all things the ſweets of the fleſh might be expelled, and the ſoul might have the Government, prudently chuſing and conſerving what is beſt and moſt acceptable to God. Bleſſed perſons, in reſpect of the life they lead here; but much more bleſſed on account of their tranſlation to that other, after which they pant continually, haſtning to ſee [p] him whom they love.

[m] Inſtead of αὐμπόνοι, *Laborious*, I think it ſhould be ἀνίσχνοι, *intent*, or *continued*. For I have found, that theſe two words are frequently confounded in *Manuſcript Copies*. Valeſ.

[n] Inſtead of [πόσων ἐς τέρψιν, &c.] I doubt not but it ſhould be πόσων. *Valeſ.*

[o] We owe the amendment of this place to the *Florent.* MS. in which Copy, inſtead of [τῆς ἧσσ' πάλαι θελήμασιν] it is plainly written thus, τῆς ἧσσ πάλας θελήμασι, *to the deſires of their neighbours.* Sir *Henry Savil* had drawn a line under this place, ſignifying thereby, that there was a fault here. But he ſaw not how it was to be mended. *Nicephorus* alſo retains the vulgar reading. *Valeſ.*

[p] Τὸν ποθούμενον αὐτῆς. The reading in the *Tellerian* MS. pleaſes me better; which is [τὸ ποθούμενον αὐτοῖς, *the thing deſired by them*;] this to me ſeems more elegant. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXII.

What [*Structures*] *the Empreſs* Eudocia *built in* Paleſtine, *and concerning the Church of the* Proto-Martyr Stephen, *within which ſhe was piouſly buried: moreover, concerning the Death of the Emperour* Theodoſius.

WHen therefore the Wife of *Theodoſius* had converſed with many ſuch perſons as theſe, and had built many Monaſteries, like unto them which I have mentioned; and moreover, had repaired the Walls of *Jeruſalem* [and made them] much better; ſhe erected a vaſt Church, eminent for its * ſplendidneſs and beauty, [in honour] of *Stephen* the firſt of the *Deacons* and *Martyrs*, about the diſtance of one furlong from *Jeruſalem*. In which Church ſhe was depoſited, after her departure to an immortal life. Further, *Theodoſius* [having ended his life] ſometime after theſe things, or, as ſome will have it, before *Eudocia*; and changed the Empire (which had been Governed by him eight and thirty years,) [for an eternal life:] the moſt incomparable *Marcianus* aſſumes the *Roman* Empire. The Actions therefore, which were perform'd by Him during his Ruling the *Eaſtern* Empire, ſhall moſt plainly be ſet forth † in the following Book, provided divine aſſiſtance will furniſh us with its own favour and benevolence.

* Or, *Excellence.*

† Or, *in the following Hiſtory.*

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS*,

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Emperour Marcianus, *and what ſigns preceded,* * *declaring he ſhould be Emperour.*

* Or, *declaring his Empire.*

† Or, *diſcourſe.*

WHAT was tranſacted during the Times of *Theodoſius* [*Junior*,] we have comprehended in our Firſt †‡ Book. Come on, we will now bring *Marcianus* forth, that famous Emperour of the *Romans*; and in the firſt place we will relate, who and whence he was, and in what manner * he arrived at the *Roman* Empire: and then we will declare the affairs tranſacted by him, in their proper places [and times.] *Marcianus* therefore, as 'tis related by many others, and alſo by [a] *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician*, by orginal Extract was a *Thracian*, the Son of a Military man. * Deſiring to follow his Father's courſe of life, he went to *Philippopolis*, [hoping] he might there be enrolled in the Companies of the Milice. As he was going thither, he ſees the body of a man newly ſlain, which lay thrown upon the ground. Near to which he made a ſtand, (for he was eminent in reſpect of his other [endowments,] but moſt eſpecially, on account of his humanity and compaſſion:) lamented what had hapned, and for a ſufficient while deſiſted from proceeding on his journey, being deſirous to perform what was fitting [to be done to the dead body.] When ſome perſons had ſeen this, they gave the Magiſtrates of *Philippopolis* an account of it. Who having apprehended *Marcianus*, interrogated him concerning the Murder of the Man. When therefore conjectures and probabilities prevailed more than truth it ſelf, and than the tongue of the perſon accuſed denying the Murder; and when [*Marcianus*] was about to undergo the puniſhment of a Murderer; divine aſſiſtance on a ſudden diſcovered the perſon that had committed the Murder. Who having been puniſh'd for that fact with the loſs of his head, [thereby] * preſerved the head of *Marcianus*. Being thus unexpectedly ſaved, he goes to one of the Companies of the Milice in that place, [b] it being his deſire to enter himſelf a Souldier therein. They admired the Man, and conjecturing upon good grounds that he would in future become a great perſon and one of extraordinary worth, they received him moſt willingly, and enrolled him amongſt themſelves, not laſt of all, as the Military Law directs; but, in the place of a Souldier newly dead, whoſe name was *Auguſtus*, they regiſtred *Marcianus* (who was likewiſe called *Auguſtus*,) in the *Muſter-Roll*. Thus [*Marcianus* by] his own name was beforehand in poſſeſſion of the denomination of our Emperours, who at ſuch time as they put on their Purple [aſſume] the Appellation of *Auguſti*. As if the name had refuſed to abide with him without the dignity; and again, as if the dignity could have required no other name for its being majeſtically adorned. So that, *his Proper*, and *his Appellative* name was the ſame; both *his Dignity*, and likewiſe *his Appellation*, being declar'd by one and the ſame denomination. Moreover, another accident hapned, from which it might be conjectured, that *Marcianus* would come to be Emperour. For, having had a Mili-

* Or, *he was crowned with.*

[a] Inſtead of [*Patriſcus*] it muſt be *Priſcus*, which is the reading in the *Tellerian* MS. and in *Nicephorus*, Book 15. This is the *Priſcus*, out of whoſe *Books of Hiſtory* we have the *Excerptæ Legationes*. Valeſ.

‡ Or, *endeavouring.*

* Or, *pardoned*, or, *forgave.*

[b] Ἐν αὐτῷ παρεγγέλλοντος βουλόμενος. *Muſculus* has rendred it well, thus, *Ut in eo militiæ nomen daret, That he might liſt, [or, enter] himſelf a Souldier therein.* Not that the term παρεγγέλλω does exactly import the ſame with *nomen dare, to liſt*, or, *enter* or, *enroll*: For, παρεγγέλλω does properly ſignify, *to deſire* and *to ſue for*. So *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſæus*, about the cloſe of *his* 11*th Book*, uſes this Phraſe, παρεγγέλλειν τῷ ἀρχῆν, *to ſue for an Office*. But, *Appian* uſually words it thus, παρεγγέλλειν εἰς τῷ ἀρχήν. And ſo does the *Old Author* in *Suidas*, in the word παρεγγέλλονίας. Now, *Candidates*, when they ſued for an Office, were wont *nomen ſuum profiteri, to tell their name and be enrolled*. *Johannes Langus* renders it, *Militare Sacramentum dicere, to ſay the Military Oath*. Which Verſion I diſprove of. For παρεγγελία is the *album militare, the Muſter-Roll*, wherein the names of all the Souldiers were regiſtred. *Vegetius*, Book 2. Chap. 5. terms it *Matriculam, the Liſt of Souldiers*. *Evagrius* uſes παρεγγελία in this ſenſe, hereafter in this Chapter; μαρκιανὸν τὸν ϗ αὔγυστον ἐς τῷ παρεγγελίαν ἐγγεγράφασιν, *they regiſtred* Marcianus (*who was likewiſe called* Auguſtus) *in the Muſter-Roll*. Further, the names of the Souldiers were inſerted into the *Muſter-Roll*, before they had ſaid the Oath; as *Vegetius* atteſts in the fore quoted place. *Candidus Iſaurus* makes uſe of the ſame term, in *his firſt book Hiſtor.* where his words concerning *Leo* are theſe: ὃς ἦν ἐκ δακίας μὲν τῆς ἐν ἰλλυρίοις ϛρατιώτας παρεγγελὰς τάξεσι, *who was of that Dacia in Illyricum, having been regiſtred in a Military Company*. Valeſ.

tary

tary Command under *Aspar* [in the War] against the *Vandals*, it hapned that *Marcianus*, together with many others, was taken Prisoner, (*Aspar* having been very much worsted by the *Vandals*;) and brought into a Field with the other Captives; it being *Geisericbus*'s desire to see the Prisoners. After they were gather'd together, *Geisericbus* being seated in an high room, pleased himself with viewing the multitude of those taken Prisoners. And in regard much time was spent [there, the Prisoners] did what each of them had a mind to: (For *Geisericbus* had given order, that those who guarded the Captives, should loose them from their bonds.) Some of them therefore did one thing, others another. But *Marcianus* laid himself down on the ground, and slept in the Sun, which was hot and more scorching than usual at that season of the year. [In which very interim] an Eagle came down from on high in the Air, and raising her self by a flight with her face perpendicularly opposite to the Sun, made a shadow like a Cloud over *Marcianus*, whereby she refreshed and cooled him. *Geisericbus* wondring hereat, with great foresight conjectured at what would happen; and when he had sent for *Marcianus*, he caused him to be dismissed from his Captivity, having first bound him in great Oaths, that after his coming to the Empire, he should inviolably keep his faith to the *Vandals*, and not move his Arms against them. Which ingagement, as [c] *Procopius* relates, *Marcianus* did in reality keep and perform. But leaving this digression, let us return to our Subject. *Marcianus* was pious towards God, just as to what related to his Subjects: accounting these true riches (not which were hoarded up, or brought together from the Collections of Tribute; but them only) which might supply the wants of the indigent, and render their Estates who possest much, secure and safe. He was formidable, not for his punishing, but because ['twas feared] he was about to punish. On these accounts therefore he obtained the Empire, [which fell to him] not by an hereditary Right, but [was] the reward of his vertue; as well the Senate, as all other persons of what degrees and orders soever, conferring the Imperial dignity upon him by a general suffrage, to which they were perswaded by *Pulcheria*. Whom, in regard she was *Augusta*, *Marcianus* married; but knew her not as a Wife, she continuing a Virgin till her death. And these things were done, before *Valentinianus* Emperour of *Rome* had confirmed this Election by his own consent. Notwithstanding, by reason of [*Marcianus*'s] Virtue, he afterwards made it authentick. Further, it was *Marcianus*'s desire, that [one] Worship might in common be exhibited to God by all persons, (those tongues, which had been confused through impiety, being again piously united;) and that the Deity might be praised with one and the same * *Doxology*.

[c] The words of *Procopius*, which *Evagrius* points to here, were heretofore extant in the *first book of his Vandalicks*. But now they are wanting in the *Augustane Edition*, at pag. 96. For there is a defect in the Greek Text there, after these words ὥσε δέρας ἀχ- δόμενοι. *Vales.*

* Or, Glorification.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, *and what was the Occasion of its being convened.*

WHilest therefore the Emperour's mind was taken up with these desires, there came to him, both the * *Responsales* of *Leo* Bishop of the *Elder Rome*, affirming that *Dioscorus* in the *second Ephesine Synod*, had not admitted of *Leo*'s Letter, wherein was contained † the Doctrine of the true Faith: and also those persons who had been injured by the same *Dioscorus*, intreating that their Cause might be judged in a Synod of Bishops. But above all *Eusebius*, who had been Bishop of *Dorylæum*, was most importunately urgent, saying, that by the treacherous contrivances of *Chrysaphius Theodosius*'s [a] *Protector*, he and *Flavianus* had been deposed, because, to *Chrysaphius* demanding Gold for *Flavianus*'s own Ordination, *Flavianus* (to shame him) [b] had sent the sacred Vessels; and because *Chrysaphius* agreed with *Eutyches* in his erroneous and false Opinions. *Eusebius* said moreover, that *Flavianus* had been beaten, and kickt, and in a miserable manner murdered by *Dioscorus*.

* Διακονήμενοι τοῖς ἀποκρίσεσι, *those persons that were employed in the answers*, &c.

† Or, *the determination of Orthodoxy*.

[a] Ὑπατοῦ, that is, *The defender of the Emperour's person*, or, *his Protectour*, *Chrysaphius* is thus termed by *Priscus Rhetor*, in *his Excerpt. Legationum*. The *Authour of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* calls him *Spatharius*, which we may render *Esquire of the Emperour's body*. He is termed *Spatharius* also *in Gestis de nomine Acacii*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath set forth. *Vales.*

[b] *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon* relates that *Theodosius Junior*, who then made his Residence at *Chalcedon*, by the impulse of *Chrysaphius* commanded *Flavianus*, (newly ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*,) that for his Ordination he should send him the *Eulogiæ*, [that is, *the Loaves of Benediction*, or, *pieces of the Blessed bread*. See *Socrat.* Book 7. Chap. 12. Note (*b*;) and also *Meursius*'s *Glossary*, at the word εὐλογίαι] And when *Flavianus* had sent *white loaves*, in the name of a Benediction, *Chrysaphius* made answer, that the Emperour demanded *golden Eulogiæ*. In answer to which *Flavianus* wrote back, that he had no money which he could send, unless instead of money he should present him with the sacred Vessels of the Church. And this thing, as *Theophanes* says, raised a deadly grudge between *Chrysaphius* and *Flavianus*. Vales.

For these reasons, a Synod is convened at *Chalcedon*, Couriers and Expresses being sent, and the Bishops in all places called together * by the most pious Emperour's Letters, first at *Nicæa*: (in so much that, *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, writing to them concerning those persons he had sent to supply his own place, to wit, *Paschasinus*, *Lucentius*, and the rest, inscribed [his Letters thus,] *To those convened at* Nicæa:) but afterwards at *Chalcedon* in the Country of the *Bithynians*. [c] *Zacharias Rhetor*, in favour to *Nestorius*, does indeed [d] affirm that he was sent for out of Exile [to this Council.] But, that this was not so, may be conjectured from hence, that the Synod does every where *Anathematize Nestorius*. The same is also expressly attested by *Eustathius* Bishop of *Berytus* (in *his Letter* to *Johannes* a Bishop, and to another *Johannes* a Presbyter, concerning the matters agitated in the Synod,) in these very words: *Those persons meeting again, who demanded* Nestorius's *Reliques, cried out against the Synod,* [*in this sort:*] *For what reason are Holy Men* Anathematiz'd? *In so much that the Emperour, being highly incensed, commanded his Guards by force to drive them a far off.* How therefore *Nestorius* could have been called [to this Council,] who was dead long before, I cannot tell.

* Or, *by pious Letters.*

[c] *Zacharias Rhetor* wrote an *Ecclesiastick History* from the beginning of the Emperour *Marcianus*'s Reign (as it may be conjectured from this place,) until the Reign of *Anastasius*. But, he wrote not with sincerity and moderation (as an History ought to be written,) but was corrupted with favour and hatred, that is, ἐμπαθῶς, *with affection and partiality*, as *Evagrius* says. *Evagrius* attests the same concerning him, in Book 3. Chap. 7. And in Chap. 18. of *his third Book*, he accuses the same *Zacharias* of negligence. *Vales.*

[d] In the *Florentine* MS. the reading of this place is more entire thus, ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας μεταπεμπτὸν γινέσθαι φησί. And we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.* *In Robert Stephens Edition*, the words [ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας, *out of Exile*] are wanting.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

A description of the Great Martyr Euphemia's *Church, which is in* [*the City*] Chalcedon: *and a Narrative of the Miracles perform'd therein.*

[THE Fathers] therefore are assembled in the sacred Church of the Martyr *Euphemia*. This Church stands in *Chalcedon*, a City belonging to the Province of the *Bithynians*. It is distant from the *Bosphorus* not more than two furlongs, [situate] in a most pleasant place, on an * eminence which rises easily and by degrees: in so much that, those who go up into the Church of the Martyr, are insensible of Labour in their walk; but being got within the Temple, on a sudden they appear at a vast height. Whence casting down their eyes as 'twere from a Watch-Tower, they have a prospect of all the Fields beneath, extended into a level and even Plain, clothed in green with grass, waving with standing corn, and beautified with the sight of all sorts of trees: [they see] woody mountains also, [the trees whereon] bend and then raise [their tops] finely to an heighth. Moreover, [they have a prospect of] several Seas, some of which [seem] * purple-colour'd by reason of their serenity, and do sweetly and mildly play with the Shoars; to wit, where the places are calm: but others are rough and boysterous with surges, by the very reciprocal motion of their waves forcing ashoar, † and mix'd with little stones, Sea-weed, and the lightest sort of shell-fish, and then drawing them back again. Moreover, the Church it self stands right over against *Constantinople*. So that, the Temple is [not a little] adorn'd with the prospect of so great a City. The Church consists of three most spacious Structures. The first is an *Open Court*, beautified with a large ‖ *Atrium*, and with Pillars on every side. After this there is another Structure, for breadth, and length, and pillars, [a] almost alike; differing only in this, that it has a Roof laid over it. In the Northern side whereof at the rising Sun, there is a round Edifice built in form of a [b] *Tholus*, set round within with Pillars most artificially framed, which are alike as to their matter, and equal in bigness. [c] Over these [Pillars,] there is an * *Hyperon* raised to a vast heighth, under the same Roof: so that, even in this Room also, they that desire it, may both supplicate the Martyr, and also be present at the sacred Mysteries.

* Or, *hill.*

* Τῇ γαλήνῃ πορφυρώμενα; which words *Valesius* renders thus: *Serenitate renidentia, shining*, or *glistering by reason of their calmness.*

† Κάλυκας; it signifies *shells*, or, *sand full of little stones.*

‖ *Court*, or, *Courtyard.*

[a] I have mended this place from the *Florentine* MS. after this manner; μιχθὲν παραπλήσι⊖, *almost alike.* Nevertheless, *Nicephorus* has followed the vulgar reading, which is μιχθὲς παραπλήσιως. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written μιχθὲὰ παραπλήσι⊖. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐς δόλον, that is, *in form of a Cupolo*, or *Cuppolo*; as the *Italians* now term it. *Harpocration* (in the word δόλ⊖) tells us, that the place where the *Prytanes* (who were a sort of Magistrates amongst the *Athenians*) eat, was termed *Tholotus*; ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ (continues he) σκιὰς, διὰ τὸ ὅπως ὠκοδομῆθαι αὐτὴν στρογγύλον παρόμοιον δολίᾳ, *but by some 'tis termed* σκιὰς, (that is, *an Arbour*) *because 'tis built round, in that form, like an hat with an high round crown.*

[c] 'Tis strange that Translatours should not have perceived the fault of this place: for what can the sense be of these words; *Sub his columnis tabulatum est sublime*, &c. *Under these Pillars there is an high Chamber*, &c. according as *Christophorson* has rendred it? Instead of [ὑπὸ τούτοις, *under these*] it must undoubtedly be ἐπὶ τούτοις, *over these*; which is the reading in *Nicephorus*; his words are these: ἐφ' οἷς ὑπῆρών τι, &c. which *Langus* renders thus: *Super quibus porticus sublimis eâdem sub Testudine constructa est, Over which* [*Pillars*] *there is an high Gallery built under the same Roof.* Vales. * Or, *Upper Room.*

But within the *Tholos*, towards the East, [a] there is a magnificent Tomb, where lie the most holy Reliques of the Martyr, deposited in an oblong Chest (some term it [b] *The Macra*,) most curiously made of silver. The Miracles which are at certain times performed by the holy Martyr, are manifestly known to all *Christians*. For, frequently in their sleep she appears, either to the Bishops during their several times of presidency over that City, or else to some persons (otherwise eminent for [piety of] life,) who come to her [Church,] and orders them [c] to make their Vintage in the Temple. After this hath been made known, both to the Emperours, to the Patriarch, and also to the City; as well those who sway the Imperial Scepter, as the Pontiffs, Magistrates, and the rest of the whole multitude of the people, go immediately to the Church, with a desire to partake of the Mysteries. In the sight of all these persons therefore, the Bishop of *Constantinople*, together with the Priests about him, goes into the sacred Edifice, where the holy Body I have mentioned is deposited. [d] There is a little hole in the Chest, on its left side, which is shut up and made fast by small doors. Through this hole they let down a long iron rod, after they have fastned a sponge to it, as far as the most holy Reliques; and when they have turned the sponge about, they draw the iron rod up to them, [the sponge at the end whereof is] full of bloud, and bloudy clotters. Which when the people behold, immediately they adore and glorifie God.

[a] Ἐναφεστὼς δὲ σηκός. *Langus* and *Christophorson* render it *Sacrarium, a Vestry*, or *little Chappel. Musculus* translates it *adytum, a secret place in a Church to which few have access.* Which I approve not of. I have rather rendred it *tumulum, a Tomb*, or *Monument.* For that is the import of the term σηκὸς, as *Hesychius* and *Suidas* do attest. But, by *a Tomb*, or *Monument*, I mean a place fenced in with Barrs made lattise-wise, in the midst whereof was that silver Chest wherein the Reliques of the holy Martyr *Euphemia* were deposited. For, that it was so, is apparent from *Evagrius*'s following words. *Vales.*

[b] Instead of μακρὰν *Macra*, I think it should be ἀρκὰν, *The Ark.* Truly, I do not see what sense there can be in the vulgar reading; in regard μακρὰ and ὀπωπικὴς signifie the same; nor is it a proper name, but *an adjective.* 'Tis better therefore to read ἀρκὰν, *the Ark.* Some persons, says *Evagrius*, term the Martyr's Chest, *Arcam, the Ark.* For so the Latines term it. The *Old Glosses* render σορὸς, *arca funebris, an Ark*, or *Chest, for the dead.* Vales.

[c] Κατὰ τὸ πέμπτον τρυσᾶν. Translatours understood not this place. *Musculus* and *Christophorson* made it τρυφᾶν. For *Musculus* renders it thus: *Ut circa templum ad honorem ejus jucundentur præcipit, and orders them that in honour of her they should be merry about the Temple.* And *Christophorson* translates it thus: *Jubet ut in ipso Templo festum deliciis, & epiparis epulis celebrent, she orders that in the very Church they should celebrate a feast with dainties and sumptuous banquets.* But, *Evagrius*'s following words do altogether refute this emendation. For, he adds not one word at this place, which may in any wise belong to luxury or delicious food. *Nicephorus* has indeed retained the vulgar reading: but has explained it ill, thus: ἀφθόνως δὴ θαυμάτων τρυφᾶν ἐπεκελεύετο: that is, as *Langus* has rendred it, *Ut miraculorum talium fructum perciperent, est cohortata, she exhorteth them, that they should freely partake of the fruit of such miracles.* But *Nicephorus* added these words of his own head; nor has he comprehended *Evagrius*'s meaning; in regard *Evagrius* speaks not here of more miracles, but of one only miracle, to wit, the bloud flowing out of the Tomb of the holy Martyr. I have followed the ordinary reading, and have explained this place in the simple and obvious sense *concerning the making of a Vintage.* Which agrees exactly with *Evagrius*'s following words. For the bloud, which in a most plentiful manner was press'd out of the blessed Martyr's reliques, was not unlike Wine, which is squeezed out of press'd Grapes. Besides, the Festival day of the holy *Euphemia* fell on the time of Vintage, to wit, on the sixteenth of *September*, as we are informed from the *Greek Menology.* Vales.

[d] I am of the same opinion with Learned men, who instead of [ἔστι δὲ, *But moreover*] have long since altered the reading, and made it ἔστι δὲ, *There is*, &c. Which emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*, and by *Nicephorus.* Further, *Langus* renders κλειθρίδιον (which is the term here used,) *fenestellam, a little window: Christophorson* translates it *transennam*, a *Loup*, or, *Casement.* I (as *Musculus* has done,) had rather render it *foramen, an hole.* For *Sozomen* terms it thus, Book 9. Chap. 2. where I have made more Remarks concerning such *little windows* as these, which were made in the *Capsæ* [*Chests wherein were laid the Reliques*] of the Martyrs. *Vales.*

[Further,]

[Further,] so great a plenty [of blood] is extracted out thence, that both the pious Emperours, and also all the Priests [there] convened, moreover the whole multitude which flock together at that place, in a most plentiful manner to partake of it, and likewise send it over the whole World, to the Faithful that are desirous of it. And the congealed blood lasts [so as it is] for ever, nor is the most holy blood in any wise changed into any other colour. * These miracles are performed, not at any determinate period of time, but according as the Life of the Bishop, and the gravity of his Morals shall † deserve. For, 'tis reported, that when ever a Person of probity, and one eminent for his Virtues, does govern [that Church,] this miracle is performed, and that most frequently: but when there is no such Prelate, such divine signs as these do rarely happen. But I will relate another [miracle,] which no time or season ‖ interrupts: nor does it make any difference between the Faithful and the Infidels; but 'tis alike * shewn to all Persons. When any Person comes into that place, wherein the precious Chest is, which contains most of the holy Reliques, † he smells a fragrant scent, which transcends all the usual savours [smelt] by men. For, this scent is neither like that ‖ which arises from Meadows, nor like that sent forth by any the most fragrant things; nor is it such a one as is made by Perfumers: but 'tis a certain strange and most excellent scent, [b] which of it self demonstrates the [virtues and] power of those things that produce it.

*Or, *which things are magnificently celebrated.*
†Or, *require.*
‖Or, *cuts in sunder.*
*Or, *exposed*, or, *obvious.*
†Or, *he is fill'd with.*
‖Or, *which is gathered.*
[b] The term [λειψανων, *Reliques*] *is* wanting in *the Kings*, the *Florentine*, and *Tellerian* Manuscripts, and likewise in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. Nor have the *Geneva Printers* done well, who from *Christophorson's Books* put this word in here, whereas it is in no wise necessary at this place; nor is it confirmed by the testimony of any written Copy. For, those various Readings which are produced from *Christophorson's* Books, are for the most part nothing else but the conjectures of Learned Men. This whole passage therefore ought to be written as 'tis read in the *Tellerian* and *Florentine Manuscripts*; to wit, thus: ἐξ αὐτῆς φερουσα των ἀναθυμιων τὴν δυναμιν, *which of it self demonstrates the* [*virtues and*] *power of those things that produce it.* And so *Nicephorus* read: for he has expresst this place of *Evagrius* thus: τεκμηριουσα τὴ ἀναθυμιῳ τὴν δυναμιν, *which gives an indication of the power of that thing which produceth it.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning those things which were agitated and established in the Synod; and how Dioscorus [*Bishop*] *of* Alexandria *was deposed; but,* Theodoret, Ibas, *and some others were restored.*

IN this place, the Synod I have mentioned is convened, the Bishops *Paschasinus* and *Lucentius*, and *Bonifacius* the Presbyter, administring (as I have said,) the place of *Leo Pont ff* of the *Elder Rome*: *Anatolius* presiding over the *Constantinopolitan* [Church;] and *Dioscorus* being Bishop of [the Church of] the *Alexandrians*. *Maximus* [Bishop] of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem* [were there also.] Together with whom were present those Prelates whom they had about them; and also those Personages who held the principal places in the eminent Senate [of *Constantinople.*] To whom they who filled *Leo's* place, said, that *Dioscorus* ought not to sit together with them in the Council. For this they [affirmed] was given them in charge by their Bishop *Leo*, and unless it were observed, they would remove out of the Church. And when [those] of the Senate asked, what were the matters objected against *Dioscorus*; they returned answer, that he ought to render an account of his own judgment, who, contrary to what was fitting and just, had accepted the Person of the Judge. After which words, when *Dioscorus* by the Senates Decree had come forth into a place in the midst; *Eusebius* made his Request, that the *Supplicatory Libel*, which he had presented to the Emperour, might be recited; which Request he worded thus: *I have been injured by* Dioscorus; *the Faith hath been injured*; Flavianus *the Bishop hath been murdered, and together with me unjustly deposed by him: do you give order, that my* Supplicatory Libel *may be read.* Which thing when [the Judges] had discoursed of, the *Libel* was permitted to be read, the contents whereof were these.

[a] *To the Lovers of Christ, our most religious and most pious Emperours,* Flavius Valentinianus, *and* Marcianus, *always* Augusti; *From* Eusebius *the meanest Bishop of* Dorylæum, *who speaks in defence of himself, of the Orthodox Faith, and of* Flavianus *of blessed memory who was Bishop of* Constantinople. [*It is*] *the design of your power, to make provision for all your Subjects, and to stretch forth an hand to all those who are injured: especially* [b] *to them who are reckoned amongst the* Ecclesiasticks. *For hereby* [c] *you worship the Deity, by whom a power hath been given you to Rule and Govern* * *the World. In regard therefore the Faith of Christ and we have suffered many and grievous things, contrary to all reason and equity, from* Dioscorus *the most reverend Bishop of the great City* Alexandria; *we address to Your piety, entreating we may have Right done Us. Now, the business is this. At a Synod lately held in the* Metropolis *of the* Ephesians, *(would to God that Synod had never been held, that it might not have filled the World with mischiefs and disturbances!) that* * *Good man* Dioscorus, *disregarding the consideration of what is just, and* [*not respecting*] *the fear of God, (for he was of the same opinion, and entertained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded and heretical* Eutyches; *but concealed it from many Persons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evidenced from his own declaration:)* † *took an occasion from that accusation which I had brought against* Eutyches, *a Person of the same opinion with himself, and from that Sentence pronounc'd against the same* Eutyches *by Bishop* Flavianus * *of holy memory*; [*whereby*] *he assembled a multitude of disorderly and tumultuous Persons: and having possest himself of power by money, as much as in him lay, he has weakned the pious Religion of the* Orthodox, *and has confirmed the ill opinion of the Monk* Eutyches, *which long since, even from the beginning, hath been condemned by the holy Fathers. Whereas therefore; the matters are not*

[a] This whole Preface, as far as these words, *always Augusti*, is wanting in the *King*, and *Florentine*, and *Tellerian* Manuscripts. *Christophorson* was the first that put in these words, from the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*; notwithstanding, they seem not at all necessary at this place. *Vales.* The said Preface is wanting in *Stephens's* Edition; where also, instead of περὶ Δοσεβίυ, *by Eusebius*, the Reading is [περὶ Δοσεβίυ, *concerning Eusebius.*]

[b] Instead of [τῖς ἱερωσύνλω τελῶσι, *to those who perform the Priesthood,*] it must without doubt be written [τῖς εἰς ἱερωσύνλω τελῶσι, *to those who are reckoned amongst the Ecclesiasticks;*] as the Reading is in the *first Action of the Chalcedon Council*, where this *Supplicatory Libel* of Bishop *Eusebius* to the Emperour *Marcianus* is recorded. *Vales.*

[c] Instead of [θεραπεύεϛ, *is worshipped*] I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote, θεραπεύεσε, *you worship.* 'Tis certain in the *first Action of the Chalcedon Council*, the Reading is θεραπεύονσες, *worshipping.* Which though it be corrupt, nevertheless confirms our Emendation. *Vales.*

* 'Tis Ironically spoken.

†Or, *found*

* Τῆς ὀνόματος λήξεως, *of an holy character*, or, *name.*

ſmall and trivial, which he hath audaciouſly attempted, both againſt the Faith of Chriſt, and againſt Us, We fall at the feet of your [*Imperial*] *Majeſty, and humbly beſeech You, to order the ſaid moſt Religious Biſhop* Dioſcorus, *to give in his anſwer to what is objected againſt him by us: to wit, by having the* Monuments *of the* Acts, *which he has made againſt us, read before an holy Synod. From which* [Acts] *we are able to demonſtrate, that he is eſtranged from the* Orthodox *Faith, hath confirmed an Hereſy full of Impiety, hath unjuſtly depoſed us, and in a moſt grievous and injurious manner oppreſſed us: You ſending your divine and adorable* Mandate *to the Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod of Biſhops moſt dear to God, to the end that it may hear the cauſe between us and the fore-mentioned* Dioſcorus, *and bring to the knowledge of* Your Piety *all that is tranſacted,* * *according to that which ſhall pleaſe* Your Immortal Height. *And if we ſhall obtain this, we will pour forth inceſſant prayers for your eternal Empire, moſt divine Emperours!* After this, by the joynt deſire of *Dioſcorus* and *Euſebius*, the *Acts of the ſecond Epheſine Synod* were publickly recited. The particular declaration whereof, (it being † comprehended in many words, and contained ‖ within the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*;) leaſt I ſhould ſeem verboſe to thoſe who haſten towards a [knowledge of] the concluſion of Tranſactions, I have ſubjoyned to this *Second Book* of my Hiſtory; giving thoſe Perſons who are deſirous of an exact and particular knowledge of all matters, a liberty of reading theſe things, and of having an accurate account of all tranſactions imprinted on their minds. [In the interim] I will curſorily mention the more principal and momentous matters: to wit, that *Dioſcorus* was * convicted, becauſe he had not admitted of the Letter of *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome*; and becauſe he had effected the depoſition of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *New Rome*, within the ſpace of one day; and becauſe he had gotten the Biſhops who were convened, to ſubſcribe [their Names] in a paper not written on, as if therein had been contained *Flavianus*'s Depoſition. Whereupon, thoſe Perſons who were of the Senate, made this Decree. [d] *We perceive that a more exact ſcrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when* [e] *the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard* Flavianus *of pious Memory, and the moſt Religious Biſhop* Euſebius *(from a ſearch made into the* Acts *and* Decrees, *and alſo from their teſtimony by word of mouth who preſided in the Synod then convened; who have confeſſed that they have erred, and depoſed them without cauſe, when he had in no wiſe erred in the Faith:) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjuſtly depoſed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable to God,) to be juſt, (provided it ſhall pleaſe our moſt Divine and moſt pious Lord,) that* Dioſcorus *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Alexandria, Juvenalis *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Jeruſalem, Thalaſſius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia, Euſebius *the moſt religious Biſhop of* [f] Ancyra, Euſtathius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Berytus, *and* Baſilius *the moſt Religious Biſhop of* Seleucia *in* Iſauria, *which* [Prelates] *had power, and preſided over the then Synod, ſhould lie under the very ſame puniſhment, being by* [*the Sentence of*] *the ſacred Synod according to the Canons* * *removed from the Epiſcopal dignity: all things which have been conſequently done being made known* † *to his moſt ſacred Imperial Majeſty.* After this, *Libels* having been given in on the ſecond day againſt *Dioſcorus*, on account of [various] crimes, and concerning money [forcibly by him taken,] when *Dioſcorus*, being twice and thrice called, appeared not, by reaſon of [ſeveral] excuſes which he alledged; they who filled the place of *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome*, ‖ made this declaration in theſe expreſs words.

[g] *What* Dioſcorus *who hath been Biſhop of the great City* Alexandria, *has audaciouſly attempted againſt the order of the Canons, and the Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitution; hath been made manifeſt, but by thoſe things which have already been inquired into at the* Firſt Seſſion, *and alſo from what hath been done this day. For this Perſon, (to omit many other things,) making uſe of his own authority, uncanonically admitted to Communion* Eutyches, *(a Man that embraces the ſame Sentiments with himſelf, who had been canonically depoſed by his own Biſhop of holy Memory, we mean our Father and Biſhop* Flavianus; *) before* * *his ſitting* [*in the Synod*] *at* Epheſus, *together with the Biſhops beloved by God. Now, the Apoſtolick Sea hath granted a pardon to thoſe* [*Prelates,*] *for what hath been involuntarily done there by them. Who alſo to this preſent continue of the ſame opinion with the moſt holy Archbiſhop* Leo, *and with all the holy and* Oecumenical Synod. *On which account, he hath received them to his own Communion, as being aſſerters of the ſame Faith with himſelf. But* † *this Man till this very time hath not deſiſted from boaſting of theſe things, on account whereof he ought rather to mourn, and lay himſelf proſtrate on the earth. Beſides, be permitted not the Letter of the Bleſſed Pope* Leo, *to be read, (which had been written by him to* Flavianus *of holy Memory;) and this* [*he did*] *notwithſtanding he was ſeveral times entreated by thoſe Perſons who had brought the Letter, to ſuffer it to be read; and notwithſtanding he had promiſed with an Oath that it ſhould be read.*

The

* Πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν. See *Socrat.* book 7. chap 36. note (*b.*)

† Or, *formed*, or, *made up into*, &c.

‖ Or, *within thoſe things agitated at Chalcedon.*

* Or, *detected.*

[d] This is the Sentence, which the moſt magnificent Judges who were preſent at the *Chalcedon Council*, pronounc'd after an hearing of the Cauſe: which Sentence is recorded in the very ſame words, in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 152. *Edit. Bin.* Notwithſtanding, 'tis a wonder to me, that *Chriſtophorſon* had not ſeen this, who has confuſed and diſturbed all things at this place in ſuch a manner, that you can extract nothing of ſound ſenſe from his Verſion. That which diſturbed him, was this ſeeing the *Secular Magiſtrates* in a Council of Biſhops, and their pronouncing ſentence as Judges. But *Chriſtophorſon* ought to have conſidered, that thoſe Magiſtrates concerned not themſelves in the Cauſe of the Faith, but left the Biſhops a free right and power of determining concerning that matter. Indeed, at ſuch time as the Rule of Faith was drawn up by the Biſhops convened at *Chalcedon*, theſe very Magiſtrates, who before had often moved the Council that that might be done, would not be be preſent at the Seſſion of Biſhops. But in the buſineſs between *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Dorylæum* and *Dioſcorus* of *Alexandria*, in which affair nothing was treated of concerning the Faith, but concerning violence, fraud, and other crimes. In this buſineſs, I ſay, the *Secular Magiſtrates* had a right to pronounce ſentence. Which nevertheleſs was not a definitive ſentence, but an *Interlocution* only, as 'tis apparent from the *Acts of the Council*. Valeſ.

[e] Τελεωτέρας ζωὸς γνώμης. In the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Council*, the Reading is τελεώτερον, *more perfect and compleat*. In the *Compendium of the Acts of this Synod*, which *Evagrius* hath ſubjoyned at the cloſe of this Book, it is τελειότερον. The Reading in the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* Manuſcripts at this place is τελεώτερον. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens*, the Reading is the ſame with that at the beginning of this note.

[f] Ἐπισκοπον ἀρμενίας, Biſhop of *Armenia*. The ſame fault occurs in *the Compendium of the Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, which is extant at the end of this Book. Notwithſtanding, 'tis manifeſt, that it muſt be ἀγκύρας, *of Ancyra*, agreeable to the reading in the *firſt Action of the Chalcedon Council*. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is [of *Armenia*]

* Or, *made ſtrangers to.*

† τῇ θείᾳ κεφυῇ, *to the divine height.*

‖ Or, *pronounced ſentence.*

[g] This Sentence pronounc'd by the Deputies of the Apoſtolick See, is extant in the *third Action of the Chalcedon Council*, p. 192. *Valeſ.*

* Dioſcorus's.

† Dioſcorus.

The not reading of this Letter [h] *has filled the most Holy Churches over the whole World with scandals and detriment. Nevertheless, although such things as these have been audaciously attempted by him, yet it was our design, to have vouchsafed him something of compassion* [i] *in relation to his former impious Fact, as also to the rest of the Bishops beloved by God, although they had not the same authority* [k] *of judging that he was invested with. But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his* * *latter facts, (for he has audaciously pronounced an Excommunication against the most Holy and most Pious* Leo *Archbishop of* Rome the Great: *And moreover, (when* Libels *stuft with Crimes were presented to the Holy and Great Synod against him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Bishops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prickt by his own Conscience; [Lastly,] he has illegally received [to Communion] those, who had justly been deposed by several Synods: [on these various accounts we say] he himself has pronounced sentence against himself, having many ways trampled under foot the Ecclesiastick Rules. Wherefore, the most holy and most Blessed* Leo *Archbishop of the Great and the Elder* Rome, *by Us and the present Synod, together with the thrice Blessed and most eminent Apostle* Peter, *who is the* † *Rock and* Basis *of the Catholick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath divested him of the Episcopal dignity, and* * *hath removed him from [the performance of] every Sacerdotal Office. Therefore, the Holy and Great Synod it self will* [l] *decree those things concerning the forementioned* Dioscorus, *which shall seem agreeable to the Canons.*

[h] In the third Action of the *Chalcedon* Council, this place is otherwise read, to wit, thus; αἱ ἁγιώταται ἐκκλησίαι ἐπειράσθησαν ἀγιωτάτου ἐκκλησίου, *the most Holy Churches over the whole World have been tempted, or tryed.* Vales.

[i] Instead of [περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας, &c.] in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, the reading is [ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ, &c.] *Vales.*

[k] These words [τῆς κρίσεως] *of judging*, or, *of judgment*, are wanting in the *Kings*, in the *Tellerian*, and in the *Florentine* Manuscripts; and they are put into the *Geneva* Edition from *Christophorson*'s Book. They occur indeed in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council; but to me they seem not very necessary *Vales.* In *Rob. Stephen*'s Edition, they are wanting.

[l] Instead of ψηφίσῃ, *will Decree.* Which in my judgment is right. For the *Future* Tense is in this place put for the *Imperative* Mood. For, whereas the Legates of the Apostolick See do here speak to the Synod, they would not use the *Imperative*; because it seems more arrogant. They made use therefore of the *Future* Tense, as being the softer and more modest Mode of Expression. Notwithstanding, *The old Translatour of the Chalcedon Council* has rendred it in the *Imperative Mood.* In *Nicephorus*, book 15. chap. 30. the reading is ψηφίσωσι. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephen*'s Edition, and in the Greek Text here, the reading is ψηφίζῃ, *doth Decree*; which perhaps is the truer reading.

* Or, *second.*

† See chap. 18. note (x.)

* Or, *hath estranged him.*

[l] In the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, the reading is ψηφίσῃ, *will Decree.*

These things having been confirmed by the Synod, and some other business done, those [Prelates] who had been deposed with *Dioscorus* by the entreaty of the Synod and the Emperours assent, obtained their Restoration. And some other things have been added to what was done before, they promulged a definition of the Faith, contained in these expres words.

[m] *Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, when he confirmed the knowledge of the Faith to his Disciples, said,* * My peace I give unto you, my peace I leave with you: *to the end that no person should differ from his neighbour in the* † Dogmata *of Piety, but that the Preaching of the Truth might be equally demonstrated to all.* After these words, when they had recited the *Nicene Creed*, and also [that * Creed] of the hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, they have added these words: *That wise and salutary Creed of the Divine Grace, was indeed sufficient for the knowledge and confirmation of Piety. For, it delivers a perfect and entire Doctrine, concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and it expresses and confirms the Incarnation of our Lord to those who receive it with Faith. But, in regard the* [n] *Enemies of Truth attempt to reject and abrogate the Preaching [thereof] by their own Heresies; and have* * *coyned vain and new Terms;) some daring to corrupt the Mystery of our Lord's Dispensation which [was made] upon our account, and denying the Term* Theotocos [*which is attributed*] *to the* Virgin: *and others introducing a confusion and mixture, foolishly imagining the Nature of the Flesh and of the Deity to be one, and monstrously feigning the Divine Nature of the* Only Begotten *to be by confusion passible:) therefore, this present, Holy, Great, and* Oecumenical Synod, *being desirous to* * *preclude all their [ways of] fraud invented against the Truth, and to vindicate that* † *Doctrine which from the beginning [has continued] unshaken; hath determined, that in the first place, the* || *Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers ought to remain and be preserved unattempted and inviolate: and upon their account who* * *impugne the Holy Spirit, this [Synod] confirms that Doctrine concerning the Substance of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards delivered by the hundred and fifty Fathers convened in the Imperial City* [Constantinople:] *which Doctrine they promulged to all Persons, not as if they added any thing which had been wanting before, but that they might declare their own Sentiment concerning the Holy Spirit, against those who attempted to abrogate and abolish his Dominion and Power: but, upon their account who dare corrupt the Mystery of the* Oeconomy, *and* [o] *do rave [so] impudently [as to assert] him who was born of the holy Virgin* Mary *to be a meer Man; [this Synod] has admitted and approved of the* Synodical Letters *of the Blessed* Cyrillus, *who was Pastour of the Church of the* Alexandrians; *[which Letters* Cyrillus *sent] to* Nestorius, *and to the Eastern [Bishops,] and they are sufficient, both to confute* Nestorius's *madness, and also to explain the salutary Creed, in favour to such Persons as out of a pious zeal are desirous of attaining a true notion thereof. To which Letters, in confirmation of such Sentiments as are right and true, [this Synod] has deservedly annext the Epistle of the most Blessed and most Holy Archbishop* Leo, *President of the Great and* Elder Rome, *which he wrote to Archbishop* Flavianus *of Holy Memory, in order to the subversion of* Eutyches's *madness;* [p] *which Letter agrees with the Confession of Great* Peter, *and is a certain common Pillar against those who embrace ill Sentiments. For, it makes a resistance against them, who attempt to divide the Mystery of the* Oeconomy.

[m] This definition of the Faith is contained in the fifth Action of the *Chalcedon* Synod. 'Tis extant also in *Nicephorus*, book 15. chap. 6. *Vales.*

* Jo. 14. 27.

† Or, *opinions.*

* That is, *the Constantinopolitan Creed*; *at* the drawing up whereof there were 150 Fathers. See *Socrat.* book 5. c. 9.

[n] The word [ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*] is wanting in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council: and the reading of this whole place is thus; οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀθετεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντες τὸ κήρυγμα, &c. *Those who attempt to reject and abrogate the Preaching of the Truth by their,* &c. Which reading seems to me far better. *Vales.*

* Or, *bred*, or, *brought forth.*

* Or, *stop up.*

† Or, *Preaching.*

|| That is, *the* Nicene *Creed.*

* Or, *fight against.*

[o] Instead of [ἀναισχῶς λοιδορεῖν δὲ do reproach [so] impudently] it must doubtless be [ἀναισχῶς λυμαίνονται, *do rave [so] impudently*;] agreeable to the reading in the *Florentine* MS. and in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Synod. *Vales.*

[p] The reading here, and in *Nicephorus* is, ὃν πατὴρ τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου πέτρου &c. *Which Letter agrees with the Confession of the Great* Peter, &c. But the contexture of the words does necessarily require that we should read thus, ἅτε δὴ τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου, &c. *in regard it agrees*, &c. and so 'tis written in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Synod. *Vales.*

conomy *into two Sons*; *and it likewiſe expels thoſe from the convention of ſacred Perſons, who audaciouſly aſſert the Deity of the* Only Begotten *to be paſſible: it* * *confutes them alſo who maintain a Mixture or Confuſion in the two Natures of Chriſt: and it expels thoſe who fooliſhly aſſert, that the* form of a ſervant, *which* Chriſt *took from us* [*men*] *is of a Celeſtial or of ſome other ſubſtance: Laſtly, it Anathematizes ſuch Perſons, as fabulouſly prate of two Natures of* [*our*] *Lord before the Union, but after the Union feign* [*them to have been*] *one. Following therefore* [*the ſteps of*] *the holy Fathers,*

* Or, *reſiſts.*

[q] *We confeſs our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *to* [*be*] *one and the ſame Son, and with one conſent We do all teach and declare, that the ſame Perſon is perfect in the Deity, and that the ſame Perſon is perfect in the Humanity, truly God, and truly Man; that the ſame Perſon* [*ſubſiſts*] *of a rational Soul and Body, that he is Conſubſtantial to the Father as touching his Deity, and that he is of the ſame Subſtance with us according to his Humanity, in all things like unto us, ſin only excepted; that, according to his Deity he was begotten of the Father before Ages; but that, in the laſt days, the ſame Perſon, on our account and for our ſalvation, according to his Humanity, was born of* Mary *the Virgin and* Theotocos: *that, one and the ſame* Jeſus Chriſt, *the Son, the Lord, the* Only Begotten, *is inconfuſedly, immutably, indiviſibly, and inſeparably* * *manifeſted in two Natures: that the difference of the Natures is in no wiſe extinguiſhed by the Union: but rather, that the propriety of each Nature is preſerved, and* † *meets in one Perſon, and in one* Hypoſtaſis: *not as if* [*he*] *were parted and divided into two Perſons: but* [*he is*] *one and the ſame* Only Begotten *Son, God the Word, the Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *according as the Prophets of old, and* Chriſt *himſelf hath taught us concerning himſelf, and* [*according as*] *the Creed of the Fathers hath delivered* [*it*] *to us. Theſe things therefore having with all imaginable accuracy and concinnity been conſtituted by us, the Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod has determined, that it ſhall not be lawful for any Perſon, to produce, or write, or compoſe, or think, or teach others, another Faith. But whoever ſhall dare, either to compoſe, or to produce, or to teach any other Faith, or to deliver another Creed, to thoſe who have a mind to turn from* Gentiliſm, *or* Judaiſm, *or from any other Hereſy whatever, to the knowledge of the Truth; thoſe Perſons, if they be Biſhops, ſhall be* * *diveſted of the Epiſcopal Dignity; if Clergymen, they ſhall be* † *degraded. But if they be* Monks, *or* Laïcks, *they ſhall be* Anathematized. When therefore this Determination had been read, the Emperour *Marcianus* alſo [came to] *Chalcedon*, and was preſent at the Synod; and having made a Speech [to the Biſhops,] he returned. *Juvenalis* alſo and *Maximus* on certain conditions ‖ determined thoſe [differences] which were between them about [ſome] Provinces; and *Theodoret* and *Ibas* were * reſtored; and ſome other matters were agitated; which, as I have ſaid, [the Reader] will find recorded at the end of *this Book*. [Laſtly,] it was decreed, That the Chair of † *New Rome*, ‖ in regard it was the next See to the *Elder Rome*, ſhould have precedency before all other [Sees.]

[q] Ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖμεν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν. In the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Synod, this place is worded otherwiſe, to wit, in this manner; Ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, *To confeſs our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* [to be] *one and the ſame Son, with one conſent we do all teach and declare.* Which reading ſeems to me to be far the truer. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *known.*

† Or, *runs together into one, &c.*

* Or, *eſtranged from.*

† Or, *alienated from the Clergy.*

‖ *Removed, or, put to flight.*

* Or, *recalled.*

† *Conſtantinople.*

‖ Or *in regard it was the ſecond after the elder* Rome.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sedition which happened at Alexandria, *on account of* Proterius's *Ordination; likewiſe* [*concerning what hapned*] *at* Jeruſalem.

AFter theſe things, *Dioſcorus* * was baniſhed to *Gangra* [a City] in *Paphlagonia*; and by common Vote of the Synod, *Proterius* obtains the Biſhoprick of *Alexandria*. After he had taken poſſeſſion of his own See, a great and moſt inſufferable Tumult aroſe, the populace fluctuating [and being divided] into different opinions. For ſome demanded *Dioſcorus*, as it uſually happens in ſuch caſes: Others adhered pertinaciouſly to *Proterius*. So that thence aroſe many and thoſe deplorable calamities. 'Tis certain *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician* does relate [in his Hiſtory] that at that time he came [a] out of the Province of *Thebais* to *Alexandria*, and ſaw the People making an Attack againſt the Magiſtrates. And, that when the Souldiers would have put a ſtop to the Tumult, the People threw ſtones at them, and made them run; that after this the Souldiers took refuge in that which heretofore had been [b] *Serapis*'s Temple, where the People beſieged them, and burnt them alive. That, the Emperour having notice hereof, ſent two thouſand new raiſed Souldiers thither: who having the opportunity of a fair wind, made ſo proſperous a Voyage, that they arrived at the great City *Alexandria* on the ſixth day [after they had been ſhip'd.] That after this, when the Souldiers moſt filthily abuſed the Wives and Daughters of the *Alexandrians*, facts far more horrid and nefarious than the former, were perpetrated. And that at laſt, the People meeting together in the *Circus*, entreated [c] *Florus*, who was then Commander of the Milice [throughout *Egypt*,] *came at that time to* Alexandria. But, the Province of *Thebais* was not governed by a *Præfect*, but by a *Preſident*; as we are informed from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Beſides, *Priſcus Rhetor* ſays not, that the Governour of the Province of *Thebais*, but that he himſelf came then to *Alexandria*. *Priſcus* had indeed been long converſant in the Province *Thebais*, with *Maximinus* the Commander, whoſe Councellour and Aſſeſſour he was, when he waged war againſt the *Nubæ* and *Blemmyæ*, as himſelf informs us in his *Excerpt. Legationum.* In the *Tellerian* Manuſcript, I found this place written thus; φθῆναι ἐς δὶ ἀλεξανδρεῖ τ Θηβαίων ἐπαρχίας, *came by* Alexandria *from the Province of* Thebais. But I ſhould rather write it thus, φθῆναι ἐς τ ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκ τῆς, &c. *came to* Alexandria *out of the Province of* Thebais. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading here is, φθῆναι πλωικαῦτα τῳ ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπαρχίαν.

* Or, *was condemned to dwell at, &c.*

[a] I have reſtored this place from the *Florentine* Manuſcr. to which agrees *Nicephorus*, book 15. chap. 8. *Chriſtophorſon* had mended very ill, thus; φθῆναι πλωικαῦτα τῳ ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπαρχον, *that the Præfect of* Thebais

[b] *Nicephorus* has added ſome paſſages here concerning *Serapis*'s Temple, which are ſufficiently profound, and which I remember not to have read any where elſe. Therefore I conjecture, that *Nicephorus* wrote theſe paſſages out of *Priſcus Rhetor*'s Hiſtory, which then was extant entire. *Valeſ.* See *Nicephorus*'s *Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* book 15. chap. 8.

[c] Of this *Florus* (who was *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, and alſo *Dux* of *Egypt*,) *Jordanes* has made mention in his book *De Succeſſione Regnorum*, where he writes thus concerning the Emperour *Marcianus*: *Nobades Blemmyeſque Æthiopia prolapſos*, &c. *He appeaſed the* Nobades *and the* Blemmyes, *(who had fallen down from* Æthiopia,) *by* Florus Procurator *of the City of* Alexandria, *and drove them from the Territories of the* Romans. This *Florus* had ſucceeded *Theodorus* the *Auguſtalis*, as we are informed from *Liberatus*'s *Breviarium*, chap. 14. Under whom *Proterius* is ordained Biſhop, and that Sedition (which *Evagrius* deſcribes here,) was raiſed at *Alexandria*, in the year of Chriſt 452. On account of which Sedition, when as the publick [allowance of] bread-corn, (which was wont to be delivered out to the *Alexandrians*,) the *Baths* alſo, and *Shows*, by the Emperour's order had been taken from the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; the multitude met together in the *Cirque*, and entreated *Florus* the *Præfectus Auguſtalis*, who was come to *Alexandria* a little before this, that theſe things might be reſtored to them. Therefore, this hapned on the year of Chriſt 453. *Valeſ.*

and

and also *Præfect* of *Alexandria*, that he would restore to them the [d] allowance of Bread-corn (which he had taken from them,) and the Baths and the Shows, and whatever else they were deprived of on account of the Sedition which had been raised amongst them. And that *Florus*, by [e] his perswasion, went into the Assembly of the people, and promised to perform all this, and so the Sedition was appeased and vanished by little and little. Nor, were affairs at the Solitude near *Jerusalem*, in a sedate posture. For some of the Monks, who had been present at the Synod, and had imbibed Sentiments contrary to those Constitutions there established, came into *Palestine*: and complained that the Faith was betrayed, made it their business to inflame and disturb * all the Monks. And in regard *Juvenalis* had recovered his own See, and, being by the Seditious compelled to retract and *Anathematize* his own opinion, had made a journey to the Imperial City; those who embraced Sentiments contrary to the *Chalcedon Synod*, (as I have said above,) met together, [f] and in the [Church of the] *Holy Resurrection* ordained *Theodosius* Bishop, the same person who had raised great disturbances in the Synod at *Chalcedon*, and who had given then the first account of that Synod. Concerning which *Theodosius*, the *Monks* in *Palestine*, when they afterwards wrote to [g] *Alcison*, gave this account: *viz.* that having [h] by his own Bishop been detected of [the commission of] impious Facts, he had been expelled out of his own Monastery; that going afterwards to *Alexandria*, [i] he had made an attempt upon *Dioscorus*, and that after he had been lacerated with many stripes as a Seditious person, he was set upon a Camel, in such manner as Malefactours [are usually served,] and carried all over the City. [k] To this person came [the Inhabitants of] many Cities in the *Palestines*, and procured Bishops to be ordained over themselves by him. Amongst which number was one *Petrus*, by birth an *Hiberian*, who was entrusted with the government of the Bishoprick of that Town called *Majuma*, which is hard by the City of the *Gazites*. When *Marcianus* had receiv'd information of those things, in the first place he commands *Theodosius* to be brought to Court to him. Then he sends *Juvenalis*, to rectifie what had been done; whom he ordered to turn out all those who had been ordained by *Theodosius*. After the arrival of *Juvenalis* therefore, many wicked and horrid Facts were perpetrated; as well the one Faction as the other proceeding to the Commission of whatever their fury suggested to them. For the envious Devil, hated by God, had so mischievously contrived and misinterpreted the [l] change of one Letter, that notwithstanding the [m] pronouncing of the one of these [Letters] doth therewithal wholly infer the other, yet 'tis thought by most persons, that there is a vast difference between them, that the meanings of both are diametrically opposite each to the other, and that they do mutually destroy one another. For, he that confesses Christ IN TWO *Natures*, does plainly affirm him [to subsist] OF TWO *Natures*; because, whilest he confesses Christ both in the Deity and in the Humanity, he asserts him to consist [n] of the Deity and of the Humanity. I am very confident also, that *Evagrius* wrote it thus. But, *Transcribers of books* are wont frequently to mistake in *these two præpositions*, as 'tis known to those persons who have read over Manuscript copies. *Vales.*

[a] Τῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμόνι. To the Citizens of *Alexandria*, as well as to those of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, Loaves of bread were every day delivered out; as we are informed from the *fourteenth book of the Theodosian Code, Tit. De Frumento Alexandrino.* But who had been the Beginner of this thing, 'tis uncertain. *Diocletian* was the first [Emperour] who bestowed the *Panis Castrensis* [*the Camp-bread*] upon the *Alexandrians*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* relates at *Constantinus Cæsar's and Maximianus Jovius Cæsar's fourth Consulate*; τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει (says he) ὁ κατὰ σιτηρεσίου ἄρτος ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐδωρήθη, *on this year the* Panis Castrensis *was given at* Alexandria *by* Diocletian. Which passage occurrs in the very same words in the *Chronological Excerptions set forth by* Scaliger *at the end of* Eusebius's *Chronicon*. *Procopius* (in his *Anecdot.* pag. 119.) says this Bread-corn was allowed by *Diocletian* to the poor only of the City *Alexandria*. Which when the Citizens of that City had in after times divided amongst themselves, they then transmitted it to their posterity. *Procopius's* words are these: Διοκλητιανὸς ῥωμαίων γενόμενος αὐτοκράτωρ σίτου μέγα τι χρῆμα δίδοσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ἀλεξανδρέων τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισε. ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος πρωτάδε διαδικασάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐς ἀπογόνους τοὺς μέχρι δεῦρο παρέπεμψαν; Diocletian *having been made Emperour of the* Romans, *Decreed, that a vast quantity of* Bread-corn *should every year be given by the people to the indigent* Alexandrians. *The people having at that time quarrelled amongst their own selves about this,* [Bread-corn,] *transmitted it to their descendants even to this day.* In which words of *Procopius's* there is a very great fault, which *Nicolaus Alemannus* (a person otherwise of incomparable Learning) perceived not. For instead of these words [παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, *by the people,*] it must undoubtedly be [παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου, *out of the publick stock of Corn laid up for the Emperours use.*] And, a little after, instead of these words, [ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος πρωτάδε διαδικασάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, *the people having at that time quarrelled amongst themselves about this Bread-corn*;] it must be thus [ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος πρωτάδε ἰδίᾳ δωσάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, *the people having at that time privately given this* [Bread corn] *amongst their own selves.*] Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. Further, long before *Diocletian*, to wit, in the times of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, the *Omogerontes* of the City *Alexandria* received Bread-corn out of the publick stock, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus* informs us in his Epistle to *Hierax* the Bishop; which Letter *Eusebius* records *Eccles. Hist. book* 7. *chap.* 21; where see note (*e.*) Therefore *Diocletianus* augmented, rather than began, this distribution of Bread corn at *Alexandria*. Vales.

* Τὸ μοναστικόν, *the whole society of Monks.*

[b] Instead of *Aclison*, it must without doubt be *Alcison*; as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. These Letters of the *Monks of Palestine* to *Alcison*, are recorded by *Evagrius*, book 3. chap. 31. At which place we will say more concerning *Alcison*. Vales.

[c] Ὡς καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ὑπομνήσοντα. Sir *Henry Savil* had made this remark at the side of *his Copy*, *fortè* παρὰ, *perhaps it should be* παρὰ, that is, *by*. So, 'tis certain, *Christophorson* and *Musculus* read; and so we have rendred it.

[d] Translatours understood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Versions. For they thought that the word [αὐτῆς, *his*] was to be referred to *Florus*; when as it ought to be referred to *Priscus Rhetor*, out of whose History *Evagrius* has transcribed all these passages. For, *Priscus Rhetor*, in regard he was then conversant at *Alexandria*, gave *Florus* this advice, that he should go to the *Cirque*; in which place the *Alexandrian* populace were gathered together, and with great out-cries required *Florus* to come thither. *Vales.*

[e] *Christophorson* has rendred this place ill, after this manner: *In sancto die festo Resurrectionis, Theodosium designant Episcopum, on the Holy Festival day of the Resurrection, they chose* Theodosius *Bishop. Musculus* renders it righter, thus, *ordinarunt in Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Resurrectionis, Theodosium illum, &c. in the Church of the Holy Resurrection, they ordained that* Theodosius, *&c.* Concerning this Church of the *Holy Resurrection* I have made several remarks in my *Notes on* Eusebius's *Life of* Constantine. [See Valesius's *Letter to a friend, De Anastasi & Martyrio Hierosolymitano, which Letter* he has published at pag. 304. *of his notes on* Eusebius.] But, concerning this *Theodosius*, who invaded the See of *Jerusalem*, consult *Baronius* at the year of Christ 452. *Vales.*

[f] Ἐπιλάβεσθαι τῆς διοσκόρου, *he had received* Dioscorus. Sir *Henry Savil* had made a remark at the margin of *his Copy*, that perhaps the reading should be [ἐπιλάβεσθαι, *he had laid hands upon*,] which reading displeases me not. Nevertheless, I had rather write it thus, ἐπιβάλεσθαι τῷ διοσκόρῳ. Which reading I have followed in my Version. Nor does *Nicephorus* (book 15. chap. 9.) seem to have read otherwise, who has expresst this passage in *Evagrius* thus, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀλεξάνδρου διαφορᾶς διοσκόρῳ κατέστη, *and had been an enemy to* Dioscorus *at* Alexandria. But *Musculus* and *Christophorson* saw nothing in the rendition of this place. *Vales.*

[g] Πρὸς ὃν πολλὰς δὴ ἐν παλαισίνῃ πόλεων ἀφικνεῖσθαι. I have corrected this place by the *Florentine Manuscript*, in which Copy 'tis read thus: πρὸς ὃν πολλαὶ τῶν ἐν παλαισίναις πόλεων ἀφικνεῖσθαι, *To this person came* [*the Inhabitants of*] *many Cities in the* Palestines. It had been so agreed between the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem* in the *Synod of Chalcedon*, that the *Three Palestines* should be under the disposition of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Vales.

[h] *Evagrius* means the *Præpositions* ἐν and ἐκ, [that is, *in* and *of*,] which differ one from the other in *one Letter*. The Catholicks confess'd Christ *in two Natures*. The Hereticks asserted, that he consisted *of two Natures, but, which had grown together and were become one Nature*. For, after the Union of the Word, they affirmed, the Nature of Christ was one. *Vales.*

[i] I am of the same opinion with the Learned, who instead of [ἐπιφωνήσεως,] have mended it thus, ἐκφωνήσεως, *the pronouncing*; which is the same with the reading in *Nicephorus*. And so *Christophorson* read; who notwithstanding, in the rendition of this place, has in no wise expres'd *Evagrius's* meaning. In the *Tellerian Manuscript*, I found it written ἐκφωνήσεως, *the pronouncing*. Vales.

[k] Ὁμολογῶν ἐκ θεότητος. The term ὁμολογῶν, [*confessing*] is to be expunged, in regard 'tis superfluous. It occurrs not in *Nicephorus*, and Sir *Henry Savil*, in his Copy, had drawn a line under it. *Vales.*

Again, he that affirms [Chriſt to ſubſiſt] *of tow Natures*, the ſame perſon by a neceſſary conſequence does confeſs [him] *in two Natures*; becauſe, by his affirming Chriſt [to ſubſiſt] *of* the Deity and *of* the Humanity, he acknowledges him to conſiſt *in* the Deity and *in* the Humanity: the fleſh being neither converted into the Deity, nor the Deity * changed into the fleſh, of which [two Natures there is] an ineffable Union. So that, by this expreſſion OF TWO, may at the ſame time commodiouſly be underſtood this alſo IN TWO, and by this expreſſion IN TWO [may alſo be meant] OF TWO, the one [expreſſion] being † not different from the other. For as much as, ‖ according to a copious uſe of ſpeaking, the Whole is known not only [to conſiſt] *of*, but *in* its parts. Yet nevertheleſs, men think theſe [expreſſions] to be in ſuch a manner ſeparated and disjoyned the one from the other, ([which Sentiments they are induced to give entertainment to] either from a certain uſage * about their thinking concerning God, or elſe from their being prepoſſeſſed [with a perſwaſion of mind] to have it ſo;) that they contemn [the undergoing of] all ſorts of death, rather than they will give their aſſent to the truth. And from hence aroſe thoſe [miſchiefs] which I have mentioned. In this poſture were theſe matters.

* Or, *paſſing into.*

*Or, *not relinquiſh'd by the other.*

‖ Κατὰ τὸ πρεπτικὸν; which may alſo be rendred, *according to a peculiar mode of expreſſion*: but 'tis an uncouth phraſe, not often to be met with, eſpecially in ſuch a ſenſe as 'tis here uſed.

* Or, *about their opinion of God.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Drought which hapned, and the Famine and the Peſtilence: and how in ſome places the Earth in a wonderful manner brought forth fruits of its own accord.

ABout the ſame times, here hapned * a great Drought in *both the Phrygia*'s, in *both the Galatia*'s, in *Cappadocia*, and in *Cilicia*; in ſo much that a ſcarcity of neceſſaries [followed,] and men made uſe of unwholeſome and deſtructive food. Whence hapned a Peſtilence alſo. For, becauſe of their change of dyet, they fell ſick, and their bodies ſwelling by reaſon of the exceſſive inflammation, they loſt their eyes: they were troubled with a Cough at the ſame time alſo, and [uſually] dyed on the third day. For the Peſtilence, no cure could then be found out. But divine providence, the preſerver of all things, beſtowed on them that were left alive, a remedy againſt the Famine. For in that barren year, food was ſhowered down out of the air, which they termed *Manna*, in the ſame manner as ['twas heretofore ſhowered down] on the *Iſraelites*. But, on the year following, the good-natured [Earth] brought forth ripe fruits on its own accord. Moreover, [this calamity] deſtroyed the Country of the *Paleſtinians*, and innumerable other Provinces; [theſe * two] miſchiefs ſpreading themſelves over the whole earth.

* Or, *a ſcarcity of ſhowers of rain.*

* *The Famine and the Peſtilence.*

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Murder of Valentinianus, *and the taking of* Rome; *and concerning thoſe other Emperours who governed* Rome [*after* Valentinianus's *death.*]

WHileſt theſe things * were tranſacted in the *Eaſtern* parts, *Aetius* † is in a miſerable manner murdered at the *Elder Rome*. *Valentinianus* alſo Emperour of the *Weſtern* parts, and together with him *Heraclius*, [is ſlain] by ſome of *Aetius*'s Guards; the Plot againſt them being framed by *Maximus* (who afterwards poſſeſt himſelf of the Empire,) becauſe *Valentinianus* had abuſed *Maximus*'s wife, having by force debauch'd her. Further, this *Maximus*, by making uſe of all manner of violence, compelled *Eudoxia* (who had been *Valentinianus*'s wife,) to be married to himſelf. She, deſervedly accounting this fact to be contumelious, and the higheſt indignity, took a reſolution *to caſt every Dye* (as the ſaying is,) [to the end ſhe might be revenged] both for what had been done in relation to [the aſſaſſination of] her husband, and alſo for the reproach which had been brought upon her own Liberty. For, a woman is fierce, and of an anger * implacable, if (when ſhe uſes her utmoſt endeavour to preſerve it inviolate,) her chaſtity be forcibly taken from her, and eſpecially by him who hath been her husband's *Aſſaſſine*. She ſends therefore into † *Africa*, to *Gizerichus*, and having forthwith preſented him with many Gifts, and by her Declaration put him into a good hope of what was behind, ſhe prevails with him to make a ſudden and unexpected Invaſion upon the *Roman* Empire, promiſing ſhe would betray all to him. Which having in this manner been performed, *Rome* is taken. But *Gizerichus*, in regard he was a *Barbarian* and of a diſpoſition inconſtant and mutable, kept not * his promiſe even with her: but having burnt the City, and made plunder of all [its riches,] he took *Eudoxia* together with her two daughters, marched back, went away, and returned into *Africa*. The elder of *Eudoxia*'s daughters, by name *Eudocia*, he married to his own ſon † *Hunericus*. But the younger, (her name was *Placidia*,) together with her mother *Eudoxia*, he ſent ſome time after to * *Byzantium*, attended with an Imperial Train and a Guard, to the end he might pacifie *Marcianus*. For he had highly incenſed him, both becauſe *Rome* had been burnt, and alſo in regard the Imperial Princeſſes had been ſo contumeliouſly uſed. Moreover, *Placidia* is match'd by *Marcianus*'s order, *Olybrius* having married her; who was look'd upon to be the eminenteſt perſonage amongſt the [*Roman*] Senatours, and after the taking of *Rome* had betaken himſelf to *Conſtantinople*. Further, after *Maximus*, [a] *Avitus* reigned over the *Romans* eight months.

* Or, *proceeded on.*

† Or, *in a miſerable manner removes from amongſt men.*

* Or, *inexorable.*

† Or, *Libya.*

* Or, *his faith.*

† Or, *Onorichus.*

* *Conſtantinople.*

[a] After *Valentinianus Placidus*'s death, and after the murder of *Maximus*, *Avitus* was proclaimed Emperour, firſt at *Toulouſe*, and then at *Orleans*, in *Valentinianus*'s *eight Conſulate* [which he bore] with *Anthemius*, in the year of Chriſt 455, on the ſixth of the *Ides* of *July* as 'tis recorded in the *Old Chronicon*, which *Cuſpinianus* firſt publiſhed in *his Faſti*. On the year following, the ſame *Avitus* was Conſul, as 'tis related in the *Faſti* which *Jacobus Sirmondus* has publiſh'd under the name of *Idatius*: and on the ſame year he was depoſed at *Placentia*, as *Marius* and *Caſſiodorus* inform us in their *Faſti*, as likewiſe that *Old Chronographer* put forth by *Cuſpinianus*. But, on what day, and in what month *Avitus* reſigned the Empire, I do not find declared by

by the Ancients. Indeed, *Sigonius* (in *his fourteenth book de Occidentali Imperio,*) writes, that *Avitus* resigned the Empire on the *sixteenth* of the *Calends* of *June*. But *Sigonius* quotes no Author of this thing. The words of *Cuspinianus's Old Chronographer* are these: *Joanne & Varane Coss. captus est Imp. Avitus*, &c. *In the Consulate of* Joannes *and* Varanes, *the Emperour* Avitus *is taken at* Placentia *by* Ricimeres *master of the Milice. And his* Patritius Messianus *is slain, on the sixteenth of the* Calends *of* June. From this place therefore *Sigonius*, induced thereto by conjectures, thought that *Avitus* had put off his purple, and that *Messianus* had been slain, on one and the same day; although the *Old Chronographer* affirms not that. For, *that sixteenth of the Calends of June* is referred to the murder of *Messianus*, not to *Avitus*'s deposition. 'Tis certain, if what *Evagrius* relates here be true, (*viz.* that *Avitus* reigned eight months,) his deposition must necessarily fall on the month of *March* in the year 456. *Idatius*, in *his Chronicon*, seems to attribute three years Reign to *Avitus*. For, his words are these: *Avitus tertio anno posteaquam à Gallis & à Gotthis factus fuerat Imperator, caret Imperio, Gotthorum promisso destitutus auxilio, caret & vitâ.* Avitus *on the third year after he had been made Emperour by the* Galli *and the* Gotthi, *wants his Empire, being disappointed of the promised assistance of the* Gotthi, *is deprived of his life also.* But, in the *Manuscript Copy*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* made use of, this place is read thus: *Tertio anno, Avitus septimo mense posteaquam à Gallis & à Gotthis factus fuerat Imperator*, &c. *On the third year*, Avitus *on the seventh month after he had been made Emperour by the* Galli *and* Gotthi, &c. *Jacobus Sirmondus*, perceiving that these two were inconsistent, omitted these two words [*septimo mense, on the seventh month*] in *his Edition*; but he had done better, if he had expunged these two [*tertio anno, on the third year*] For *Avitus* did not reign three years, but seven or eight months only, which months were part of two Consulates. For which reason 'tis affirmed by some Writers, that he reigned two years. *Cedrenus*, 'tis certain, writes thus in his *Chronicon*. Vales.

[b] *Musculus* and *Christophorson* read λοιμῷ, *by the Pestilence.* Which reading is in my judgment truer than the other, to wit, λιμῷ, *by Famine.* For, 'tis not probable, that *Avitus* (who after he had resigned the Empire, was made Bishop of *Placentia*, as *Victor Tunonensis*, and *Marius in his Chronicon*, do relate;) should have dyed by Famine. Notwithstanding, *Nicephorus* has retained the Vulgar reading. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is [λιμῷ, *Famine.*]

He having ended his life by the [b] Pestilence, [c] *Majorianus* held the Empire two years. After *Majorianus* had been treacherously slain by *Ricimeres*, *Master of the Milice*, *Severus* possest the Empire three years.

[c] *Majorianus* [or *Majorinus*] governed the *Roman* Empire four years and as many months, as the *Old Chronographer* publish'd by *Cuspinianus* informs us; to whom agree *Idatius* and *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon*. *Severus*, who succeeded him, reigned almost the same space of years, as the same writers relate. But these things hapned after the death of the Emperour *Marcianus*, during *Leo Augustus's* government of the *Eastern Empire*. Vales.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the death of Marcianus, *and the Empire of* Leo. *And how, the Hereticks of* Alexandria *slew* Proterius, *and gave that Arch-Bishoprick to* Timotheus Ælurus.

[a] *Evagrius is out. Marcianus Augustus*

MOreover, [a] during *Severus*'s Governing the *Romans*, *Marcianus* changed his Kingdom, and departed to a better Inheritance, when he had Governed the Empire [b] seven years only, dyed in the Consulate of *Constantinus* and *Rufus*, on the year of Christ 457, in the month *February*. *Majorianus* was proclaimed Emperour at *Ravenna* in the same year, on the *Calends* of *April*, that is, almost two months after *Marcianus*'s death. To whom succeeded *Severus*, on the year of Christ 461, in the Consulate of *Severinus* and *Degalaïfus*, almost five years after the Emperour *Marcianus*'s death. Further, this *Severus* was by another name termed *Serpentius*, as *Theophanes* informs us in his *Chronicon*, pag. 97. in these words, καὶ ἐπικλῆθη σερπέντιος ὁ καὶ σεβῆρος. *And Severus, called also* Serpentius, *was Proclaimed* For so it must be read, as the most Learned *Franciscus Combefisius* has rightly conjectured. 'Tis certain, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle* he is so termed. For, on the *fifteenth Indiction*, *Leo Augustus* is put Consul the second time with *Serpentius*. Now, 'tis manifestly known, that on this year *Severus Augustus* was Consul with *Leo*. For so *Cassiodorus* relates in his *Fasti*, and also the *Old Author* publish'd by *Cuspinianus*. Vales.

[b] *Marcianus* reigned six years and as many months, as *Marcellinus* relates, and *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon*. He began his Reign in the year of Christ 450, on the eighth of the *Calends* of *September* on the *fifth Feria*, as 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. And he dyed on the year of Christ 457. about the close of the month *January*, as *Theodorus Lector* informs us, with whom agrees the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*. For this Author says, that *Leo*, who succeeded *Marcianus*, was proclaimed in the month *Peritius* on the seventh of the *Ides* of *February*. So *Marcianus* reigned six years, five months and some few days. *Vales.*

having left amongst all men a [c] truly royal Monument. The *Alexandrians*, informed of his death, with much more animosity and a greater heat of mind, renewed their rage against *Proterius*. For, the multitude is a thing with the greatest ease imaginable blown up in a rage, and which snatches hold of the most trivial occasions as fuel for Tumults. But above all other, the [populace] of *Alexandria* [are of this humour, which City] abounds with a numerous multitude made up mostly of an obscure and [d] promiscuous company of Foreigners, which by an unexpected and unaccountable boldness and precipitancy, [e] breaks out into violence and rage. 'Tis therefore for certain reported, that any one there who [makes complaint] [f] of the breaking any thing of small value [which he carries,] may incite the City to a popular Tumult, and may lead and carry [the multitude] whither, and against whom he pleases. For the most part also they are delighted with jests and sports, as [g] *Herodotus* relates concerning *Amasis*. And this is the humour of the *Alexandrians*. Nevertheless, as to other things, they are not such a sort of persons, as that any one may despise them.

[c] *Nicephorus* has interlined this place after this manner: χὴ μνημεῖον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὴν βασιλείαν καταλελοιπώς, *and having left his Empire a monument to all men.* *Christophorson* followed the same sense, as 'tis apparent from his rendition. For he translates it thus: *Exemplari verè Regio omnibus ad intuendum relicto, A truly Royal Exemplar being left [by him] to the view of all persons.* *Musculus* has rendred it in this manner; *Et memoriam sui verè Imperialem apud cunctos mortales reliquisset, And had left a truly Imperial memory of his own self amongst all mortals.* But *Evagrius* does not say this, but, that *a monument manifestly Royal* was left by *Marcianus* amongst all men. Now, *that monument* can be nothing else, than either his own life religiously spent, or rather the *Chalcedon Synod*, which he had ordered to be convened, to take away the dissentions of the Church, and whereat he himself, agreeable to the Example of *Constantine the Great*, would be present. In regard therefore, that Synod had been convened and perfected by his labour and diligence, it may deservedly be stiled *the Work and Monument of the Emperour* Marcianus. *Vales.*

[d] Συσκιάσας. In the *Florentine* MS. the reading is, συσκιάδω. Notwithstanding, the Rules of Grammar require that we should write σύσκιωσι, as Sir *Henry Savil* had remarked at the margin of *his Copy*. *Suidas in his Lexicon* explains συσκιάδων ἀνθρώπων by these terms, συμμίκτων, ἐπιλύδων, παρεισάκτων, *promiscuous, extraneous persons, such as are brought in unawares.* ——— *Nicephorus* has explained this word elegantly thus: μυείῳ πλήθει καὶ ὅθεν δήποτε ἥκοντι, *a numerous multitude, and which comes from any place whatever.* Vales.

[e] Τὰς ὁρμὰς γαυρώμενον. Something seems to be wanting here, which may perhaps be supplyed, by adding a *Præposition*, thus, κατὰ τὰς ὁρμὰς γαυρώμενον, *breaks out into violence and rage.* Vales.

[f] In the incomparable *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. this place is written thus: τὸ σφοδρὸν καταῤῥήξαντι. *Nicephorus* has explained this place excellently well, in this manner: καὶ φασὶν εὖ ἔχειν βουλομένῳ παντὶ τὸ σφοδρὸν αὐτῶν ποιησαμένῳ δᾶτον εἰς στάσιν ἀναθαρσύνειν τὸν δῆμον, *And they say, that every one who will make use of an obvious [light, or trivial] occasion, may quickly enrage the people [and intice them] to a Sedition.* *Christophorson* read καταῤῥῆξαντι. For he renders it thus: *Aiunt plebeium quemque modò ipse voluerit principium dare, &c. They say that every ordinary fellow, provided he be willing to give the Onset, may inflame that City [and exite it] to a popular and civil Sedition.* But I approve not of this emendation. For, what shall become of these words, τὸ σφοδρόν? I embrace therefore the reading in the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* MSS. *viz.* τὸ σφοδρὸν καταῤῥῆξαντι; and render the whole passage thus: *'Tis therefore for certain reported, that any one there who [makes complaint] of the breaking any thing of small value* [to wit, a glass vessel, pot, or any such like thing, which he carries,] *may incite the City to a popular Tumult.* *Pollio (in Æmilianus)* confirms the same, where he speaks thus concerning the *Egyptians* in general: *Et hoc familiare est populo Ægyptiorum, &c. And this is usual with the* Egyptians, *that, like furious and madmen, upon any trivial occasions they may be induced [to involve] the Publick in the greatest dangers. On account of their being past by unsaluted, by reason of their not having a place allowed them in the Baths, because their flesh and pot-herbs may have been taken from them, on account of their servile shooes, and other such like occasions as these, they have by Sedition often arrived at the highest peril of the Republick.* Vales.

[g] The passage in *Herodotus*, which *Evagrius* points at here, occurrs in B. 2. of *his History*, pag. 157. *Edit. Paul: Stephens*, 1618. Vales.

The

The *Alexandrians* therefore obſerving the time, when *Dionyſius* Commander of the Milice made his Reſidence in the *Upper Egypt*, make choice of one *Timotheus*, ſurnamed *Ælurus*, to aſcend the Archi-Epiſcopal-Chair; a perſon who heretofore had followed a Monaſtick Life, but afterwards was enrolled amongſt the number of the Presbyters of the *Alexandrian* Church. When they had led his perſon to the *Great Church*, called [h] *Cæſar*'s, they ordain him their Biſhop, whileſt *Proterius* was as yet living, and perſonally officiating in his Epiſcopal Function. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Peluſium*, and *Peter* of *Iberia* [Biſhop] of the little Town *Majuma*, were preſent at the Ordination; as *he who wrote Peter's Life*, has told us, in his account of theſe tranſactions. Which writer affirms that *Proterius* was not murdered by the people, but by one of the Souldiers. Further, after *Dionyſius* had made his return to the City [*Alexandria*] with the greateſt celerity imaginable, (to which he had been urged by the nefarious facts there perpetrated,) and was uſing his endeavours to extinguiſh the kindled fire of the Sedition; ſome of the *Alexandrians*, incited thereto by *Timotheus*, (as the Contents of the Letter written to *Leo* [the Emperour] do declare,) murder *Proterius* by running their ſwords through his bowels, when he attempted to get away, and had fled as far as the moſt Holy *Baptiſtery*. And after they had tied a rope about him, [they hung him up] at that place termed *The Tetrapylum*, and ſhewed him to all perſons, jeering and crying out aloud, that that was *Proterius* who had been killed. After this, they drag'd the body all over the City, and then burnt it. Nor did they abhor taſting of his very bowels, according to the uſage of Savage-beaſts; as the *Supplicatory Libel* (wherein all theſe paſſages are contained,) ſent by all the Biſhops of *Egypt*, and by the whole Clergy of *Alexandria*, to *Leo*, who after *Marcianus*'s death, as hath been ſaid, was inveſted with the Empire of the *Romans*, [doth evidence;] the Contents whereof are conceived in theſe expreſs words.

h The *Great Church* of the City *Alexandria*, was termed *Cæſaria*, as *Epiphanius* informs us, in *Hæreſ. Arian*, and *Liberatus*, in his *Breviarium*, chap. 18. But *Socrates* (Book 7. chap. 15.) ſays the name of that Church was *Cæſarium*. *Athanaſius* declares the reaſon of this Appellation (in his *Epiſt. ad Solitar.*) to wit, becauſe that Church had been built in a place which heretofore was called the *Cæſarium*, that is, *the Temple of the Cæſars*. There had been a School in the ſame place alſo, and a palace of the Emperour *Adrian*'s, which in ſucceeding times was termed *Licinius*'s *Palace*, as *Epiphanius* atteſts. *Valeſ.*

To the Pious, Chriſt-Lover, and by-God-deſigned *Leo*, *Victor*, *Triumphator*, and *Auguſtus*; The humble Addreſs preſented by all the Biſhops of Your *Egyptick* Diœceſis and by the Eccleſiaſticks in Your Greateſt and Moſt Holy Church of the *Alexandrians*.

Whereas by Celeſtial Grace You have been beſtowed as a moſt Eximious Gift upon the World, 'tis no wonder if You ceaſe not (Moſt Sacred Emperour!) daily after God, from making Proviſion for the Publick. And after ſome other words. *And whileſt there was an uninterrupted peace amongſt the* Orthodox *Laity, both with us, and alſo at the City* Alexandria, [*diſturbances were raiſed*] *again by* Timotheus, *who made a ſeparation of himſelf from the Catholick Church and Faith, and cut himſelf off* [*therefrom,*] *ſoon after the holy Synod at* Chalcedon, *(at which time he was but a Presbyter,) together with four or five perſons only heretofore Biſhops, and ſome few* Monks, *who together with him, were diſtempered with the Heretical errour of* Apollinaris *and* * *that perſon. On which account having then been canonically depoſed by* Proterius *of divine memory, and by a Synod of* [*the Biſhops of*] *all* Egypt, *they deſervedly experienced the Imperial diſpleaſure* † *by Exile.* And after ſome words interpoſed. *And* ‖ *having taken his advantage of that opportunity, when the Emperour* Marcianus *of Sacred* * *Memory made his departure hence to God; with impious Expreſſions (as if he had been ſubject to no Laws,) he in a moſt ſhameleſs manner raged againſt* [*and reproach'd*] *the ſame Emperour: and impudently* Anathematizing *the Holy and* Oecumenical Synod *at* Chalcedon, *he draws after him a multitude of* ‖ *Mercenary and diſorderly fellows, with whom he has made war, contrary to the Divine Canons, and to the Eccleſiaſtick Conſtitution,* [*in oppoſition*] *to the Republick, and to the Laws; and* † *has violently thruſt himſelf into the Holy Church of God, which at that time had its Paſtour and Teacher, Our moſt Holy Father and Arch-Biſhop* Proterius, *who then Celebrated the uſual Religious and ſolemn Aſſemblies, and poured forth his prayers to* Chriſt *the Saviour of us all, for Your Religious Empire, and for Your* Chriſt-loving *Palace.* And, after the interpoſition of a few words. *Then after the ſpace of one day, when (as 'twas cuſtomary) the moſt pious* Proterius *continued in the* Biſhops Palace, Timotheus *taking with him two Biſhops who had been legally depoſed, and* [*ſome*] *Eccleſiaſticks, who, as we have ſaid, had in like manner been condemned to dwell in Exile;* [i] *as if he could have received Ordination from two* [*Biſhops;*] *not ſo much as one of the* Orthodox *Biſhops throughout the* Egyptick Diœceſis *being there, who are always wont to be preſent at ſuch Ordinations of the Biſhops of the* Alexandrians:) *takes poſſeſſion, as he ſuppoſed, of the* Archiepiſcopal Chair; *audaciouſly attempting manifeſtly to commit adultery upon that Church, which had its own* Bridegroom, *who performed the divine* [*offices*] *therein, and canonically adminiſtred his own See.* And after ſome other words. *That Bleſſed perſon* [Proterius] *could do nothing elſe, than (as 'tis written,)* *Give place unto wrath, *and make his eſcape to the adorable* Baptiſtery, *that he might avoid their incurſion, who ran in upon him to murder him: in which* † *place moſt eſpecially, a dread and terrour is uſually infuſed into the minds even of* Barbarians, *and all other Savage and cruel perſons, who are ignorant of the adorableneſs of that place, and of the Grace flowing therefrom. Nevertheleſs, theſe* [*Ruffians,*] *who uſed their utmoſt endeavour to bring that deſign to effect, which from the beginning* [*they had laid with*] Timotheus; [*theſe Butchers*] *who would not ſuffer* Proterius *to be preſerved even within thoſe immaculate* * *Rails; who revered neither the* † *ſanctity of the place, nor the time it ſelf; (for* [k] *it was the* Feſtival-*day of the* Salutary Eaſter;) *who dreaded not* [*the dignity of*] *the Sacerdotal Function, to which*

* Τῶν καὶ ἐκείνου they mean Eutyches: and ſo *Valeſius* renders it.

† Σὺν ἐξορίᾳ, *with exile.*

‖ Or, *having obſerved the time.*

* Or, *reſt.*

‖ Or, *fellows that may be bought.*

† Ἐπεσέφρησεν ἑαυτὸν; the true import of which words is (if our *Engliſh tongue* would bear ſuch an expreſſion,) *has ſwell'd himſelf into.*

[i] I have mended this place from the *Florentine* MS. in which Copy (inſtead of ᾧ δὴ χειροτονίαν παρὰ τῶν δυὸ ἐξελάβετο, *and moreover, receiving ordination from two;*) the reading is, ὡς δὴ χειροτονίαν, &c. *as if he could have received ordination from two* [*Biſhops.*] In the *fourth Canon of the Nicene Council*, 'tis in expreſs words eſtabliſhed, that a Biſhop is to be ordained by at leaſt three Biſhops of his own Province. *The old Tranſlator* of this Letter read as we do; whoſe verſion is extant in *The third part of the* Chalcedon *Synod.* Where his Rendition is this, *tanquam manus impoſitionem ſuſcepturus à duobus, as if about to receive impoſition of hands from two.* Valeſ.

*Rom. 12. 19.

† *Viz.* the *Baptiſtery.*

* Wherewith the *Baptiſtery* was encompaſſed.

† Or, *reverence.*

[k] *Liberatus* (in his *Breviarium.* chap. 15) relates, that Pro-

terius was not murdered on the Festival of Easter, but three days before. For these are his words: *Et ante triduum paschæ*, &c. *And on the third day before Easter, whereon the Lord's Supper is celebrated, Proterius of holy memory is by*

which it appertains to mediate between God and Men; kill that guiltless person, and together with him commit a barbarous murder upon six others. And, after they had carried about his Body which was Wounds all over, and likewise barbarously drag'd it almost throughout every place of the City, and [further] in a most lamentable manner insulted over it; without any thing of compassion they scourged the Corps, insensible of its stripes, [1] cutting it limb from limb. Nor did they abstain, according to the usage of Savage beasts, from tasting of his Entrails, whom a little before they were supposed to have as an Intercessour between God and Men. [In fine,] having cast the remains of his Body into a fire, they threw the ashes thereof into the winds; [by the commission of these Barbarities] far exceeding the utmost Savageness of wild-beasts: the Occasioner and crafty Contriver of all which Nefarious facts, was Timotheus.

the multitudes themselves shut up in the Church, whither out of fear he had betaken himself. And there on the same day in the Baptistery, he is slain, torn in pieces, cast out, and his Corps is burnt, and his ashes are strewed into the winds. All which *Liberatus* has almost word for word written out of the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*, which we owe to *Jacobus Sirmondus*. Vales.

[1] Instead of [διαλομόν τε καλαμέλη] it must undoubtedly be written thus: διατεμόντες κατὰ μέλη, *cutting it in pieces*, or, *limb from limb*. Instead of μέλη, the reading in the *Florent.* MS. is μέλῳ; which is a very small difference. *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation, at Book 15. Chap. 17; who has it expresly written as I had conjectured. Further, this *Supplicatory Libel of the Bishops of the* Egyptick *Diœcesis to the Emperour* Leo, if any one has a mind to read it entire, occurrs *in Latine*, in the *third part of the* Chalcedon *Synod*, chap. 11. *Vales.*

Moreover, *Zacharias* giving a Narrative of these matters [in *his History*,] is of opinion, that most of these things were done [in such a manner as I have related them;] but says they were occasioned by *Proterius*'s fault, who had raised most grievous Seditions at *Alexandria*: [he affirms likewise,] that these Facts were audaciously perpetrated (not by the people, but) by some of the Souldiers; which affirmation he grounds on the Letter written by *Timotheus* to [the Emperour] *Leo*. Further, in order to the punishing of these enormities, *Stilas* is sent by the Emperour *Leo*.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Emperour Leo's Circular Letters.

ALso, *Leo* wrote *Circular Letters* to the Bishops throughout the whole *Roman* Empire, and to those persons eminent for their leading a Monastick life; asking their opinion, both concerning the *Synod* at *Chalcedon*, and also about *Timotheus* surnamed *Ælurus*'s Ordination: he sent to them likewise Copies of the *Supplicatory-Libels* presented to him, as well by *Proterius*'s Party, as by that of *Timotheus Ælurus*. The Contents of the *Circular Letters* [of *Leo*] are these.

A Copy of the most Pious Emperour *Leo*'s Sacred Letter, sent to *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and to the *Metropolitans*, and other Bishops over the whole World.

Emperour Cæsar, Leo, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, *always* Augustus; *to* Anatolius *the Bishop. It was the Desire and Prayer of Our Piety, that the most Holy* Orthodox *Churches, and also* [all] *the Cities* * *of the* Roman *Empire, should enjoy the greatest Peace imaginable; nor that any thing should happen, which might disturb their Constitution and Tranquillity. But, what* [*disturbances*] *have lately hapned at* Alexandria, *are (we are fully persuaded,) already made known to* Your Sanctity. *Nevertheless, that you may have a more perfect account concerning all things, what the Causes were of so great a Tumult and Confusion; We have transmitted to* Your Piety *the Copies of the* Supplicatory-Libels, *which the most Pious Bishops and* Ecclesiasticks, *coming from the foresaid City* [Alexandria] *and from the* Ægyptick Diœcesis, *to the Imperial City* Constantinople, *have brought to* Our Piety *against* Timotheus: *and moreover, the Copies of the* Supplicatory-Libels, *which* [*some persons,*] *coming from* Alexandria *to Our Divine Court on* Timotheus's *account, have presented to* Our Serenity: *so that,* Your Sanctity *may apparently know what hath been done by the foresaid* Timotheus, *whom the populacy of* Alexandria, *the* [a] Honorati, *the* Decuriones, *and the* Navicularii, *desire to have for their Bishop;* [*and that you may have an account*] *concerning other matters* [b] *contained in* The Text *of the* Supplicatory-Libels; *and moreover, concerning the* Chalcedon Synod, *to which* [*the forementioned persons*] *do in no wise agree, as their* Supplicatory-Libels, *here under-placed, do demonstrate. Let therefore* Your Piety *cause all the* Orthodox *and Holy Bishops, who at present are resident in this Imperial City, as likewise the most Pious Ecclesiasticks, forthwith to come together unto You. And having with great care* * *treated of, and enquired into all things; (for as much as the City* Alexandria *hath already been disturbed, the State and Repose whereof is our greatest care;) acquaint us with Your Sentiment concerning the foresaid* Timotheus, *and concerning the* Chalcedon Synod, *without any humane fear, and without affection or hatred, placing before your eyes the only fear of the Omnipotent God, in regard you well know, that you shall give an account concerning this affair to the incorrupt Deity. That so, We having been perfectly informed of all things by Your Letters, may be enabled to* * *promulge an accommodate Edict.*

* Or, *under the Government of the* Romans.

[a] Ἀξιωματικοὶ, καὶ πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ ναυκληροι. Who these ἀξιωματικοὶ, and who were termed πολιτευόμενοι, I have already shown in *my Notes* on *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 14. and pag. 225. [the ἀξιωματικοὶ, whom we render *the Honorati*, *were those persons who bore the Civil Dignities as well in the Cities, as in the Provinces;*

* Τεκτόνιον; a special *Greek* term.

* Or, *give a fit form.*

the πολιτευόμενοι were the *Decuriones*.] *Gregorius Nazianzenus* joyns them both together, in *his* 49*th Epistle to Olympius*, where his words are these: πάντας πολίτας τε καὶ πολιτευτὰς καὶ ἀξιωματικούς. That is, *all the Citizens, the Decuriones, and the Honorati.* The same *Gregorius*, in *his* 22*d Epistle to the Cæsarienses*, joyns the same persons both together, in these words; τοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν καὶ βουλευτικῶν τύπων; that is, *all those who are of the Order of the Honorati, and of the Decuriones. The Old Translatour* therefore of this Letter, renders this passage truly, thus, *Honorati & Curiales & Naucleri, the Honorati, the Curiales, and the Naucleri.* The *Naucleri* were the Masters of the Vessels in the River *Nyle*, who convey'd the Corn and publick Provisions from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*. *Aurelianus* seems to have instituted *their Body*, as he himself shews in *his Epistle to Arabianus*, which is cited by *Vopiscus*. These *Naucleri*, or *Navicularii* were a Society of Sea faring Men, ordain'd for Transportation of Corn and publick Provisions in several Quarters of the Empire; (for there was a Body of them in the *East*, another in *Africk*, and a third at *Alexandria*;) they were a set number, and transported the said Provisions at their own expence, succeeding by turns in the charge and burthen; to which their Sons and Heirs were liable, as were also those who possest their Estates after them, according to that proportion which they possessed. To this Function they were always obnoxious, so that scarcely could they be excused by any great Honour obtained. They were forced to build Ships and Vessels of certain Burthens; but the Materials for them were supplied by the Country. Their Charge was great, and so were their Privileges, as may be seen by various Laws extant concerning them in the *Theodosian Code*. Vales.

[b] I am of the same Opinion with Sir *Henry Savil*, who at the margin of *his Copy* had remark'd, that in his Judgment the reading should be περιεχομένων, *contained*: so *Christophorson* read; and 'tis so in *Nicephorus*

phorus, Book 15. Chap. 18. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is παρεχομένων, *given*, or, *exhibited*.

This was the Letter ſent to *Anatolius*. [The Emperour] wrote Letters like this, to other Biſhops alſo, and to thoſe eminent perſons, who (as I have ſaid, at that time * lead a life void of the furniture [of living] and remote from matter. Of which number was *Symeones*, the firſt Inventer of the Station † in a Pillar, whom we have mentioned in the *Firſt* [*Book of our*] *Hiſtory*: amongſt whom alſo were *Baradatus* and [c] *Jacobus* the *Syrians*.

* Or, *lead an unfurniſh'd and immaterial life*: he means the *Monks*

† Or, *upon*.

[c] *Nicephorus Calliſtus* terms this *Jacobus*, *Niſibenus*, and adds, that mention is made, as well of him, as of *Varadatus* [or, *Baradatus*,] by *Theodoret* in his *Hiſtoria Religioſa*. Notwithſtanding, *Theodoret*, in Chap. 21. of his *Hiſtoria Religioſa* does not ſay, that *Jacobus* was a *Niſibene*; which thing *Theodoret* would not in any wiſe have omitted, if *Jacobus* had indeed been a *Niſibene*. For, whereas he notes, that this *Latter Jacobus* was like the *former Jacobus Niſibenus*, not only in Name, but in Manners, and Dignity, (for both of them were Prieſts;) if he had been a *Niſibene* alſo, *Theodoret* would in no wiſe have omitted that at that place. Neither, does *Theodorus Lector* (*Collectan. Book* 1.) make this *Latter Jacobus*, who anſwered *Leo Auguſtus's Circular Letters*, a *Niſibene*; nor yet *Theophanes in his Chronicon*, pag 96. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle of *Theodoret's*, written to this *Jacobus*, in which he terms him *a Presbyter* and *a Monk*. Inſtead of *Baradatus*, *Theophanes* ſtiles him *Bardas*, corruptly as I think. In the *Third part of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 375. amongſt the Monks, to whom the Emperour *Leo* wrote Letters, the firſt named is the *Monk Jacobus Niſibenus*, then *Symeones* and *Baradatus*. *Ephremius* Biſhop of *Antioch* makes mention of them alſo, in his *Epiſtle ad Monachos* Σκηνίτας, that is, *Severianos*; and in his *third Oration*, which he wrote to the *Monks Domnus & Johannes*, as it occurs in *Photius*. Valeſ.

CHAP. X.

Concerning thoſe things which the Biſhops and Symeones *the* Stylite *wrote in anſwer* [*to the Emperour* Leo's Circular Letters.]

IN the firſt place therefore, *Leo* Biſhop of the *Elder Rome* wrote in defence of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and diſallowed of *Timotheus*'s Ordination, [a] as having been illegally performed. Which Letter of *Leo*'s, the Emperour *Leo* ſent to *Timotheus* Prelate of the *Alexandrian* Church, by [b] *Diomedes* the [c] *Silentiarius*, who was imployed in carrying the Imperial Mandates.

[a] I am of the ſame mind with *Chriſtophorſon* & Sir *Henry Savil*; who inſtead of [ᾗ ἀθέσμως, *and having been illegally*] having mended it thus [ὡς ἀθέσμως γενομένην, *as having been illegally performed*.] 'Tis certain, in theſe Books of *Evagrius*, ᾗ was moſt frequently put inſtead of ὡς; which we, following the Authority of the MS. Copies, have mended. But at this place, in regard the Manuſcript Copies differed not from the printed ones, we ſcrupled the altering of any thing. *Valeſ.*

[b] The Name of this *Silentiarius* was wanting in the ordinary Editions, and in *Nicephorus*. We have put it in, from the incomparable *Florentine Manuſcript*; wherein 'tis plainly and expreſsly written thus; Διομήδους σιλεντιαρίου, *by Diomedes the Silentiarius*. Concerning the *Silentiarii*, I have heretofore obſerved ſomething in *my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus*. Valeſ.

[c] *Nicolaus Alemannus* (in *his Hiſtorical Notes on* Procopius's *Hiſtoria Arcana*, pag. 103. Edit. Lugd. 1623.) tells us, that the *Silentiarii*, whom *Procopius* (as he remarks,) ſometimes terms *Domeſtici* and *Protectores*, *were Officers of the greateſt Honour about the Emperour, in regard they were of the Emperour's inmoſt Chamber*; on which account they were alſo termed *Cubicularii*. He ſays further, that the *outward Chamber* (out of which there was an immediate paſſage into the very Chamber of the Emperour, by reaſon of the ſilence there kept in Reverence to the Emperour,) was termed *Silentium*, *the Silence*; which the Greeks by a corrupt name called σιλεντιάριον: whence theſe *Cubicularii* had the name of *Silentiarii*. *Meurſius* (in the word σιλεντιάριος) makes *two Orders* of theſe Officers: the firſt was a meaner ſort of Office, *their buſineſs was to command the people to be ſilent and quiet*. The other Order of the *Silentiarii* was far more honourable; *they were*, ſays Meurſius, *over the Secrets of the Emperour, and are reckoned amongſt the Clariſſimi*. See Dr. *Howell's* account of theſe Officers, *Part* II. *of his Hiſt.* chap. 1. pag. 51.

To whom *Timotheus* returned anſwer, wherein he blamed the *Chalcedon Synod*, and [found fault with] *Leo*'s Letter. The Copies of theſe Epiſtles are extant [a] in *that Collection of Letters termed the Encyclicæ*. But I have deſignedly omitted the inſerting them, becauſe I * would not have this preſent Work ſwell to a Greatneſs of bulk. The Biſhops of other Cities likewiſe ſtedfaſtly adhered to the Sanctions [of the Synod] at *Chalcedon*, and † unanimouſly condemned *Timotheus*'s Ordination. Excepting only [e] *Amphilochius* [Biſhop] of *Side*; who wrote a Letter to the Emperour, wherein he cried out indeed againſt *Timotheus*'s Ordination; but admitted not of the Synod at *Chalcedon*. *Zacharias* the *Rhetorician* has written concerning theſe very affairs, and has inſerted this very Letter of *Amphilochius*'s into *his Hiſtory*. Moreover, *Symeones* of Holy Memory, wrote two Letters concerning theſe matters, one to the Emperour *Leo*, another to *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. Of which two Letters, I will inſert into this my Hiſtory that which he wrote to *Baſilius*, in regard 'tis very ſhort; the Contents whereof are theſe.

* Or, *I would not bring a greatneſs upon this preſent work.*

† Or, *with all ſuffrages.*

[a] Ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἐγκυκλίοις. *Chriſtoph.* underſtood this place very ill, as it appears from his Verſion: for he renders it thus; *Iſtarum Epiſtolarum Exemplaria extant in literis Leonis Imperatoris generatim ad omnes ſcriptis*, &c. *The Copies of theſe Epiſtles are extant in the Emperour* Leo's *Letters, which he wrote in general to all Perſons*, &c. But *Liberatus Diaconus*, in his *Breviarium*, chap. 15. does incomparably well declare what theſe *Encyclicæ* [that is, *Circular Letters*] were, in theſe words. *Imperator ſcripſit ſingularum civitatum Epiſcopis de utroque negotio*, &c. *The Emperour wrote to the Biſhops of every City, concerning each affair, conſulting what ought to be done*, &c. *Who return anſwer, that the* Chalcedon *Synod is to be vindicated even unto blood: but that* Timotheus *was not only not to be reckoned amongſt the Biſhops, but to be deprived even of the Chriſtian Appellation. And theſe Epiſtles or Relations of all the Biſhops, in one body of a book, are termed* Encyclicæ. Further, theſe *Encyclicæ*, tranſlated almoſt all into Latine, are extant in the third part of the *Chalcedon* Synod, pag. 372, &c. of the *Cologne* Edition; an eximious piece of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, which I heartily wiſh were extant in *Greek*. There is mention made of theſe *Encyclicæ* in *Victor Turonenſis's Chronicon*. Valeſ.

[e] There is mention of this *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Side*, in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, chap. 52. Where the Letters of *Atticus* and *Siſinnius* Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, written to him, are recorded. The ſame *Amphilochius* was preſent at the *Epheſine* and *Chalcedon* Synods, as 'tis apparent from the Synodick Acts. Further, *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, book 9, does atteſt, that this *Amphilochius* Biſhop of *Side*, although at the beginning he had affirmed in his Letters to the Emperor *Leo*, that he could in no wiſe give his aſſent to the *Chalcedon* Synod, yet ſome little time after, conſented and ſubſcribed to that ſame Synod. *Eulogius's* words are related by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca*, pag. 879; *Edit. David Hoeſchel.* 1611. Valeſ.

To my moſt Pious and moſt Holy Lord, the Religious *Baſilius* Arch-Biſhop; the Sinner and mean *Symeones* [wiſheth] Health in the Lord.

It is now, My Lord, opportune to ſay, Bleſſed be God, who hath not turned away our Prayer, nor [*removed*] *his mercy from us Sinners. For, on receipt of the Letters of* Your Dignity, *I admired the Zeal and Piety of our Emperour moſt dear to God, which he hath ſhown, and* [*now*] *does demonſtrate towards the Holy Fathers, and their moſt firm Faith. Nor is this Gift from us, according as the Holy Apoſtle ſaith; but from God, who through our Prayers hath given* * *Him this propenſity and ſingular earneſtneſs of mind.* And, after ſome few words: *Wherefore, I my ſelf, a mean perſon, and of ſlender account,* † *the* untimely Birth *of the Monks, have made known my Sentiment to* his Imperial Majeſty *concerning the Faith of the ſix* hundred and thirty Holy Fathers *convened at* Chalcedon; *who do perſiſt in, and am grounded upon*

* The Emperour.

† Ἐκτρωμα τῶν μοναχῶν; See 1 Cor. 15. 8.

upon that Faith which has been revealed by the Holy Spirit. For, if our Saviour is present amongst two or three who are gathered together in his Name, * how could it possibly be amongst so many, so great, and such Holy Fathers, that the Holy Spirit should not have been with them from the beginning? And, after the interposition of some words: Wherefore be strong, and behave your self valiantly in the defence of true Piety; in such manner as Jesus the Son of Nave, the Servant of the Lord, [behaved himself] in defence of the Israelitish people. Give, I beseech you, my Salutes to all the Pious Clergy under Your Sanctity, and to the blessed and most faithful † Laity.

* Or, how could he [our Saviour] have had a place amongst so many, so great, and such Holy Fathers, unless the Holy Spirit had been with them from the beginning?

† Or, People.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning the Banishment of Timotheus Ælurus, *and the Ordination of* Timotheus Salophaciolus; *and concerning* Gennadius *and* Acacius [*Bishops*] *of* Constantinople.

*See ch. 5. After these things, *Timotheus* is condemned to be banished, he also [as well as *Dioscorus*] being ordered to dwell at *Gangra*. The †Or, elect Timotheus, another Bishop, Successour to Proterius. *Alexandrians* therefore † elect another *Timotheus* to succeed *Proterius* in that Bishoprick: this [*Timotheus*] some persons termed [a] *Basilicus*, others [called him] *Salophaciolus*. *Anatolius* dying [in this interim,] *Gennadius* succeeds in the Chair of the Imperial City [*Constantinople.*] And after him *Acacius*, who had presided over *The Orphan's Hospital* at the Imperial City.

[a] Οἱ μὲν βασιλικὸν. So also *Nicephorus* writes it. But in *Liberatus's Breviarium*, chap. 16. this Surname of *Timotheus* is written far otherwise. For *Liberatus's* words are these: *Et exilio relegatur* Timotheus Ælurus *Chersonam arctâ custodiâ, & fit pro* Proterio Timotheus *cognomento* Salophaciolus *sive* Asbus; *And* Timotheus Ælurus *is conveyed into Banishment to* Chersona *under a close Guard; and in* Proterius's *stead* Timotheus, *surnamed* Salophaciolus, *or* Asbus, *is made* [*Bishop.*] But in *Liberatus* it must be written *Albus*; as *Theophanes* informs us in these words, (See his *Chronicon*, pag. 96.) Τιμόθεος ὁ ἄλλος ἐπίκλην λεύκος, ὁ καὶ Σαλοφακιόλος ἐχειροτονήθη. *But another* Timothy, *surnamed* Albus, *called also* Salophaciolus, *was ordained.* *Cedrenus* relates the same. What must we say therefore? Shall we affirm that in *Evagrius* it must be written *Albus*, instead of *Basilicus*? Or, does *Salophaciolus* import something that is Royal? Indeed, φακιόλιον in *Greek* signifies *fascia*, which may be taken for a *Royal Diadem*. But, nothing of Certainty can be gotten out of this *Surname*, in regard 'tis variously written in ancient Writers. *Vales.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Earthquake which hapned at Antioch, *Three hundred forty and seven Years after that* [*which had hapned*] *in the Times of* Trajan.

[Further,] on the second Year of *Leo's* Empire, there hapned a great and vehement Motion and shaking of the Earth at *Antioch*; some [Facts] perpetrated with the utmost Rage and Fury imaginable, and which far exceeded the most superlative Ferity of Beasts, having before-hand been committed by the Populacy of that City; which [Facts] were the Prelude, as 'twere, to such Mischiefs as these. Now, this most calamitous Accident hapned on the five hundred and sixth Year of [a] *Antioch's* being entitled to all the Privileges and Immunities of a free City, about the fourth Hour of the Night that * preceded the fourteenth Day of the Month *Gorpiæus*, (which Month the *Romans* term *September*,) the *Lord's day* approaching, [b] on the eleventh ‖ Partition of the Cycle: this is related to have been the sixth [Earthquake which shaked *Antioch*,] three hundred [c] forty and seven Years having passed, from the time that that [Earthquake] had hapned [which came to pass] in *Trajan's* Empire. For that [Earthquake in *Trajan's* time] hapned on the hundred [d] fifty ninth Year of *Antioch's* being entitled to the Privileges and Immunities of a free City.

* Or, led to.

‖ Or, indiction.

[a] Χρηματίσαντος τῆς πόλεως. When Provinces submitted themselves to the *Roman* Empire, 'twas usual for the Emperour to cause an Edict to be drawn up, and proclaimed openly upon the place. The Tenour whereof was, first to entitle the Emperour himself to all respects of Dominion and Supremacy over that People; and then secondly, to abate from this by a popular Insinuation of all possible Sacredness, and Liberty of the *Provincials*. A particular Instance hereof, as it relates to this very City *Antioch*, is produced by Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford* (see his *Works*, pag. 156. *Edit. London*, 1665.) from *Joannes Antiochenus's* MS. *Geograph.* Book 9. In these words: Καὶ παρεδόθη ἡ ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐλευθερία αὐτῆς, ὅτε ἐγένετο ὑπὸ ῥωμαίους, &c. *And when the City* Antioch *had yielded it self up to the subjection of the* Roman *Empire, an Edict of the Liberties thereof was sent by* Julius Cæsar, *and publickly proclaimed at* Antioch *upon the twentieth of* May: *the Contents whereof were these,* AT ANTIOCH THE HOLY, SACRED AND FREE CITY, THE METROPOLITAN QUEEN, AND PRESIDENT OF THE EAST, CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, &c. The Provinces usually returned the Honour of these Privileges back upon the Emperour, by this way of Acknowledgment. That they might keep the Emperour's Grace in perpetual Memory, they reckoned all their publick Affairs ever after from that time; χρηματίζει δὲ (continues the same *Joannes Antiochenus*) ἡ μεγάλη ἀντιόχεια, &c. *Therefore* Antioch *the Great, in honour of the Emperour, fixed its* Æra *in* Caius Julius Cæsar, *and made this Year of Grace the first.* On which account, this Æra of theirs, which precedes *that* of *our Lord's Nativity* forty eight Years, was peculiarly called χρηματισμὸς τῶν ἀντιοχέων; because at the fixing hereof, the Emperour did χρηματίσαι ἑαυτὸν, *publickly name himself to all the title of Dominion:* and also χρηματίσαι αὐτοὺς, *publickly entitle them to all Privileges and Immunities.*

[b] Ἀνὰ τὸν ἑνδέκατον ἐπενέμησιν τοῦ κύκλου ἑαυτὸς τυγχάνειν ἱστορεῖται, &c. *Musculus* has rendred this place very ill. But *Christophorson*, in regard he could not understand the meaning of these words, omitted them in his Version. Indeed, this place tortured me a long while, and very much. Notwithstanding, at length I found the meaning of it to be this. After *Evagrius* has set forth the time wherein the Earthquake hapned at *Antioch*, in the Reign of *Leo Augustus*, by certain Notes; to wit, of the Year, Month, Week, Day, and *Indiction*: in the last place he adds these words, τοῦ κύκλου ἕκτου: That is, that that Earthquake had hapned without any turning of the *Cycles*, Three hundred forty seven Years compleat, after that Earthquake which had hapned in *Trajan's* time. For this Note of Time hath no *Cycle*. But the former Notes of Time assigned by *Evagrius*, are [Notes] of the *Cycles* or *Periods*. For, an *Indiction* is a *Cycle* of fifteen Years; and a Week, a Month, and a Year, are *Circles* and *Periods* always recurring. This therefore is my Sentiment concerning the Explication of this place: Nevertheless, if any one shall produce a more certain Account of this passage, I will not refuse to alter my Opinion. See *Evagrius*, Book 3. Chap. 33. and Note *(b)* there. This place may also be taken otherwise, by changing only the Accent, in this manner, ἕκτου τυγχάνειν ἱστορεῖται; That so the sense may be this: *This is said to be the sixth Earthquake which shaked Antioch.* Nor, do I now doubt, but this is the true Interpretation of this place. In the *Tellerian Manuscript*, I found it plainly written [ἕκτου, *the sixth*] with an *asperate*, and the Accent in the first Syllable. *Vales.* The Reading in *Robert Stephens* is the same with that set at the beginning of this Note. In the Greek Text of *Valesius's* Edition, this place is pointed and accented thus: ἀνὰ τὸν ἑνδέκατον ἐπενέμησιν τοῦ κύκλου, ἕκτου τυγχάνειν ἱστορεῖται, &c. which Reading and Punctation we have followed in our Version.

[c] I have restored this place from the incomparable *Florentine* MS. wherein 'tis plainly written thus: ζ' καὶ μ'; that is, *forty and seven.* The Reading in *Nicephorus*, at Book 15. Chap. 20. is altogether the same. *Vales.* And so 'tis in *Robert Stephens's Edition* also; notwithstanding *Valesius's* saying that he restored this place.

[d] *Baronius* in his *Ecclesiastick Annals*, at the Year of Christ 111, says that *Evagrius* is mistaken, in affirming, that that Earthquake which came to pass at *Antioch* in *Trajan's* Reign, hapned on the Year (according to the *Antiochians* Account) 159. For, that Earthquake hapned in the Consulate of *Messala* and *Pedo*; as 'tis manifest from *Dion*;

Dion, who asserts that the Consul *Pedo* perished in that Earthquake. Further, the Consulate of *Messala* and *Pedo* fell on the Year of Christ 115, as 'tis agreed amongst all Chronologers. It was then, according to the *Antiochians* account, the hundred sixty third year, not the hundred fifty ninth year, as *Evagrius* says. For the years of the *Antiochians* precede Christ's Nativity forty eight years. Moreover, concerning these years of the *Antiochians*, amongst the Ancients the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicle has spoken best of all, in the affairs of *Julius Cæsar*: but amongst the Moderns, *Dionysius Petavius* [gives us the best account hereof] in his books *de Doctrina Temporum*, and in the second part of his *Rationarium*, chap. 14. To which Author nevertheless I can't give my assent in this which he affirms, *viz.* That the beginning of these years is deduced from the Month *October*, which was the popular [or ordinary] beginning of the year amongst the *Antiochians*. In my Annotations on *Eusebius*, [See *Euseb.* book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, chap. 1. note (e)] I have in my judgment, sufficiently demonstrated, that the *Antiochians* began their year from the Month *Dius*, or *November*. Nor, is that true which *Petavius* writes at the same place, *viz.* that the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicle seems to deduce the beginning of these years from the Month *May*. For the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicle does not say that; he affirms only, that the *Decree of the Senate*, whereby *Antioch* was pronounced a free City, was received by the *Antiochians* on the Month of *May*, and then also publickly proposed. *Vales.*

But this [Earthquake] in the times of *Leo* [hapned] on the five hundred and sixth year, as 'tis declared by the most accurate and diligent Writers. Further, this Earthquake ruined almost all the Houses of the *New City*, the Inhabitants whereof were very numerous, nor was there any part of it empty, or wholly neglected; but 'twas extraordinary beautified and adorned by the [preceding] Emperours magnificence, who strove to out-do one another [in that thing.] Likewise, the first and second fabrick of the Palace fell down; but the other Building continued standing, together with the adjoyning Bath; which having been useless before at such time as this calamitous accident hapned, was of necessity [made use of] for the bathing of * the Citizens, the other Baths having been ruined. Moreover, the *Porticus*'s before the Palace fell down, and the *Tetrapylum* [which stood] behind them. Besides, the Towers of the *Hippodrome* which [were] near the Gates, and [e] some of the *Porticus*'s which led to these [Towers fell.] In the old City the *Porticus*'s and Houses were wholly untouch'd by the Ruine: but some small part of *Trajan*'s, *Severus*'s and *Adrianus*'s Baths, was shaken, and overturned. This Earthquake also ruined some [parts] of the *Geitonia* of [that Region] termed the [f] *Ostracine*, together with the *Porticus*'s, as likewise that termed the [g] *Nymphæum*, Every of which particulars *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* has related with a singular accuracy. This Writer therefore affirms, that a thousand Talents of Gold were by the Emperour remitted to the City out of the *Tributary Function*; and that, to the Citizens [were abated] the [h] yearly Tolls paid to the publick Treasury for those Houses which had been destroyed by that Calamity: and moreover, that the [i] same [Emperour] took care of the publick [Works and] Buildings.

* Or, *the City.*

[e] In the Incomparable *Florentine* Manuscr. this whole place is written thus; Καὶ τῷ ἱππο-δρόμῳ δὲ τὰς περὶ τὰς δύο πύργους, καὶ τίνας τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στοῶν, *Besides, the Towers of the* Hippodrome [*or* Cirque] *which* [*were*] *near the Gates, and some of the* Porticus's *which lead to those* [*Towers,*] *fell.* Which doubtless is the better Reading. The Gates of the *Cirque* were fortified with two Towers on each side. There were also some *Porticus*'s, which led to those Towers, from the Gates of the *Cirque*, as I suppose. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written, πύλας τῷ ἐπ' αὐτὰς στοῶν, *some of the* Porticus's [*which led*] *to those* [*Gates.*] Vales. In *Robert Stephens*, this whole Clause is worded thus; καὶ τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ὄ τὰς περὶ τὰς δύο πύργους, καί πινας τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ στοῶν, *and the Towers of the* Hippodrome *from the Gate, and some of the* Porticus's [*leading*] *from them.*

[f] Instead of [*Ostracinia,*] the Reading in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, is truer; which is thus, *Ostracine*. Our *Evagrius* mentions this place again, at chap. 8. book 6. But what the *Ostracine* was, 'tis hard to say.—— *Geitonia* is a continuation of Houses which received [or stood behind] the publick *Porticus*'s. Which *Libanius* also confirms in his *Antiochicus*, pag. 372. Edit. *Paris.* 1627. It was termed *Ostracine*, because the Potters Work-houses were there. The *Old Glosses* render ὀστράκινον, *fictile*; *a thing made of Potters earth.* Vales.

[g] So the *Greeks* termed the Temple of the *Nymphs*; which *Libanius* describes in his *Antiochicus*, pag. 372. *Edit. ut prius.* Vales.

[h] In the Version of this place, both Translatours have erred. For *Musculus* renders it thus: *Dicit etiam mille auri talenta Civitati illi ab Imperatore de tributis esse remissa; & ex Tributis quoque constitutum esse, ut civibus illis qui eâ calamitate adfecti erant, ædes ipsorum simulque publica ædificia restaurarentur; He says also, that a thousand talents of Gold were by the Emperour remitted to that City of the Tributes; and that 'twas constituted out of the Tributes also, that to those Citizens who had been affected with that Calamity, their Houses together with the publick Edifices should be repaired.* But *Christophorson* translates it in this manner; *Ait porro, tum Civitati de Tributis mille auri talenta ab Imperatore esse condonata, tum Civibus etiam Vectigalia qui eâ clade afflicti erant: He saith further, that both to the City a thousand talents of Gold of the Tributes were remitted by the Emperour, and also the Taxes* [*or Customs*] *to those Citizens, who had been afflicted with that Calamity.* Where you see, that both Translatours referred these words [τῶν ἠφανισμένων] *to the Citizens*; which is in no wise to be born with. For *Evagrius* would not have said τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἠφανισμένων, but rather τοῖς ἠφανισμένοις. *Nicephorus* therefore understood these words righter, to wit, concerning the Houses of private Men, the Taxes whereof the Emperour remitted to the Citizens of *Antioch*. Nevertheless, *Nicephorus* has not fully apprehended *Evagrius*'s meaning. For thus he expresses this place of *Evagrius*; καί γε διὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν χίλια χρυσοῦ τάλαντα βασιλέα φασὶν ἀφεῖναι τῇ πόλει τῶν ἐπισίων φόρων τὰ τέλη, τῶν ἠφανισμένων οἴκων κλισμάτων. That is, as *Langus* renders it; *Terræ motus ejus gratiâ*, &c. *And because of this Earthquake, and on account of the Houses ruined, the Emperour, 'tis reported, forgave the City a thousand Talents of Gold, the Tributes of the Annual Payments.* But *Evagrius*, or rather *Johannes* the *Rhetorician*, says more. For he affirms, that the Emperour remitted to the *Antiochians* a thousand Talents of Gold of the Tributary Function; but forgave to each Citizen the Tributes of those Houses which had been ruined by the Earthquake. Now these Tributes may be understood in a twofold sense; Either (1.) concerning the Annual Pension which by Hirers was paid to the Owners [or Lords] of the Houses; Or (2.) concerning the Money which was paid to the *Fiscus* [Exchequer,] because those Houses had been built upon the publick Soil. In such manner as amongst us, an Annual Rent is wont to be paid by Possessours of Houses as well in the City as Country, to the Lords of the Soil. And in this latter sense I had rather take τὰ τέλη [*the Tributes*] here. For this word is more frequently used to signify Tributes, Tolls, or Customs, which are paid to the publick. But if this Term should be so taken here, as to signify the Price of Houses which is usually paid by the Hirer, there would have been no Liberality of the Emperour's in that. For he would have given nothing of his own to the Citizens, but that which was another's. *Vales.*

[i] Instead of [ὁπωσδήποτε ὑπ' τούτων] the Reading undoubtedly must be πάντων, *the same*; add the words τῷ βασιλέα, *Emperour.* And thus *Christophorson* seems to have read. Further, concerning this Earthquake, *Isaac Syrus* had written an *Elegy*, as *Marcellinus* attests in his *Chronicon*, in these words: *Patricio & Ricimere Coss.* &c. *In the Consulate of* Patricius *and* Ricimeres, Isaac *a Presbyter of the* Antiochian *Church wrote many things in the* Syrian *Language, and especially against the* Nestorians *and* Eutychians. *He likewise bewailed the ruine of* Antioch *in an Elegy, in such manner as* Ephrem Diaconus *did the fall of* Nicomedia. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Fire which [*hapned*] *at* Constantinople.

[a] THere hapn'd together with these [mischiefs] a like, or rather a far more grievous [calamity] at *Constantinople*; this mischievous accident

[a] 'Tis not amongst Authors agreed concerning the year whereon this Fire hapned at *Constantinople*. For *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* place it on the fifth year of *Leo*, in the fifteenth Indiction, *Leo Augustus* being the second time Consul with *Severus*, which was the year of Christ 462. But *Marcellinus Comes* and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* place this Fire of *Constantinople* in the Consulate of *Basiliscus* and *Hermenericus*, that is on the year of Christ 465. Our *Evagrius* seems to have followed the former Opinion. For the Verb [συνελήχθη, *hapned together,*] which he uses at this place, gives an indication of what I have said; to wit, that that Conflagration of *Constantinople* hapned no long time after the *Antiochian* Earthquake. Further, concerning that Fire wherewith the City *Constantinople* was consumed in the times of *Leo Augustus*, *Candidus Isaurus* does also write, in the first book of his History, and relates that many things were usefully ordered therein by *Aspar* the *Patritius*. Vales.

cident

cident began in that part of the City that lay towards the Sea, which they term the [b] *Ox-Street*. 'Tis reported, that about such time as Candles are usually lighted, a certain mischievous and execrable Devil having clothed himself in the shape of a Woman, or rather in reality a poor Woman instigated by the Devil, (for 'tis reported both ways) carried a Candle into the Market, being about to buy some * Salt-fish; and that the Woman set down the Candle there, and went away. And, that the fire having taken hold of some Flax, raised a vast flame, and in a moment burnt † the Market house. After which, that it easily consumed the adjoyning buildings, the fire preying all about, not only upon such [houses] as might with ease be fired, but upon Stone-buildings also; and that it continued till the fourth day; and that, having exceeded all possibility of being extinguished, all the middle of the City, from the Northern to the Southern Quarter, five furlongs in length, and fourteen in breadth, was in such a manner consumed; that nothing, either of the publick or private buildings, was left [standing] within this compass, not the Pillars, nor Arches of Stone: but, that all the most hardned matter was burnt, as if it [had been straw, or] any such combustible stuff. Further, this calamitous mischief raged in the Northern part, * wherein is the Haven of the City, from that termed the † *Bosporos*, unto the *Old Temple* of *Apollo*. In the Southern part, from *Julianus*'s Haven to those houses which stand not far off from that Oratory termed the Church of [c] *Concordia*. And in the middle part of the City, from that termed *Constantine*'s Forum, to that called *Taurus*'s *Forum*, [it left] a miserable and most deformed spectacle to [the view of] all Men. For, whatever [Edifices] had stood stately to behold in the City, or had been brought to a Magnificence and incomparableness of Beauty, or * accommodated to publick or private uses, were every one on a sudden transformed into mountains and hills, inaccessible and impassible, made up with all manner of Rubbish, which deformed the pristine beauty and sight [of the City.] In so much that even the possessours themselves of the places could not discern, what any one of those former [Edifices] had been, and in what place [it had stood.]

[b] He means the *Portus Phosphorianus*, which was in the fifth Region of the City, as the old Description of *Constantinople* informs us. The *Greeks* termed it φωσφόριον and βοωΐειον; as *Constantinus Porphyrogennetus* tells us in his second book *de Thematibus* about the end, and *Georgius Codinus* in his book *de Originibus Constantinop.* 57. *Vales.*

* Or, *Salt-meat.*

† Or, *the houses.*

* Or, *wherein are the Havens of the City.*

† Or, *Ox Street.*

[c] The Church of *Homonœa* [or *Concord*] was in the 9th Region of the City *Constantinople*, as the *Old description* of that City informs us. Why this Church had this name, we are told by *Theodorus Lector*, in book 4. of his *Eccles. History*; whose words are cited by *Johannes Damascenus* in his third book *de Imaginibus*. For it was called ὁμόνοια [*Concord*,] because the hundred and fifty Fathers of the *Constantinopolitan* Synod in the Reign of *Theodosius the Great*, [See *Socrate's Eccles. Hist.* book 5. chap. 8.] meeting therein, agreed in one opinion concerning the *Consubstantial Trinity*. Vales.

* Or, *called.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the universal Calamities.

[a] Instead of [τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς χρόνοις,] it would be better written thus, τοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, *about the same times.*] Vales.

[b] *Evagrius* means the War which the *Hunni* waged against the *Eastern Romans*, under the Command of *Dengizich* son of *Attila*, in the Consulate of *Zeno* and *Marcianus*, on the year of Christ 469; as *Marcellinus Comes* relates in his *Chronicon*. Nevertheless, the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* places that War on the foregoing year, whereon *Anthemius Augustus* was Consul; ἐπὶ τότε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζιγίριχος ὁ ἄτταλα ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ ἀναγάστου τοῦ στρατηλάτου θρᾴκης, &c. *under the same Consul* Ginzirichus *Son to* Attilas *was slain by* Anagastus Magister Militum [*Master of the Milice*] *of* Thrace: I read *Dengizichus*, from *Priscus Rhetor*, who describes this War, pag. 44, 45, of the *King's Edition*. Further, this *Anagastus Magister Militum* throughout the *Thracia's*, who slew *Dengizichus* King of the *Hunni* in Battle, had succeeded *Arnegiscles Magister Militum*. Vales.

were shaken with an Earthquake; as was *Ionia*, and likewise those Islands called the *Cyclades*: in so much that in the Islands *Cnidus* and *Coos* very many [Buildings] were overturned. Further, *Priscus* relates, that at *Constantinople* and in the Country of the *Bithynians*, there hapned most violent storms of rain, the waters descending from Heaven in the manner of Rivers, for the space of three or four days. And, that Mountains were levelled into Plains, and Villages, over-whelmed with Waters, perished. Moreover, that Islands arose in the Lake *Boäne*, (which is not far distant from *Nicomedia*,) from the vast quantity of dirt and filth conveyed into it. But these things came to pass sometime afterward.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Marriage of Zeno *and* Ariadne.

[Moreover,] *Leo* takes *Zeno* to be his Son in Law, by [giving him] his Daughter *Ariadne* in Marriage. This Person having from his Cradle been called [a] *Aricmesius*, after his Marriage assumed the name of *Zeno*, from a certain [b] Person so named, who had arrived at great glory amongst the *Isauri*. But, by what means this *Zeno* arrived at this heighth of Honour, and on what account he was by *Leo* preferred before all Persons, *Eustathius* the *Syrian* had declared.

[a] In the most excellent *Florentine* MS. and in *Nicephorus*, instead of [ἀεικμῆσιν, *Aricmesius*,] 'tis ἀεικμήσιον, *Aricmesius*. Further, *Ariadne* married *Zeno* on the third year of *Leo Augustus*'s Reign, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*. Vales.

[b] He means *Flavius Zeno*, who was Consul in the Reign of *Theodosius Augustus*, on the year of Christ 448, and *Magister Militum* throughout the East. Concerning whose singular power, see what I have written in my Annotation at *Priscus Rhetor's Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 207. of the *King's Edition*. Vales.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Anthemius *Emperour of* Rome, *and those Emperours who succeeded him.*

BY reason of an Embassie of the *Western Romans* [to *Leo*,] *Anthemius* [by him] is sent [and created] Emperour of *Rome*, to whom *Marcianus* the preceding Emperour had married his own Daughter. [Not long after,] *Basiliscus* Brother of *Verina* the Wife of *Leo* [*Augustus*,] is sent *Master of the Milice* against [a] *Gizerichus*, with a choice Army of Souldiers.

[a] Concerning that vast Army, which the Emperour *Leo* sent against the *Vandals* into *Africk*, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and *Idatius* in his *Chronicon*, are to be consulted. Concerning the preparations of the same War *Candidus Isaurus* writes also, in the first book of his *History*; the passage whereof, because 'tis not yet extant, I will annex here: Κανδίδος ἱστοριογράφος φησὶν ὅτι ὁ λέων ὁ μακέλλης, ὁ μὴ μαρκιανὸν βασιλεύσας, περὶ τῶν ἐπιτροπείαν τῶν ΧΙ βανδίλων ἄπειρα χρήματα δεδαπάνηκε. ἦσαν γὰρ ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐφευρόντες κεχειρικότες, διὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπάρχων χρυσὸν λίτρας τετρακισμυρίας τρεῖς ἑπτακισχιλίας. διὰ δὲ τὸν κόμητα τὸν

τῶν δισμυρίων, ἑπταχιλίοις δὲ πλείοις, ἢ ἀργυρίου λίτρας ἑπτακόσιας χιλιάδας. ἅτε τῶν ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἢ ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως ἀνθεμίου; That is, Candidus *the* Hiſtoriographer *ſays, that* Leo, *termed alſo* Macelles, *who reigned after* Marcianus, *ſpent an innumerable ſum of Money in an Expedition againſt the* Vandals. *For, as thoſe have atteſted who furniſhed that money, forty ſeven thouſand pounds of Gold were diſburſed by the* Præfecti Prætorio; *by the* Comes Largitionum *were ſpent ſeventeen thouſand pounds of Gold, and of Silver ſeven hundred thouſand pounds: in regard this charge was abundantly ſupplied, partly by the goods of Perſons proſcribed and partly by the Emperour* Anthemius. This eminent paſſage is extant in *Suidas*, in the word χειρίζω; but the Author's name is corrupted. In the ſame place of *Suidas*, inſtead of [ἢ ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχόντων,] it muſt be made [τῶν ἀνηλωμένων ἀρχέντων, &c] Further, this *Vandalick* Expedition had hapned on the year of Chriſt 468, as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved; which is confirmed by *Cedrenus*, *Idatius* and *Marcellinus*. Two years after this, another Expedition againſt the *Vandals* was undertaken by the Commander *(Dux)* *Heraclius*, and *Marſus*, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, who is the only Perſon that I know of, who has made mention of this Expedition. *Procopius*, in his *Vandalicks*, has confounded this ſecond Expedition with the former. Further, this ſecond Expedition had an event fortunate enough. For *Gizerichus* being put into a fear, was compelled to make a Peace with the *Oriental Romans*. Valeſ.

All which have with great accuracy been recorded by [b] *Priſcus* the *Rhetorician:* as likewiſe in what manner the ſame [Emperour] *Leo* killed *Aſpar* (who had inveſted him with the Empire, whom he circumvented by Treachery, rending him this reward, as 'twere, of his own promotion;) and his Sons *Ardaburius* and *Patricius*, whom ſome time before he had created *Cæſar*, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of *Aſpar*'s [c] Favour and Benevolence. But, after the murder of *Anthemius*, who had reigned five years at *Rome*, *Olybrius* is proclaimed Emperour by *Ricimeres*; and after him *Glycerius* is made Emperour. Whom [d] *Nepos* having expelled, during the ſpace of five years holds the Empire, and ordains *Glycerius* [e] Biſhop of the *Romans* at *Salonæ* a City of *Dalmatia*. Afterwards *Nepos* is driven from the Empire by *Oreſtes*, and after him his Son *Romulus*, ſurnamed *Auguſtulus*, is made the laſt Emperour of *Rome*, [f] one thouſand three hundred and three years after the Reign of *Romulus*. After this [*Auguſtulus*,] *Odoacer*, rejecting the name of Emperour, and ſtyling himſelf King [g] adminiſtred the affairs of the *Romans*.

[b] *Priſcus* had at large deſcribed this *Vandalick* War in the firſt book of his Hiſtories; as (beſides *Evagrius*) *Theophan.* informs us in his *Chronicon*, page 100. But the place is corrupted, which I will annex here: ὕστερον δὲ δώρεις τισὶ μιχείρισε καὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασι δελεασθείς, ἐνέδωκεν, καὶ ἥττων ἐκρίθη, ὡς Περσικὸς ἱστόρησεν ὁ Θρᾷξ, *But having at laſt been wheadled and allured by gifts and many riches, by* Gizerichus, *he yielded, and was voluntarily vanquiſhed, as* Perſicus *the* Thracian *has related* It muſt undoubtedly be written thus; ὡς Πρίσκος ἱστόρησεν ὁ Θρᾷξ, *as* Priſcus *the* Thracian has *related.* For *Priſcus* the *Hiſtorian* has deſcribed that War, as *Evagrius* atteſts. Now *Priſcus* was a *Thracian*, born at *Panium* a Town of *Thrace*, which Town is mentioned by *Hierocles*. *Provincia Europa ſub Conſulari urbes quatuordecim. Eudoxia, Heraclia, Arcadiopolis, Biſue, Panion, Orni, &c. The Province* Europa *under a Conſularis* [*contains*] *fourteen Cities. Eudoxia, Heraclia, Arcadiopolis, Biſue, Panium, Orni, &c.* Beſides *Suidas* does alſo affirm, that *Priſcus* the *Writer of the Hiſtories* was a *Panite*. Valeſ.

[c] As to my ſelf it ſeemeth, I have reſtored this place not unhappily, after this manner; ἵνα τὴν ἄσπαρος εὔνοιαν κτήσηται, *that he might poſſeſs himſelf of* Aſpar's *favour and benevolence.* *Cedrenus* confirms our Emendation, at the twelfth year of *Leo Auguſtus*, in theſe words; τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ ὁ ἄσπαρος υἱὸς παρείκιος καίσαρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ λέοντος γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πέμπεται διὰ τὸ ἑλκύσαι τὸν ἄσπαρα ἐκ τῆς ἀρειανικῆς δόξης, καὶ ἀνοεῖν πιῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ; *On the ſame year alſo* Patricius, Aſpar's *Son, is created Cæſar by* Leo, *and is ſent to* Alexandria *to draw off* Aſpar *from the* Arian *Opinion and to make him faithful and kind to the Emperour.* And *Theophanes* expreſſes it thus; τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει &c. *On the ſame year* Patricius *the Son of* Aſpar, *whom the Emperour* Leo *had made Cæſar, went to* Alexandria, *with a deſign to draw off* Aſpar *from* Arianiſm, *and to render him faithful and friendly to the Emperour.* Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens.* the Reading is; ἵνα τὸν ἄσπαρος ἄνοιαν κτήσηται, *that he might poſſeſs himſelf of* Aſpar's *Madneſs.*

[d] The Prepoſition μὴ is to be expunged, which led Tranſlatours into a miſtake. For *Nepos* was not made Emperour on the fifth year after *Glycerius*'s Depoſition, but on the ſame year whereon *Glycerius* had been rejected, (as 'tis related in the *Old Faſti*, which *Cuſpinianus* ſet forth;) that is, on the year of Chriſt 474. After this *Nepos* held the Empire five years For he was ſlain when *Baſilius* was Conſul alone, on the year of Chriſt 480; as *Marcellinus* atteſts in his *Chronicon*, and as 'tis affirmed by the Old Author of the *Faſti*, whom *Cuſpinianus* publiſhed. From which Author we are inform'd, that *Julius Nepos* retained the name of Emperour until his death. *Valeſ.*

[e] 'Tis falſe, that *Glycerius* from being Emperour was made Biſhop of *Rome*. Nor is it true, that he was conſtituted Biſhop of *Portue*, which ſome have affirmed, following *Marcellinus* as their Author. Notwithſtanding, *Marcellinus* does not ſay ſo. For his words are theſe; *Leone ſolo Coſ. Glycerius Cæſar Romæ Imperium tenens*, &c. Leo *being Conſul alone*, Glycerius *Cæſar holding the Empire of* Rome, *is driven from the Empire by* Nepos, *Son of the Siſter of* Marcellinus *heretofore* Patricius; *and of a Cæſar is ordained a Biſhop in the Port of the City* Rome. But in *Marcellinus* the punctation is to be altered thus; *Imperio expulſus Portu urbis Romæ, ex Cæſare Epiſcopus ordinatus eſt. Being driven from the Empire in the Port of the City* Rome, *of a Cæſar is ordained a Biſhop.* Our Emendation is confirmed by the *Old Author* of the Faſti, whom I have quoted above; (whoſe words are theſe;) *Domino Leone Juniore Auguſt. Coſ. dejectus de Imperio Glycerius in Portu urbis Romæ, Dominus* Leo Junior Auguſtus *being Conſul*, Glycerius *is caſt from his Empire in the Port of the City of* Rome. 'Tis certain *Jordanes*, in his Book *de Succeſſione Regnorum*, affirms that *Glycerius* was made Biſhop at *Salona*. *Jordanes*'s words are theſe; *Occiſoque Romæ* Anthemio Nepotem *filiam* Nepotiani, *&c. And having killed* Anthemius *at* Rome, *he created* Nepos *Son of* Nepotianus *(to whom he married his Neece,) Cæſar at* Ravenna, *by* Domitianus *his Client. Which* Nepos *having legally obtained the Empire, expelled* Glycerius, *(who had given the Kingdom to himſelf in a tyrannick manner,) from the Empire and made him Biſhop in* Salona *of* Dalmatia. At this place therefore in the Greek Text, the word [ῥωμαίων, of the *Romans*] muſt be expunged, or rather tranſpoſed after this manner; τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥωμαίων κρατεῖ, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ τὸν γλυκέριον, &c. *holds the Empire of the* Romans, *and ordains* Glycerius, *Biſhop, &c.* Valeſ.

[f] *Marcellinus Comes*'s computation is truer, who in his *Chronicon* writes thus concerning this *Romulus: Baſiliſco & Armato Coſſ.* &c. *In the Conſulate of* Baſiliſcus *and* Armatus, *the Weſtern Empire of the* Roman *Nation (which* Octavianus Auguſtus *the firſt of the* Auguſti *began to hold on the ſeven hundred and ninth year from the Building of the City,) periſhed with this* Auguſtulus, *on the year of the Reign of the Emperours his predeceſſors DXXII. Jordanes* has the ſame words in his book *de Succeſſione Regnorum.* Now, this ſum makes one thouſand two hundred thirty and one years. Therefore *Cedrenus* muſt be corrected, who from *Romulus* the Builder of the City, to this *Romulus Auguſtulus*, reckons but one thouſand and eighty years. *Valeſ.*

[g] The Reading in *Robert Stephens* is [ἐπιχειρίζει, *attempts*;] without doubt it ſhould be [ἐγχειρίζεται, *takes in hand*,] as *Nicephorus* words it, book 15. chap. 11. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written [μεταχειρίζει, *adminiſtred*,] which Reading pleaſes me beſt. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the death of Leo, *and the Empire of* Leo Junior, *and alſo concerning* Zeno *his Father.*

AT the ſame time the Emperour *Leo* ended his Reign at *Byzantium*, after he had governed the Empire ſeventeen years, having declared *Leo* (the Son of his own Daughter *Ariadne* and *Zeno)* a very young Child, Emperour. After * his death, his Father *Zeno* † aſſumes the Purple, *Verina* the Wife of *Leo* giving him her aſſiſtance, as being her Son in Law. The Child [*Leo Junior*] dying not long after, *Zeno* continued ſole poſſeſſour of the Empire. But, what was tranſacted by him or againſt him, and whatever elſe hapned [in his times,] the following Book, by God's aſſiſtance, ſhall declare.

* To wit, the death of *Leo* the *Elder.*

† Or, *Inveſts himſelf with the Purple Robe.*

[a] *The End of the Second Book.*

[a] Before the following (to wit, the eighteenth) Chapter, in the incomparable *Florentine* Manuſcript theſe words were written, τέλος τοῦ β' λόγου, *The end of the Second Book.* Then after the [ſeventeenth] Chaper, theſe words occur; εἰσὶν ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τὰ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν χαλκηδόνι συλλεγείσῃ κεκινημένα ἐν τούτοις, *The matters agitated at the Synod convened at* Chalcedon, *being reduced into an Epitome, are theſe.* Valeſ.

The matters agitated at the Synod convened at *Chalcedon*, being reduced into an Epitome, are theſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Epitome of the *Acts* at the *Synod* of *Chalcedon*, set at the end of the Second Book.

PAschasinus *and* Lucentius, *Bishops, and* Boniphacius, *a Presbyter, filled the place of* Leo Pontiff *of the* Elder Rome. Anatolius *being Prelate of* Constantinople, *and* Dioscorus *Bishop of the* Alexandrians; Maximus *also of* Antioch, *and* Juvenalis *of* Jerusalem, *and those Bishops about them* [*were there.*] *Together with whom were present those Personages who held the principal Places in the eximious Senate* [*of* Constantinople.] *To whom they who filled the place of* Leo *said, that* Dioscorus *ought not to sit together with them in the Council. For this* [*they said*] *was given them in charge by* Leo. *And, unless it were done, that they would go* [*forthwith*] *out of the Church. And when* [*those*] *of the Senate asked, what were the matters objected against* Dioscorus; *they made answer, that* Dioscorus *ought to give an account of his own Judgment, who, contrary to what was fitting and just, had accepted the Person of the Judge,* [a] *without the permission of him who governeth the Bishoprick of* Rome. *After which words, when* Dioscorus, *by the Senate's Decree, was standing in a place in the midst;* Eusebius *Bishop of* Dorylæum *made a Request, that the* Supplicatory Libel, *which had by him been presented to the Emperour might be recited; which Request he made in these expres words: I have been injured by* Dioscorus; *the Faith hath been injured:* Flavianus *the Bishop has been murdered; and together with me unjustly deposed by him. Do you give order, that my* Supplicatory Libel *may be read. Which thing therefore having been debated, the* Libel *was permitted to be read, the Contents whereof were these.*

[a] In the fourth chapter of this Book, (where we have this same passage) these words [τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐπικοσμουσης ῥώμης παρελθόντος, *without the permission of him who governeth the Bishoprick of* Rome,] occurrs not, neither in the *Greek Text* of *Valesius*'s Edition, nor in that of *Robert Stephens*'s; though *Valesius* takes notice of them in his Version there. At this place they are inserted into both the now mentioned *Greek* Editions; and therefore we have rendred them here, but (with good reason) have omitted them at the said fourth Chapter. This latter answer of the *Roman Legates* to the *Senatours*, seems obscure and unintelligible.

From Eusebius *the meanest Bishop of* Dorylæum, *who speaks in defence of himself, of the Orthodox Faith, and of* Flavianus *of Blessed memory, who was Bishop of* Constantinople. [*It is*] *the design of your power, to make provision for all your Subjects, and to stretch forth an hand to all those who are injured: especially to them who are recounted amongst the* Ecclesiasticks. *And hereby you worship the Deity, by whom a power hath been given you to Rule and Govern* * *the World. In regard therefore the Faith of Christ and we have suffered many and grievous things, contrary to all reason and Equity, from* Dioscorus *the most reverend Bishop of the great City* Alexandria; *We address to Your Piety, entreating we may have Right done Us. Now, the business is this. At the Synod lately held in the* Metropolis *of the* Ephesians, *(would to God that Synod had never been held, that it might not have filled the World with mischiefs and disturbance!) that* † *Good man* Dioscorus, *disregarding the consideration of what is just, and not* [*respecting*] *the fear of God, (for he was of the same Opinion, and entertained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded and heretical* Eutyches; *but concealed it from many Persons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evidenced by his own declaration:) took an occasion from that Accusation which I had brought against* Eutyches, *a Person of the same Opinion with himself, and from that Sentence pronounc'd against the same* Eutyches *by Bishop* Flavianus *of Holy memory,* [*whereby*] *he assembled a multitude of disorderly and tumultuous Persons: and having possest himself of power by money, as much as in him lay, he hath weakned the pious Religion of the* Orthodox *and has confirmed the ill Opinion of the Monk* Eutyches, *which long since, even from the beginning, hath been condemned by the Holy Fathers. Whereas therefore, the matters are not small and trivial, Which he hath audaciously attempted, both against the Faith of* Christ, *and against Us, We fall at the feet of Your* [*Imperial*] *Majesty, and humbly beseech You, to order the said most Religious Bishop* Dioscorus, *to give in his Answer to what is objected against him by us: to wit, by having the* Monuments *of the* Acts, *Which he has made against us, read before the Holy Synod. From which* [Acts] *We are able to demonstrate, that he even himself is estranged from the* Orthodox *Faith, Hath confirmed an Heresy full of Impiety, Hath unjustly deposed Us, and in a most grievous and injurious manner oppressed Us: You sending your Divine and Adorable* Mandates *to the Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod of Bishops, most dear to God,* [b] *to the end that it may hear both Us and the forementioned* Dioscorus, *and bring to the knowledge of* Your Piety *all that is transacted, according to that which shall please* Your Immortal Height. *And if We shall obtain this, We will pour forth incessant Prayers for your Eternal Empire, most Divine Emperours!*

* Or, the things under the Sun.

† Spoken by way of Irony.

† Or, *found*

[b] In the incomparable *Florentine* MS. this place is read thus: Ἐφ' ᾧ τε ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἀκοῦσαι, *To the end that it may hear both us,* &c. The Reading in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council is the same. *Christophorson,* and Sir *Henry Savil,* at the margin of his Copy, have mended it thus; Ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ, &c. *To the end that it may hear our Cause and that of the forementioned* Dioscorus. But I had rather write it Ἐφ' ᾧ ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶ, &c. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens* the Reading is Ἐφ' ὧν τε ἡμῶν καὶ τῶ, &c. where also the word [ἀκοῦσαι] is wanting.

By the joynt Request therefore of Dioscorus *and* Eusebius, The Acts of the Second Ephesine Synod *were publickly recited: by which 'twas manifestly demonstrated, that* Leo's *Letter had not been read, and that, notwithstanding there had been an* Interlocution *once and twice concerning that matter. Wherefore, when* Dioscorus *was asked to declare the Cause hereof, his Answer was, That he himself by* Interlocution [*had given order*] *once and twice that that should be done; and he requested, that* Juvenalis *Bishop of* Jerusalem, *and* Thalassius [*Bishop*] *of the* First Cæsarea *in* Cappadocia, *might give a more manifest Declaration of this matter. For* [*he said*] *That they had received an Authority* [*of presiding in the Synod*] *together with him.* Juvenalis *did indeed affirm, That when* [*the Emperours*] *Divine Letter* * *had been read in the first place, he made an* Interlocution, [*ordering*] *that* [c] *that* [*Letter*] *should be recited; but, that*

* Or, *had lead the way.*

[c] Instead of [ἐκείνῳ, *to him*] doubtless the Reading must be [ἐκεῖνο, *that,*] understand [τὸ θεῖον γράμμα, *the Divine Letter.*] Which Emendation is confirmed by the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, pag. 52, and 53. *Edit. Bin.* where these words occurr. *Gloriosissimi Judices & Amplissimus Senatus dixerunt,* &c. *The most Glorious Judges and the most Noble Senate said, Let the most Blessed Bishop* Juvenalis *declare, why when the most Reverend Bishop* Dioscorus *made an* Interlocution *for the reciting of the Letter of the most Holy* Romish *Archbishop, that Letter was not read.* Juvenalis *the most Reverend Bishop of* Jerusalem *said:* Johannes *the Presbyter and* Primicerius [*chief*] *of the* Notaries *said, that he had in his hands the Sacred Letters of the most Religious and most Pious Emperours; and I answered that the Imperial Letters*

Letters muſt be read. Further, the very words which *Juvenalis* had made uſe of in that ſecond *Epheſine* Synod, occurrs in the aboveſaid 52. pag. where the Acts of the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod are recorded. Moreover *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation in the laſt Chapter of his fifteenth Book, where he gives us a Summary of the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, moſtly tranſcribed from *Evagrius*. I have been larger in my Remarks upon theſe things, becauſe *Chriſtophorſon*, in the Rendition of this place, hath wandred far from the truth. By the way, you may obſerve the fraud committed in that ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. For, when *Hilarius* the Deacon, the Legate of the Apoſtolick See, had openly declared to the Biſhops who were preſent, that he had Pope *Leo*'s Letter, and had required that it might be read in the Council: *Johannes* the Presbyter and *Primicerius* of the *Notaries*, aroſe and ſaid, that he had in his hands other Letters written from the Emperour to *Dioſcorus*. Then *Juvenalis* commanded, that thoſe Letters of the Emperour ſhould be read, no mention being made of *Leo*'s Letter. You ſee therefore, that the reading of *Leo*'s Letter was deſignedly impeded, by the fraud of *Dioſcorus*; who, inſtead of *Leo*'s Epiſtle, cauſed the Emperour *Theodoſius*'s Letter to be read in the Synod. Further, the *Tellerian* Manuſcript does confirm our Emendation; in which Copy I found it written as I had conjectured. *Valeſ.*

* That is, of the Letter of *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*.

† *Liberty*, or, *Freedom*.

‖ Or, *come to a reading*.

* That is, would not permit *Stephanus*'s Notaries to take the *Acts* in writing.

† Or, *atteſted*.

‖ Or, *Inſtruments*.

[d] This place, which *Evagrius* points at here, is extant in the firſt Action of the *Chalcedon* Synod, pag. 58. *Valeſ.*

[e] Inſtead of [πόθεν ἔν εἰπε, *he ſaid, from whence therefore?*] the reading in the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council is better, (ſee pag 58;) the Imperative Mood; to wit, thus, πόθεν ἔν εἰπὲ, *declare therefore, from whence?* Valeſ.

* In *Binius*, pag 58, the reading is, ὁ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μονογενῆ, τὸν θεὸν λόγον, *the only begotten Son of God, God the Word.*

afterwards no mention was made of that * *Epiſtle. But* Thalaſſius *ſaid, that he hindred not the reading of that Letter; and that he had not ſo much* † *Authority, as that he alone could decree, that it ſhould* ‖ *be read. When therefore a further progreſs was made in the reading of the* Acts, *and ſome of the Biſhops found fault with ſome words as being falſe and forged;* Stephanus *Biſhop of the* Epheſians *was asked, what* Notaries *of his at that time had taken* [*thoſe words*] *in writing; his anſwer was, that* Julianus, (*afterwards made Biſhop of* Lebedus,) *and* Criſpinus *were his* Notaries: *but, that* Dioſcorus's Notaries *would not permit* * *that to be done, but took hold of their fingers whilſt they were writing; in ſo much that they were in danger of undergoing moſt foul abuſes. Further, the ſame* Stephanus † *depoſed, that* [*himſelf and the other Biſhops*] *had ſubſcribed to* Flavianus's *Depoſition in one and the ſame day. Hereto added* Acacius *Biſhop of* Ariarathia, *that all* [*of them*] *had ſubſcribed in a Paper not written on,* [*and that they were compelled to it*] *by force and neceſſity, having been ſurrounded with innumerable miſchiefs, in regard Souldiers* [*Armed*] *with murdering* ‖ *weapons had encompaſſed them. Further, when another Sentence was read,* Theodorus *Biſhop of* Claudiopolis *ſaid, that no body uttered thoſe Words. Moreover, upon a procedure in reading* [*the* Acts, *in this manner*] *when* [*they came*] *to a certain* [d] *place wherein* Eutyches *had ſaid,* [*that he*] Anathematized] *thoſe who ſhould affirm that the Fleſh of God and our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt *had deſcended from Heaven: the* Acts *declared, That againſt theſe Words* Euſebius *had ſaid, that thoſe were indeed condemned by* Eutyches, *who ſhould ſay that* Chriſt's *Fleſh had deſcended from Heaven, but that it was not added by him, whence the Fleſh was. The ſame* Acts *added alſo, that* Diogenes *Biſhop of* Cyzicum *ſubjoyned* [*theſe Words:*] [e] *declare therefore, from whence? and, that notwithſtanding they were not permitted to make any further inquiry into theſe things. Further, the ſame* Acts *do manifeſt, that* Baſilius *Biſhop of* Seleucia *in* Iſauria, *ſpake* [*theſe words:*] *I adore our one Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, * *the Son of God, the only God the Word; Who after the Incarnation and Union, is known in two Natures. And, that againſt theſe Words the* Egyptians *cryed out: Let no man divide Him Who is not to be parted, he ought not to call one Son two. But that the* Eaſterns *exclaimed,* Anathema *to him who parts,* Anathema *to him who divides. 'Tis contained in the ſame* Acts, *that* Eutyches *was asked, whether he would affirm two Natures in* Chriſt. *And, that he anſwered, that he aſſerted* Chriſt [*to conſiſt*] *of two Natures before the Union: but after the Union,* [*he acknowledged but*] *one* [*Nature in him.*] *And, that* Baſilius *ſaid* [*theſe Words;*] *unleſs you aſſirm two undivided and inconfuſed Natures after the Union, you aſſert a confuſion and a commixture. But if you add* Incarnate *and* Inhumanate, *and do underſtand* Incarnation *and* Inhumanation *in ſuch manner as* Cyrillus *doth, you affirm the ſame that We do. For, the Divinity which* [*is*] *from* [*his*] *Father, is one thing; the Humanity which is from* [*his*] *Mother, is another. When* [f] *they were interrogated, upon what account they had ſubſcribed to* Flavianus's *Depoſition; the* Acts *declare that the* Eaſterns *cryed out, We have all ſinned, We do all crave pardon. Again further, the ſame* Acts *being read on, do manifeſt, that the Biſhops were queſtioned, for what reaſon they would not permit* Euſebius *to come in, when he deſired it. To which* Dioſcorus *made anſwer, that* Elpidius *brought the* Commonitory; *and, that he affirmed, that the Emperour* Theodoſius *had given order, that* Euſebius *ſhould not be ſuffered to come in. The* Acts *do manifeſt, that* Juvenalis *alſo ſaid the ſame Words. But* Thalaſſius *ſaid, that he himſelf* [g] *had not Authority. Which anſwers were diſallowed of by the Judges. For* [*they ſaid,*] *that this Apology was invalid* [*where a matter*] *of Faith is the ſubject of the Conference. After theſe things, the ſame* Acts *do declare, that* Dioſcorus [h] *made a Complaint in theſe Words: What Canons are now obſerved, whenas* Theodoret *is* [*ſuffered to*] *come in; And, that the Senatours made anſwer, That* Theodoret *was come in as an Accuſer. And when* Dioſcorus *ſubjoyned, that* Theodoret *ſate amongſt the Biſhops; the Senatours ſaid again, That* Euſebius *and* Theodoret *ſhould take the place of the Accuſers, in like manner as* Dioſcorus *had the place of the Accuſed allotted to him. When therefore all* [*the* Acts] *of the Second* Epheſine *Synod had been read, and the Sentence* [*of Depoſition pronounc'd*] *againſt* Flavianus *and* Euſebius, *had been likewiſe recited, as far as that* * *place, where* [i] Hilarius *the Deacon had ſaid,* 'Tis contradicted: *the Biſhops of the* Eaſt *and thoſe with them determined*] *by the Princes in ſuch cauſes as theſe, have not authority. Chriſtophorſon* has followed the ſame ſenſe alſo. Likewiſe *Langus, Nicephorus*'s Tranſlator, hath fallen into the ſame miſtake. But, from the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, it is eaſy to confute this Rendition. For *Thalaſſius* being queſtioned by the Judges, makes this anſwer only, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἦμην αὐθέντης, that is, *all power and authority was not in me.* For, altho' *Juvenalis* and *Thalaſſius* were ordered by the Emperour *Theodoſius* to preſide at the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod together with *Dioſcorus*, notwithſtanding in reallity all the power was in *Dioſcorus*'s hands. Further, the Judges condemned the Anſwer of *Dioſcorus*, *Juvenalis*, and *Thalaſſius* in theſe words, *In a matter of Faith this defence is not to be admitted.* Valeſ.

[f] In the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon* Council, only *Baſilius* is ſaid to have been queſtioned by the Judges and Senatours; and what anſwer he returned to their queſtion, is added there alſo. Notwithſtanding, *Nicephorus* confirms the vulgar reading, which is [ὧν ἐρωτηθέντων, *when they were interrogated:*] which if we will retain, it muſt be ſaid, that *Baſilius and thoſe who were with him*, were interrogated by the Judges. *Valeſ.*

[g] In the Rendition of this place, both Tranſlators have erred. For *Muſculus* renders it thus: *Thalaſſius verò dixit, non habere autoritatem ea quæ à principibus in hujuſmodi cauſis judicantur.* But Thalaſſius *ſaid, that thoſe things which are judged* [or

* Or, *expreſſion.*

[h] I agree with *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil*; who inſtead of [πέμψαντος, *was ſent for,*] mended it thus, [μέμψασθαι, *made a complaint.*] Which fault I found to have been frequently committed in the Manuſcript Copies. *Valeſ.*

[i] This place muſt be corrected from the firſt Action of the *Chalcedon* Synod, pag. 142. Where, after the Sentence of Condemnation pronounc'd by *Dioſcorus* againſt *Flavianus* and *Euſebius*, when *Flavianus* had ſaid, παραιτοῦμαί σε, *I refuſe you: Hilarius* Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, ſaid, κονλεβδίκτωρ, *'tis contradicted.* Which words are written out from the Acts of the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. *Valeſ.*

exclaimed,

exclaimed, Anathema *to* Dioscorus: *in this very hour* [k] *Christ hath deposed* Dioscorus: Flavianus *hath been deposed by* Dioscorus: Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour, do you revenge Him! Many years to *Leo*: many years to the [l] Patriarch. *Then, when the following words were read, which manifested, that all the then convened Bishops had agreed to the deposition of* Flavianus *and* Eusebius, *the most Glorious Judges made an* Interlocution *in these expres words.*

[k] Διόσκορον ὁ Χριστὸς καθεῖλε. So 'tis also written in Nicephorus. But in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Synod* 'tis written far otherwise, to wit, after this manner: ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καθεῖλε. ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καταιρέσθω. That is, *in this very hour* [Dioscorus] *hath deposed: in this very hour let him be deposed.* Which reading I approve of as being the better. But, as this place of *Evagrius* is to be corrected from the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, so on the other hand, the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council* are to be amended from our *Evagrius*. For, instead of these words which follow, ἄγε κύριε σὺ αὐτὸν ἐκδίκησον, *Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him*; it must [in the *Chalcedon Acts*] be written thus: φλαβιανὸς παρὰ διοσκόρου καθῃρέθη, ἄγε κύριε. &c. Flavianus *hath been deposed by* Dioscorus: *Holy Lord, do thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour*, &c. as it is in *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus*: and so the *old Translatour* of the *Chalcedon Council* seems to have read: for he renders it thus: *Sancte domine, tu illum vindica: Catholice Imperator, tu illum vindica, Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him: Catholick Emperour, do you revenge him.* From which Version we conclude, that these words [*Flavianus hath been deposed by* Dioscorus] ought necessarily to precede. Otherwise, whither should these words [*do You revenge him*] be referred? *Vales.*

[l] Some body may make a query here, what Patriarch is to be understood at this place. My affirmation is that *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* is meant. Further, two things are remarkable here. The first is, that the oriental Bishops wish many years not to their own Patriarch, but to another. Secondly, that they term the Bishop of *Constantinople* simply and absolutely, *The Patriarch*, to wit, giving him this honour on account of the prerogative of his See. For, in the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, the second place was assigned to the See of *Constantinople*. *Vales.*

We perceive, that a more exact scrutiny concerning the Ordodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard Flavianus *of Pious Memory, and* Eusebius *the most Religious Bishop of* Dorylæum *(from a search made into the* Acts *and* Decrees, *and also from their testimony by word of mouth who presided in the Synod then convened; who have confessed that they have erred, and have deposed them without cause, when they had in no wise erred in relation to the Faith:) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjustly deposed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just, (provided it shall please our most Divine and most Pious Lord;) that* Dioscorus *the most Religious Bishop of* Alexandria, Juvenalis *the most Religious Bishop of* Jerusalem, Thalassius *the most Religious Bishop of* Cæsarea, Eusebius *the most Religious Bishop of* [m] Ancyra, Eustathius *the most Religious Bishop of* Berytus, *and* Basilius *the most Religious Bishop of* Seleucia *in* Isauria, *which* [*Prelates*] *had power, and presided over the then Synod, should* [n] *lie under the very same punishment, being by* [*the sentence of*] *this sacred Synod according to the Canons estranged from the Episcopal dignity: all things which have been consequently done being made known to his most sacred Imperial Majesty.*

[m] From the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 15. (where this Interlocution of the Judges is recorded;) Instead of *Armenia*, it must be made *Ancyra*. Vales.

[n] Instead of [ἐκπεσεῖν, *fall from,*] in the *First Action of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 152. it is truer written thus [ὑποπεσεῖν, *lie under.*] For 'tis referred to what went before, to wit, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπηρίῳ, *the very same punishment*; and the same herewith is the reading in the *fourth chapter* of *this book*, where this *Interlocution* of the Judges occurs entire. In the *fourth Action* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 217. the reading indeed is ἐκπεσεῖν: but there is a word added in the foregoing [clause,] in this manner, τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπηρίῳ, *subjected to the same punishment.* If we should retain the word ἐκπεσεῖν, then these words [ἀλλοτρίους γενομένους, *being estranged from*] which follow, would be superfluous. Indeed, these two last mentioned words are wanting in the *Tellerian* and *Florentine* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*. *Vales.*

After these words, the Easterns *cryed out This* [*is*] *a just judgment: but the Bishops of* Illyricum *exclaimed, We have all sinned, let us all be vouchsafed pardon. And again, when the* Easterns *acclaimed, This is a just sentence:* Christ *hath deposed a Murderer,* Christ *hath revenged the Martyrs: the Senators made an* Interlocution, *That every one of the Bishops convened, should by himself* * *declare his own Faith; knowing for certain, that the most Divine Emperour did believe, according to that Exposition of the Faith of the three hundred and eighteen* [*Fathers, assembled*] *at* Nice, *and the hundred and fifty Fathers* [*convened*] ° *at* Constantinople; *also according to the Epistles of the Holy Fathers,* Gregorius, Basilius, Hilarius, Athanasius, Ambrosius; *and according to* Cyril's *two Letters, which were recited at the* First Synod *at* Ephesus: *for, that the most Pious* Leo *Bishop of the* Elder Rome, *had deposed* Eutyches *according to the same Faith.*

* Or, *set forth.*

° In the excellent *Florent.* MS. these words [*at Constantinople*] are wanting; nor do they occurr in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, as may be seen at pag. 152; *Edit. Bin.* Vales.

The First Session *therefore having after this manner been ended, when the most Holy Bishops had come together* [p] *alone in order to another* [Action,] Eusebius *Bishop of* Dorylæum *presented* Libels *in defence of himself and* Flavianus; *wherein he accused* Dioscorus *as entertaining the same Sentiments with* Eutyches, *and because he had divested them of the Sacerdotal Function. He added also, that* Dioscorus *had inserted some words, which had not been spoken at the then convened Synod, into the* Acts *thereof; and moreover, that* Dioscorus *had procured that they should subscribe in blank papers. He requested further, that all the* Acts of the second Ephesine Synod *might be made null by the vote of* [*the Prelates who*] *were convened, that themselves might be restored to the Sacerdotal dignity, and that that nefarious opinion might be* Anathematized. *He requested also after the reading* [*of his Libel,*] *that his Adversary might be present. When this was by an* Interlocution *ordered to be done;* Aëtius Arch-Deacon *and* Primicerius *of the* Notaries *said, that he had gone to* Dioscorus, *as also to the others; and that* Dioscorus *had answered, that he was not permitted by his keepers to come to the Council. By making another* Interlocution *it was ordered, that* Dioscorus *should be sought for before* [*the doors of*] *the Council. And when he was not found,* Anatolius *Bishop of* Constantinople *made an* Interlocution, *that he ought to be sent for, and to be present in the Synod. Which having been done, the messengers sent to* Dioscorus *returned and said that he told them, I am under custody: let* [*my keepers*] *say, whether or no they will permit me to go* [*to the Council.*] *And upon the messengers saying to him, that they had been sent to him, not to the* Magistriani, *they brought word that*

[p] In the *third Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, only the Bishops met, nor were there any of the *Secular Judges*, or *Senators* present in the Council. For, in *that Session* the Faith was to be treated of: which that they should declare and set forth, the Bishops had before been invited by the most glorious Judges. But the Bishops for a long while refused to do that, saying that the Draught of the *Nicene* Creed was sufficient, which had been confirmed by the *Constantinopolitan*, and *first Ephesine Synod*. Nevertheless, at length they had yielded to the Judges request, and promised they would do it. Further, where the Faith is treated of the *Secular Judges* have nothing to do. In the *Third Action* therefore, wherein the Faith was to be treated of, no *Secular Judges* were present. It is further to be remarked, that at this place *Evagrius* hath omitted the transactions of the *Second Action*. *Evagrius* therefore seems to have taken the *Third Action* for the *Second*. Which is confirmed by the *Acts* of *this very Synod*, pag. 177; where that seems to be the *Second Meeting*, or *Action*, which now is the Third. *Vales.*

that Dioſcorus *had ſaid, I am ready to come to the Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod; but I am bindred. Whereto* Himerius *added, that in their return from* Dioſcorus, *the* [q] Aſſiſtant *to the* Maſter of the ſacred Offices *met them, and that in company with him the Biſhops had gone again to* Dioſcorus, *and that he had ſome things concerning theſe matters which he had taken in* [r] *Notes. Which having been read, 'twas manifeſted that* Dioſcorus *had ſpoken theſe expreſs words. Having recollected my ſelf, and conſidered what is expedient* [*for me,*] *I anſwer thus.*

[q] Βοηθὸς τῶν μαγίστρων. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred it *Boethus*, as if that were a proper name. But Βοηθὸς is the name of *an Office*. For the *Princeps officii magiſtri officiorum* was ſo termed, who was of the *Schole* [or, *Body*] of *The Agentes in Rebus*, as we are informed from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Farther, this *Aſſiſtant* of the *Maſter of the Offices*, was by his proper name called *Eleuſinius*, as 'tis recorded in the *Third Action of the Chalcedon Synod*. Valeſ.

[r] Ἐν σημείοις. In the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, in ſtead of theſe words, 'tis written, ἐν ἐκλήψεσι; which the *old Tranſlatour* hath rendred thus: *Et certa locuti ſunt, quæ in exceptis habeo, And they have ſpoken ſome words, which I have in my Excepta* [that is, *in my account taken thereof in writing.*] 'Tis certain, *Himerius* was a *Notary* and a *Reader*, ſent by the Council (together with the Biſhops) to *Dioſcorus*, that he might take thoſe things in writing, which ſhould be ſaid on both ſides; for that was the Office of *Notaries*. The Biſhops, as often as they went to a Synod, were wont to carry each his *Notary* along with them, who were to take the matters tranſacted in the Synod in writing: to the end that, after the ending of the Synod, each Biſhop might carry a copy of the *Acts* into his own Country. Further, I approve highly of the *old Tranſlatour's* rendring σημεῖα *excepta*. Whence I am of opinion, that *Origen's* σημειώσεις ought in *Latine* to be termed *Excepta*. I know indeed, that *Origen's* σημειώσεις are by *Ruſinus* and *Jerome* commonly termed *Excerpta*, *Excerptions*; but my Sentiment is, that 'tis corruptly written, in regard they ought rather to be termed *Excepta*. Valeſ.

In regard the moſt magnificent Judges who ſate in the Seſſion before this, have Decreed ſeveral things after many Interlocutions *made by every one; and I am now cited to a* Second Seſſion, *to the end that the foreſaid* [*Decrees*] *may be voided and made null; 'tis my requeſt, that the moſt magnificent Judges and Sacred Senate, who were at the* Former Seſſion, *may be preſent now alſo, in order to a re-examination of the ſame matters. To whom* Acacius, *as 'tis manifeſtly related in the ſaid* Acts, *gave anſwer in theſe very words. The Holy and Great Synod have not commanded* Your Sanctity *therefore to be preſent, that thoſe things which have been tranſacted before the moſt Magnificent Judges and the Sacred Senate might be voided and made null: but* [*the Synod*] *hath ſent us,* [*with a command*] *that You ſhould come to the Seſſion, and that* Your Sanctity *ſhould not be abſent therefrom. To whom* Dioſcorus *returned this anſwer,* (*as the* Acts *declare;*) *You have told me even now, that* Euſebius *hath preſented* Libels: *I make a requeſt again, that my Cauſe may be examined before the Judges and Senate. Then, after other things of this nature, which are put into the* Acts; *thoſe were again ſent, who might perſwade* Dioſcorus *to be preſent at what was tranſacted. Which having been done, thoſe who had been ſent returned, and ſaid, that they had taken* Dioſcorus's *anſwer in Notes, which* [*Notes*] *do manifeſt, that he ſaid theſe words. I have already ſignified to Your piety, that I am afflicted with a diſtemper, and that 'tis my requeſt, that the moſt Magnificent Judges, alſo and the Sacred Senate may now likewiſe be preſent at the Judgment of thoſe things which ſhall be inquired into: but in regard my diſtemper hath increaſed, upon that account I have made a delay. And the* Acts *do manifeſt that* Cecropius *ſaid unto* Dioſcorus; *that a little before he had not made the leaſt mention concerning his ſickneſs; and that therefore he ought to ſatisfie the Canons. To whom* Dioſcorus *made this return, I have ſaid once, that the Judges ought to be preſent. Then, that* Ruſinus *Biſhop of* Samoſata *ſaid unto* Dioſcorus, *that the* * *Agitations and Debates* [*in the Council*] *were Canonical, and that* Dioſcorus, *if he were preſent, might freely ſpeak what he ſhould have a mind to. And when* Dioſcorus *enquired, whether* Juvenalis *and* Thalaſſius *and* Euſtathius *were come* [*to the Synod,*] [r] *he anſwered, that that was nothing pertinent to the buſineſs. To which words the* Acts *do ſet forth, that* Dioſcorus *ſubjoyned theſe, that he had requeſted the Chriſt-loving Emperour,* [*that he would give order*] *that the Judges alſo might be preſent* [*in the Council,*] *as likewiſe thoſe* [*Prelates*] *who together with him* * *had been Judges. And, that hereto the* [*Synod's*] *Meſſengers ſaid, that* Euſebius *had accuſed him only, and that all the reſt ought not to be preſent. And, that to theſe words* Dioſcorus *replied, that thoſe other perſons ought alſo to be preſent who had been judged together with him: for, that* Euſebius *had no private* † *Cauſe againſt him, but* [*a common one, to wit,*] *concerning thoſe things on account of which all of them had been judged. And again, when the* [*Synod's*] *Meſſengers perſiſted* ‖ *in the ſame things,* Dioſcorus *made anſwer, what I have ſaid, I have ſaid once; nor have I any thing further to ſay. To which words* [*when declared to the Synod,*] Euſebius [*Biſhop*] *of* Dorylæum *ſaid, that he had* [*matter of accuſation*] *againſt* Dioſcorus *only, and againſt no perſon elſe: and he deſired that* Dioſcorus *might be cited in by a third Summons.* [*After this*] Aëtius *gave information, that ſome perſons who ſtiled themſelves* Eccleſiaſticks, *together with ſome others who were* Laïcks, *coming from the City* Alexandria, *had lately preſented* Libels *againſt* Dioſcorus, *and that theſe men were now ſtanding before* [*the doors of*] *the Council, and* * *crying out. When therefore* Theodorus, *a Deacon of the Holy Church of* Alexandria, *had in the firſt place preſented* [*Libels;*] *and then* Iſchirio, *who was a Deacon likewiſe; and after him* Athanaſius *a Presbyter and* Cyrillus's *ſiſters ſon; and laſtly* Sophronius; *in which* [*Libels*] *they accuſed* Dioſcorus *partly for Blaſphemies, and partly on account of bodily* [*damages*] *and* [t] *violent exaction of moneys: a third Citation is iſſued out, wherein* Dioſcorus *is admoniſhed to come* [*to the Synod.*] *The Meſſengers therefore appointed for this buſineſs, being returned, made report that* Dioſcorus *had ſaid* [*theſe words:*] *I have ſufficiently informed Your Piety; nor can I add any thing elſe thereto. Again, when the perſons ſent upon this account had continued to be very urgent in their perſwaſives to* Dioſcorus [*that he would come,*] *and he having always given the ſame anſwer;* Paſchaſinus *the Biſhop ſaid* [*theſe words.*] Dioſcorus *having now been thrice Summoned, hath not appeared, being prick'd in*

* Κανονικὰ τὰ κινήματα καθεσταῖναι. *Valeſius* renders it thus; *Canonicum conſtitutum eſſe judicium, that a Canonical Judicatory was conſtituted.*

[r] Ἀπεκρίνατο, *He anſwered:* in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, the reading is, *Euſtathius anſwered:* In *Valeſius's Verſion* 'tis, *reſpondit Pergamius, Pergamius* anſwered.

* Or, had judged.

† Or, buſineſs.

‖ Or, concerning the ſame matter.

* Or, made uſe of outcries.

[t] I am of the ſame opinion with Learned men, who inſtead of [βίας ἀφαιρέσεως] had mended it thus, βιαίας ἀφαιρέσεως, *violent exaction*; by conjecture, as I think. For our Copies have no alteration here. Yet the *Tellerian Manuſcript* (which I procured opportunely, whileſt *our Edition* was in the preſs,) has it plainly written, βιαίας ἁρπαγῆς. Valeſ.

[u] Nicephorus has inserted some words here, thus, καὶ ἠρώτησε τὸν ἐπισκόπων ἀντιπροσώπον, And he asked the Bishops. Vales.

in conscience: and he [u] *asked what* [*punishment*] *he deserved. Whereto when the Bishops had returned answer, that he had* * *offended against the Canons, and when* Proterius *Bishop of* Smyrna *had said, at such time as the Holy* Flavianus *was murdered, nothing had been agreeably and orderly done against him: they who supplied the place of* Leo *Bishop of the* Elder Rome, † *made this Declaration in these express words.*

* Or, made himself obnoxious to. † Or, pronounced Sentence.

What Dioscorus *who hath been Bishop of the Great City* Alexandria *has audaciously attempted against the Order of the Canons, and the Ecclesiastick Constitution, hath been made manifest, both by those things which have already been enquired into at the* First Session, *and also from what hath been done this day. For this person, (to omit many other things,) making use of his own authority, uncanonically admitted to communion* Eutyches, *(a man that embraces the same Sentiments with himself, who had been deposed canonically by his own Bishop of Holy Memory, we mean our Father and Arch-Bishop* Flavianus;) *before* * *his sitting* [*in the Synod*] *at* Ephesus *together with the Bishops beloved by God. But the Apostolick See has granted a pardon to those* [*Prelates,*] *for what hath been involuntarily done there by them. Who also to this present continue of the same opinion with the most Holy Arch-Bishop* Leo, *and with all the Holy and* Oecumenical Synod. *On which account, he hath received them to his own communion, as being asserters of the same faith with himself. But* † *this man till this very time hath not desisted from boasting of these things, on account whereof he ought rather to mourn, and lay himself prostrate on the earth. Besides, he permitted not the Letter of the most Blessed Pope* Leo, *to be read, (which had been written by him to* Flavianus *of Holy Memory;) and this* [*he did,*] *notwithstanding he was several times entreated by those persons who brought the Letter, to suffer it to be read; and notwithstanding he had promised with an Oath that it should be read. The not reading of which Letter has filled the most Holy Churches over the whole world with scandals and detriment. Nevertheless, although such things as these have been audaciously attempted by him,* [w] *yet we had some thoughts concerning the vouchsafing to him something of compassion in relation to his former impious Fact, as also to the rest of the Bishops beloved by God, although they had not the same authority of judging that he was invested with.*

* Dioscorus's.

† Dioscorus.

[w] Ἐσκοπεῖμεν δὲ τῆς. The same is the reading also in Nicephorus.

But, in the *Chalcedon Acts*, and in the *fourth chapter of this book*, (where this sentence of condemnation occurrs,) it is more truly written ἐσκοπεῖμεν, *it was our design.* But, by transposing the *prepositions*, I had rather write it thus, διεσκοπεῖμεν ἐπὶ τῆς, &c. *we had considered in relation to*, &c. which writing is far more elegant. *Vales.*

* Or, second.

But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his * *latter facts, (for he has audaciously pronounced an excommunication against the most Holy and most Pious* Leo *Arch-Bishop of* Rome the Great; *and moreover, (when* Libels *stuft with Crimes were preferred to the Holy and Great Synod against him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Bishops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prick'd by his own conscience;* [*Lastly,*] *he has illegally received* [*to Communion*] *those, who have been justly deposed by several Synods:* [*on these various accounts we say*]) *he himself hath pronounced sentence against himself, having many ways trampled under foot the Ecclesiastick Rules. Wherefore, the most Holy and most Blessed* Leo *Arch-Bishop of the Greatest and the Elder* Rome, *by Us and the present Synod, together with the thrice Blessed and most eminent Apostle* Peter, *who is the* * *Rock and* basis *of the Catholick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath divested him of the Episcopal dignity, and hath* * *removed him from* [*the performance of*] *every Sacerdotal Office. Therefore, the Holy and Great Synod it self will Decree those things concerning the forementioned* Dioscorus, *which shall seem agreeable to the Canons.*

* These *Legates of the Romish See* (I suppose) point at that expression used by our Saviour to *Peter*, recorded *Matth.* 16. 18. As a Comment on which Text take these words of Saint *Cyprian*, in *his book de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, termed also *Tractatus de Simplicitate Prelatorum*, pag. 113. Edit. *Basil* 1558. *Loquitur dominus ad Petrum*, Ego tibi dico, *inquit*, quia tu es Petrus, & Super istam Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, &c. *The Lord speaketh to Peter*, I say unto thee, *says he*, that Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. ——*And after his Resurrection he says to the same person*, Feed my sheep. *And although he gives an equal power to all the Apostles after his Resurrection, and says*, As the Father hath sent me, so also I send you, &c. ——*Yet that he might manifest the Unity, by his own authority he hath disposed the original of the same Unity as beginning from One. For the rest of the Apostles were the same also, that* Peter *was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power; but the original proceeds from Unity, that the Church may be shown to be one.*

* Or, removed.

[y] Παῦλος ἐκκλησιαστικῆς λειτουργίας.

When therefore these things had been confirmed by Anatolius, Maximus, *and the rest of the Bishops, excepting those* [*Prelates*] *who together with* Dioscorus *had been deposed by the Council; a Relation concerning these* [*Transactions*] *was by the Synod written to* [*the Emperour*] Marcianus, *and by the same Synod a deposition was sent to* Dioscorus, *the Contents whereof were these.*

Know, that by reason of Your contemning the Divine Canons, and on account of Your contumacy [*Shown*] *towards this Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod, because (besides other Crimes whereof You have been convicted,) having been the third time called by this Holy and great Synod, according to the Divine Canons to answer to those Accusations brought against You, You have not appeared; on the thirteenth day of this instant month* October, *You are deposed from your Bishoprick by this Holy and* Oecumenical *Synod, and are* * *estranged from every Ecclesiastick*[y] *duty.*

This word [λειτουργίας] is variously rendred by Translatours. For *Langus* renders it *Consuetudinem, Custom. Musculus* and *Christophorson* have translated it thus; *& ab omni Ecclesiastico Jure esse abalienatum, and are alienated from all Ecclesiastick Right.* The *Old Translatour of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 214. renders it *Functionem, Function*; which, in my judgment is the truer Version. In the *Libel of Deposition* of the same *Dioscorus*, which the *Chalcedon Synod* sent, almost in the very same words, to the Clergy-men of the *Alexandrian* Church who were then at *Chalcedon*, instead of λειτουργίας, it is βαθμῦ, *Degree.* In the sentence of condemnation pronounced against the same *Dioscorus* by the Legates of the *Romish See*, instead of this word, ἐνέργεια, *Office*, is made use of. Now, these words are therefore added by the Synod, that they might shew, that *Dioscorus* was reduced to a *Laïck communion.* For he is not only said to be divested of the Episcopal dignity, but is also removed from every Ecclesiastick Office: least any one should think him to be removed from the *Episcopal Act:* [or, acting as a Bishop] and thrust down into the degree of the *Presbyterate.* For to do that, is sacrilege, as 'tis said in the *fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 247. *Vales.*

Then,

Then, having written concerning these things to the pious x *Bishops of the most Holy Church at* Alexandria, *and when the* a *Edict against* Dioscorus *had been proposed,* this Sessions *was ended.*

x Ἐπισκόπες τὰς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας. It should (as it seems) be written κληρικὰς, *Clergy of the most Holy,* &c. For *Dioscorus's Libel of Deposition* was sent to the Clergy-men of the *Alexandrian* Church, who were then at *Chalcedon*, as may be seen in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 214. Due order did require indeed that *Dioscorus's* Deposition should be declared by the Synod to the Bishops of *Egypt* also. But the Bishops of the *Chalcedon Council* were to perform that afterwards, in their *Synodick Letter*. At that time they had done sufficient, in declaring *Dioscorus's* Deposition to the *Alexandrian Ecclesiasticks* who were then at *Chalcedon*, to wit, to *Eleemosinus* the Presbyter and *Oeconomus* [or, *Steward*,] and to *Euthalius Arch-Deacon*, and to the rest of the Clergy. 'Tis certain, *Evagrius's* words do sufficiently declare, that there is no mention here concerning the Bishops of *Egypt*. For he calls them Bishops of the *Alexandrian* Church: which appellation agrees not with the Bishops of *Egypt*. Vales.

a In *Nicephorus* 'tis θεσπέσιον. But in the Acts of the *Chalcedon Council*, the reading it θεόθεσμα. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written θεσπέσιον. *Vales.* And so 'tis in *Robert Stephens's Edition*.

* Or, convention. *The foregoing* * *Session having been thus ended, after this* [*the Bishops*] *being again convened, returned answer to the Interrogation of the Judges* (*who had requested that the* † *true Faith might be expounded,*) [*in this manner,*] b *that nothing further ought to be established, the matters against* Eutyches *having been fully finished, and determined by the Bishop of* Rome, *to which* [*determinations*] *they had all given their assent. Again, when all the Bishops cried out, that they all said the same things, and when the Judges by making an* Interlocution *had pronounced, that each Patriarch, having chosen one or two persons of his own* Diœcesis, *should come forth into the midst, to the end that the opinion of every one might be made manifest:* Florentius *Bishop of* Sardis *required a* * *Truce, to the end that with consideration they might arrive at the Truth. And* Cecropius *Bishop of* Sebastopolis *spoke these words. The Faith hath been well expounded by the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, and hath been confirmed by the Holy Fathers,* Athanasius, Cyrillus, Celestinus, Hilarius, Basilius, Gregorius, *and now again by the most Holy* Leo. *And our request is, that the* [*words*] *of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, as also those of the most Holy* Leo, *may be recited. Which having been read, the whole Synod cried out, in these words; This is the Faith of the* Orthodox: *Thus we all believe, Pope* Leo *believes thus,* Cyrillus *believed thus, the Pope hath expounded it thus. And when there had been another* Interlocution, *that the Exposition of the Faith* [*set forth*] *by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers might be recited also, that was likewise read. To which the Synod again cried out, and said: This is the Faith of* [*us*] *all: This is the Faith of the* Orthodox: *Thus we all believe.* a *After whom* Aëtius *the* Arch-Deacon *said, that he had at hand the Epistle of the Divine* Cyrillus *to* Nestorius, *which all* [*the Fathers*] *convened at* Ephesus *had confirmed by their own Subscriptions; and that he had likewise another Letter of the same* Cyrillus's, *which had been written to* Johannes [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch, *and which had likewise been confirmed: and his request was, that both these Letters might be read. And after an* Interlocution *had been made concerning these* [*Letters,*] *they were both recited. Part of the Contents of the former Epistle run word for word thus.*

† Τὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς θρησκείας, *the true Religion.*

b Καὶ ὡς ἡ Νεοτ. Doubtless the particle ᾗ must be expunged; in regard 'tis altogether superfluous at this place. Further, the place here meant by *Evagrius*, is extant in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*, pag. 159. *Edit. Bin.* But 'tis to be remarked, of which I have given an Advertisement before, that the Copies of the *Chalcedon Synod* which *Evagrius* made use of, were different from those we now have. For that which is to us the *Third Action*, to *Evagrius* is *the Second*, as we have seen already. But, that which in our copies is inscribed the *Second Action*, is *the Third* to *Evagrius*; as it will be made manifest from this place, and those following. *Vales.*

c The place which *Evagrius* means here, occurrs in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*, pag. 19. Also, the words of *Cecropius* Bishop of *Sebastopolis* occurr in the *same page*. Vales.

* Ἐνδέσιμον, *a Prelude*, or, *Cessation.*

a This place is also extant in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 160. *Vales.*

Cyrillus, to the most Pious *Nestorius*, [my] Fellow-Minister.

Some persons, as I understand, * *reproach my Reputation in the presence of Your Piety, and that frequently, taking an occasion* [*to do thus*] *most especially, at such time as those of the Magistracy, are met together; and peradventure they suppose, that Your ears are even delighted* [*with such discourses as these.*] And after some words. *The Holy and Great Synod therefore hath said,* † *that He the only begotten Son hath been begotten of God and the Father according to Nature, very God of very God, the Light of the Light; that He, by whom the Father hath made all things, descended, as Incarnate, made man, suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into the Heavens. These Expressions and Forms we also ought to follow, considering with our selves, what is meant by this* [*proposition,*] God the Word was incarnate and was made man. *For we do not affirm, that the Nature of The Word having been changed, was made Flesh: nor that it was converted into whole man, who* [*consists*] *of Soul and Body. But* [*We say*] *that rather, that when The Word had personally united to himself the Flesh enlivened with a rational soul, he was ineffably and incomprehensibly made man, and he hath been stiled the Son of man, not according to will only, or good pleasure; nor yet as it were in the Assumption of the person only. And, that the Natures* [*are*] *diverse,* c *which have come together into a true Unity: but, that of both* [*Natures there is*] *one Christ and* [*one*] *Son; not as if the diversity of the Natures were destroyed by the Union: but rather,* * *that the Divinity and Humanity have perfected to us one Lord, and Christ, and Son, by an ineffable mystical and secret concourse to an Unity.* And after some few words. *But, in regard having personally united the humanity to himself on our account and for our salvation, he proceeded from a woman, for this reason he is said to have been born according to the Flesh. For he was not at first born a common* [*and ordinary*] *man of the Holy Virgin, and after that The Word* * *descended upon him: but having been* † *united from the very womb, he is said to have undergone a Carnal Nativity, that he might procure* [*to himself*] *the Nativity of his own Flesh. After the same manner we say he suffered, and rose again; not as if God The Word, as to his own Nature, suffered either the Stripes, or the*

* Or, *prate against.*

† Or, *that he hath been begotten the only begotten Son of God,* &c.

* Or, *came.*

† Or, *made one.*

c For the divine and humane Nature being joyned together, having constituted to us one Christ and Lord. And so that is true which *Cyrillus* says, *viz.* that two Natures diverse amongst themselves, have come together into a true unity: which, nevertheless, *Christophorson* understood not. Not that of two Natures one is made, in such manner as *Eutyches* asserted: But, that of two Natures one Christ hath existed. And thus *Cyrillus* has explained his own opinion a little after these words; whereas he saith, διὰ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀπορρήτου πρὸς ἕνωσιν συνόδου, *by an ineffable mystical and secret concourse to an unity.* From hence it appears, that *Johannes Langus*, otherwise the Learned Translatour of *Nicephorus*, hath mistook here, who has rendred ἕνωσιν (not *unity*, but) *Union*. Vales.

* Or, *that by the divinity and humanity they* [*the Natures*] *have perfected,* &c.

the * Transfixions of the Nails, or any other of the Wounds: for the Deity is Impassible, because 'tis also Incorporeal. But, in regard that which had been made his own Body suffered, on this account he is again said to have suffered for us. For there was the Impassible [Deity] in a Passible Body.

* Or, piercings.

Most part of [Cyrillus's] other Letters hath been recorded in our foregoing † Book. But there is a passage in it, which Johannes [Bishop] of the Antiochians had written [in his Letter, to which passage] Cyrillus hath ‖ fully agreed. This Passage runs thus: We confess the Holy Virgin to be Theotocos, because God, The Word, took Flesh from Her, and was made Man; and from that very Conception united to himself a Temple taken from Her. But we know, that those Divine Men do take the Evangelick and Apostolick Expressions [uttered] concerning the Lord, * sometimes in a common sense, as [spoken] of one person: † at other whiles [they] divide them, as [uttered] concerning two Natures. And, [that they have] delivered these [Expressions as] becoming God, according to the Divinity of Christ: but those other [as] humble and mean, agreeable to the same person's Humanity. To which Words [Cyrillus] has subjoyned these. Having read these your sacred Expressions, We find that We our selves embrace the same Sentiments. For, there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. We have therefore glorified God the Saviour of all [Men,] rejoycing mutually, that as well the Churches amongst us, as those with you, do profess a Faith that is agreeable, both to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and also to the Tradition of our Holy Fathers.

† Chap. 6.

‖ Or, with all suffrages.

* Or, partly.

† Or, partly.

After the Reading hereof, those of this Synod cried out in these words: We do all believe thus; Pope Leo believes thus. Anathema to him that divides, and to him who confounds. This is the Faith of Leo the Archbishop. Leo believes thus; Leo and Anatolius believe thus. We all believe thus. As Cyrillus, so we believe. The eternal Memory of Cyrillus. As Cyrillus's Letters [f] are, so are our Sentiments. Thus we have believed; thus we do believe: Leo the Archbishop thinks thus; thus he believes; thus he hath written. Then, an Interlocution having been made, that Leo's Letter might also be read; being rendred [into Greek,] it was recited: which [Letter] is extant in the Acts [of the Council.] After therefore the reading thereof, the Bishops exclaimed, This is the Faith of the Fathers, This is the Faith of the Apostles. We all believe thus; [g] we that are Orthodox do believe thus. Anathema to him who believes not thus. Peter by Leo hath uttered these words: The Apostles have taught thus: Leo hath taught piously and truly, Cyrillus has taught thus, Leo and Cyrillus have taught alike: Anathema to him who believes not thus: This is the true Faith, the Orthodox think thus; this is the Faith of the Fathers. Why were not these [words] read at Ephesus? Dioscorus hath concealed these [Expressions.] It is recorded in the same Acts, that when part of the [fore-mentioned] Letter of Leo was read, the Contents whereof were these; And in order to the * paying that due Debt of our Nature, the Divine Nature was united to a Nature passible, to the end that (for this was agreeable to our Remedies,) He being one and the same Mediatour of God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, might be able to die by one, and might not be able to die by the other: the Illyrician and Palestine Bishops being in doubt as to this Expression, Aetius, Arch-deacon of the most Holy Church of Constantinople, produced a Passage of Cyrillus's, the Contents whereof are these: Again, in regard his own Body * by the Grace of God, according as the Apostle Paul saith, hath tasted [h] death for every Man, be himself is [therefore] said to have suffered Death for us: not as if he had experienced Death, as to what belongs to his own Nature; (For 'tis stupidity and extream madness, either to affirm, or think this:) but because (as I have even now said,) his Flesh tasted Death. And again, as to an expression of Leo's Letter, which runs thus: For each Form acts with a communion of the other, that which is proper: to wit, The Word operates that which is The Word's; and the * Flesh performs that which is of the † Flesh: and the one of these shines with Miracles; but the other hath lain under Injuries: the Illyrician and Palestine Bishops being in doubt, the same Aetius read a ‖ Chapter of Cyrillus, the Contents whereof were these. Of the Expressions [used concerning Christ,] some are most especially agreeable to God; again, others are agreeable to Man. But a third sort possess a certain middle place, evidencing the Son of God, to be God, and also at the same time Man. After this, when the foresaid Bishops doubted at another place of Leo's Epistle, which runs thus: For, although in our Lord Jesus Christ, [there is] one Person of God and of Man; nevertheless that is one thing whence there is in both a Community of Contumely, and that is another whence there is a Community of Glory. For from us he [has] Humanity, which is less than the Father. But from the Father he has the Divinity, which is equal with his Father. Theodoret, after he had well considered this matter, said, that the Blessed Cyrillus had expresly spoken thus, in these words: And being made Man, and losing nothing that was his own, [i] he continued what he was, and the one dwelt in the other; that is, the Divine Nature * in Man. After this, when the Illustrious Judges enquired whether there were any person who as yet doubted; all answered, That no person made any further doubt. After whom, Atticus Bishop of Nicopolis requested, that a * Truce of some few days might be allowed them, to the end that with a sedate Mind and undisturbed Understanding such things might be decreed as were pleasing to God, and to the Holy Fathers. He desired also, that Cyrillus's Letter, written to Nestorius, might be delivered [to them;] in which Cyrillus intreats Nestorius, that he would give his Assent to the twelve Heads; [k] whereto all agreed. And when the Judges, by making an Interlocution,

* See Heb. 2. 9.

* The Body.

† Or, Body.

‖ Or, Head.

* Or, an Interval.

[k] There is an ambiguity in these words. For they may as well be referred to *Cyrillus*'s twelve Heads, of which he speaks just before, as to the Requests of *Atticus* Bishop of *Nicopolis*; to which all the rest of the Bishops agreed, as we are informed in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, about the end of it. *Johannes Langus* has followed the former sense: But the latter Explication pleases me best. *Vales.*

[h] I agree with Learned Men, who (instead of ὑπὲρ πάντος, *by all*) have mended it thus, ὑπὲρ πάντος, *for*, or, *instead of every Man*; so the Reading is in *Nicephorus*, and in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, p. 170. *Vales.*

[i] In the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, this place of *Cyrillus* is written otherwise, thus: Μεμένηκε γὰρ ὅπερ ἦν. νοεῖται δὲ πάντως ἕτερον ἐν ἑτέρῳ κεκοινῶν, πάσχειν ἡ θεία φύσις ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις, *For he continued what he was: but 'tis altogether to be understood, that the one dwells in the other, that is, the Divine Nature in the Humane.* Vales.

* Or, with Man.

[f] In the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*, pag. 161; instead of [εἰσὶν, *are*] it is written [ἔχουσι, *contain.*] Vales.

[g] Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι ὅτως πιστεύομεν, *We that are Orthodox do believe thus.* In the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon-Council*, p. 169. it is πιστεύουσι, *The Orthodox do believe thus*; which reading I like better, altho' *Nicephorus* confirms the common reading. *Vales.*

* Or, laying down.

terlocution,

terlocution [*had given order,*] *that an Interval of five days might be allowed them, wherein they might have a meeting* [*and confer*] [l] *with* Anatolius *Prelate of* Constantinople: *All the Bishops cried out, and said, We do believe thus: We all believe thus: as* Leo, *so we believe: no one of us doubts: We have all subscribed. To which* [*Exclamations the Judges*] *made an* Interlocution *in these expres words. There is no necessity that you should all meet. But, in regard 'tis agreeable, that those who doubt should be confirmed, let the most Pious Bishop* Anatolius *choose out of their number who have subscribed, such persons as he shall think fit to teach and inform those that doubt. Whereto those of the Synod subjoyned these Acclamations: We entreat* [m] *for the Fathers:* [*Let*] *the Fathers, who are of the same Sentiment with* Leo, [*be restored*] *to the Synod; The Fathers to the Synod: These Words to the Emperour: These Supplications to* The Orthodox: *These Supplications to* Augusta: *We have all sinned: Let us all be pardoned. But the Clergy of the* Constantinopolitan *Church exclaim'd* [*in these words,*] *They are but few who cry out: The Synod says not this. After whom, the* Eastern Bishops *cried out, The* Egyptian *to Banishment. But the* Illyricians *exclaimed: We entreat* [*you,*] *have mercy upon all. After whom the* Eastern Bishops *cried out, The* Egyptian *to Banishment. And when the* Illyricians *had made the same request which they had made before, the Clergy of* Constantinople *cried out,* Dioscorus *to Banishment;* The Egyptian *to Exile;* The *Heretick to Banishment.* Christ *hath deposed* Dioscorus. *After whom, the* Illyricians, *and those Bishops of their Party* [*exclaimed,*] *We have all sinned; pardon all:* Dioscorus *to the Synod,* Dioscorus *to the Churches. And when such like Words as these had preceded, this* Session *was ended. At the* Session *after this, when the Senate had made an* Interlocution, *that the Decrees which had already been* [n] *given forth should be recited,* Constantinus *the* Secretary *read these expres Words out of a* * Schedule.

[l] I assent to the Learned, who (instead of περὶ ἀναστολίῳ *about Anatolius,*) before us had mended it thus, [παρὰ ἀναστολίῳ, with *Anatolius.*] In *Nicephorus* the *preposition* is wanting, which nevertheless seems to me altogether necessary. *Vales.*

[m] In the excellent *Florentine* MS. the reading is περὶ τῶν πατέρων, *for*, or, *concerning the Fathers*; which is better than παρὰ τῶν, &c. *from the*, &c. And the same with that first mentioned, is the reading in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Council.* Further; who these Fathers should be, for whom the Bishops entreat, that they may be restored to the Synod, 'tis not difficult to guess. For they are these, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, *Eusebius*, *Eustathius*, and *Basilius*; who had been deposed in the *First Action* together with *Dioscorus*, by an *Interlocution* of the Judges and Senatours. On account therefore of this Deposition which the Bishops had approved of by their Suffrages, these five Bishops, were present neither at the *Second* nor *Third Action*, as 'tis apparent from the Catalogue of the Bishops which is prefix'd before those *Actions*. Besides, in the *Third Action*, when the Legates of the Apostolick See had pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against *Dioscorus*, the rest of the Bishops confirmed it by their own Subscriptions: excepting these five, as *Evagrius* has truly observed above. In the *Common Editions* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 212. the Names even of these five Bishops occurr written also: but, out of order, and after all the other Bishops. Whence it appears, that they had not subscribed at such time as the Sentence was pronounc'd, but a long while after, when they had been restored, and had recovered their former Dignity. Moreover, it may be manifestly concluded from what is said above, that that is most true which I have already remark'd, *viz.* That the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Synod* is by *Evagrius* taken for *The Third*, and *The Third* for *The Second*. But, which Copies are worthiest to be believed, whether those which *Evagrius* made use of, or them which we have now extant, 'tis not easy to pronounce. To me, the Copies made use of by *Evagrius* seem more certain. First, on account of their Antiquity; for doubtless they were older than those we now use. Secondly, by reason of their legitimate and true Order of Matters transacted. For, after an accurate Examination of *Dioscorus*'s Cause, and after the *Interlocution* of the Judges, who had pronounced him to have offended against the Canons, and that he was to be deposed; all which was done in the *First Action*: it remained, that *Dioscorus* by a Canonical Judgment of the Bishops should be condemned. Wherefore, that *Action*, wherein *Dioscorus* was deposed by the Bishops by a *Synodick Sentence*, ought immediately to follow *The First Action* Therefore *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* have rightly placed it in the second place. A third Reason is drawn from the *Third Action* it self, pag. 177. where *Dioscorus* is said to have answered the Legates sent to him from the Holy Synod, in this manner: *Quoniam ante hæc in congregatione*, &c. *In regard before this, the most magnificent Judges sitting in the Convention, have determined some things, after a large* Interlocution *of every one of them; but now a second meeting calls me out, in order to the nulling of what has been said before.* Nevertheless, that is in the way, which occurrs at the close of the *Second Action*, viz. that the Bishops of *Illyricum* cried out thus, *Dioscorus to the Synod, Dioscorus to the Churches* Which doubtless they would not have dared to say after *Dioscorus*'s Deposition, to which themselves had subscribed. Therefore, the *Second Action*, where this Acclamation occurrs, ought necessarily to precede The *Third Action*; in which *Dioscorus* was Canonically deposed. And this I think to be truer. *Vales.*

[n] Instead of [τοὺς δεδομένους τύπους, *the due Decrees*;] it must undoubtedly be τοὺς δεδομένους τύπους, *the Decrees which had been given forth*; which is the reading in *Nicephorus*. And this reading is confirmed by the *Fourth Action* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 218, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Paper.*

We perceive, that a more exact Scrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholick Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more compleat and full. But, in regard Flavianus *of Pious Memory, and the most Religious Bishop* Eusebius *(from a search made into the* Acts *and* Decrees, *and also from their Testimony by Word of Mouth, who presided in the Synod then convened; who have confessed that they have erred, and have deposed them without cause, when they had in no wise erred in the Faith:) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjustly deposed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just, (provided it shall please our most Divine and most Pious Lord,) that* Dioscorus *the most Religious Bishop of* Alexandria, Juvenalis *the most Religious Bishop of* Jerusalem, Thalassius *the most Religious Bishop of* Cæsarea *in* Cappadocia, Eusebius *the most Religious Bishop of* Ancyra, Eustathius *the most Religious Bishop of* Berytus, *and* Basilius *the most Religious Bishop of* Seleucia *in* Isauria, *which* [*Prelates*] *had power, and presided over the then Synod, should lye under the very same punishment,* [*and*] *according to the Canons* * *be removed from the Episcopal Dignity: all things which have been consequently done, being made known* † *to his most sacred Imperial Majesty.*

* Or, made strangers to.

† Or, to the Divine heighth.

Then, after the Reading of some other things, the Bishops assembled were asked, whether Leo's *Letter agreed with the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at* Nice, *and with that of the Hundred and fifty* [*Holy Fathers assembled*] *in the Imperial City* [Constantinople;] *whereto* Anatolius, *Prelate of* Constantinople, *and all the Bishops present returned answer, that* Leo's *Letter agreed with the foresaid Holy Fathers: and* ° *be subscribed to the forementioned Letter of* Leo. *These things having proceeded thus, those of the Synod cried out, We all consent, We do all approve, We all believe alike, We all think the same things, We all believe thus.* [*Let*] *the Fathers* [*be restored*] *to the Synod;* [*Let*] *those who have subscribed* [*be restored*] *to the Synod: Many years* * *to the Emperour: Many years* † *to* Augusta. *The Fathers to the Synod, those of the same Faith to the Synod: Many years to the Emperour: those of the same Sentiments to the Synod: many years to the Emperour. We have all subscribed to the Faith:*

° *Christophorson* read it in the *plural number* καθυπεσημήναντο, *they subscribed*; and so the reading is in *Nicephorus*: which is confirmed by the *Acts of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 218, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, of the Emperor.

† Or, of Augusta; that is, Pulcheria: *see chap. 1.*

Faith: as Leo, *ſo we think. After this an* Interlocution *was made* [*by the Judges,*] *in theſe expreſs Words: We have given a Relation concerning theſe things to our moſt Divine and moſt Pious Lord, and we expect the anſwer of his Piety. But your Reverence ſhall render an account to God, as well concerning* Dioſcorus, *who hath been depoſed by You, (his Imperial Majeſty and we being ignorant thereof,) as* [p] *concerning thoſe* [other] *five perſons for whom you have entreated, and concerning all other matters which have been tranſacted in the Synod.* [*Hereupon they all*] *cried out, ſaying, God hath depoſed* Dioſcorus: Dioſcorus *hath been juſtly depoſed: Chriſt hath depoſed* Dioſcorus. *Then after theſe things, an Anſwer being brought from* Marcianus, *which gave the Biſhops permiſſion to determine according to their own diſcretion, concerning the perſons who had been depoſed, in ſuch manner as the Judges have declared by an* Interlocution; [*the Biſhops*] *made their Requeſt, ſaying theſe expreſs Words: We entreat that they may come in.* [*Let*] *thoſe of the ſame Opinion* [*be reſtored*] *to the Synod: thoſe of the ſame Sentiments, to the Synod: thoſe who have ſubſcribed to* Leo's *Letter, to the Synod. Which perſons, after an* Interlocution, *were admitted into the number of the Synod. And after this, the* Supplicatory Libels, *which had been preſented by the Biſhops of the* Ægyptick Diœceſis *to the Emperour* Marcianus, *were read; wherein, beſides other matters, theſe things were contained: Our Sentiments are the ſame with thoſe Expoſitions which the Three hundred and eighteen* [*Holy Fathers*] *ſet forth at* Nicæa, *and* [*with thoſe embraced by*] *the Bleſſed* Athanaſius, *and* Cyrillus *of Holy Memory: We* Anathematize *every Hereſy, that of* Arius, *that of* Eunomius, *of* Manes, *of* Neſtorius, *and that of thoſe who aſſert, that the Fleſh of our Lord is from Heaven, and not from the Holy* Theotocos, *and Ever-Virgin* Mary; * *whom* [*we affirm*] *to be like to us all,* [*but*] *without ſin. Then, all* [*the Biſhops*] *preſent in the Synod cried out, ſaying, Why do they not Anathematize* Eutyches's *Opinion? Let them ſubſcribe to* Leo's *Letter, and Anathematize* Eutyches *and his Opinions: Let them give their Aſſent to* Leo's *Letter: they are deſirous to impoſe upon us and be gone. Hereto the Biſhops of* Egypt *returned anſwer, That there were many Biſhops in* Egypt, *and that* †'*twas impoſſible* [*for them*] *to repreſent the* † *perſons of thoſe who were abſent: and they requeſted, that the Synod would expect their Arch-Biſhop, to the end that (according as Cuſtom required,) they might follow his Opinion. For* [*they ſaid,*] *that if they ſhould do any thing before the* ‖ *Election of their Arch-Biſhop, all perſons of the whole* Egyptick Diœceſis *would fall upon them. And when they had made many entreaties concerning theſe things, and thoſe of the Synod had vigorouſly reſiſted them; by an* Interlocution *'twas ordered, that an* * *Interval ſhould be granted to the Biſhops of* Egypt, *till ſuch time as an Arch-Biſhop could be ordained over them. And after this, were preſented* Supplicatory Libels *of ſome Monks; the ſum of which was this, That they might in no wiſe be forced to ſubſcribe* † *to certain Papers,* [q] *till ſuch time as the Synod (which the Emperour had ordained to be convened,) ſhould meet, and take cognizance of thoſe things which had been decreed. After the recital of theſe* [*Libels,*] Diogenes *Biſhop of* Cyzicus *declared that* Barſumas, *one of thoſe Perſons, who were come into the Council, had murdered* Flavianus: *for, that he had cried out kill him. And that, although he was not named in the Libels, yet (contrary to what was right and fitting,) he had gotten entrance* [*into the Council.*] *Whereat all the Biſhops exclaimed,* Barſumas *hath ruined all* Syria, *he hath brought a thouſand Monks againſt us. And when an* Interlocution *had been made, that the* [*Monks*] *who were come together ſhould expect the Synod's determination; the Monks requeſted, that the Libels compoſed by them might be read: part whereof was this, That* Dioſcorus, *and thoſe Biſhops with him, might be preſent at the Synod. At the hearing whereof, all the Biſhops exclaimed.* Anathema *to* Dioſcorus: *Chriſt hath depoſed* Dioſcorus: *thruſt theſe perſons out of doors: take away the Injury of the Synod: remove the Force of the Synod:* [*Relate*] *theſe words to the Emperour: remove the Injury of the Synod: take away the Diſgrace of the Synod. In oppoſition to whom the Monks cried out, Remove the Injury of the Monaſteries. And when the ſame Exclamations had been made again by the Synod, 'twas ordered by an* Interlocution, *that the reſt of the Libels ſhould be recited. In which 'twas affirmed, that* Dioſcorus's *Depoſition had not been duely and orderly made; and that, the Faith being propoſed,* * *he ought to be admitted to the Seſſion of the Synod. And unleſs this were done, they would ſhake their Garments,* [*and recede*] *from the Communion of thoſe Biſhops who were convened. After the Recital of theſe words,* Aetius *the Arch-Deacon read the Canon concerning thoſe who ſeparated themſelves* [*from Communion.*] *And again, when the Monks were divided at the Queſtions* [*put to them*] *by the moſt Holy Biſhops, and afterwards, at the Interrogatory of* Aetius *the Arch-Deacon made as from the Synod; and when ſome of them Anathematized* Neſtorius *and* Eutyches, *and others refuſed to do that: an* Interlocution *was made by the Judges,* [*who declared,*] *that the* Supplicatory Libels *of* Fauſtus *and the other Monks ſhould be read; wherein they requeſted of the Emperour, that thoſe Monks ſhould not have any further Countenance ſhown them, who had lately appeared in oppoſition to Orthodox Sentiments: amongſt whom, one* Dorotheus *a Monk, had termed* Eutyches *Orthodox. Againſt him divers Queſtions concerning* Eutyches's *Doctrine were propoſed by the Judges. After this, when the* Fifth Seſſion *was begun, the Judges by an* Interlocution *declared, that what had been determined concerning the Faith, ſhould be promulged. Then* Aſclepiades, *a Deacon of* Conſtantinople, *read the Determination, which they were pleaſed not to have inſerted into the* Acts. *Againſt which* [*Determination*] *ſome made oppoſition; but more conſented to it. And when Exclamations had been made on the one ſide*

[p] Inſtead of [περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν λοιπῶν, *concerning all thoſe other things,*] the Reading in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. is truer, thus, περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πέντε, *concerning thoſe* [*other*] *five perſons*; in the *Fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 232. the reading is the ſame with this laſt mentioned; as likewiſe that in *Nicephorus*. *Valeſ.*

[q] There is extant a *Supplicatory-Libel*, preſented to the Emperour *Marcianus* by the Monks, in the *Fourth Action* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 237. In this Libel the Monks requeſt of the Emperour, that the *Oecumenical* Synod might be convened, (which the Emperour had before given order to be aſſembled;) which might conſult the ſafety of all perſons, and that the Monks might not be compelled by Violence to ſubſcribe. Thoſe Monks, belike, did not believe that Synod to be *Oecumenical*, at which *Dioſcorus* and the other Biſhops of *Egypt* were not preſent. They requeſted therefore, that *Dioſcorus* might be wholly reſtored, as may be ſeen in another Libel which is recited afterwards. *Valeſ.*

* That is, *Chriſt.*

† Or, perſon.

‖ Or, nomination.

* Or, delay.

† Or, in certain Papers.

* Or, he ought to partake of the Synod.

ſide and on the other, the Judges ſaid, that Dioſcorus *affirmed he had therefore depoſed* Flavianus, *becauſe he aſſerted there were two Natures: but, that the Determination ran thus,* of two Natures. *To which* Anatolius *made anſwer, that* Dioſcorus *had not been depoſed on account of the Faith; but becauſe he had* * *excommunicated* Leo, *and having been thrice ſummoned, had not appeared. Then* [r] *the Judges deſired, that the Words in* Leo's *Letter might be inſerted into the Definition* [*of the Faith:*] *which having been denied by the Biſhops (who ſaid that another Definition* [*of the Faith*] *could not be made, for that was compleat and perfect;) theſe things were related to the Emperour. And he ordered ſix of the Eaſtern Biſhops, and three of the* Pontick [Diœceſis,] *and three of* Aſia, *and three of* Thracia, *and three of* Illyricum, (Anatolius *and the Deputies of the* Romiſh *See being alſo preſent,) to meet in the Church* [*of* Euphemia,] *and there rightly to determine Matters in relation to the Faith; or at leaſt, that every one of them ſhould ſet forth his own Faith; which if they did not, they were to know, that a Synod ſhould be convened in the* Weſt. *And being asked to declare, whether they would follow* Dioſcorus *who aſſerted* [*Chriſt to conſiſt*] OF TWO [*Natures,*] *or* Leo [*who affirmed*] TWO [*Natures*] IN *Chriſt, they cried out that they* [s] *believed* [*agreeable to*] Leo: *but, that thoſe who made Oppoſition were* Eutychianiſts. *And when the Judges had ſaid, that* [t] *according to* Leo's *Opinion* [*there ought*] *to be added* [*in the Definition of the Faith, theſe words*] Two Natures united, [u] inconvertible, and undivided, and inconfuſed in Chriſt; [*the Biſhops*] *entreated them to go into the* Oratory *of the Holy* Euphemia's *Church.* [vv] *And when the Judges had entred into the foreſaid* Oratory, *together with* Anatolius *and the Deputies of* Leo, *with* Maximus *alſo of* Antioch, *and* Juvenalis *of* Jeruſalem, *and* Thalaſſius *of* Cæſarea *in* Cappadocia, *and with the other* [*Biſhops;*] *and when* [*ſome little time after*] *they had gone out from thence, the Definition* [*of the Faith*] *was read, the Contents whereof were theſe:* Our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo forth, *which we have inſerted* * *above into our Hiſtory. And when they had all cried out, This is the Faith of the Fathers; Let the* Metropolitans *now ſubſcribe, This is the Faith of the Apoſtles; We all follow this Faith; We all think thus: the Judges made an* Interlocution *in theſe words: Thoſe matters which have been defined by the Fathers, and which pleaſe all perſons, ſhall be Related* † *to his Imperial Majeſty. But, at the* Sixth Seſſion, *the Emperour* [Marcianus] *came* [*to the Council,*] *and made a Speech to the Biſhops concerning Concord. And* ‖ *after an* Interlocution *of the Emperour's, the Definition* [*of the Faith*] *was read by* Aetius, *Arch-Deacon of* Conſtantinople, *and all ſubſcribed to the Definition. Then the Emperour asked, Whether the Definition were compoſed by the unanimous Conſent of them all? and they all confirmed it with joyful Acclamations. Again, the Emperour made two Speeches* [*to the Biſhops,*] *which were followed with the joyful Acclamations of them all. After this, by the Emperour's perſuaſion, the Canons were* * *written, and* [x] *to* [*the City of*] *the* Chalcedonenſians *were given* Metropolitical Rights and Privileges.

* Or, *brought an Excommunication upon* Leo.

[r] *As to my ſelf it ſeemeth, I have reſtored this place very happily. For of theſe three words* [ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν, *from this inſtant*] I have made one, in this manner, ἀπαντων οἱ ἄρχοντες, &c. *the Judges deſired,* &c. But *Nicephorus,* perceiving this place to be corrupted, by adding a word made it good in this manner; ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκέλευσαν, &c. *From this inſtant the Judges ordered,* &c. Which Emendation is contradicted by the Authority *of the Acts,* and contrary to *Evagrius*'s mind. For the *Secular Judges,* who by the Emperour's Order were preſent at the Synod, never *Commanded* that *Leo*'s Letter ſhould be inſerted into the Definition of the Faith; but only *deſired that* of the Biſhops: which nevertheleſs was denied them by the Biſhops, as 'tis apparent from the *Fifth Action,* pag. 250. *Valeſ.*

[s] Λέοντι πιστεύειν. The word [ἀκόλουθα Λέοντι agreeable to] muſt be underſtood For the Biſhops did not make anſwer that they believed *Leo,* according as *Chriſtophorſon* renders it; but, that they *believed with Leo* [or, *as* Leo *did believe,*] as *Langus* and *Muſculus* have rightly rendred it. For thus they had acclaimed, *as* Leo *does, ſo we believe;* as it occurs in the *Fifth Action.* Valeſ.

[t] Περσεθῆναι κατὰ Λέοντος. *Nicephorus* has mended it thus, κατὰ λέοντα, *according to* Leo. But, I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote κατὰ τὰ λέοντος, *according to* Leo's *Opinion.* For ſo the Judges ſpeak in the *Fifth Action* of *this Council,* pag. 250. Further, before the word περσεθῆναι, the Verb [δεῖν, *there ought*] ſeems neceſſary to be added. *Valeſ.*

[u] In the *Fifth Action of the Chalcedon Council,* 'tis written *adverbially, thus,* ἀτρέπτως, καὶ ἀμερίστως, καὶ ἀσυγχύτως, *inconvertibly, and indiviſibly, and inconfuſedly.* Valeſ.

[vv] Before theſe, ſome words ſeem to be wanting in the Greek Text, which from the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon Council* may be ſupplied after this manner: παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον, *the Biſhops entreated them to go into the* Oratory [*of the Holy* Euphemia's *Church.*] Further, the miſtake of *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* is to be taken notice of here; who have rendred μαρτύριον, *the Church of the Holy Martyr* Euphemia. *The Synod of Chalcedon* was indeed aſſembled in the Temple, or *Church* of Saint *Euphemia.* But, the Treaty, or Conference, concerning the Faith was held in the *Oratory* of the ſaid Church, according as the Emperour had given Order in the *Allocution* which is recited in the *Council,* pag. 250. συνελθεῖν ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μαρτύρος, *to meet in the* Oratory [*or* Quire] *of the moſt Holy Church.* For μαρτύριον [*Martyrium*] is taken for the Church, as it appears from the *Third Action* of the *Chalcedon-Synod,* where the Biſhops are ſaid to have met in the *Martyrium of the moſt Holy and Victorious Martyr* Euphemia. And in the *other Actions of that Council, the ſame* Biſhops are ſaid to have come together into the moſt Holy Church of the ſame Martyr. In regard therefore 'tis manifeſt, that the *Oratory* (wherein ſome few of the Biſhops met only, to treat concerning the Faith, together with *Anatolius* and the Deputies of the *Romiſh See,*) was part of St. *Euphemia*'s Church, it remains to be inquired, what part of the Church *that* was. St. *Euphemia*'s Church conſiſted of three ſpacious Edifices; the firſt whereof was an *Atrium,* or, *Court;* the ſecond, the *Baſilica,* [or, *the Church it ſelf;*] the third, the Altar built in form of a *Cupolo,* as *Evagrius* tells us in the *third Chapter* of *this Book.* The *Oratory* therefore is the ſame with the *Altar,* which now-a-days we term the *Choire,* or, *Quire.* Nor has our *Evagrius* done right, in making uſe of μαρτύριον to ſignify *the Oratory;* for the Emperour had not ordered the Biſhops to meet in the *Martyrium,* but in the *Oratory* of the Martyr, as we have now ſaid. *Valeſ.*

* See chap. 4.

† Or, to the Divine heighth.

‖ Or, by the Emperour's Order.

* Ordain'd, or, Conſtituted.

[x] Not a *Metropolitical Right* or *Privilege,* but the *Name* of a *Metropolis* only, was given to the City of *Chalcedon:* for theſe are the words of the Emperour *Marcianus's Law;* Τὴν καλχηδονέων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τῆς ἁγίας πίστεως σύνοδος διεκροτήθη μητροπόλεως ἔχειν πρεσβεῖα ἐδεσπόσαμεν, ὀνόματι μόνῳ ταύτην τιμήσαντες, σωζομένῳ δηλαδὴ τῇ νικομηδέων μητροπόλει τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀξιώματι; that is, *We have Decreed, that the City of the Chalcedonenſians, wherein the Synod of the moſt Holy Faith was convened, ſhould have the privileges of a Metropolis, honouring it with the Name only; to wit, its proper Dignity being preſerved to the Metropolis of the* Nicomedians. But although the Emperour in theſe words ſeems to adorn only the City it ſelf of the *Chalcedonenſians,* with the Title of a *Metropolis,* yet that Privilege belongs even to the Church of the *Chalcedonenſians* alſo. From that time therefore the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* had the *honour* of a *Metropolitan:* but, had no *Metropolitical Right* or *Privilege,* becauſe the Emperour by this Law would have nothing diminiſh'd from the Dignity of the Biſhop of *Nicomedia.* The Biſhops of this very Council have determined [or judged] the ſame thing in the Cauſe of the Biſhops of *Nicomedia* and *Nicæa.* For, whereas *Nicæa* by the Emperour's Reſcript had obtained the honour of a *Metropolis,* the Judges and Biſhops who were in the Council made anſwer, That this Honour had been given only to the City by the Emperours; nor could the Biſhop of *Nicæa* by this Law arrogate to himſelf a *Metropolitical Right* or *Privilege;* but was only preferred before the other Biſhops of the Province *Bithynia:* ſo that, he was accounted in the ſecond place after the *Metropolitan,* as may be ſeen in the *Thirteenth Action.* Further, what the *Metropolitical Rights and Privileges* were, we are informed from the *Canons of the* Nicene *Council;* to wit, that the Ordinations of *Provincial Biſhops* ſhould not be made without the *Metropolitan*'s conſent: and that the *Metropolitan Biſhop* ſhould have a Power of calling out the *Provincial Biſhops* to a Council of his own. Moreover, in the *Florentine Manuſcript* I found it written καλχηδοναίων, although in the *Chalcedon Council* it is always written καλχηδονέων. Regularly it ſhould be written καλχηδονίων. But the Ancients ſeem to have ſaid καλχηδονεῖς, as 'tis apparent from many places in the *Chalcedon Council.* Valeſ.

And

And the Emperour commanded the Bishops to stay three or four days, and that every one should propose [*questions*] *concerning what he had a mind to, in the presence of the Judges; and* * *that all things should be ended by a convenient and fit determination. Thus this Convention was finished. There was* [y] *another* [*Session*] *also, wherein other Canons were made. And again, at another Session,* Juvenalis *and* Maximus *made an agreement, and it seemed good, that the* [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch *should have the* two Phœnicia's, *and* Arabia; *and the* [*Bishop*] *of* Jerusalem *the* three Palestines [*subject to his See.*] *And after an* Interlocution *of the Judges and agreement.*] *And* doret's *Cause was* [z] *discussed. Who had* Anathematized Nestorius, *in these words;* Anathema *to* Nestorius, *and to him who denies the Holy Virgin* Mary *to be* Theotocos, *and to him who divides the One Only-begotten Son into two Sons: moreover, I have subscribed to the Definition of the Faith, and to* Leo's *Epistle. After an* Interlocution *therefore made by them all, he recovered his own See. In another Session,* Ibas's *Cause was examined, and those things were read which had been transacted and pronounced against him; the Judges whereof were* Photius *Bishop of* Tyre, *and* Eustathius *Bishop of* Berytus. *And Sentence was deferred to the following* [*Session.*] *At the* Eleventh Convention, *when many of the Bishops had voted* [a] Ibas *to* [a] *be restored to his Bishoprick, some Bishops opposed it, and said, That his Accusers were without, and they requested that they might be ordered to come in. Those things therefore were read which had been transacted against* Ibas. *And when the Judges by an* Interlocution *had given order, that the* Acts *at* Ephesus *against* Ibas *should be read; the Bishops said, that all things which had been done, at the Second* Ephesine *Synod, were void and null; except only the Ordination of* Maximus [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch. *And they made a request to the Emperour concerning this matter, that by a Law he would decree, that nothing of those things* [*which had been done*] *at* Ephesus *after the First Synod (over which* Cyrus *of blessed Memory, Prelate of* Alexandria, *had presided;) should be valid. And* Ibas *had his Bishoprick adjudged to him. At another* Action, *the Cause of* Bassianus *Bishop of* Ephesus *was discussed; and 'twas decreed,* [b] *that as well he, as* Stephanus, *should be deposed, and another substituted in their room. And at another Session, the same thing was put to the Vote and confirmed. In the* Thirteenth Action, *the Cause between* Eunomius [*Bishop*] *of* Nicomedia, *and* Anastasius *Bishop of* Nicæa *was inquired into, who were at strife amongst themselves concerning their own Cities. Moreover, there was a Fourteenth* Action, *wherein the Cause* [c] *of* Sabianus [*the Bishop*] *was examined. And in fine, it was determined, that the* Constantinopolitan *See should have* * *precedency immediately after that of* Rome.

y In *Nicephorus*, instead of [ἕτερος, *other things,*] it is righter thus, ἑτίερος, with the accent in the last syllable save one; understand, ζωέλευσις, *Session*, or *Convension*. I wonder, that neither *Musculus* nor *Christophorson* perceived this. *Vales.*

z Yes, in the Ninth Action, the Cause of *Theodoret* the Bishop was judged, as our Copies show us. But the Copies of the *Chalcedon* Synod, which *Evagrius* made use of, seem to have been different from ours. For, as we have seen a little before, *Evagrius* reckons a *Seventh Action*, wherein other Canons were promulged. *Which Action* is at this day wanting in our Copies. *Vales.*

a Εἰς ἱερέα. In the Tenth Action of the *Chalcedon* Council, and in *Nicephorus*, the Prepoposition is wanting. But in the *Florentine* Manuscript, I found it written ἐς ἱερέας; which is the same as if he should have said ἐν ἱερέων, *among*, or, *of the number of the Bishops*. Vales. The Reading in *Robert Stephens* is εἰς ἱερέα τὸ.

* Or, *what was fitting should be done.*

b The Bishops decreed, that as well *Bassianus*, as *Stephanus* should be removed from the Bishoprick of *Ephesus*, and that in their place another Bishop should be made; as may be seen in the Eleventh and Twelfth *Action*. This place of *Evagrius* therefore is to be made good thus; ἐξενεχθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Στέφανον, ἕτερον δὲ ἐνεχθῆναι, *that as well he as* Stephanus *should be ejected, or deposed, and another substituted in their room.* Vales.

* Or should be placed.

c Instead of *Bassianus*, it must be made *Sabinianus* from the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council. Of this *Sabinianus* Bishop of the *Perrenses* (which is a City in the *Euphratensian* Province) *Liberatus* makes mention, in the twelfth chapter of his *Breviarium*. Also, there is an Epistle of *Theodoret*'s extant, written to this *Sabinianus*, which is reckoned the 126th amongst his Epistles. *Vales.*

THE THIRD BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS*,

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Zeno's *Empire, and concerning his Life.*

BUT *Zeno*, after the death of his own * Son, was inveſted with the ſole Adminiſtration of the Empire; ſuppoſing as it were that he could not be poſſeſt of the Dominion of the whole World, unleſs with [an uncountroulable] Liberty he might proſecute all manner of pleaſures which occurred; at his firſt entrance he yielded himſelf ſo wholly up to the attempts and allurements of Luſts, [a] that no filthy or flagitious Fact could put a reſtraint upon him: but in ſuch a manner he * wallowed in the Commiſſion thereof, that he thought it vile and mean to commit theſe things in darkneſs and obſcurity: but [to perpetrate them] openly and in the ſight of all [was in his judgment] Royal and becoming only an Emperour. But, his Sentiments [in this matter] were ill and * abſolutely ſervile. [b] For an Emperour is not taken notice of for this, becauſe he rules over others, but on this account, in regard in the firſt place he governeth and moderateth himſelf, permitting nothing that is extravagant or ill [c] to creep into himſelf: But continues [d] ſo impregnable againſt intemperance, that [he may ſeem to be] a living Image of Virtues, inſtructing his Subjects to an imitation [of Himſelf.] But he who has proſtituted himſelf to pleaſures, by degrees is imprudently made the vileſt of Servants, and becomes a Captive not redeemable, * frequently changing his Maſters, like the unuſefulleſt ſort of Slaves. For innumerable pleaſures are made his Miſtreſſes, which can never have an end of their Train and Coherence, and of their ſucceeding one another: the pleaſure which is at hand never ſtopping, but becomes the Incentive and Preface of another; till ſuch time as any Perſon, [e] really and truly made an Emperour [over himſelf,] can expel that turbulent and tumultuous government of pleaſures, reigning in future, and not oppreſt with Tyranny: otherwiſe, continuing a Slave to his laſt breath, he muſt poſſeſs the infernal Pit.

* Viz. *Leo* the ſecond; See book 2. ch. 17.

a In the moſt excellent *Florentine* MS. at this place ſome Learned *Scholiaſt* had ſet theſe words; παπαὶ τ νυνὶ ὁμοιώτ]Θ, *Oh, the likeneſs to what it is now!* Valeſ.

* Or, *was converſant.*

* Or, *like thoſe of ſlaves.*

b "Οπ ἐκ ἐξ ὧν. In the *Kings*, *Tellerian*, and *Florentine* MSS. and in *Stephens*'s Edit. the Adverb ὅπ is wanting, which Learned Men had put in by conjecture, unhappily enough. But, I doubt not but it ſhould be written, ἐκ χδ' ἐξ ὧν, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

c Inſtead of [παφεισδύ(ιν, *entrance*,] in my judgment it ought to be παφεισδύνειν, *to creep into*: and this Reading is confirmed by *Nicephorus*, book 16 chap. 1. *Valeſ.*

d Οὕπως ὅδ' ἀνάλω]Θ; I aſſent to the Learned, who have long ſince mended it thus, ὅπως ὃ ἀνάλω]Θ, &c. *But continues ſo impregnable*, &c. although the Manuſcript Copies vary not here. But *Nicephorus*, when he perceived this place to be corrupted, interpolated it after this manner; κἀντεῦθεν ἀνάλω]Θ, &c. *whence he continues ſo impregnable*, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *changing his frequent ſlaveries.*

e Ἀνθοκρ]τῶρ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶς χεῦσ-μένΘ, *any Perſon thus made an Emperor*: doubtleſs it ſhould be, ὅν]ως χεῦσμένΘ, *really and truly made*, &c. and ſo the Reading is in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Incurſions of the Barbarians *both in the* Eaſt, *and in the* Weſt.

SUch a Perſon was *Zeno* at the beginning [of his Government,] [a] a Man of an intemperate and diſſolute life. But thoſe who were his Sub-

a Ἐνδεδη-μένΘ τὸν βίον.

Chriſtophorſon underſtood not this Phraſe, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For he has rendred it thus; *Ad hunc modum* Zeno *in initio imperii ſui vitam inſtituit*, *After this manner* Zeno *at the beginning of his Empire ordered his life.* *Græcians* take ἐνδεδη]μένον βίον, for a diſſolute and intemperate life. Which word does frequently occurr in this ſenſe in *Dion Cocceianus* and others. Hence ἐνδιαίτησις is taken for *Luxury* and *Delights*, as *Suidas* atteſts. Further, the *Greeks* do term Diſſolute and Luxurious Perſons thus, becauſe they are wont to obſerve no rule of living. So *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* in his fifth book, ſpeaking of a juſt King, ſays theſe words, μηδὲν ἐνδιαιτώμΘ τῶν πα]είων, *Not at all receding from the Inſtitutions of his Anceſtours.* *Nicephorus* therefore has rightly expounded this place of *Evagrius* thus, ἄῤῥυθμός πς κ) ἀνάγω]Θ, κ) τὸν βίον μάλιστα ἐνδεδη]μέν]Θ, *an incompoſed and diſorderly Perſon, and moſt extravagantly diſſolute in his life.* Valeſ.

jects,

jects, as * well in the *Eastern* as *Western* parts, underwent most severe mischiefs and afflictions: on this side the † *Saracens* ruined all things: on that, a multitude of the *Hunni*, heretofore termed the *Massagetæ*, made incursions into *Thracia*, and passed the *Danube* no body making a resistance against them; *Zeno* himself also in a Barbarick manner [b] by force took away [from the Provincials] what [the *Barbarians*] had left.

* Or, *as well at the rising as setting Sun.*

† Or, *the Barbarians inhabiting Tents.*

[b] 'Tis strange that neither Translatour hath hit the sense of this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus *Zenone deinceps ad Barbaricum morem violenter abrepto*, Zeno *being from thenceforth violently hurried away to a* Barbarick *disposition.* But *Christophorson* translates it in this manner; *Zeno vero reliquis etiam Imperii partibus per vim barbaro quodam more ac modo spoliatus est, But* Zeno *in the other parts of the Empire also by force committed spoils in a certain barbarous fashion and manner.* But had they consulted *Nicephorus*, they might have had a right understanding of this place from him. For *Nicephorus* has explained these words of *Evagrius* thus: ὅσα δὲ τούτοις καλαλιμπάνεσο, ζωώνι πρὸς βίαν ἀφήρετο, οὐχ' ἧσσον ἢ οἱ βάρβαροι ὕστερον; that is, *But whatever had been left by them* [*the* Barbarians] *was forcibly taken away by* Zeno, *who infested* [*the Provinces*] *at no less rate than the* Barbarians. Further, in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. instead of πρὸς βίαν, the Reading is πρὸς βίας, in the Plural number, which seems to me more elegant. *Vales.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning Basiliscus's *Tyranny, and* Zeno's *Flight.*

BUt when *Basiliscus Verina*'s Brother made an Insurrection against him, (For even his own Relations were enemies to *Zeno*, all Persons equally abominating his debauch'd Life;) he had not so much as a thought in him that was manly and courageous: (For wickedness is a cowardly thing, which breed desperation and despondency, and gives a sufficient indication of an unmanliness of mind, from its being vanquished by pleasures:) but flies with all the haste imaginable, and without a Battel yields so great an Empire to *Basiliscus*. He endured also a tedious [a] Siege [b] in the Country of the *Isaurians*, where he himself had been born, having his Wife *Ariadne* with him, (who after [her Husband's flight] had left her Mother,) and as many of his Friends as had continued faithful to him. *Basiliscus* therefore having thus encircled himself with the Crown of the *Romans*, and proclaimed his Son *Marcus Cæsar*, took a contrary course, both to *Zeno*, and to those who had been Emperours before [*Zeno.*]

[a] *Zeno* having heard of *Basiliscus*'s defection, struck with fear, fled with his Wife *Ariadne* into *Isauria*, and betook himself to a most strong Castle, the name whereof was *Ubara*: but afterwards, when *Basiliscus* had sent *Hillus* and *Trocondus* with vast Forces against him, he went to *Tessædes*, or rather as *Nicephorus* says, to the City *Seleucia*, which was the Head City of all *Isauria*. There he was a long while besieged by *Hillus* and *Trocondus*, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, pag. 104. *Cedrenus* also and *Nicephorus* do affirm the same. But in *Theophanes*, the name *Trocondus* is corrupted. For the Common Editions have it Ἴλλυς καὶ Σεκόνδυς, *Hillus and Secundus*, whereas it should be Τροκόνδυς, *Trocondus*, as it is rightly written in *Nicephorus*. Indeed the same *Theophanes*, pag. 106. terms him *Procundus*; which comes nearer to the true Reading. This Person was Brother to *Hillus*, and bore the Consulate in the year of Christ 482, as it occurrs in *Marcellinus*'s *Chronicon*: but at length, when *Hillus* had set up for a Tyrant, *Trocondus*, who had been sent by his Brother to get Forces, was taken by *Johannes* a *Master of the Milice*, and beheaded; as *Theophanes* informs us, pag. 112. Notwithstanding, at that place of *Theophanes*, the name *Trocondus* is likewise corrupted. *Vales.*

[b] Κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἧβ ἰσαύρων. The words are transposed; and are to be restored to their pristine order, in this manner, κατ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἐπιγαστὸς τῶν ἰσαύρων χώραν, *In the Country of the* Isaurians, *where he himself had been born*: which words of *Evagrius*, *Nicephorus* has expresst thus: ἐρρῶσθαι δὲ ἀξιόμαχον συγκεισθαι, εἰς πολιορκίαν ζωώνου ἐπιπεμφθὲν ἀνὰ τὴν ἰσαυρίαν Σελεύκειαν· ἧπερ φέρειν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐσαγῆναι τὸν, ἐν ᾧ γεγένηται, *And having gathered an Army fit for an Engagement, he sent it to besiege* Zeno *at* Seleucia *in* Isauria. *Which Country had given* Zeno *Birth, and at that time hid the Fugitive.* Vales.

CHAP. IV.

That Basiliscus *recalled* Timotheus Ælurus, *and, induced thereto by him, sent his* Circular Letters *to all places, in order to the* * *abrogating of the* Chalcedon *Synod.*

* *Rejecting*, or, *abolishing.*

[INduced thereto] [a] by an Embassy therefore of some Persons [sent to him] from *Alexandria*, he recals *Timotheus* from Exile, (who had been banished eighteen years;) *Acacius* [at that time] administring the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. When therefore *Timotheus* was arrived at the Imperial City, he perswades *Basiliscus* ‖ to send his *Circular Letters* to the Prelates in all places, and to *Anathematize* what had been done at *Chalcedon*, and *Leo*'s Book. The † Contents of the *Circular Letters* run thus.

[a] Ἐκ πρεσβείας δή. Without doubt it must be written thus, Ἐκπρεσβείας δή, *by an Embassy therefore.* Which though it may seem a small and trivial Emendation, is yet altogether necessary. In *Nicephorus*, 'tis δῆθεν, *to wit*, or, *therefore.* Vales.

‖ Or, *To make use of his Circular Syllables.*

† Or, *Composure of which Letters say these words.*

BASILISCUS's CIRCULAR LETTER.

Emperour Cæsar Basiliscus, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, *always Adorable*, Augustus: *and* Marcus *the most Noble* Cæsar, *to* Timotheus *the most Reverend and* * *most Pious Archbishop of the Great City* Alexandria.

* Or, God-loving.

Whatever Laws the most Pious Emperours our Predecessours have made in defence of the true and Orthodox *Faith, whosoever* [*of them*] *have persisted truly to worship the Blessed, Immortal, and vivifick* Trinity; *Our Will is, That those Laws, in regard they have always been salutary to the whole World, should at no time be abrogated, and made void: but rather, We promulge those Laws as our own. But We, who give Piety and a Zeal for God, and our Saviour* Jesus Christ, *who hath made Us and advanced us to Glory, a preference before* [*all care and sollicitude*] *about Humane affairs; and moreover, who believe, that the* * *Concord of* Christ's *Flocks is the* † *safety of the Flocks themselves, and of every Subject, and is the firm and solid Foundation, and immovable Wall of our Empire; being* ‖ *on this account deservedly moved with a divine zeal of mind, and offering to God and our Saviour* Jesus Christ *the uniting together of the holy Church, as the First-fruits of our Empire, do Enact, That the* * Basis *and Foundation of Humane Felicity, that is the Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers heretofore convened at* Nicea † *by the Instinct of the Holy Ghost (unto which* [*Creed*] *We and all our Ancestours, after our Belief thereof, have been baptized,) shall only be made use of, and* ‖ *obtain in all God's most Holy Churches* [*and in the Assemblies of*] *the* Orthodox *People; in regard that only is the Definition of the true and sincere Faith, and is sufficient both for the destruction of any Heresie of what sort soever, and also for the compleat and perfect uniting of God's Holy Churches. Yet so, that those things also shall retain*

* Or, Conjunction, or, binding together.

† Or, Salvation.

‖ Or, From hence.

* Or, Ground and Firmament.

† Or, Together with the Holy Spirit.

‖ Or, Hold [*oblige, bind,*] the Orthodox People in all God's most holy Churches.

their own Strength and Validity, which have been done in this Imperial City by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, in confirmation of the ſame divine Creed, againſt them who have uttered Blaſphemies againſt the Holy Ghoſt: and moreover, all thoſe things which have been done in the Metropolis *of the* Epheſians, *againſt the Impious* Neſtorius, *and thoſe who* * *ſince that have embraced his Sentiments. But We Decree, That thoſe things which have broke the Concord and good Order of God's Holy Churches, and the Peace of the whole World, to wit, that termed* Leo's Tome, *and all things which in the definition of the Faith at* Chalcedon, *or in the Expoſition of the Creeds, have been ſpoken or done, on account either of Interpretation or Doctrine, or Diſputation, in order to the Innovation, of the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, ſhall be* Anathematized *both here, and every where elſe, throughout every Church, by the moſt Holy Biſhops in all places, and ſhall be committed to the flames by whomſoever they ſhall be found. For thus the Emperours of Pious and Bleſſed Memory* [*who lived*] *before Us, to wit,* [b] Conſtantine *and* Theodoſius Junior, *have decreed concerning all Heretical Opinions. Betant a*

* Or, Afterwards.

[b] There is indeed extant a Conſtitution of the Emperour *Conſtantine's*, wherein the Dogmatical Book of *Arius*, are ordered to be burnt; which Conſtitution occurrs at page 221. of our *Socrates*. Nevertheleſs, the Emperour *Baſiliſcus* ſeems here to mean another Law, which had been promulged by *Conſtantine* againſt all Hereticks in general. But that Law hath periſhed by the injury of time. Yet part of it is ſtill remaining in *Euſebius*, in the Third Book of his Life of *Conſtantine*, chap. 64, and 66. But, there are two Conſtitutions extant of *Theodoſius Junior's*, concerning the Burning of *Neſtorius's* Books. The former of which makes mention of the Law of *Conſtantine* of Bleſſed Memory, againſt *Arius's* impious Books. Further, theſe Conſtitutions of *Theodoſius* occurr in the third part of the *Epheſine* Council. *Baſiliſcus* had ſubjoyned theſe Laws of *Theodoſius* to his own Circular *Edict*, as 'tis hereafter atteſted. *Valeſ.*

ing therefore after this manner abrogated, let them be wholly caſt out of the one and only Catholick and Apoſtolick Orthodox Church; in regard they alter the eternal and ſalutary * *Terms of the* 318 *Holy Fathers, and thoſe of the* [150] *Bleſſed Fathers, who* † *have publiſhed expreſs Declarations* [*concerning*] *the Holy Ghoſt,* [c] *as likewiſe the* [*Terms*] *of thoſe at* Epheſus. *It ſhall therefore be lawful for no Perſon whatever, whether Prieſt or Laick, in any wiſe to trangreſs that moſt Divine Conſtitution of the Holy Creed.* [*Further,*] *together with all thoſe Innovations made at* Chalcedon, *againſt the Divine Creed,* [*We Decree*] *that their Hereſy ſhall be* Anathematized, *who deny that the Only-begotten Son of God was really and truly incarnate and made man by the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Holy and ever-Virgin* Mary *the* Theotocos, *but in a falſe and monſtrous manner aſſert* [*that he took Fleſh*] *either* * *from Heaven, or imaginarily and in ſhew only and appearance; in fine, every Hereſy, and if there hath been any other Innovation made, at what time ſoever, in whatever manner, or place of the whole World, either in ſenſe and meaning, or in words,* [*framed*] *in order to a tranſgreſſing the ſaid Divine Creed. But in regard 'tis the property of an Imperial providence, by a foreſeeing conſideration and inſpection liberally to diſtribute ſecurity to his Subjects, not only at the preſent, but for the future alſo; We Decree that the moſt Holy Biſhops in all places ſhall ſubſcribe to this Our Divine* Circular Letter *when* * *exhibited to them, and ſhall plainly declare, that they adhere ſolely to the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers have ſince confirmed; in ſuch manner as thoſe moſt Holy Fathers afterwards convened at the* Metropolis *of the* Epheſians *have definitively Decreed, to wit,* [a] *That we ought only to follow the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers; in regard it is the Boundary and Limit of the Faith:* Anathematizing *what ever hath at* Chalcedon *been made the ſtumbling-block of the* Orthodox *Laity, and wholly ejecting it out of the Churches, as being become the impediment of the* [e] *univerſal and our own* [*private*] *felicity. But whoſoever after theſe our Divine Syllables (which, we believe, are promulged agreeable to* [*the mind of*] *God, in regard they procure an Union to God's Holy Churches, wiſht-for and deſired by all men;) ſhall at any time attempt to produce, or ſo much as to name, either by way of diſpute, or in their teaching, or writing, at what time, in what manner or place ſoever, the Innovation which hath been made at* Chalcedon *againſt the Faith; our Command is, That ſuch Perſons as theſe (in regard they are the occaſioners of Diſquietude and Tumult to all God's Holy Churches, and to every one of our Subjects, and are enemies to God and to our ſafety, according to thoſe Laws promulged long before our time by* Theodoſius *of Bleſſed and Divine Memory, againſt this manner of* * *impro-bity, which* [*Laws*] *we have ſubjoyned to this Our Divine* Circular Letter; *) if they be Biſhops or Clergymen, ſhall be depoſed: but if Monks, or Laicks they* † *ſhall be lyable to Baniſhment, to a Confiſcation of all their Goods, and to the extreameſt puniſhments. For thus the Holy and Conſubſtantial Trinity (at all times adored by Our Piety,) the Framer and Enlivener of all things, being by Us now alſo worſhipped, by an abolition of the forementioned* ‖ *Darnel, and a confirmation of the true and Apoſtolick Traditions of the Holy Creed, and rendred propitious and candid, both to Our Souls, and to every of Our Subjects; will ever in future together with Us Govern Humane Affairs, and render them compoſed and peaceable.*

* Or, Limits.

† Or, Have made Sanctions [concerning] the, &c.

[c] Κατὰ τῶν ἐφεσίων. At this place *Nicephorus* has rightly added two words, in this manner; κ̀ τ̀ν κ̀τ̀ τῶν ἐφεσίων. But I affirm that a third word is to be added, thus; κ̀ τὰ τῶν κ̀τ̀ τῶν ἐφεσίων. For the word [ὅεια, terms] is underſtood; which occurrs in the foregoing Clauſes. *Valeſ.*

[a] Ὅτι δὲ μόνῳ, &c. In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written thus, ὅτι δεῖ μόνῳ, &c. *that we ought only to follow, &c.* which Reading *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil* have embraced. A little after this, where the Reading before was, ὡ ὅεγν πίςεως, *as the Boundary and Limit of the Faith*; from the *Florent.* and *Tellerian* MSS. I have made it, εἰς ὅεγν πίςεως, *in regard it is* &c. as 'tis in *Nicephorus*. *Valeſ.*

[e] Τ̃ν οἰκυμενικ̃ν κ̀ ἡμετέραν δ̣ωρεαλίαν. In the *Tellerian* MS. and in *Nicephorus*, I found it written, τ̃ οἰκυμενικ̃, *of the univerſal*, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, Shewn or, declared.

* Or, Malevolence.

† Or, Shall fall under Baniſhment, &c.

‖ Or, Tares.

CHAP. V.

Concerning thoſe Perſons who conſented to Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters, *and rejected the Synod* [*of* Chalcedon.]

AS therefore 'tis related by *Zacharias* the *Rhetorician*, *Timotheus*, newly returned from Exile (as I have ſaid,) gave his conſent to theſe *Circular Letters:* as did likewiſe *Peter* Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſurnamed * *Fullo*, who together with *Timotheus* was preſent at the Imperial [City *Conſtantinople.*] Theſe things having been performed in this manner, † they vote that *Paulus* alſo ſhould recover the Archiepiſcopal Chair of *Epheſus*. Further, [the ſame *Zacharias*] affirms, that *Anaſtaſius*, who had ſucceeded

* Or, The Fuller.

† See ch. 6. note (a.)

ceeded *Juvenalis* [in the See] of *Jerusalem*, subscribed the same *Circular Letters*, as likewise very many others: insomuch that they were in number about Five hundred, who condemned *Leo's* * *Letter*, and the *Chalcedon Synod*. [The same Author] [a] does also some where record the *Supplicatory Libel* presented by the Bishops of *Asia* [b] convened at *Ephesus*, to *Basiliscus*; part of the Contents of which [Libel] run thus.

* Or, *Tome*,

[a] Καί πυ χὴ δεήσον ἐγγεγραφῆ. Doubtless it must be made ἐγγεγράφει, *does record*; which I admire Translatours perceived not. *Zacharias* is understood, who in his *Ecclesiastical History* had recorded this *Libel* entire, which the Bishops of *Asia*, convened at *Ephesus*, had sent to the Emperour *Basiliscus*. Vales.

[b] Concerning this *Ephesine Council* which was held in the times of the Emperour *Basiliscus*, *Baronius* in his *Annals*, at the year of Christ 476, writes very slightly and negligently: remarking this only, that it was celebrated by the *Eutychians*. But he mentions neither upon what account it was assembled, nor what was transacted therein: it is our office therefore, by our care and diligence to supply what he has omitted. After the *Circular Letters* sent forth by the Emperour *Basiliscus* against the *Chalcedon Council*, *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the only person of the *Patriarchs* subject to the *Eastern Empire*, refused subscribing to these Letters, nor would ever endure to expunge the *Chalcedon Synod* out of the *Ecclesiastical Tables*. Moreover, the Monks of *Constantinople* resolutely opposed *Basiliscus*. Lastly, the *Constantinopolitan* populacy began to be most grievously tumultuous, threatning to fire the City and the Palace, if the Emperour should persist to put a force upon *Acacius* and the Catholicks. *Basiliscus*, terrified hereat, flies from the Imperial City; took from the *Constantinopolitan* Church their Rights and Privileges, and forbad the Senators to speak to [or salute] *Acacius*. But afterwards, when he heard that *Zeno* was on his return out of *Isauria*; being stricken with fear, he came into the Church together with his wife and children; and excusing himself to *Acacius* and the Clergy of the Imperial City, restored their Rights to the *Constantinopolitan* Church, and set forth *his Anti-Circular* [that is, *Letters contrary to his Circular*] *Letters*: thus *Theodorus Lector* informs us, *Book* 1. The *Eutychians* therefore, (when they saw *Acacius* contend with so much fierceness for the confirmation of the *Chalcedon Synod*; and that not only the Monasteries, but the people also of the Imperial City, and other Priests every where, were excited by *Acacius* against *Basiliscus*) convened a Council of Bishops of their own party in the City *Ephesus*: in which Council they condemned and deposed both *Acacius*, and some other Bishops who embraced the same Sentiments with him: and then they entreated the Emperour *Basiliscus*, that he would persist in his former opinion, and would not promulge a Constitution Contrary to his own *Circular Letters*. In the same Synod, *Paulus* is ordained Bishop of *Ephesus* by the Bishops of the same Province, and the *Patriarchical privilege* is restored to the *Ephesine See*, as our *Evagrius* relates in the *sixth chapter of this book*. Further, this *Ephesine Council* was held on the year of Christ 477, after the Consulate of *Basiliscus* and *Armatus*. Which I gather from hence, because this Synod was assembled a little before *Basiliscus* promulged his *Anti-circular Letters*. Now *Basiliscus* published those Letters on that year I have mentioned; when he understood that *Zeno* was returning out of *Isauria* with an Army; as I have observed above out of *Theodorus Lector*. Indeed, the *Asian Bishops* seem to intimate this in their Letter to *Basiliscus*, in these words: μήδεν ἓν ἕτερον πρὸ τῶν θεία ὑμῶν ἐγκύκλια φωνηθῆναι θελήσατε, *Be pleased therefore to publish nothing contrary to your Divine Circular Letters*. Moreover, *Timotheus Ælurus* seems to have presided at this Council. For he came to *Ephesus* in the Reign of *Basiliscus*, and seated *Paulus* in his Episcopal Chair, as *Evagrius* relates from *Zacharias*. Nor is it likely, that *Acacius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* should have been deposed by any other person than the *Alexandrian* Bishop, who held the dignity of a Patriarch equal to *Acacius*. For who can believe that the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop was deposed by the Bishops of *Asia*, who long before this, [from the times of *John Chrysostom*, were subject to the Bishops of *Constantinople*? Vales.

To the most Pious in all things, and the Lovers of Christ, our Lords Basiliscus *and* Marcus, *perpetual* Victors, [c] Augusti. And after some words. *You have always seemed (Most pious and Christ-Loving Emperours!) to be divers ways assaulted, together with the Faith which is hated and opposed.* And after other words.

[c] *Marcus* was first created Cæsar by his Father *Basiliscus*, as *Marcellinus* relates in his *Chronicon*, *Theophanes*, and others. 'Tis certain, in *Basiliscus's Circular Letters* he is only termed *the most noble Cæsar*. But afterwards he was styled *Augustus* by his Father, as this Letter of the Bishops of the *Ephesine* Council doth inform us. Also, in the *Anti Circular Letter* of *Basiliscus*, the same *Marcus* is named Emperour with his Father. The *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken therefore, who relates that *Basiliscus*, as soon as he was proclaimed Emperour, crowned his Son *Marcus* Emperour. *Candidus* says truer, in the *second book of his History*, in *Photius*. Vales.

A certain terrible expectation of Judgment; and an * *Ardour of Divine Fire, and the Just* † *Resentment of Your Serenity, will in a short time* ‖ *Seize the Adversaries, who* [d] *with a certain arrogant folly, as it were with Darts, attempt to make an attack against the powerful God and your Empire fortified by the* [*true*] *Faith; nor do they in any manner spare our Tenuity: but continually assault us with reproaches and lyes as if by a necessity and a force we had subscribed to your Divine and Apostolick Circular Letters; whereas we have set our hands thereto with all imaginable joy and alacrity of mind.* And after some other words. *Be pleased therefore to publish nothing contrary to your Divine* Circular Letters; *knowing for certain what we have already said, that the whole world will be overturned again, and that the mischiefs done by the* Synod *at* Chalcedon *will be found small and trivial, which* [*yet*] *have effected these innumerable murders, and have unjustly and illegally poured forth the bloud of the* Orthodox. And after other words. *We protest before our Saviour* Jesus Christ, [e] *We entreat Your piety to be free from that just Canonical and Ecclesiastick* * *condemnation and deposition inflicted on them, and especially* [*from that inflicted*] *on him, who by many* [*evidences*] *has been detected not to have governed the Bishoprick of the Imperial* [*City*] *holily.*

* Ζῆλος, *a fervency, or, a parching heat.*

† *Incitation, or, commotion.*

‖ Or, engage.

[d] Ἀλαζονικῇ πυρεία, *with a proud revenge*: the reading in *Nicephorus* is the same. Where *Johannes Langus* renders πυρείαν, *revenge*. But I am of opinion, that by a small change this place is thus to be restored; ἀλαζονικῇ τινι μωρείᾳ, *with a certain arrogant folly*. Vales.

[e] Ἐλαθέειν τὴν μετέρην εὐσέβειαν, &c. *Christophorson* read ἡμετέρων, *our piety*; contrary to the Faith and Authority of all Copies, and without any sense. Besides, he has rendred the following words very badly. Whence it hapned, that *Baronius*, who every where follows *Christophorson's* Version, could in no wise understand the translatours of *this Ephesine Council*. So great a hindrance is an ill Rendition. Nor has *Johannes Langus* translated this Clause more happily. For he hath rendred it thus: *Attestamur coram Salvatore Nostro Jesu Christo, &c. We attest before our Saviour Jesus Christ, that your piety is free and innocent. From which we request, that a Just and Canonical and Ecclesiastick Sentence of Condemnation and Deposition may be pronounc'd against them, and especially against him who hath been many ways found out to have administred the Bishoprick in the Imperial City impiously.* But the Bishops of *Asia* do not say this: but request of the Emperours, *Basiliscus* and *Marcus*, that they would not communicate any more with *Acacius* and the other Bishops, whom they themselves had condemned and deposed by an Ecclesiastick Sentence: For this is the import of these words, ἐλαθέειν τὴν ὑμέτερην εὐσέβειαν ἐπὶ λύμασι τῆς ἐπενεχθείσης, &c; which are to be written in one entire Clause, without any distinction. But Translatours, following *Nicephorus*, and the Edition of *Robert Stephens*, have placed a distinction after the ἐπὶ, which led them into a mistake. *Vales.*

* In this Edition of *Valesius's*, 'tis καθαχρήτεως, *abuse*: it is, I suppose, an errour of the Press, put instead of καθαιρέσεως, *condemnation*; which is the reading in *Stephens's Edition*.

[Further] the same *Zacharias* writes word for word thus. *As soon as the* Circular *and* Imperial Letters *were published, those persons in the* Imperial [*City*] [f] *who were distempered with* Eutyches's *Opinion and followed a Monastick life,*

[f] Οἱ τῷ εὐτυχοῦς φανταείαν νοσοῦντες. Translatours understood not these words of *Zacharias Rhetor*. Nor does *Nicephorus* seem to have understood them. For, instead of them, he has substituted these; οἱ τὰ εὐτυχοῦς φανταζόμενοι, *those who imagine* [or *fancy*] *Eutyches's Tenets*. By φανταείαν [*Phantasie*,] or, [*Imagination*,] *Zacharias* means the opinion of *Eutyches*, who asserted, that the flesh of Christ was not true nor consubstantial with us, but *Phantastical* or *imaginary*; as may be seen in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*. Hence the *Epistles of* Avitus *Bishop of* Vienna, wherein he confutes *Eutyches's* Errour, have this Title, *Contra phantasma, against the Phantasme*; as *Sirmondus* attests. Further, from this place it may be gathered that *Zacharias Rhetor* was not an *Eutychian*, as *Baronius* thought at the year of *Christ* 476. For he would never have expresst himself thus, had he been a follower of *Eutyches's* Sect. It must therefore either be said, that these are not the words of *Zacharias Rhetor*, (which notwithstanding *Evagrius* affirms;) or else, that he was not an *Eutychianist*. See *chap.* 14. Vales.

supposing they had met with Timotheus *as with some unexpected gain, and hoping to reap a great advantage to themselves from the* Circular Letters, *in great hast betook themselves to* Timotheus. *And when they had been convinced by him, that the Word of God was of the same substance with us according to the flesh, but* Consubstantial *to the Father in relation to the Deity, they went back* [*to their own homes.*]

CHAP. VI.

That Timotheus Ælurus *recovered the* [*Bishoprick*] *of* Alexandria, *and having restored the privilege of a* Patriarchate *to the* [*Church*] *of* Ephesus, Anathematized *the* Chalcedon-Synod.

THE same [*Zacharias*] says, that *Timotheus* leaving the Imperial [City *Constantinople*,] arrived at *Ephesus*, and [there] * placed [a] *Paulus* in the *Archi-Episcopal See* of the *Ephesians*. This [*Paulus*] had long before this been ordained by the Bishops of that Province, [b] agreeable to the more ancient usage: but had been ejected out of his See. *Timotheus* also restored to the *Ephesine* Church the [c] *Patriarchical* privilege, which the Synod of *Chalcedon* had deprived it of, as I have said. Removing from thence, he comes to *Alexandria*, and persisted to request those who came to him, to *Anathematize* the Synod of *Chalcedon*. Nevertheless, many others of his own Faction receded from him (as 'tis related by the same *Zacharias*,) as did likewise *Theodotus* one of those that had been ordained at *Joppa* by * *Theodosius*, who was made Bishop of *Jerusalem* by some persons, at such time as *Juvenalis* went to *Constantinople*.

* Or, *Seated Arch-Bishop Paulus in the* [*Chair*] *of the Ephesians.*

[a] *Timotheus Ælurus* and *Petrus Fullo*, together with other Bishops, being a little before this assembled at *Constantinople*, Decreed that this *Paulus* should be restored to the See of *Ephesus*, out of which he had been ejected. For these are *Evagrius*'s words of the *fifth chapter of this book*, ψηφίζονται καὶ παῦλον τὸν τῆς ἐφεσίων ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸν ὑπελθεῖν θρόνον, *they Vote that* Paulus *also should recover the Archiepiscopal Chair of* Ephesus. Which place *Christophorson* has not rendred truly, in this manner; *His rebus ita constitutis* Paulus *ad sedem Archiepiscopatûs* Ephesiani *capessendam deligitur, These things having been thus constituted,* Paulus *is chosen to take the Archiepiscopal See of* Ephesus. For *Paulus* was not elected by *Ælurus* and *Petrus Fullo* at *Constantinople*, that he should take the *Ephesine See*: but having been expelled out of the See of *Ephesus*, he came to *Constantinople*: where a Council of *Eutychianists* being convened, it was Decreed that he should recover the *Archiepiscopate* of the City *Ephesus*. In the *fifth chapter of this book*, the reading in the vulgar Editions was, ὑπελθεῖν θρόνον, *Come into the Chair*. But from the *Florentine and Tellerian* MSS. I have mended it, ὑπελθεῖν *enter upon*. Yet I had rather add a preposition, and write it thus, ἐπανελθεῖν *return to, recover, or, re-enter upon*. Valesius

[b] Ἀνὰ τὴν ἀρχαιοτέραν συνήθειαν. I had rather make it κατὰ τὴν, &c. *agreeable to, &c.* Further, what *Zacharias* says here is most true, to wit, that it was the ancient usage, that the Bishop of *Ephesus* should be ordained by the Bishops of his own Province. For, from St. *Timothy* who was the first Bishop of the *Ephesians*, until *Castinus*, and *Heraclides*, whom *John Chrysostom* ordained, all the Bishops of the *Ephesians* were ordained in the same City by the Bishops of that Province, as 'tis apparent from *the Eleventh Action of the Chalcedon Council*. Valesius.

[c] *Zacharias* does here call *the Patriarchical privilege* the *Right of Primacy*, or *the privilege of Ordaining Metropolitans*. For in this the Patriarchical privilege did properly consist, as I have observed in *my Little Book concerning the interpretation of the Sixth Canon of the* Nicene *Council*, which is published at the close of *Our Socrates*. Now whereas *Zacharias*, or rather *Evagrius*, adds, that this privilege had been taken away from the See of *Ephesus* by the *Chalcedon* Synod; he means the *Sixteenth Action of the Chalcedon Synod*; wherein it was Decreed, that the *Constantinopolitan* Bishops should Ordain *Metropolitans* in the *Asian Diœceses*. Valesius.

CHAP. VII.

That the Monks having raised a Sedition by the perswasion of Acacius, Basiliscus *was put into a fear, and wrote and promulged* Circular Letters *contrary to those he had published before.*

[THE same *Zacharias*] relates likewise, that *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople* [a] was extreamly troubled at these things, and that he incited the Monks and Populacy of the Imperial [City] against *Basiliscus*, as being an Heretick. And, that *Basiliscus*, at length * renounced his *Circular Letters*, and wrote a Constitution, that what had been surreptitiously [and rashly] done, should be wholly vacated and made null; and, that he sent abroad Letters contrary to his former *Circular Letters*, wherein he confirmed the Synod at *Chalcedon*. And these *Anti-Circular-Letters* (as he terms them,) *Zacharias* has omitted, who hath written *his whole History* with partiality and in favour to his own party. But the Contents of them run word for word thus.

[a] Πεεὶ τα-ῦτα ἐτεταράχθαι. I had conjectured long since, that it should be πεεὶ ταῦτα ἐτεταράχθαι, *was extreamly troubled*. The *Tellerian* MS. has at length confirmed this my conjecture; wherein I found it written πεεὶ ταῦτα ἐτεταράχθαι. Valesius.

* Or, *Denyed*; that is, *repealed*, or *revok'd*.

Basiliscus's Anti-Circular-Letter.

Emperours, Cæsars, Basiliscus and Marcus. *We Decree, that the Apostolick and Orthodox Faith (which originally and from the beginning hath flourished in the Catholick Churches, which hath obtained even until our Empire, which doth now obtain under our Empire, and which ought forever to obtain, into which we have been baptized, and which we believe) shall only continue inviolate and unshaken, and shall for ever be prevalent in all the Catholick and Apostolick Churches of the Orthodox; and, that nothing else shall be required. For this reason therefore We command, that all things which have been done on account of the faith or Ecclesiastick* * *Discipline under our Empire, whether they be* Circular Letters, *or other* [*Letters,*] *or what ever else, shall be void and null:* Nestorius *and* Eutyches, *and every other Heresie, and all those who embrace the same Sentiments with them, being* Anathematized. *And* ['*tis our will,*] *that concerning this Subject, neither any Synod should be convened, nor any other question* [*started:*] *but, that these things should continue firm and unshaken. Moreover,* [*We command,*] [b] *that those Provinces (the Ordination whereof the Chair of this Imperial and Glorious City hath had,) shall be restored to the most pious and most Holy Patriarch and Arch-Bishop* Acacius: *to wit, the most pious Bishops that now are, continuing in their own Sees;* [*yet so*] *that after their deaths on prejudice from this businesse may arise to the Right of Ordination* [*belonging to*] *the Holy Chair of this Imperial and famous City. Now,* * *it is dubious to no person, that this our Divine Decree has the force of a Divine Constitution.* And these things proceeded in this manner.

* Or, Constitution,

* Or, It has been dubious.

[b] When by the Emperour *Basiliscus's Circular Letters*, the *Chalcedon Synod* had been wholly abrogated, the privileges of the *Constantinopolitan See* which had been established in *that Council*, seemed to have been taken away by that same Sanction. By which thing *Acacius* was chiefly moved, and used his utmost endeavour, that the Emperour *Basiliscus* should revoke his own Constitution. Besides, in the *Ephesine Synod*, the Patriarchical privilege had been restored to the See of *Ephesus* by *Timotheus Ælurus*, as we

we have seen before. Which having been done, the *Asian Diœceſis*, the ordinations whereof had been given to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* by the Decree of the *Chalcedon Synod*, was taken away from that See. There was therefore need of a new Conſtitution, whereby its Rights and Privileges might be reſtored to the *Conſtantinopolitan See*. This therefore the Emperour *Baſiliſcus* now performs, by the publication of theſe *his Anti-Circular-Letters*. *Theodorus Lector* does likewiſe atteſt the ſame, in *his firſt Book Collectan.* about the cloſe thereof. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Zeno's *Return.*

BUT *Zeno* having (as 'tis reported) [ſeen in his ſleep] the Holy [a] *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, famous for her many Conflicts, who incited him, and made him a promiſe that his Empire ſhould be reſtor'd to him; marched his Army towards *Byzantium*. And having with gifts, corrupted thoſe who beſieged him, he drives out *Baſiliſcus* who had held the Empire two years; and delivers him to the enemy after he had made his eſcape to the Holy Rails [of the Altar.] On this account *Zeno* dedicated a ſpatious Church, eminent for its *ſplendidneſs and beauty, to the *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, at *Seleucia* ſituate in the Country of *Iſauria*, and beautified it with many and Imperial Sacred gifts, which are preſerved till theſe our times. Further, *Baſiliſcus* is ſent into the Region of the *Cappadocians*, †in order to his being put to death: but he is [b] ſlain in that *Station* named [c] *Acuſus*, together with his wife and children. And *Zeno* makes a Law, which abrogates what had been conſtituted by the Tyrant *Baſiliſcus* in *his Circular Letters*. Then alſo *Petrus* ſurnamed *Fullo* is driven from the Church of the *Antiochians*; and *Paulus* from that of the *Epheſians*.

[a] The *Greeks* who delight much in *Epithets*, are wont to grace each Saint with proper and peculiar Titles. Thus they commonly term *Thecla the Apoſtle* and *Proto Martyr*. They call her an Apoſtle, becauſe, like an Apoſtle, ſhe had preach'd the Faith of Chriſt in many places: and they ſtyle her *Proto-Martyr*, in regard as *Stephen* was the firſt Martyr of *Chriſt* amongſt men, ſo was ſhe the firſt amongſt women; as *Baſilius Seleucienſis* does atteſt in *his firſt book concerning the Life and Miracles of the bleſſed Thecla*. She is called *Thecla* by way of contraction, inſtead of *Theoclia*. For thus the ſame *Baſilius* does frequently term her. *Valeſ.*

*Or, *Excellency*.

†Or, *being about to die.*

[b] Ἀποφαίνεται. With *Evagrius* agrees *Malchus* in the *firſt book of his* Byzantine *Hiſtory*, and *Candidus Iſaurus* in the *ſecond book of his Hiſtories*; both which Authors relate, that *Baſiliſcus* was killed by the ſword. But the other *Hiſtorians* tell us, that he dyed by hunger and cold, together with his wife and children. This diſagreement of Writers in reference to *Baſiliſcus*'s death, is taken notice of by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἐν ἀκυσῷ. So alſo the name of this *Station* is written in *Nicephorus*. But *Cedrenus* and *Theophanes* term it *Cucuſus*. *Marcellinus* and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* call it *Leminis and Limnæ*, a *Caſtrum* [or, *Caſtle*] of *Cappadocia*, into which *Baſiliſcus* was thruſt together with his wife and children; and the gate of one of the Towers, wherein he was incloſed, being ſtop'd up, he periſhed there by hunger and cold. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

That after Baſiliſcus's *death, the Biſhops of* Aſia, *that they might appeaſe* Acacius, *ſent him a* Penitentiary-Libel, [*craving pardon*] *for their offence in rejecting the* Synod *of* Chalcedon.

[IN the Interim,] the Biſhops of *Aſia*, in order to their appeaſing *Acacius*, excuſed themſelves, and craved pardon, ſending a *Penitentiary-Libel* [to him,] wherein they affirmed, that they had ſubſcribed to the *Circular-Letters* by force and conſtraint, not voluntarily; and they ſwore, that the thing was ſo, and that they had not believed, nor did believe otherwiſe than agreeable to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The * purport of their Letters is this. *The Epiſtle, or Petition, ſent to* Acacius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *from the Biſhops of* Aſia. *To* Acacius *the moſt Holy and moſt Pious Patriarch of the moſt Holy Church at the Imperial* [*City*] Conſtantinople, New Rome. And after other words. [a] *He hath arrived amongſt us and does what is right and fitting; who alſo ſhall fill your place.* And after a few words. *By theſe Libels we ſignifie to you, that we have ſubſcribed, not according to the intent of our minds, but by force and conſtraint, giving our conſent thereto in words and Letters, but not in heart. For by* [*the aſſiſtance of*] [b] *your acceptable interceſſions, together with the aſſent of the Deity, we believe in ſuch manner as we have received from thoſe* Three hundred and eighteen Luminaries *of the world, and from the* Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers. *Beſides,* [*we believe*] *thoſe matters alſo, which have been piouſly and rightly determined at* Chalcedon *by the Holy Fathers convened there.* Further, whether *Zacharias* the *Rhetorican* has caluminated theſe [Biſhops of *Aſia*,] or whether they themſelves have lyed, in averring that they ſubſcribed involuntarily, I cannot affirm.

*Or, *force.*

[a] Ἔθεντο ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil* have mended it thus ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, *amongſt you* without any thing of ſenſe. *Nicephorus*, 'tis certain, confirms the vulgar reading. *Viz. amongſt us.* But in the next words which follow, it ought to be made ὑμέτερον τόπον, *your place*, inſtead of ἡμέτερον τόπον, *our place*. *Johannes Langus* perceived this before us, who has rendred this paſſage tranſcribed out of *Evagrius* thus, *Rectè ſanè ad nos venit, qui locum etiam veſtrum obtinebit. He hath indeed come rightly unto us, who ſhall alſo poſſeſs your place.* By which words the Biſhops of *Aſia* mean the Legate, which *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had ſent to them, to wit a *Presbyter* or a *Deacon* of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church. But if any one had rather, with *Chriſtophorſon*, read ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, *amongſt you*; we muſt underſtand it of the Legate which the Biſhops of *Aſia* had ſent to *Acacius*, that he might preſent the *Libel of ſatisfaction* to him. And this I think is truer. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of [ἡμῶν, *our*] doubtleſs it muſt be [ὑμῶν, *your.*] as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. From whom an amendment muſt be made a little after this, thus, σὺν ὑπευσέσι, by dividing the words, which were erroneouſly made one word. Each emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuſcript*. Valeſ.

CHAP. X.

Concerning thoſe who governed the Biſhoprick of Antioch.

[a] AFter therefore *Peter* [was ejected,] *Stephanus* aſſumes the Chair of *Antioch*: whom the children of the *Antiochians* ſlew with reeds, which were made ſharp like to Darts, as *Johannes* the *Rhetorican* has related. But after *Stephanus*, the Government of that ſame See was committed to *Calendion*, who excited thoſe that came to him to *Anathematize Timotheus*, together with *Baſiliſcus's Circular Letters*.

[a] After *Petrus Fullo*, *Johannes Apamenus* was Biſhop of *Antioch*. He being ejected after three months, *Stephanus* was put into his place, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, *page* 107: to which Writer agrees *Gelaſius in Geſtis de nomine Acacii*, and *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. *Pope Felix* has mentioned the ſame *Johannes*, in the *Sentence of Condemnation which he dictated againſt* Acacius, and in *the Epiſtle which in the name of the* Roman *Synod he wrote to all the Presbyters and* Archimandrites *in* Conſtantinople *and* Bithynia. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

That the Emperour Zeno *took a resolution of persecuting* Ælurus: *but by reason of his age he had compassion on him and let him alone. And how after* Ælurus's *death*, Petrus Mongus *was ordained by the* Alexandrians. *But* Timotheus, Proterius's *successour, by the order of the Emperour, obtained the Chair of the* Alexandrians.

MOreover, *Zeno* was resolved to have expelled *Timotheus* out of *Alexandria:* but understanding from some persons that he was now very aged, and would soon * go the way of all men, he † altered his resolution. And not long after [*Timotheus*] paid the common debt [of Nature:] whereupon [a] those of *Alexandria* by their own authority elect *Petrus*, surnamed *Mongus*, Bishop. Which, when it came to *Zeno*'s hearing, disturbed him extreamly. Wherefore *Zeno* [b] punished *Petrus* with death: but he recalled *Timotheus* [*Salophaciolus,*] *Proterius*'s successour, who then lived at *Canopus* on account of a Sedition raised by the people. *Timotheus* therefore by the Emperour's order recovered his own See.

* Or, *enter the Inn*, or, *house of all men.*

† Or, *forbad.*

[a] Οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι, &c. *the Bishops of Alexandria elect*, &c. I had rather write ἐπίσκοπον, and so reade the whole clause thus, χὴ πόλεμον ἀνδενδία προχειρίζονται σφῶν οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπον; *whereupon those of* Alexandria *by their own authority elect* Petrus *surnamed* Mongus *Bishop*: and I am of opinion that *Evagrius* wrote thus. 'Tis certain, these words οἱ τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι cannot be spoken of the *Suffragan Bishops*. Besides, *Petrus Mongus* was ordained but by one Bishop, as 'tis related *in Gestis de nomine Acacii*, and *in* Acacius's *Epistle to Pope* Simplicius. *Vales.*

[b] Ζημίαν προξέμησε. I doubt not but it should be written προστέμησε, *punished.* For προξημᾶν signifies *mulctare, to punish.* Whence πρόστιμον imports *Punishment*, as *Suidas* attests. But προξημᾶν (which is the reading in *Robert Stephens*'s *Edition*) signifies quite another thing. *Nicephorus* having found this fault in his Copy, expunged the *Preposition*, and worded this place of *Evagrius* thus, τὸν μὲν ὑφισαμένης δανάτῳ ζημίᾳ ἐπίμα, that is *He punished those who had elected* [Petrus Mongus *Bishop*] *with a capital punishment.* And yet *Evagrius* does not say so. For he relates, that *Mongus* himself was condemned by *Zeno*, not the Bishops who had chosen *Mongus*. 'Tis apparent therefore that *Nicephorus* had read thus in our *Evagrius*; χὴ τοὺ μὲν ὁ ζήνων δανάτῳ ζημίαν προστίμησε, *wherefore* Zeno *punished those with death*; and that he understood it as spoken of the Heretical Bishops who had elected *Mongus*. Doubtless, the Bishops who had chosen *Mongus* deserved a forer punishment than *Mongus* himself, who was elected by them. For they had done that on their own authority, without the Emperours advice and direction: whenas it had been customary, by reason of the largeness of the City *Alexandria*, that the Bishop thereof should not be elected, unless the Emperour's mind were first known. Besides, they had presumed to elect another Bishop when the See was not void, but whilst *Timotheus Salophaciolus* as yet survived. Whereupon the Seditions and Divisions, which seemed to have been extinguished by the death of *Timotheus Ælurus*, were rekindled. For these reasons, those Bishops were to be punished with a capital punishment, rather than *Mongus*. Nevertheless, in my judgment neither is true. For *Mongus* was punished only with banishment. But the Bishops who had ordained him, are ordered to be punished by *Anthemius* the *Augustalis*; as *Liberatus* affirms in his *Breviary, chap.* 16. Vales.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning Johannes *who obtained the Presidency over the* Alexandrian *Church after* Timotheus, *and how* Zeno *outed him in regard he had forsworn himself, and restored the Chair of* Alexandria *to* Petrus Mongus.

[a] I am of the same mind with *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil*, who instead of [ἐκβολῆς δὲ ἐνίων] have mended it thus, ἐκ βελῆς δὲ ἐνίων, *but by the advice of some persons:* which amendment is confirmed by *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian Manuscript.* Moreover, *Liberatus* in his *Breviarium chap.* 16, affirms that *Johannes* the *Oeconomus* [or, *Steward*] was sent to *Constantinople* on a far different account. For he says, that *Timotheus Salophaciolus*, after he had recovered his Episcopal Chair by the Decree of *Zeno Augustus*, sent some Ecclesiasticks to *Constantinople*, amongst whom was *Johannes* the *Oeconomus*, who might give the Emperour thanks for his own restitution. They also made a request to the Emperour at the same time, that if any thing should happen to *Timotheus* otherwise than well, no other person but a Catholick might be put into his See by the Clergy and people of *Alexandria*; as we are informed *in Gestis de nomine Acacii.* Which thing *Zeno* in his answer to *Salophaciolus*'s advices, ordered to be done by a Letter written to the *Alexandrian* Clergy; as *Felix* attested in his *first Epistle to Acacius*, and *Gelasius in Gestis de nomine Acacii.* Further, in the *Florentine Manuscript*, at the Margin here, these words occur, περὶ ἰωάννου τοῦ ταβεννησιώτου, *concerning Johannes Tabennesiota.* 'Tis certain this *Johannes* is termed *Tabennesiota* by *Theophanes* also in his *Chronicon*, because he had been a Monk in the *Monastery of the Tabennenses* at *Canopus*, where *Timotheus Salophaciolus* had likewise formerly followed a Monastick life and discipline; as *Theophanes* relates. *Vales.*

nes a Presbyter, [b] appointed to be the *Steward* of the venerable Church of the *Holy Forerunner and Baptist John*, makes a journey to the Imperial City [*Constantinople,*] being sent on an Embassage [to make an address to the Emperour,] that if it should happen that their Bishop should die, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* might have a [c] liberty of Electing one to preside over their Church whom they should have a mind to. This person, as *Zacharias* affirms, was by the Emperour discovered to have a design of procuring the Bishoprick for himself. and when he had obliged himself by oaths, that he would never seek to get the *Alexandrian* Chair, he returned into his own Country. But the Emperour promulged a Law, that after *Timotheus*'s death, that person should be Bishop whom the Clergy and * people [of *Alexandria*] should Elect. *Timotheus* having ended his life not long after, this *Johannes* (as

[b] Οἰκονομεῖν τῆς ἁγιωτάτης τοῦ ἁγίου πρόδρομου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ ἰωάννου ἐκκλησίας. *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon*, and *Liberatus* in his *Breviary* term this *Johannes* barely and simply *Oeconomus.* But in the *Gesta de nomine Acacii* he is styled the *Oeconomus* of *Timotheus Catholicus.* Why therefore does *Evagrius* (or rather *Zacharias*, out of whom *Evagrius* took it,) say here, that *Johannes* was *Oeconomus* of *Saint John's Church?* For he was not *Steward* of this Church only; but he look'd after the revenues and money of all the Churches which were under the Bishop of *Alexandria*, as *Liberatus* informs us in his *sixteenth chapter*, in these words: *Porro Johannes ex Oeconomo amicus factus est Hillo Magistro; qui cum reliquis descendit Alexandriam. Factusque est iterum Oeconomus, habens causas omnium Ecclesiarum. Further* Johannes *of an* Oeconomus *is made a friend to* Hillus *the* Magister; *who together with the rest went down to* Alexandria. *And he is made Steward again* [*or, the second time,*] *having all the Causes of the Churches.* Instead of [*habens causas omnium Ecclesiarum,*] I think it should be *habens gazas omnium Ecclesiarum, having the treasure or riches of all the Churches.* This emendation, *Liberatus*'s following words do confirm, which run thus: *Qui multa & pretiosa xenia direxit Hillo Magistro,* &c. *Who directed* [*or sent*] *many and those pretious presents to* Hillus *the* Magister, &c. Or must it be said that the Church of *Saint John Baptist* was then the Greatest Church of *Alexandria*? Indeed, heretofore the Greater Church of *Alexandria* was termed the *Cæsarea*, as I have observed at *Socrates.* But 'tis possible, that the Church of *Saint John*, which had been built there by *Theodosius* after the demolishment of the *Serapium*, might become the Greater Church, the Episcopal Chair being removed thither. Concerning this Church of *Saint John Baptist*, *Rufinus* speaks in *chap.* 27. *of his second book Eccles. Histor.* And in the following chapter he adds concerning the Reliques of *Saint John Baptist*, *that in the time of* Athanasius *they were brought to* Alexandria. To which afterwards, the *Serapium* [or, *Serapis's Temple*] being demolished, *Golden houses* (that I may use *Rufinus*'s words, which are *Aurea Tecta,*) were erected in the reign of *Theodosius.* 'Tis certain in this Church of *Saint John*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* performed the Religious assemblies, as *Theophanes* informs us concerning *Dioscorus*, pag. 139. *Vales.*

* Or, *Comonalty.*

[c] The power therefore of Electing their Bishops had been taken from the Clergy and people of the City *Alexandria*, and the Emperour had removed the privilege of nominating the Bishop of *Alexandria* to himself, as 'tis apparent from this place. Which, we deny not, was done by force and against the Ecclesiastick Laws. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Emperours not without reason challenged that power to themselves after the murder of *Proterius* the *Alexandrian* Bishop, in regard the City of *Alexandria*, by its own inclination prone to Seditions, had several times raised vehement disturbances in the Election of Bishops. *Vales.*

the

the same *Zacharias* has related, gave money [a] disregarding the Oaths wherein [he had bound himself] to the Emperour, is constituted Bishop of *Alexandria*. Which when the Emperour understood, he ordered him to be Ejected. And by the perswasion of some Persons, the Emperour wrote an *Exhortatory Edict* to the *Alexandrians*, which he termed *his* * *Henoticon*; and ordered, that the Chair of *Alexandria* should be restored to *Petrus*, provided he would subscribe to His *Henoticon*, and receive those of *Proterius*'s Party to Communion.

[a] Καὶ ὃς τὰ ὠμοσμένα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλογήσας. In the excellent Florentine Manuscr. I found it written thus: ἃ ἐς ἴσα ὠμοσμένα, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly.

* Or, *Uniting Rescript.*

Further, concerning this Oath wherein *Johannes Tabennesiota* had formerly bound himself in the Emperours presence, that he would never climb up into the *Alexandrian* See, Pope *Simplicius* speaks in his seventeenth Epistle to *Acacius*. *Liberatus* also attests the same, in his *Breviary*, chap. 17. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

That Petrus Mongus *embraced* Zeno's Henoticon *and joined himself to the* * Proterians.

* Or, *Those of* Proterius's *party.*

[a] THis *Disposition*, which had been made by the advice of *Acacius* Bishop of the Imperial City, [b] *Pergamius*, who was constituted *Præfect* of *Egypt* carries along with him. He being arrived at *Alexandria*, and finding *Johannes* fled, held a Conference with *Petrus*, and perswades him to admit of *Zeno*'s *Exhortatory Edict*; and moreover [to receive] those who had dissented from him. He admits therefore of the forementioned *Exhortatory Edict*, and subscribes to it. He promises also that he would receive those who were of the contrary party. Wherefore not long after this, when a publick Festivity was celebrated at *Alexandria*, and all Persons by a general consent agreed to that termed *Zeno*'s *Henoticon*, *Petrus* likewise admitted [to Communion] those of *Proterius*'s party. And having made an *Exhortatory Oration* to the People in the Church, he recited *Zeno*'s *Exhortatory Edict* also, the Contents whereof were these.

[a] Τούτῳ τῇ οἰκονομίαν. To wit, *Zeno*'s *uniting Edict*, which a little before *Evagrius* has termed a συγγνώμην. And 'tis therefore called a συγγνώμη here and hereafter by *Evagrius*, because the Emperour in that *Edict* speaks to all the Clergy and Laity, and by Preaching as it were, exhorts them, like a Priest, to embrace unity. But, 'tis termed an οἰκονομία for this reason, because by a wholesom Dispensation (as at the first blush it appears,) it invites all Catholicks to one and the same Communion, the mention of the *Chalcedon* Synod being suppressed. Further, this Edict of *Zeno* bore date on the year of Christ 482; *Trocondus* and *Severinus* being Consuls, as *Baronius* writes. Which is evidently confirmed by *Victor Turonensis* in his *Chronicon*. Vales.

[b] *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. relates that *Pergamius* was not *Præfect* of *Egypt*, but *Dux* [or *Commander of the Milice*:] his words are these; *Acacius persuasit Zenoni*, &c. Acacius *perswaded* Zeno, *that he should write to* Apollonius *the* Augustalis, *and to* Pergamius *the* Dux, *that they should drive* Johannes *out of the* Alexandrian *See, as having seized it contrary to his own Oath, which he had given in the Imperial City; and that they should give their assistance to* Petrus Mongus, *that he might continue in that See*. Vales.

CHAP. XIV.

Zeno's Henoticon.

EMperour Cæsar Zeno, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, *always* Adorable, Augustus; *To the* [a] *most Reverend Bishops, Clergy, Monks, and Laicks, in* Alexandria, *and throughout* Egypt, Libya, *and* Pentapolis.

[a] *Facundus Hermianensis*, citing this Edict of *Zeno*'s in his twelfth Book, reads ὀρθοδόξοις, *to the Orthodox Bishops*. For the words are these: *Flavius Zeno Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, always Augustus, to the Orthodox Bishops*, &c. Then *Facundus* finds fault with that term *Orthodox*, and expresses his anger against it in many words; that the Emperour should not be afraid of giving the title of *Orthodox* to a company of Hereticks who had no head. Further, this *Edict* of *Zeno* was promulged in the year of Christ 482, as *Baronius* has recorded. *Vales.*

Knowing the only right and true Faith (which the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at Nicæa *by a Divine Influence have set forth, and which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers in the like manner assembled at* Constantinople *have confirmed;) to be the Beginning and* * *Consistency, and the power and inexpugnable* † *Defence of our Empire: We have* ‖ *made it Our business night and day,* [b] *by all imaginable Attention and Diligence, and by Our Laws, that God's Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, which is the incorruptible and immortal Mother of Our Scepters, should every where be multiplied and enlarged by that [Faith:] and that the pious People continuing in Peace and that Concord [which bears a relation] to God, together with the Bishops most dear to God, and with the most Religious Clergy,* Archimandrites, *and Monks, might offer up their acceptable Prayers for Our Empire. For whilst the Great God and our Saviour* Jesus Christ, *who was incarnate and born of the Holy Virgin and* Theotocos Mary, *approves of and readily accepts our concordant Glorification and Worship, all sorts of Enemies shall be consumed and extinguished: and all Nations will submit their Necks to Our Power which is* * *according to God:* [In fine,] *Peace, and those Goods that are the Product thereof, temperateness of the air, plenty of fruits, and all other things which are useful and advantageous, shall be conferred upon men. Whereas therefore the irreprehensible Faith doth in this manner* † *preserve Us and the* Roman *Affairs, Addresses have been presented to Us by the most Religious* Archimandrites, Hermits, *and other Reverend Persons, who with tears made supplication, that an Unity might be made in the most Holy Churches, and that the Members might be joyned to the Members, which that Enemy of Good hath long since been very solicitous to disjoyn: assuredly knowing, that* [c] *should he make war against the entire Body of the Church, he might with ease be vanquished. For from hence it happens, that there are innumerable* * *multitudes of men, which Time hath taken out of this life in the space of so many years,* [d] *part whereof have departed hence deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, and part have gone the inevitable way of mankind without a participation of the Divine Communion: and, that innumerable murders have been audaciously committed, and that not only the Earth, but the Air it self also hath been defiled by an abundant effusion of blood. What man is he, who will not pray, that these things might be changed into a better State and*

* Or, Confirmation.

† Or, Armour.

‖ Or, Have night and day made use of all imaginable, &c.

[b] Πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ σπουδῇ, *by all imaginable prayer and diligence*. The same likewise is the Reading in *Nicephorus*. Nor had the Old Translatour of this Edict read otherwise, in *Liberatus* ch. 18. for he renders it thus: *noctibus ac diebus, oratione, & studio & legibus*, &c. *night and day, by prayer and diligence, and by our Laws, we endeavour, that the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church may be multiplied by that Faith.* Notwithstanding in my judgment, it ought rather to be written thus, πάσῃ σπουδῇ, *by all imaginable attention*. What the import of σπουδὴ is, we are informed from *Suidas*, who produces a passage of an old Writer. Indeed, this emendation pleases me mightily. *Vales.*

* Or, Next to God.

† Or, Befairs.

[c] Σώμασι πολεμῇ, *waging war against the* [*entire*] *Body*. Doubtless it must be πολεμοῖ, *should he make war*, &c. as it is in *Nicephorus*, and in the *Tellerian* MS. Sir *Henry Savil* also, at the Margin of his Copy, had remark'd, *fortè* πολεμοίη, *perhaps it should be* πολεμοίη. Vales.

* Or, Generations.

[d] To this place of *Zeno*'s *Edict* Pope *Felix* alludes, in his Epistle to *Zeno Augustus*, where his words are these: *Dolet certè pietas Tua, quòd per diuturnos partis alternæ gravesque conflictus, multi ex hoc sæculo videantur ablati, aut baptismatis aut communionis expertes; Your piety doubtless is griev'd, that by reason of the long and sore conflict of each party, many may seem to have been taken out of this world, without being partakers of Baptism or the Communion.* Val.

and Condition? On this account therefore, We have made it Our busines to certify You, that neither We, nor the Churches in all places, either have had, or have, or in future will have, nor do We know any Persons that have, any other Symbol, or Creed, or Definition of the Faith, save the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the foresaid Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers confirmed. Moreover, if any one hath [any other Creed,] We account him a Person estranged [from the Church.] For by this Creed only (as we have said,) We are confident Our Empire is * preserved. And all Persons vouchsafed the Salutary † Illumination, receiving this only [Creed] are Baptized. The same [Creed] hath been followed by all the Holy Fathers convened at Ephesus; who likewise deposed the impious Nestorius, and also those that afterwards embraced his Sentiments. Which Nestorius together with Eutyches, in regard they held Opinions contrary to the foresaid [Fathers,] We do Anathematize, and do also admit of the Twelve * Heads, which were dictated by Cyrillus of holy Memory, who was heretofore Archbishop of the Holy Catholick Church of the Alexandrians. But we confess the only Begotten Son of God and God, (who was truly and really made Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, Consubstantial to the Father according to the Deity, and of the same substance with us as to his Humanity; who descended and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of Mary the Virgin and Theotocos,) to be one, and not two. For we affirm, that the Miracles, and Sufferings which he voluntrily underwent in the Flesh, are of one. But we in no wise admit of those who divide, or confound, or introduce a † Phantasie. In regard the * impeccable and true Incarnation from the Theotocos hath not made an accession of [another] Son. For the Trinity hath ever continued the Trinity, although one of the Trinity, [to wit,] God the Word, hath been incarnate. Assuredly knowing therefore, that neither the Holy Orthodox Churches of God in all places, nor the Prelates most beloved by God who preside over them, nor yet Our Empire, hath received, or doth admit of any other Creed, or Definition of the Faith, save the foresaid holy Creed; without making doubts or delays, [e] We have united our selves. Now, We have written these things [to you,] not that We might innovate the Faith, but in order to the giving you full satisfaction. But We Anathematize every Person, who has thought, or thinks otherwise, either now, or at any other time, whether at Chalcedon, or in any other Synod whatever: but more especially the foresaid Persons Nestorius and Eutyches, and such as embrace their Sentiments. Be ye joyned therefore to [Your] Spiritual Mother the Church, and together with Us enjoy that same divine Communion therein, according to the forementioned one and only Definition of the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers. For your most Holy Mother the Church expects to embrace You [f] as Her genuine Sons, and after a long time earnestly desires to hear Your sweet Voice. Make all imaginable haste therefore. For by doing hereof, you will procure to your selves both the Benevolence of our Master and Saviour and God Jesus Christ, and shall also be praised by Our Imperial Majesty. After the reading hereof, all the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* were united to the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church.

* Or, Begirt.

† Or, Baptism.

* Or Chapters.

† See ch. 5. note (f.)

* Unsinning, or, without Sin.

[e] Ἡνώσαμεν ἑαυτούς; so 'tis also written in *Nicephorus*. But *Facundus* and *Liberatus* seem to have read otherwise. For *Facundus* (pag. 551.) renders this place thus: *Adunate ergo vos in nullo dubitantes*, &c. *Unite your selves therefore, being doubtful in nothing. For we have written these things to you, not to innovate the Faith, but that we might satisfy you*, &c. And *Liberat.* translates it in this manner: *Unite vosmetipsos, nihil dubitantes*, &c. *Unite your selves, doubting nothing*, &c. Whence it appears, that they read Ἑνώσατε ἑαυτούς, &c. But the Reading in our Copies is better: For soon after it follows, ἀναθεματίζομεν, *We* Anathematize. *Vales.*

[f] Καὶ γνησίους ὑμᾶς υἱούς. That which frequently happens in these Books of *Evagrius*, occurrs here also, to wit, that ὡς is put instead of ὡς. 'Tis certain *Liberatus* reads ὡς here, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Sanctissima namque Mater nostra Ecclesia*, &c. *For our most Holy Mother the Church, as being the Person who hath begotten you, from a long time expects to embrace Her Sons, and earnestly desires to hear your sweet voice.* Nor did *Facundus* read otherwise, in his twelfth Book. For thus his Version runs; *Sancta enim Mater nostra Ecclesia*, &c. *For our Holy Mother the Church receives you as Her own Sons. Embrace her; for She desires after a long time to hear Your sweet Voice.* Moreover, *Nicephorus* has it written, ὡς ὡς γνησίους. Further, from the forecited passages 'tis apparent, that *Facundus* and *Liberatus* in *Zeno's Edict* had read μήτηρ ἡμῶν, *Our Mother*; which Reading I am most pleased with. Besides, *Facundus* read ἀσπάσασθε, *Embrace Ye Her*; not as 'tis commonly read, ἀσπάσασθαι, *to embrace*. Which Reading nevertheless is intolerable. Lastly, *Liberatus* seems to have read ἐκ τῆς χρονίας, *from a long time*; not ὡς τῆς χρονίας, *and after a long time*. *Vales.*

CHAP. XV.

That Johannes [*Bishop*] *of* Alexandria *coming to* Rome, *perswades* Simplicius *to write to* Zeno *concerning what had hapned*; [*and what*] Zeno [*wrote back in answer to him.*]

BUT *Johannes*, of whom we have made mention * before, after he had fled from *Alexandria*, [a] arrives at the *Senior Rome*: and there raised disturbances, affirming that he had been ejected out of his own Chair, on account of his defending *Leo's* * *Dogmata*, and the * *Opinion*, or, *Decrees*. Chalcedon Synod: and, that another was substituted in his room, who was an enemy to those *Dogmata*. Hereat *Simplicius* Bishop of the *Elder Rome* was troubled, and wrote to *Zeno*; whereto *Zeno* returned answer, accusing *Johannes* of Perjury, and [affirming] that on that account, and for no other reason, he had been ejected out of his Bishoprick.

* Chap. 12.

[a] *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, ch. 18. says, that *Johannes* being driven from the See of *Alexandria*, came first to *Antioch*; and after he had gotten Letters of *Intercession* from *Calendion* Patriarch of *Antioch*, came to *Rome*, and appealed to *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*, as the Blessed *Athanasius* had also done before. But in the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*, which in my judgment were written by Pope *Gelasius*, he is said *to have requested the Refuge only of the* Roman *Church*, in such manner as his predecessours had done; which I think is truer. For *Johannes* appealed not from any Ecclesiastical Judicature to *Simplicius*, in regard he had not been expelled out of his own See by the Sentence of a Synod, but by force: nor did he present a *Libel* to Pope *Simplicius*, but to *Felix* his Successour, as we shall see afterwards. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Calendion [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch, *and that he was condemned to be banished on account of the friendship he was suspected* [*to have held*] *with* Illus *and* Leontius; *also that* Petrus Fullo *entred into an Union with* Mongus, *and with the* [*Bishops*] *of* Constantinople *and* Jerusalem.

MOreover, *Calendion* Bishop of *Antioch* wrote [Letters] to the Emperour *Zeno*, and to *Acacius* Prelate of *Constantinople*, wherein he termed *Petrus* an [a] Adulterer; affirming that when he was at *Alexandria*, he had *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod*.

[a] So also Pope *Simplicius*, in his Epistle to *Acacius*, terms *Petrus Mongus*; as *Liberatus* attests in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. To wit, because he had invaded the *Alexandrian Church*, whilst *Timotheus Salophaciolus*, who had been legally ordained, was alive, *Valesius*.

Some

Some time afterwards, *Calendion* is condemned to be baniſhed into *Oäſis*, being ſuppoſed to have [b] favoured [c] *Illus*, *Leontius*, and *Pamprepius*, in relation to a Tyranny raiſed by them againſt *Zeno*. But *Petrus Fullo*, who [had been Biſhop of *Antioch*,] before [d] *Calendion* and *Stephanus*, as I have ſaid, recovered his own [Chair.] Who both ſubſcribed to *Zeno*'s *Henoticon*, [e] and alſo ſent *Synodical Letters* to *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*.

[b] That this was the pretext of condemning *Calendion*, is atteſted by *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. But the true cauſe of his being condemned and depoſed, was this, becauſe he would defend the *Chalcedon* Synod, nor would acquieſce in *Zeno*'s *Edict*. *Liberatus*'s words are theſe: *Interea* Calendion *Archiepiſcopus Antiochenus deponitur*, &c. *In the interim* Calendion *Archbiſhop of* Antioch *is depoſed. Being accuſed in publick as having been undutiful* [*indevotus, without devotion*] *to his Prince, drawing the People into a Rebellion with* Illus; *but ſecretly, becauſe he would not keep himſelf from the Communion both of Pope* Felix *and* Johannes. *Gelaſius* alſo in his thirteenth Epiſtle to the *Dardani*, ſays, that *Calendion* was therefore ejected by *Zeno*, becauſe he had razed his Name out of the *Diptycks*, and inſtead thereof put in *Leontius*'s. Valeſ.

[c] Ἰλλῷ. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. I found it written ἴλλῳ. This is the *Hillus*, by Country an *Iſaurian*, in Dignity *Magiſter Officiorum* [*Maſter of the Offices*,] as *Marcellinus* tells us in his *Chronicon*: who after he had been in great favour with the Emperour, at length was incenſed againſt him, for what reaſon I know not; and together with *Leontius* ingaged himſelf in a Tyranny in the Eaſt, on the year of Chriſt 484, as *Marcellinus* records; or rather 483. as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved. Further, this *Hillus* is by *Candidus Iſaurus* and by *Damaſcius* in the Life of *Iſidorus the Philoſopher*, always called ἰλλῶ, with the Accent in the laſt Syllable. So 'tis alſo written in *Suidas*: Ἴλλος, ſays he, ὄνομα κύριον ὃς ὧδε μάγιστρος ζωίνου. ὁ κλ ἰλλῶς. διὸ καὶ ἰλλῶς τὸν φθορέα ἐκρέμασεν ὅτι διδύμα ξύλα. So that place of *Suidas* is to be read. *Valeſ.*

[d] *Petrus Fullo* was ejected out of the See of *Antioch* a little after the return of *Zeno Auguſtus*, on the year after the Conſulate of *Baſiliſcus* and *Armatus*. One *Johannes* whom *Petrus* had ordained [Biſhop] of *Apamia*, invaded his See, as I obſerved before at chap. 10, note (*a*.) He having been ejected, an *Oriental* Synod ordained *Stephanus*, as *Theophanes* tells us in his *Chronicon*. This *Stephanus*, when he had governed the See of *Antioch* about a year's ſpace, was moſt barbarouſly murdered by Hereticks in the Church, on the year of Chriſt 479, after the Conſulate of the moſt Famous *Illus*; as *Baronius* has rightly obſerved from Pope *Simplicius*'s Epiſtles. *Zeno* being highly incenſed on account of this murther, ſent ſome Perſons to *Antioch*, who might revenge this Fact, and puniſh the Authors of the Sedition. Moreover, to avoid Tumults, he commanded *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, to ordain a Biſhop of *Antioch* in the Imperial City. And this thing, done on account of preſerving the Eccleſiaſtick Peace, as well the Emperour as *Acacius* excuſed to Pope *Simplicius*, promiſing that in future the Ordination of the Prelate of *Antioch* ſhould be made by the *Comprovincial* Biſhops, according to the Preſcripts of the Canons. *Stephanus Junior* therefore is ordained by *Acacius*, and after he had ſate three years, *Calendion* is created Biſhop in his ſtead by an *Oriental* Synod, in the Conſulate of *Trocundus* and *Severinus*, on the year of Chriſt 482; as *Baronius* has learnedly obſerved from Pope *Simplicius*'s Epiſtle. *Theophanes* does indeed affirm, that *Calendion* was ordained by *Acacius* at *Conſtantinople*, by the Emperour *Zeno*'s order. *Theophanes*'s Opinion ſeems to be confirmed by *Candidus* in the third Book of his Hiſtory; whoſe words are theſe, ὡς πέπυσμαι τῶν δυσεβῶς τὰς τῆς ἀναστολῆς παρόντος ἐκκλησίας καλενδίωνα ζλώων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἀντιοχείας ἀπέστελλε, *In like manner as the Emperour* Zeno, *when the Impious* Petrus *diſturbed the Churches of the* Eaſt, *ſent* Calendion *to be Conſecrated* [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch. Beſides, in the *Geſta de Nomine Acacii*, 'tis in expreſs words written, That *Calendion* was Ordained by *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. *Simplicius* alſo affirms the ſame in the cited Epiſtle, if we weigh his words more attentively. For, what elſe is the meaning of theſe words: *Antiochenum exordium Sacerdotis quâ ratione ſerius fuerit, Indicatum, quamvis minimè nos latere potuerit, tamen & ipſe vel Synodus ejus indicavit. Quod ſicut non optavimus fieri, ita faciles excuſationi quam neceſſitas fecit extitimus; quia quod voluntarium non eſt, non poteſt vocari in reatum*, &c. For what Guilt, what neceſſity was to be excuſed before *Simplicius*, unleſs *Acacius* had Ordained *Calendion* at *Conſtantinople* contrary to the Eccleſiaſtick Laws? But now, what the ſame *Theophanes* adds concerning *Johannes Codonatus*, who was Ordained Biſhop by the *Antiochians* knowing nothing of the Ordination made at *Conſtantinople*, and whom *Calendion* afterwards removed to the See of *Tyre*: I fear *Theophanes* is miſtaken herein. For, not *Calendion*, but *Acacius* removed *Johannes* to the See of *Tyre*; as 'tis atteſted by Pope *Felix* in the Libel of Condemnation of *Acacius*, and by *Gelaſius*, and *Liberatus*. Valeſ.

[e] Καὶ Ζωιλικοῖς ὃ πρότερον. Doubtleſs it muſt be written, κὴ Ζωιλικοῖς ὃ πρὸς πέδον τὸ ἀλεξανδρέων ἐχρήσατο, *And alſo ſent Synodical Letters to* Petrus [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria. Thus *Nicephorus* read; and yet *Chriſtophorſon*, and Sir *Henry Savil* at the Margin of his Copy, mend it very ſimply, thus, πρὸς πρότερον, to *Proterius*. For *Proterius* was dead long before this. 'Tis manifeſt from Pope *Gelaſius*'s Epiſtles, that *Petrus Fullo* held Communion with *Petrus Mongus*. Valeſ.

Acacius alſo Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* entred into a Communion with the [f] ſame [*Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*:] as did likewiſe *Martyrius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, who ſent his *Synodical Letters* to the ſame *Petrus*. After this, [g] ſome Perſons ſeparated themſelves from *Petrus*'s Communion: ſo that from that time *Petrus Anathematized* the Synod of *Chalcedon* publickly. Which news coming to the hearing of *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, troubled him [not a little.] *Acacius* therefore cauſed ſome Perſons to be ſent, who might enquire into the truth hereof. When *Petrus* being deſirous fully to ſatisfy, that no ſuch thing had been done by him, * framed *Acts*, wherein ſome Perſons affirmed, that to their knowledge no ſuch thing [h] had been done by *Petrus*.

[f] To wit, with *Petrus Mongus*. For with him, after the ejection of *Johannes Tabenneſiota*, *Acacius* held Communion, and received from, and ſent to him *Synodical Letters*, as *Liberatus* informs us.

* Or, *wrote*.

But *Acacius* never held Communion with *Petrus Fullo*: yea, he was wont to boaſt, that he had never been joyned in Communion with him: whereas yet, by this that he communicated with *Petrus Mongus* who maintained a Communion with *Petrus Fullo*, *Acacius* himſelf alſo might hold Communion with *Fullo*; as Pope *Gelaſius* ſays in his Epiſtle to the *Orientals*, which was firſt publiſhed by *Jacobus Syrmondus*. Valeſ.

[g] *Evagrius* gives no reaſon, why theſe Men ſeparated themſelves from the Communion of *Petrus Mongus*. Beſides, *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. does relate this matter very obſcurely, in theſe words; *Igitur Petrus Mongus ab Abbate Ammone & Johanne Epiſcopo Magileos*, &c. *Therefore* Petrus Mongus, *having undergone wars from the Abbot* Ammon *and* Johannes *the Biſhop of* Magilis, *and from the Abbots of the Monks of the lower* Egypt, *and a Sedition having been raiſed againſt him in the Cathedral* Cæſarea, *as 'tis called*, [or, *as 'tis reported*;] *anathematized the* Chalcedon Synod, *and Pope* Leo's Tome. *And theſe things he did, after he had written to* Acacius *and* Simplicius *that he held Communion with them and with the Holy Synod. And theſe matters having been in this manner performed, ſome Perſons departed from* Petrus's *Communion, and declared* [*them*] *to the* Roman *Biſhop at* Rome. Which words, in themſelves obſcure enough, are in my judgment to be explained thus. *Petrus Mongus*, after he had been reſtored to the *Alexandrian* See upon *Johannes*'s Ejection, at firſt uſed diſſimulation, and ſent *Synodical Letters* to *Acacius* and *Simplicius*, wherein he affirmed that he held Communion with the Synod of *Chalcedon*. He alſo admitted thoſe to Communion who were of *Timotheus Salophaciolus*'s party, as *Liberatus* atteſts. But afterwards, when he had been vexed by the *Eutychian* Monks on account of his diſſimulation, he anathematized the *Chalcedon* Synod publickly in the Church. *Valeſ.*

[h] Γεγραφὸν, *had been written*: in my judgment it ſhould be πεπραχὸν, *had been done*. And ſo *Nicephorus* read, book 16. chap. 13. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning thoſe things written by Petrus, *to* Acacius *who had embraced the* Chalcedon *Synod.*

[FOR] this *Petrus*, [a] in regard he was a perſon that could cloath himſelf in any dreſs, of a mind mutable and crafty, and one that could conform to the times; perſiſted not in the leaſt in one and the ſame Opinion. But ſometimes he Anathematized the *Chalcedon* Synod; at others retracted, and embraced that Council, *with all Suffrages*. He wrote a Letter therefore to *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, the Contents whereof run word for word thus:

[a] Πέζος ὁ σκόθεργος. I have mended this place thus, [ὡς κόθορνος, *in regard he was a perſon that could cloath himſelf in any dreſs*,] partly from *Nicephorus*, and partly by the Authority of the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. Further, concerning this wavering and fraudulent humour of *Petrus*'s, we have the atteſtation of *Liberatus* in theſe words: *Sed permanſit Petrus in Epiſcopatu*, &c. *But* Peter *continued in his Biſhoprick, and wrote to* Acacius, *that he was a* Communicator *of* [or, held Communion with] *the Synod, and deceived the* Alexandrians, *becauſe he would not communicate with the Synod: ſo that ſome Eccleſiaſticks who were his* Communicators, *ſome Monks and Laicks, perceiving his fallaciouſneſs, ſeparated themſelves from his Communion. And holding ſeparate aſſemblies, would not endure to communicate with his Name.* Valeſ.

The

The most high God will reward your Holiness, [b] *for those great Labours and troubles, which for so many years space you* [*have undergone,*] *conserving and defending the Faith of the Holy Fathers, which by an uninterrupted Preaching you have confirmed. In which Faith we have found the Creed also of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers rightly and orderly placed, in which Creed we were heretofore baptized, and which we have and do believe: which Creed the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers assembled at* Constantinople *have confirmed. You therefore without intermission leading all Men the way, have united the Holy Church of God, and by the weightiest and most convincing Instances and Arguments have perswaded us, that nothing contrary hereto hath been done in the most Holy and* Oecumenical Synod *convened at* Chalcedon, *which agrees with, and hath confirmed the Determinations of the Holy Fathers at* Nicæa. *For, having found nothing of any Innovation therein, we have given our absolute and perfect assent thereto, and believed it. But we understand, that certain Monks, envying* Our Fraternity, *have conveyed some Calumnies to your holy Ears; which could not readily induce your Holiness to be incensed* [*against us.*] *And in the first place* [*they affirm,*] [c] *that we have removed the Reliques of our Father of holy Memory the Blessed Archbishop* Timotheus, *to some other place. Which Fact is neither acceptable to God, nor agreeable to the Laws. Then they pass to another* [*Crime,*] *which is inconsistent with it self, and much worse than the former. For, how could we* Anathematize *the Holy Synod at* Chalcedon, *which we have believed and confirmed? But ye are not ignorant, nor is it concealed from your Piety, how great the Heat and Levity of the People amongst us is, as also* [*that*] *of the* Monks *who are desirous of change and innovation. Who having entred into a consult together with some malevolent Persons that have severed themselves from the Church, attempt to draw the People after them. But, by the assistance of your Prayers,* [d] *we have found a Way how to cure* [*this mischief,*] *without doing any prejudice to the holy Synod of* Chalcedon; *for we have been certainly informed, that nothing new hath been done there. And in order to the perswasion and* * *satisfaction of the more simple, we have taken care that the same thing should be said by* [e] *those who hold Assemblies together with us. And to* [f] *this business, after I had been wholly intent upon it, I soon put a stop. Further, I do signify to your Sanctity, that even at this very instant the* Monks *cease not, who sow Tares, intermixing some Persons among themselves, who never dwelt in* [g] *Monasteries* [*as*] *instruments* [*of Sedition;*] *and run up and down scattering various Rumours against Us, and* † *against the Peace of Christ's Church, and permitting us to perform nothing Canonically and in a manner befitting God's Holy Catholick Church: making it their business, that the People committed to our care should rule over, rather than obey us; in fine,*] * *they attempt the doing of whatever* [*actions*] *are unseemly* [*in the sight*] *of God. But we are confident, that* Your Sanctity *will give the* Most divine Lord of the World *an account of all things, and will take care, that* [*such an*] *Order shall be issued forth to them from* His Serenity, *as may be necessary in relation to the Ecclesiastick Peace, and befitting God and the Emperour: so that all Persons may acquiesce in what* [*shall be established.*]

[b] Ὑπὸ τε πόνων. It must doubtless be ὑπὲρ τε πόνων, *for those great Labours.* Instead of ἀμείφθη, it must be ἀμείψεται, as it is in the *Tellerian* MS. and in *Nicephorus.* Vales.

[c] *Mongus* says, this Crime was objected against him, that he had removed the Reliques of *Timotheus Salophaciolus* into another place. But he neither excuses that Fact, nor denies it: resting satisfy'd only in saying this, That that Fact was impious in the presence of God and Men. For humane Laws do severely punish the disturbers of Sepulchers. 'Tis certain *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon* writes thus concerning *Mongus: Post Consulatum Zenonis tertium,* &c. *After* Zeno's *third Consulate,* ——*He condemns the* Chalcedon *Synod out of the Pulpit before the People. He takes the Names of* Proterius *and* Timotheus Salophaciolus *out of the Ecclesiastick* Diptycks, *and writes therein those of* Dioscorus *and* Ælurus, *who had murdered* Proterius; *and having cast* Timotheus Salophaciolus's *Body out of the Church, he threw it into a desart place without the City.* *Liberatus* also attests the same in his *Breviary,* chap. 18. in these words: ——*Sed & Petrum Alexandrinum,* &c.—— *Moreover,* Petrus Alexandrinus *anathematizing the* Chalcedon *Synod and Pope* Leo's *Tome, who having expunged the Names of* Proterius *and* Timotheus Catholicus *out of the* Diptycks, *inserted those of* Dioscorus *and* Ælurus; *who took the Body of the same* Timotheus Catholicus *out of the Earth, and cast it forth, who had been buried amongst the Catholick Bishops,* Acacius *has in a strange manner praised him, concerning whom he had remembred before, that himself had related so great Crimes.* Lastly, Pope *Felix* in the Sentence of Condemnation against *Acacius,* does expresly confirm this very thing. So that now there can be no further doubt of the truth of this Fact. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐσκεψάμεθα λόγον. Translatours have rendred this place variously. For *Muscutus* translates it thus; *Libellum consideratè concinnavimus, We have with consideration composed a Libel. Christophorson,* in this manner; *Literas hasce excogitavimus, quæ huic malo remedio sint, We have found out these Letters, which may be a remedy for this mischief.* But *Johannes Langus, Nicephorus's* Translatour, has rendred it thus; *Re deliberatâ, rationem quæ mederi malo imminenti posset, invenimus, Having considered the business, we found out a way, which might cure the imminent evil.* Of these three Renditions, the second is wholly to be rejected; but the first and third are tolerable. Nevertheless, it seems to me more fit, to render λόγον the *Oration,* or, *Speech to the People,* which *Petrus* made in the Church at such time as he ordered the *Ecclesiastick Acts* to be made up before *Acacius's Legates*; concerning which *Acts Evagrius* has spoken before, at the close of the foregoing chapter. *Vales.*

* Or, Defence.

[e] Τὰς ὁμοσυνελθόντας ἡμῖν. *Johannes Langus* renders this place thus: *Fecimus ut ab iis qui nobiscum conventus agunt, ista dicerentur, We have caused, that these things should be said by those, who hold Assemblies with us.* *Musculus* interprets it in this manner: *Eos qui ad nos venerunt, hoc ipsum dicere fecimus, We have made those, who have come to us, say the same thing.* *Christophorson's* Translation runs thus: *Tum ut illi qui nobiscum unà accersebantur, pro defensione idem ipsum dicerent, effecimus, And also we have procured, that they who were sent for together with us, should for a defence say the very same thing.* They thought therefore, that the word ὁμοσυνελθόντας signified no other thing than συνελθόντας. But by the term ὁμοσυνελθόντας, 'tis my judgment that the *Ecclesiasticks* and *Laicks* of *Timotheus Salophaciolus's* party are understood, who by the order of *Zeno Augustus* were associated and joined to *Petrus Mongus.* For the Emperour *Zeno,* by the perswasion and advice of *Acacius,* had written to *Apollonius* the *Augustalis,* and *Pergamius* the *Dux,* that they should eject *Johannes Talaia,* and install *Petrus,* provided he would admit of the *Henoticon,* and receive [to Communion] the Clergy of *Timotheus Catholicus*; as *Liberatus* relates in his *Breviary,* chap. 18. *Zeno* had likewise written Letters to *Petrus Mongus,* wherein he ordered him, that he should give reception to the Clergy of *Timotheus's* party, who were of the same Opinion with himself; as the same *Liberatus* affirms in these words; *Et quidem Petrus inthronizatur ab omnibus,* &c. *And* Petrus *is installed by all Persons.* *'Tis written from the Emperour, that he should receive those that agreed with him who had been of* Timotheus Catholicus's *Party.* That is, as well the Clergy as Laity, who were willing to agree to *Zeno's* Edict. When therefore *Petrus Mongus* made up his *Ecclesiastick Acts,* wherewith he would prove to *Acacius* that he had never condemned the *Chalcedon* Synod; he made use of these Persons as Witnesses, and caused them to confirm this with their own Testimony, That the *Chalcedon* Synod had never been condemned by *Petrus.* Further, their Testimony seemed worthy to be credited, because they had been of *Timotheus Catholicus's* party, who had always defended the *Chalcedon* Synod. See the Close of the sixteenth Chapter. Pope *Felix* speaks concerning these very Persons in the Sentence of Condemnation against *Acacius*; where his words are these: *Quid enim sunt aliud, qui post obitum sanctæ memoriæ Timothei, ad Ecclesiam sub Petro redeunt,* &c. *For what are they else, who after the death of* Timotheus *of holy memory, return to the Church, under* Petrus, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, Darnel.

† Or, Against the Ecclesiastick peace of Christ.

*Or, They desire to do.

[f] That is, that Crime which by some ill-minded Persons was objected against me; to wit, that the *Chalcedon* Synod is rejected and condemned by me. *Vales.*

[g] Τινῶν μοναστηρίων. The Learned have long since made it μοναστήρια; which is the Reading in *Nicephorus.* Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what manner Johannes [*Bishop*] *of* Alexandria *perswades* Felix *Pope of* Rome *to send a Deposition to* Acacius [*Bishop*] *of* Constantinople.

[IN the interim] *Johannes* having fled to *Rome*, [desisted not from] troubling *Felix*, who had succeeded *Simplicius* in the Bishoprick of *Rome*, about those things done by *Petrus*; and [at length] prevails [so far,] as *Zacharias* affirms, that a Deposition was sent from *Felix* himself to *Acacius*, on account of his holding a Communion with *Petrus*. Which Deposition, in regard it was a thing done [a] contrary to the Prescript of the Canons, as the same *Zacharias* has related; for (some of those Persons who lead a Monastick Life in that termed *The Monastery of the* * *Acœmeti*, delivered it;) *Acacius* would not admit of, nor acknowledge. And these things have indeed [in this manner] been written by *Zacharias*: but he seems to me, to have had no exact knowledge of the matters at that time transacted; but, to have given us a very lame, maimed, and imperfect account; to wit, those things only which he had from Report and Hear-say. I my self therefore will give an accurate Narrative of that whole Tranfaction. [b] Libels having been presented to *Felix* by *Johannes* against *Acacius*, because he illegally held Communion with *Petrus*, and on account of other things done by him contrary to the Canons; the Bishops *Vitalis* and *Misenus* are sent [c] from *Felix* to [the Emperour] *Zeno*, [with the requests,] that the Synod at *Chalcedon* might be confirmed, that *Petrus* might be expelled [from his See] as being an Heretick, and that *Acacius* should be sent to *Felix*, to give an account of those matters; whereof *Johannes* (of whom we have made frequent mention) might accuse him.

* That is, *the Monks who did not sleep.*

[b] Some time before this, *Johannes Tabennesiota* (after he had been ejected out of his See,) had come to *Rome*, and had made his Case known to Pope *Simplicius*. But he had not presented a Libel to him; but had only perswaded him, that he would write to *Acacius* in defence of his Cause. Which thing Pope *Simplicius* performed with a ready and willing mind. But *Acacius*, having received *Simplicius*'s Letters, returned Answer, that he in no wise acknowledged *Johannes* Bishop of *Alexandria*: but, had received *Petrus Mongus* to Communion, by order of the Emperour *Zeno*. At which Letters *Simplicius* being highly incensed, wrote back, that *Acacius* had not done what was regular and orderly, in that he had received *Petrus* to Communion, who stood condemned by the common Sentence of them both. And when *Johannes* was preparing to offer a Libel to the Pope, containing various Crimes against *Acacius*; in the interim *Simplicius* was prevented by death, before *Acacius* had given Answer to his last Letters, as *Liberatus* tells us in his *Breviarium*. But after *Felix* had been put into *Simplicius*'s place, *Johannes* presented that Libel to Pope *Felix*, which he had before made ready to offer to *Simplicius*. Who forthwith sent a Libel of Citation to *Acacius* by the Bishops *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, ordering him to come to *Rome* immediately, and give in his Answer before the Apostolick See, to the Libel of *Johannes* the Bishop; as 'tis recorded in the *Gesta de nomine* Acacii, and in the *Libel of Citation* transmitted to *Acacius*. ——— Vales.

[a] In the Condemnation and Deposition of *Acacius*, the *Greeks* found fault chiefly with two things. First, because he had not been condemned and deposed in a Synod; but only Pope *Felix* had prefixt his own Name before the Sentence of Deposition. The other thing was, because *Acacius* having been neither convicted nor examined according to the Ecclesiastick Canons, had received a Sentence of Condemnation. To the former Objection those of the Church of *Rome* returned this Answer: That there was no need of a new Synod for the condemning of *Acacius*. For all Followers and *Communicators* [that is, *those that held Communion*] with Heretick, who had heretofore been condemned by a special Sentence, are to be understood as condemned together with the same Hereticks. So says Pope *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the *Orientals* (which was first published by *Jacobus Syrmondus*,) in the *Gesta de nomine Acacii*. I know what Answer is given by *Baronius* at the year of Christ 484, chap. 21: to wit, that *Gelasius* speaks concerning an *Oecumenical* Synod. But by *Baronius*'s favour, this Answer is not satisfactory. For the *Greeks* in this affair made no difference between a General and a particular Council. But in general they affirmed, that *Acacius* had been condemned in no Synod particularly convened upon his account. For thus Pope *Gelasius* writes in the forementioned Epistle, speaking to the *Orientals*, in these words: *An de uno dolet Acacio, quod speciali Synodo non fuerit confutatus*, &c. *Are you troubled about one* Acacius, *because he has not been confuted in a special Synod; whenas he himself in his own Letters hath detected his own Crime; nor having already voluntarily confessed, ought he to be heard; and are you not troubled about so great Catholick Prelates without any Examination secluded?* Pope *Gelasius* confesses ingenuously, that *Acacius* had been convicted and heard in no special Synod. 'Tis certain, neither of those two *Roman* Synods, wherein *Acacius* was condemned, were convened upon his account. For the former was assembled on the account of *Vitalis* and *Misenus* the Legates of the Apostolick See; wherein *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were indeed condemned: but *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Acacius*, were only reprehended and by the by reproved, as *Evagrius* tells us a little after this. But the Latter Synod was assembled on the account of the *Antiochian* Church, on the same year, as Pope *Felix* informs us, in his *Synodick Letter* to all the *Presbyters* and *Archimandrites* at *Constantinople* and throughout *Bithynia*. In which Synod *Petrus* Bishop of *Antioch* was indeed chiefly and most especially condemned; who having ejected *Calendion*, had invaded the *Antiochian* See. But *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, were only condemned as the Associates and *Communicators* of the same *Petrus*; as the Subscription annext to the same *Letter* doth declare [in these words] *Candidus Tiburtinæ Civitatis Episcopus*, &c. I Candidus *Bishop of the* Tiburtine *City, following the authority of the Apostolick See, set forth by the Catholick deliberation of us all, according to the State of the Church; pronouncing an* Anathema *to* Petrus *the Invader of the* Alexandrian *Church, and to* Acacius *sometime of the* Constantinopolitan *Church, also to* Petrus [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch, *who have heretofore been rightly and deservedly separated from the Episcopal* [*Dignity*] *and number of* Christians, *and to all their followers, have subscribed*, &c. But whereas the *Greeks* complained that Pope *Felix* had prefixt his own Name only before that Sentence; *Felix*, in the forecited Letter, answers this Objection thus, in these words: *Unde nec causâ Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ apud B. Petrum Apostolum collecti*, &c. *Whence being at this present convened before the Blessed Apostle* Peter *on account of the* Antiochian *Church, we have again hastned to shew your love the usage which was always obtained amongst us. As often as the Lords and Prelates are convened within* Italy *on account of Ecclesiastical Causes, especially of Faith, an usage is retained, that the Successor of the Prelates of the Apostolick See, in the Name* [*or Person*] *of all the Prelates of all* Italy, *agreeable to the Care of all the Churches appertaining to them, should constitute all things.* Pope *Julius* had said the same long before *Felix*, in his *Letter* to the *Orientals*, which *Athanasius* records in his *Apologetick*. But now, as to the second Objection of the *Easterns*, concerning *Acacius*'s being condemned without any Examination; that is sufficiently answered by Pope *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the *Orientals*, the words whereof we have produced above. *Vales.*

[c] Πρὸς τὸν φίλικα περὶ τὸν ζιώνα. The words are transposed, which I restore thus; σέλλον περὶ τὸν φίλικα πρὸς τὸν ζιώνα, *are sent from* Felix *to* [*the Emperour*] Zeno. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Cyrillus *Governour of the* Monastery *of the* Acœmeti, *how he sent some Persons to* Felix *at* Rome, *inciting him to revenge what had been committed against the Faith.*

[a] BUT before their arrival at the Imperial City, *Cyrillus* Governour of those [Monks] termed the [b] *Acœmeti*, sends [some Persons] to *Felix*, complaining of his slackness, in regard so great offences were committed against the true Faith. *Felix* therefore writes to *Misenus* and those who accompanied him, [ordering them] to do nothing before they should have had a Conference with *Cyrillus*, and might be informed from him what was to be done.

[a] Πρὶν ἢ δὲ τούτοις φθῶσι τὴν βασιλείαν. *Nicephorus* has excellently well explained this place of *Evagrius*, in these words: Πρινὴ ἢ βιτάλιον καὶ μισῆνον τοὺς ἐκ ῥώμης ἥκοντας φθάσαι τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, &c. *But before* Vitalis *and* Misenus, *coming from* Rome, *had arrived at the Imperial City*, &c. In *Evagrius* therefore it must be written thus; πρινὴ ἢ τέλος φθῶσι τὴν βασίλειον. For so *Evagrius* does usually call *Constantinople*; as hereafter, at chap. 25. *Vales.*

[b] There were two Monasteries at *Constantinople* which were termed [The Monasteries] of the *Acœmeti*, to wit, [The Monastery] of *Bassianus*, and that of *Dius*. They had taken the Name of *Bassianus* and of *Dius* from their Founders. But they had the Appellation of *Acœmeti*, [or, *Acœmitæ*,] given them, because they celebrated the

the Divine praiſes night and day, ſucceeding one another by turns; in ſo much that they ſeemed not to ſleep. So heretofore in the *Gallia*'s, a continual praiſing of God is ſaid to have been kept up in ſome Monaſteries. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

Concerning what Felix *wrote to* Zeno, *and* Zeno *to* Felix.

THere were diſpatch'd to them other [a] *Commonitories* alſo from *Felix*; who likewiſe wrote Letters to *Zeno*, both concerning the *Chalcedon* Synod, and alſo about the Perſecution in *Africa* [which had been raiſed] by *Onorichus*. Beſides, he wrote to *Acacius*. The Emperour *Zeno* returned an anſwer to *Felix*, [wherein he told him] that *Johannes* had given him trouble in vain, becauſe * he had ſworn that he would in no wiſe at any time ſue for Admiſſion to the See of *Alexandria*; but, that afterwards he had diſregarded his Oath, and committed all manner of Sacrilege: and, that *Petrus* had not been ordained raſhly and without an exquiſite Tryal and Examination, but had with his own hand ſubſcribed, that he embraced the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers heretofore convened at *Nicæa*; which Faith the Holy Synod at *Chalcedon* alſo had [approved of, and] followed. The expreſs words [of *Zeno*'s Letter] are theſe: *You ought to be moſt undoubtedly aſſured, that both* Our Piety, *and the forementioned moſt Holy* Petrus, *and all the moſt holy Churches, do Embrace and Revere the moſt Holy Synod of the* [b] Chalcedonians, *which hath fully agreed with the Faith in the Synod of the* Nicæans.

[a] Ὑπομνηστικά. *Nicephorus* ſuppoſed that theſe *Commonitoria* (for ſo the *Latines* term them, which the *Greeks* call ὑπομνηστικὰ,) were written to the Emperour *Zeno*. But *Evagrius* ſays they were written to *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* the Legates of the Apoſtolick See. 'Tis certain, *Commonitories* were wont to be ſent to Ambaſſadors and ſuch like Perſons, but not to the *Roman* Emperour. For they were as it were *Orders* and *Inſtructions which publick Miniſters ought ſtudiouſly to obſerve*. Valeſ.

* That is, *Johannes*.

[b] Καλχηδονέων. In the excellent *Florent.* Manuſcr. I found it written Καλχηδωναίων: and ſo alſo the ſame Manuſcript Copy has it written in other places, as I have remarked before. Indeed, the ancient Coyns do confirm this writing of this word, as does likewiſe the Author of the *Etymologicon* in the word καλχηδῶν. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἐμφέρεσθαι τοῖς τε πεπραγμένοις Iagree with Sir *Henry Savil*, who in his Copy hath mended it thus, ἐμφέρεσθαί τε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, *There are alſo extant in the ſame Acts.* But I can in no wiſe approve of *Chriſtophorſon*'s Verſion, who has rendred this place thus: *Extant præterea in Actis ejuſdem Concilii*, &c. *There are moreover, extant in the Acts of the ſame Council*, &c. For *Evagrius* makes no mention here of any Council, only takes a view of the Collection of Letters, which belonged to *Acacius*'s Cauſe. *Chriſtophorſon* thought (becauſe he ſaw mention was made of the Acts by *Evagrius*,) that it followed immediately, that theſe things were tranſacted in a Council. But the matter is not always ſo. For whatever things were done in any affair, may ſimply be called *Acts*, although no Council or Judiciary proceedings intervened. *Valeſ.*

[c] There are alſo extant in the ſame *Acts* the Letters, both from the forementioned *Cyrillus*, and from other *Archimandrites* of the Imperial City; and alſo [thoſe] from the Biſhops and Clergy of the *Egyptick Diœceſis*, [written] to *Felix*, againſt *Petrus* as being an Heretick, and againſt thoſe who communicated with him. Further, when the [Monks] belonging to the Monaſtery of the *Acœmeti*, were come to *Felix*, [d] they accuſed *Miſenus* and thoſe that accompanied him, becauſe till their arrival at *Byzantium*, [the name of] *Petrus* had in ſecret been recited in the *Sacred Diptycks*; but, that from that time till now it was recited publickly; and therefore, that *Miſenus* and thoſe who accompanied him had held Communion [with *Petrus*.] The Letter likewiſe of the *Egyptians* affirmed the ſame things [with what I have related] concerning *Petrus*; and further alſo, that *Johannes* being a Perſon *Orthodox*, had been legally Ordained; but, that *Petrus* was Ordained only by [e] two Biſhops, who maintained the ſame ill opinion with himſelf: and, that immediately after *Johannes*'s flight, all manner of puniſhments had been inflicted on the *Orthodox*. And that *Acacius* had had information of all theſe things by ſome Perſons who had made a journey to him [from *Alexandria*] to the Imperial City; and [laſtly,] that *Acacius* was found to be *Petrus*'s favourer and aſſiſtant in all things.

[d] Ὅτι ἠ διήλεγξαν. The Article ὅτι is to be expunged; which is not acknowledged by *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[e] All other Authors relate, that *Mongus* was ordained by one Biſhop, and he an Heretick. So ſays *Acacius* in his Letter to Pope *Simplicius*, and *Felix* in his *Synodick Epiſtle* to all the *Monks* and *Archimandrites* at *Conſtantinople* and in *Bithynia*. The ſame is likewiſe atteſted by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107; and by *Gelaſius* in the *Geſta de nomine Acacii*. Yet *Liberatus* affirms *Petrus* was ordained by more Biſhops than one, although he expreſſes not their number. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

That Symeones *a Monk belonging to the* Monaſtery *of the* Acœmeti *went to* Rome, *and accuſed thoſe Biſhops ſent from the* Romans *to* Conſtantinople *as having held Communion with Hereticks; and, that theſe* Legates, *and thoſe Perſons who held Communion with* Petrus, *were depoſed by the* Romans.

THeſe [accuſations] were much increaſed by *Symeones*, one of thoſe Monks termed the *Acœmeti*, who was ſent [to *Rome*] from *Cyrillus*. For this Perſon accuſed *Miſenus* and *Vitalis* for having communicated with Hereticks; [he averred] that the name of *Petrus* was publickly recited in the Sacred *Diptycks*, and that by this means many of the ſimpler ſort were impoſed upon by Hereticks, who affirmed that *Petrus* was received [to Communion] even by the See of *Rome*. *Symeones* added likewiſe, that when ſeveral queſtions [were propoſed,] *Miſenus* and his Companions would not allow of a Conference with any Perſon that was *Orthodox*, or make a delivery of Letters to them, or take an exact ſcrutiny of any thing that was audaciouſly attempted againſt the true Faith. *Sylvanus* a Preſbyter (one that had converſed with *Miſenus* and *Vitalis* at *Conſtantinople*,) was likewiſe brought in, who confirmed what had been ſaid by the Monks. Moreover, *Acacius*'s [a] Letter to *Simplicius* was read, [wherein *Acacius*] affirmed, that *Petrus* had been long ſince Depoſed; and that he was *a Son of Night*. And on theſe accounts *Miſenus* and *Vitalis* were removed from the Sacerdotal Function, and ſeparated from the undefiled Communion; the whole Synod having given their vote in theſe expreſs words: *The Church of the* Romans *doth not receive* [*to Communion*] *the Heretick* Petrus, *who hath long ſince been both condemned by the Vote of the Sacred Chair, and alſo Excommunicated and Anathematized. Againſt whom (though nothing elſe were objected, yet) even this would be ſufficient, that having been ordained by Hereticks, he could not preſide over the* Orthodox. This alſo was contained [in the ſaid Sentence:] [b] *But, that* Acacius [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople *deſerves a ſevere reproof, the thing it ſelf has demonſtrated; becauſe in his Letter to* Simplicius *he has termed* Petrus *an Heretick, but at this preſent hath not detected*

[a] This Letter of *Acacius*'s is extant, ſet forth in *Latine* amongſt the Epiſtles of Pope *Simplicius*. The ſame Letter is mentioned in Pope *Felix*'s Epiſtle, which contains *Acacius*'s Sentence of Depoſition. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς. We have added the Particle δὲ, *But*, from the

detected it to the Emperour: for he ought, if he had loved Zeno, to have done this; but he loves the Emperour with a greater ardency of affection, [c] than he has for the Faith. But let us reduce our Relation to the [d] following Series of affairs. There is extant an Epistle of *Acacius*'s, [written] to the Bishops in *Egypt*, and to the Ecclesiasticks and Monks, and to the whole Body of the Laity; wherein he has attempted to repair and make up the Schism which had hapned. Concerning which affair he wrote also to *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Florentine MS. which particle casts a great light upon this place.

the same *Florentine* Manuscript at the side of these words, this *Scholion* was written; Οὐ λέγει ἔτι ἐνταῦθα πέως πεπανῶς τὸν Ἀκάκιον ὑπὸ τῆ ἰδίως καθαιρεθῆναι. Θεόδωρος δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ὁ Κίλιξ βασίλειος πεπανῶς αὐτὸ φασι. That is, *This Author does not say here expressly, that* Acacius *was deposed by the* [*Bishop*] *of* Rome: *but* Theodorus *and* Basilius Cilix *do manifestly affirm this.* Nicephorus (book 16 chap. 17.) attests the same concerning *Basilius Cilix*. Further, our *Evagrius* is undeservedly reproved by that *Scholiast*, because at this place he speaks nothing of *Acacius*'s Deposition. *Evagrius* does here relate all things that were transacted in the *Roman* Synod, which was convened in the year of Christ 484. against *Vitalis* and *Misenus* Legates of the Apostolick See. In that Synod *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were indeed deprived of the honour of the Priesthood. But *Acacius* was only reprehended and rebuked, as 'tis apparent from the Decree of the Synod, here recorded by *Evagrius*. After this, *Felix* sent his *Synodick Letters* to *Acacius*; wherein these words occurred; *Peccasti, ne adjicias, & de prioribus supplica, You have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for* [*your*] *former* [*failings.*] After receipt of which Letters, when *Acacius* still stood out, and committed Facts worse than the former; Pope *Felix* (the Bishop's being a second time convened,) promulged a Sentence of Deposition against *Acacius*, and directed it to *Acacius*, by *Tutus Defensor* of the *Roman* Church; which [Sentence] begins thus: *Multarum transgressionum reperiris obnoxius, You are found guilty of many transgressions.* That these things were transacted in this manner, Pope *Felix* informs us in his *Synodick Letter*, to the *Presbyters* and *Archimandrites* at *Constantinople* and throughout *Bithynia*. For, after he had written concerning *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, and concerning *Acacius*, who were condemned in the *Roman* Synod, he adds these words: *Post illam sententiam quæ in Acacium perturbatorem totius Orientis Ecclesiæ dicta est*, &c. *After that Sentence which hath been pronounced against* Acacius, *the disturber of the whole Eastern Church, being now also convened, we have added to these Letters*, &c. And a little after; *Unde nunc causâ Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ*, &c. *Wherefore being at this present convened in the presence of the Blessed Apostle* Peter *on account of the* Antiochian *Church, we do again hasten to declare to your love the Custom which hath always obtained amongst us.* From which words it appears, that this Letter was written by *Felix*, in the name of the third *Roman* Synod, which had been assembled on account of the *Antiochian* Church; which after *Calendion* was ejected, *Petrus Fullo* had invaded. In this Synod therefore *Felix* had dictatedt he Sentence against *Acacius*, (which begins thus; *Multarum transgressionum reperiris obnoxius, You are found guilty of many transgressions*;) and had transmitted it to *Acacius*, by *Tutus* the *Defensor*. Nor can any one say, that that Sentence was pronounc'd before in the second *Roman* Synod, at such time as *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were condemned; but was sent a little afterwards by *Felix*, by the order of the Third *Roman* Synod. For *Evagrius* refutes this, who does not say, that the Sentence of Deposition was pronounc'd against *Acacius* in that *Roman* Synod wherein *Vitalis* and *Misenus* were condemned. Besides, *Liberatus* in his *Breviarium* (chap. 18.) does manifestly declare, that that Sentence of Deposition against *Acacius* was pronounc'd long after the Condemnation of *Vitalis* and *Misenus*. For hear what *Liberatus* says; *Redeunt aliquando Legati. Sed præcesserunt Monachi*, &c. *At length the Legates return. But the Monks had gone before, who in a grievous manner accused them of Treachery. Having been forthwith heard and convicted from those Letters which they had brought, they are removed from their own places.* And after some few words; *Ubi ergo ad plenum detectus est* Acacius *Hæreticus*, &c *When therefore the Heretick* Acacius *was fully detected,* Pope Felix *put these words in his* Synodick Letters: *You have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for* [*your*] *former* [*failings.*] Acacius *having received these Letters, persists in the same mind, neither receding from* Petrus's *Communion, nor yet perswading him openly to embrace the* Chalcedon *Synod and the* Tome *of Pope* Leo. *Pope* Felix *understanding this, sent a Writing of Condemnation to* Acacius *by* Tutus *the* Defensor; *the beginning whereof is this, You are found guilty of many* Transgressions. Vales.

[c] Καὶ τῷ πίστιν ἀγαπᾶ. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, the Reading is, ὃ τῷ πίστιν ἀσπᾶ, *Loves not the Faith.* But it would be better written thus; ἢ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπᾶ. Thus *Christophorson* seems to have read, and so we have rendred it. At the Clause immediately foregoing, instead of [Δεῖ ἐάφ ἠγάπα τὸν ζωώνα τῦτο πεᾶξαι, *For he ought, if he had loved* Zeno, *to have done this*;] I would rather read thus; εἴπερ ἠσάπα τῷ πίστιν· μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ζήνωνα, &c. *Whereas, if he had loved the Faith rather than* Zeno, *he ought to have done this.*

[d] After the *Roman* Synod which was convened on the account of *Vitalis* and *Misenus*, and wherein *Vitalis* and *Misenus* had been condemned; but *Petrus* and *Acacius* were only reproved and rebuked; it was consequent that *Evagrius* should have spoken concerning the Sentence of Deposition pronounc'd against *Acacius*, and sent to *Constantinople* by *Tutus* the *Defensor*. And yet *Evagrius* has not done this here. Whereof two Reasons may be assigned. For, either this was done by *Evagrius* in Reverence to the *Constantinopolitan* See; or else, because *Evagrius* had related *that* before from *Zacharias Rhetor*; as may be seen in the eighteenth Chapter. What therefore he had declared there, he look'd upon as superfluous to repeat at this place. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Disturbances at Alexandria, *and in several* [*other*] *places, on account of the Synod at* Chalcedon.

THE Schism therefore increasing at *Alexandria*, *Petrus* (after he had [a] again *Anathematized Leo*'s *Epistle*, and the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon* Synod, and those Persons who would not embrace the Writings of *Dioscorus* and *Timotheus*;) perswaded some of the Bishops and *Archimandrites* to communicate with himself. And because he could not induce others [to do the same,] he drove most of them from their own Monasteries. For which Reasons [b] *Nephalius* made a journey to the imperial City, and gave *Zeno* an account of these matters. Whereat *Zeno* was sorely troubled, and sends *Cosmas*, one of his own *Protectors* [to *Alexandria*;] who gave forth many and great Menaces against *Petrus* on account of [procuring an] Unity, in regard by his own roughness he had raised a great Dissention. But *Cosmas*, when nothing succeeded according to his wish and design, returned to the Imperial City, having only restored the ejected Monks to their own Monasteries. Again therefore the Emperour sends *Arsenius*, whom he had preferred to be *Prefect* of *Egypt* and *Dux of the Companies of the Militia*. He being arrived at *Alexandria* in company with *Nephalius*, made a Speech concerning Unity. But when he could not perswade [them to it,] he sent some of them to the Imperial City. Moreover, many Disputes were held before *Zeno* concerning the Synod at *Chalcedon*: but nothing was brought to effect, because *Zeno* did not * wholly assent to the Synod at *Chalcedon*.

[a] I have made good this place from the *Florentine* MS. in this manner, Λέοντ⟨ος⟩ αὖθις ἀναθεματίσας, *After he had again Anathematized*, &c. For *Petrus Mongus* condemned not the *Chalcedon Synod* together with *Leo*'s *Epistle*, once, but oftner. *Vales.*

[b] *Liberatus* makes mention of this *Abbot Nephalius* in his *Breviarium*, ch. 18. *Vales.*

* Or, *fully.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning Fravita *and* Euphemius [*Bishops*] *of* Constantinople; *and concerning* Athanasius *and* Johannes [*Bishops*] *of* Alexandria: *also concerning* Palladius *and* Flavianus [*Prelates*] *of* Antioch; *and concerning some other Persons.*

BUT *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Constantinople* having [a] in this interim gone the common way [of Mankind,] *Fravita* succeeded him in his Bi-

[a] Ἐν τοσέτῳ. I had rather make it, ἐν τέτῳ, *in this interim.*

shop, Further, 'tis to be observed, that *Evagrius* does in the first place relate *Acacius*'s death. For, of those three Schismaticks who rent in sunder the *Oriental Church*, (to wit, *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Petrus* of *Alexandria*, and *Petrus* of *Antioch*;) the first that departed out of this Life (says *Evagrius*) was *Acacius*; then *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, who was termed *Mongus*; and last

laſt of all died *Petrus Fullo*. But *Victor Tunonenſis* in his *Chronicon* relates, that the firſt that died of thoſe three I have mentioned, was *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Antioch*. For his words are theſe: *Poſt Conſulatum ſecundum Longini*, &c. *After* Longinus's *ſecond Conſulate*, Petrus [*Biſhop*] *of* Antioch *dies under condemnation, and in his place* Calendion *is ordained. But the Eaſtern Biſhops, as Perſons ignorant, conſecrate* Johannes *ſurnamed* Codonatus, *Biſhop over the ſaid* Antiochian *Church, to whom ſucceeded* Petrus *the Heretick*. This was the year of Chriſt 488. *Dynamius* and *Siſidius* being Conſuls. But on the year following, wherein *Probinus* and *Euſebius* were Conſuls, the ſame *Victor Tunonenſis* records *Acacius*'s death in theſe words: *Euſebio V. C. Coſ. Acacius Conſtantinopolitanus Epiſcopus ſub damnatione moritur*, &c. *The moſt famous Perſonage* Euſebius *being Conſul*, Acacius *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *dies under condemnation, and in his room* Flavita *is ordained Biſhop; to whom (he dying in the third month of his Promotion,)* Euphemius *Keeper of the Decrees of the* Chalcedon *Synod was ſucceſſor in the Biſhoprick*. And on the next year, *Longinus* and *Fauſtus* being the ſecond time Conſuls, the ſame *Victor* relates, that *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria* died under Condemnation. But *Baronius*, in his *Eccleaſiaſtick Annals*, relates indeed the death of theſe three Schiſmaticks in the ſame order with *Victor Tunonenſis*, but not on the ſame year. For he ſays, that *Petrus Fullo* died on the year of our Lord's Nativity 486. And, that *Acacius* died two years after that, that is, on the year of Chriſt 488: But in *Mongus*'s death he agrees exactly with *Victor*. But I had rather follow *Victor*'s Opinion, who places *Fullo*'s death on the year of Chriſt 488. For *Calendion* was created Biſhop of *Antioch* on the year of our Lord's Nativity 482, as 'tis manifeſt from Pope *Simplicius*'s Epiſtle; and in regard he held that Biſhoprick four years, as *Theophanes* does atteſt; it muſt neceſſarily be ſaid that *Petrus Fullo*, who on *Calendion*'s being ejected was put into his place, had poſſeſſion of the See of *Antioch* on the year of Chriſt 486. But who can believe that *Petrus Fullo*, who committed ſo many and ſuch notorious Facts during the time of his Epiſcopate, ſhould have died a few months after his promotion? *Petrus Fullo* therefore died not on the year of Chriſt 486, as *Baronius* thought. But this Argument is with eaſe refuted; for 'tis grounded barely on *Theophanes*'s Authority, who attributes four years to *Calendion*'s ſitting Biſhop. But *Calendion* ſate Biſhop during the ſpace of one year only. For he was ejected by the treachery of his Ordainer *Acacius*, a little after the *Roman* Synod, on the year of Chriſt 483; as we are informed from Pope *Felix*'s *Letter to all the Presbyters and Archimandrites at* Conſtantinople *and throughout* Bithynia, and from the Author of the *Geſta de Nomine Acacii*. But *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* are notoriouſly miſtaken, who relate that *Petrus Fullo* departed this life after *Petrus Mongus*. Whom Pope *Gelaſius* has refuted in his Epiſtle to the *Orientals*, who does atteſt that of thoſe two *Petrus Fullo* died firſt. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Theophanes* relates, that *Fravita* wrote *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*, wherein he denied that he communicated with *Felix* Biſhop of *Rome*. And on the other hand, that he ſent *Synodick Letters* to *Felix*, wherein he declared to him, that he had no ſociety or Communion with *Petrus* [Biſhop] of *Alexandria*. *Theophanes* aſſigns only three months continuance in his Biſhoprick to the ſame *Fravita*; as does likewiſe *Victor Tunonenſis*; and not four, as *Evagrius* affirms in this Chapter. *Valeſ.*

This *Athanaſius* having after this ſent *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Succeſſor to [d] *Petrus* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, did the ſame [that *Petrus* had done] in relation to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The very ſame was likewiſe performed by *Johannes*, who after *Athanaſius* ſucceeded in the *Alexandrian* Chair. And after the death of *Palladius* Prelate of the Church at *Antioch*, when *Flavianus* had ſucceeded him in his Chair, *Solomon* a Presbyter of *Antioch* is ſent by him to *Alexandria*, who carried * his *Synodick Letters*, and requeſted *Johannes*'s Letter in anſwer to *Flavianus*. But after this *Johannes*, another *Johannes* ſucceeds in the Chair of *Alexandria*. And theſe things proceeded in the ſame manner [as I have mentioned] † till the beginning of [the Emperour] *Anaſtaſius*'s Reign. For he ejected *Euphemius* [out of his Biſhoprick.] Which [tranſactions] I was neceſſitated to joyn together in one continued *ſeries*, both for perſpicuity's ſake, and alſo that they might with more celerity be underſtood.

[d] *Evagrius* ſays not expreſly, on what year *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch* died; nor can it be gathered from his words that he died after *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. Yea, rather the contrary may be extracted from *Evagrius*'s words. For if *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch* had ſurvived *Petrus Alexandrinus*, doubtleſs *Athanaſius*, who ſucceeded *Petrus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, would have ſent his *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* Biſhop of *Antioch*. For theſe *Synodick Letters* were wont to be ſent by the Patriarchs at the very beginning of their Patriarchate. In regard therefore *Athanaſius* ſent his *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, it appears from thence, that *Petrus Antiochenus* died long before *Petrus Alexandrinus*. Further, concerning *Athanaſius*'s *Synodick Letters*, *Liberatus* in his *Breviarium* ſays theſe words, *Non poſt multum tempus*, &c. *No long time after dies alſo* Petrus Mongus *at* Alexandria, *and after him* Athanaſius *is ordained in that See: who himſelf alſo communicated with the* Conſtantinopolitan, Antiochian, *and* Hieroſolymitan *Church in the Edict*. Valeſ.

* *Flavianus*'s.

† Or, *Till ſometimes of* Anaſtaſius.

[c] There were at *Alexandria* two ſorts of Hereticks; to wit, the *Dioſcoritæ*, and the *Eſaiani*: concerning whom *Liberatus* ſpeaks in his *Breviary*. The *Dioſcoritæ* wholly condemned and *anathematized* the *Chalcedon* Synod. But the *Eſaiani*, following *Zeno*'s Edict [that is, his *Henoticon*,] did not indeed in any wiſe admit that Synod; yet they pronounc'd not an *Anathema* againſt it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the ſlaughter of Armatus, *who was kinſman to the Empreſs* Verina.

BUT *Zeno*, by the perſwaſion of *Illus*, ſlew *Armatus* alſo, who was the Empreſs *Verina*'s kinſman, whom, when he ſent [againſt him] by *Baſiliſcus*, *Zeno* had [a] enſnared with gifts, and, inſtead of being an Enemy, had made him a Friend and an Auxiliary. He alſo creates his Son *Baſiliſcus*, *Cæſar*, at the City *Nicæa*. But when he was come to *Byzantium*, he ſlays *Armatus* by treachery. But he makes his Son *Baſiliſcus*, inſtead of being a *Cæſar*, a Presbyter. Who was afterwards promoted to the Epiſcopal dignity.

[a] *Zeno* brought over *Armatus* to his own ſide, not only by gifts and preſents, but by promiſes alſo. For he promiſed, that as ſoon as he had recovered the Empire, he would make *Armatus Perpetual Magiſter* [or *Maſter*,] *of the preſent Militia*; and his Son *Baſiliſcus*, *Cæſar*, and his own *Aſſeſſour*; as *Theophanes* tells us in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107. Whoſe words, becauſe they are corrupted, nor could be underſtood by the Tranſlatour, I will annex here. Ἀλλὰ δώρεαις τοῖς παρὰ ζήνωνος, καὶ ἔτι ὡς ὅτι πολὺ τυφλωθεὶς, καὶ ἀστοχάστῳ διαδόχῳ στρατηλατείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλίσκον καίσαρα ποιῆσαι καὶ συγκλητεύσειν αὐτῷ, σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ βασιλίσκῳ ἐπανῆλθεν. That is, *But he alſo (as it frequently [happens]) being blinded with gifts [ſent] from* Zeno, *and with a promiſe of the perpetual Maſterſhip of the Milice, and that* Zeno *would make his Son* Baſiliſcus, Cæſar, *and his Aſſeſſour; returned with* Zeno *againſt* Baſiliſcus. I write therefore, καὶ ἀστοχάστῳ διαδόχῳ στρατηλατείας, *and with a promiſe of the perpetual Maſterſhip of the Milice. Theophanes* terms the perpetual Maſterſhip of the Milice ἀδιαδόχον στρατηλατείαν. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* does fully confirm our Emendation. For he writes, that *Zeno* had made a promiſe to *Armatus*, that he would grant to him the Magiſterial power of the preſent Milice as long as he ſhould live. *Suidas* relates much concerning this *Armatus*, in the word ἀρμάτου; which ſeems to have been taken out of *Damaſcius* in the Life of *Hiſydorus* the Philoſopher. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Rebellion of * Theodoricus *the* Scythian; *and concerning the same person's death.*

* Or, Theudericus.

THeudericus, by Nation a *Scythian*, made an insurrection also against *Zeno*: and having gathered together his own Forces in the [Country] of the *Thracians*, undertakes an Expedition against † him. And when he had ruined all the Countries before him, as far as the mouth of *Pontus*, he wanted but little of taking the Imperial City it self; [and had seized it,] had not some of his Greatest Confidents, induced thereto [by gifts,] entred into a Consult ‖ about taking him off. Being informed therefore of this ill design of his own friends against him, he marched back; and not long after this is numbred amongst those departed this life. Moreover, I will declare the manner of his death, which hapned thus. [a] A Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to cast it with, was hung up before his Tent, agreeable to the *mode* of the *Barbarians*. Having therefore a mind to exercise his body, he ordered his horse to be brought to him. And it being not customary with him to make use of a [b] *Strator*, he mounted his horse without any help. But the horse, being a beast unmanaged and fiery, before *Theodoricus* had bestridden him and settled himself, rises with his fore-feet, and began to go forwards upright on his hinder feet only. So that *Theodoricus* striving with his horse, and not daring to [c] curb him with the Bridle, least he should fall backwards upon him, nor yet being firmly seated in his Saddle, was tossed this way and that way, and thrown upon the point [of his Javelin,] which ran obliquely into him, and wounded his side. Being conveyed from thence therefore to his bed, and having continued alive some few days, he died of that wound.

† *Zeno.*

‖ Or, *To kill him.*

[a] Δόρυ ἀμπεχυλαμβάνον. In the exposition of this word Translatours have been mistaken. *Langus* renders it *Hastam expeditam, a Javelin fitted up and in readiness. Musculus*, according to his own usage, having not a *Latine* word ready at hand, retained the *Greek* one. But *Christophorson* has rendred it worst of all, thus, *Hastam cuspide bifidâ, a Javelin with a double point.* I have translated it *Hastam amentatam, a Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to cast it with.* For ἀγκύλη is the same with *Amentum*; to wit, *the thong wherewith Darts or Javelins were bound about, that they might be cast against the Enemy.* The *Old Glosses* out of the *Library of Petrus Daniel* quoted by *Turnebus*, explain it thus: *Amentum, corrigia lanceæ, quæ etiam ansula est ad jactum*, that is, *Amentum, the Latchets of a Launce, which is also a little handle to cast it.* Where *ansula* is the same with ἀγκύλη, to wit, *that whereby a Dart is held that it may be thrown.* *Hesychius* expounds ἀμπεχυλίδες thus, τὸ ἐνεῖρεαι τοὺς δακτύλους τῇ ἀγκύλῃ τὸ ἀκοντίῳ. Τίθεται δὲ καὶ ὅπι τὸ ἕτοιμον ἔχει, *to fit* [*or clasp together*] *the fingers about the leather-latchet of a missile weapon. 'Tis likewise used to signifie, to be ready.* So *Æschylus* made use of this phrase, ἀγκυλημάτων κοτταβίδες, *sounds made by the lashings of leather-thongs*, [See *Hesychius*, in the word κόττα βος:] a *Metaphor* taken ἀπὸ τῶν δοράτων, ἅπερ ἀγκυλίδα καὶ ἀμεντάσκυλα ἐκάλουν, *from those Javelins, which they termed amentata* [that is, *fitted with loops of leather to fling them with*;] as *Eustathius* tells us, at the *Second Book of the Iliads.* Now, there was a double use of the *Amentum.* For, it conduced both to the holding of the Dart, and also that it might be thrown against the Enemy with a greater force. *Valesius.*

[b] Ἀναβολῆ δὲ οὐκ εἰωθὼς χρῆσθαι. In the incomparable *Florentine* MS. I found it plainly written ἀναβολεῖ, as Learned men had conjectured the reading should be. Now, ἀναβολεὺς is the same with him whom the *Latines* term a *Strator, who is wont to lift his Master on horseback*; as *Suidas* attests: in which Author there is a passage extant of an *ancient Writer*, who says these words concerning *King Massanissa*, ὁ δὲ μασσανίσσας γηραιὸς ἵππου χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινε, *But this Massanissa when he was old mounted his horse without a Strator.* Where *Suidas* seems to have taken the word ἀναβολεὺς for *a Scale* which we vulgarly term *a Stirrup.* Valesius.

[c] Ἀναστειλεῖν. I think it must be made ἀναστειρέζειν, as 'tis in the *Tellerian* MS. For so the *Analogy* requires it should; as from πεῖρα is derived πειράζειν. *Suidas* expounds ἀναστειρέζειν thus, ἀναδήλειν, ἀναχαλινῶν, *to pull back, to curb.* But *Nicephorus*, instead of this word, made use of ἀναστέλλειν, *to repress*, or, *to draw back.* Further, the death of *Theodoricus* hapned on the year of *Christ* 481, as *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon* attests, in these words: *Placidio solo Coss. Theodoricus Triarii filius Rex Gothorum*, &c. *Placidius being Consul alone* Theodoricus Triarius's *Son King of the* Goths, *taking his Forces* [*along with him*] *as far as* Anaplum, *arrives at the distance of four miles from the City; but having done no harm to any of the* Romans, *returned forthwith. Further, hasting into* Illyricum, *whilest he was going between the moving Carriages of his own Army, he is wounded and striken thorow with the point of a dart lying upon one of the Wagons,* [*occasioned*] *by the motion of his own horse who started, and dies.* Valesius.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Marcianus's *Insurrection; and what hapned in Relation to him.*

[a] AFter these things, *Marcianus* (the Son of *Anthemius* who had been Emperour of *Rome*, a kinsman by marriage to *Leo Zeno*'s predecessour in the Empire; for he had married *Leontia Leo*'s younger daughter;) having disagreed with *Zeno*, made an attempt to set up for a Tyrant. And a sharp engagement happning about the Palace, wherein many fell on either side; *Marcianus* routs his opposers. And [by that attack] had possest himself of the Palace, had he not let that opportunity slip, by deferring that action till the morrow. For, Opportunity is a swift-wing'd Bird, and, whilst she flies at your feet, may peradventure be taken. But after she has avoided your hands, on a sudden she mounts on high, and derides those who pursue her, not suffering her self to be catcht by them in future. On which account therefore * *Statuaries* and Painters make her hair long before, but have the hinder part of her head to the very skin: with great prudence intimating thereby, that as long as Opportunity is behind, she may be perhaps laid hold on by her long hair: but being got before, she makes a perfect escape, not having any thing whereby she may be taken hold of by the Pursuer. Which very thing at that time befell *Marcianus*, who lost that opportunity which was seasonably offered him, and was not in future able to recover it. For, on the morrow he was betrayed by his own party; and having been wholly deserted, fled to the Church of the *Divine Apostles.* Whence he was drawn out by force, and banish'd to *Cæsarea* a City of the *Cappadocians.* Where keeping company with some *Monks*, he was afterwards found out to design a private escape. On which account he was by the Emperour sent to *Tarsus* of *Cilicia*, and having had his hair shorn, is ordained a Presbyter. These Transactions are with great elegancy written by *Eustathius* the *Syrian.*

[a] *Theophanes* relates this commotion of *Marcianus*'s (in like manner as *our Evagrius* does,) soon after the death of *Theodoricus* the Son of *Triarius.* But *Malchus* dissents, in his *Byzantine History.* For he tells us, that *Theodoricus Triarius* having heard of *Marcianus*'s Sedition, forthwith drew together vast Forces, and marched towards *Constantinople*; pretending to give the Emperour assistance; but in reality, that he might make himself master of the Imperial City. *Malchus*'s words, if any one be desirous of reading them, occurr at pag. 86 of the *King's Edition.* Further, *Procopius Marcianus*'s brother, after *Marcianus* was taken, and his Tyranny suppresst, fled into *Græcia* to *Theodoricus.* And when *Zeno* sent an Embassy requiring him to be delivered up to himself, he could never prevail to get that done by *Theodoricus*; as *Candidus* say, in his *Second Book*; and *Malchus*, in the *book now cited.* Valesius.

* Or, *Image-makers.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning the Tyranny of Illus *and* Leontius.

THE ſame *Euſtathius* relates, that *Zeno* framed innumerable deſigns and intrigues, even againſt *Verina* his own mother in Law; and, that after theſe things, he baniſh'd her into the Country of the *Cilicians:* but, that afterward, when *Illus*'s Tyranny broke out, *Verina* remov'd to that termed *the Caſtle of Papirius*, and there ended her life. Moreover, the ſame *Euſtathius* hath written the Affairs of *Illus* with much Eloquence; how, having been treacherouſly laid wait for by *Zeno*, he made his eſcape; and, in what manner *Zeno* delivered up that perſon [to *Illus*] to be put to death, whom he had ordered to murder *Illus*; [paying him with] the loſs of his head, which reward *Zeno* gave him for his unſucceſsfullneſs in that attempt. *Illus* alſo was declared *Maſter* of the *Oriental Milice* by *Zeno*, who made made it his buſineſs to conceal [thoſe treacherous deſigns he had framed againſt *Illus.*] But *Illus*, having taken into an aſſociation with himſelf *Leontius*, and one *Marſus* a perſon eminent and skilful, and *Pamprepius*, went into the Eaſtern parts. Then [the ſaid *Euſtathius* relates] *Leontius*'s being proclaimed Emperour, which was done at *Tarſus* of *Cilicia*; and alſo, what theſe perſons got by their Tyranny; *Theodoricus* (a perſon by original extract a *Goth*, and who was a man of eminency amongſt the *Romans*,) being ſent againſt them, with an Army conſiſting partly of *Romans* and partly of *Barbarians*. The ſame *Euſtathius* does very ingeniouſly deſcribe the ſlaughter of theſe perſons, which in a cruel manner was effected by *Zeno*'s order, [he repaying them with this reward] for their Benevolence [they had ſhown] to himſelf: and, that *Theodoricus*, [a] made ſenſible of *Zeno*'s treacherous deſigns [againſt himſelf,] departed to the *Seniour Rome:* (But others aſſirm, [b] that [*Theodoricus* made this journey into *Italy*] by *Zeno*'s perſwaſion:) and having vanquiſhed *Odoacer* in an Engagement, made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, and aſſumed to himſelf the name [only] of *King*.

[a] Τῆς ϑαλῆς διδόμενον ζήνωνος, *made ſenſible of* Zeno's *intent.* In the *Florent.* MS. 'tis truer written, thus, τῆς ὀπϑαλῆς, &c. *made ſenſible of* Zeno's *treacherous deſigns*, &c. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὡς ϗ ἐπιϑήκη ζήνωνος. Tranſlatours ſaw not the meaning of this place; they were deceived by an ill punctation. But, by placing a middle diſtinction after theſe words, I have caſt a light upon this paſſage. For *Evagrius* ſays, two reaſons were brought, which had moved *Theodoricus* to go into *Italy*. The firſt was becauſe *Zeno* plotted againſt him. The ſecond is aſſigned in theſe words, *But others affirm that*, &c. Indeed, in the *Excerpta of that old Author*, which I publiſh'd long ſince at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *Theodoricus* is ſaid to have gone into *Italy* with the conſent of *Zeno*. For theſe are the words there, at pag. 479; *Zeno recompenſans beneficiis Theodoricum*, &c. *Zeno recompenſing* Theodoricus *with gifts, whom he made Patricius and Conſul, giving him much; and ſending him into* Italy, *made an agreement with him, that if* Odoacer *ſhould be vanquiſhed, from the merit of his own labours, he ſhould only reign before, in his room whileſt he ſhould live.* [*Loco ejus dum adviveret, in his room whileſt he ſhould live*; ſo 'tis worded in *this note* of *Valeſius*'s here: but in the *forementioned Excerpta of the old Author*, the reading is, *loco ejus dum adveniret, in his room whileſt he ſhould come.*] *Jordanes* does alſo atteſt the ſame in *his Geticks*, and *in his Book de Succeſſione Regnorum.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning Mammianus, *and the* * *Structures* [*built by*] *him.*

* Or, *Works.*

JOhannes the *Rhetorician* relates, that during the Reign of *Zeno*, one *Mammianus*, from being a *Sedentary Mechanick*, became an eminent perſon, and arrived at the *Senatorian* Order; and, that this *Mammianus* built that Edifice termed *The* [a] *Antiphorum* in the *Suburb Daphne*, (which place had before had Vines in it, and was fit for Tillage;) oppoſite to the *publick Bath*; wherein is erected a Brazen Statue, [with this Inſcription,] MAMMIANUS A LOVER OF THE CITY. [The ſame *Johannes* adds,] that he raiſed two *Royal Porticus*'s in the City, for building very magnificent, and beautified with the ſplendour and brightneſs of Stones. And, that between the two *Royal Porticus's*, *The Tetrapylum* a middle Edifice was erected by him, moſt exquiſitely adorned with Columns and * Braſs. * Or, *matters of braſs,* I my ſelf have ſeen the *Royal Porticus*'s, which, together with their name, do ſtill retain the Remains of their former Beauty; their floor being paved with *Proconneſian* Marble. But, the [reſt of the] Building has nothing of excellency. For, by reaſon of thoſe Calamities which have befaln them, they have of late been repair'd, [b] nothing being added that might beautifie them. But, of *the Tetrapylum* erected by *Mammianus* we have not found ſo much as the very * Foundation. * Or, *Footſtep.*

[a] So a certain Building ſeems to be termed, which ſerved inſtead of a *Forum*. *Evagrius* ſays, this Edifice was in the *Daphnenſian Suburb, over againſt* [or, *oppoſite to*] *the publick Bath.* For that is the import of theſe words, ἐυθὺ τὸ δημοσίου ϐαλανείου. *Muſculus* renders ἐυθὺ, *rectà ad publicum Balneum, ſtraightforth to the publick Bath.* Which I approve not of: for ἐυθὺ is the ſame with κατεναντίον, *oppoſite*; as *Suidas* atteſts. Now, in the *Antiforum* (ſays *Evagrius*,) *Mammianus*'s Statue was erected. Whence it is apparent, that *The Antiforum* was the ſame with what I have ſaid above. For Statues were wont to be erected in the *Forum.* Valeſ.

[b] I agree with *Chriſtopherſon* and Sir *Henry Savil*; who indead of [ὀδὲν ἐς κόσμον] have mended it ὀδενὸς, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Zeno's *Death, and the Proclaiming* Anaſtaſius *Emperour.*

FUrther, *Zeno* dying Childleſs, of a diſeaſe [termed] *Epilepſie*, after the ſeventeenth year of his Empire; his brother *Longinus*, who had arrived at great power, entertained an hope, that he ſhould inveſt himſelf with the Empire. But he proved unſucceſsful in his deſires. For *Ariadne* encircled *Anaſtaſius* with the [Imperial] Crown, who had not yet arrived at the *Senatorian Order*, but was inrolled in that termed * *The Schole of the Silentiarii.* Moreover, *Euſtathius* relates, that from the beginning of *Dioclesian*'s Empire to *Zeno*'s death and the Proclaiming of *Anaſtaſius*, there paſſed Two hundred and ſeven years: from the † Empire of *Auguſtus*, Five hundred thirty two years and ſeven months: from the Reign of *Alexander* the *Macedonian* Eight hundred thirty two years, and likewiſe ſeven months: from the Reign of the *Romans* and *Romulus*, One thouſand fifty two years, and moreover ſeven months: from the deſtruction of *Troy*, One thouſand ſix hundred eighty and ſix years, with ſeven months. This

* See Dr. *Howell's Hiſtory ſecond part*; pag. 51.

† Or, *Monarchy.*

Anaſtaſius

Anastasius had his original extract at the City *Epidannus*, which is now termed *Dyrrachium:* and [succeeded] *Zeno* in his Empire, and * *Zeno's.* married * his Wife *Ariadne.* and in the first place he sends away *Longinus* (*Zeno*'s brother, who bore the dignity of a *Magister*, *which Officer* the Ancients termed *The Prefect of the Offices in the Palace*, into his own Country. Then, [he gave] many other *Isaurians* [a like liberty of returning into their own Country,] who requested the same thing of him.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the Emperour Anastasius; *and how, because he would not innovate any thing in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution, the Churches over the whole world were filled with infinite disturbances: and many of the Bishops for that reason were ejected.*

[FUrther,] This *Anastasius*, being a person very [a] studious to promote Peace, would permit no innovation whatever to be made, especially in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution: and took all imaginable Courses, both that the most Holy Churches might continue undisturbed, and also that every person subject to his Government might enjoy a profound Peace; all Animosity and Contention being far removed both from the *Ecclesiastick*, and from the *Civil* State of affairs. The Synod therefore at *Chalcedon* was in these times, neither publickly asserted in the most Holy Churches, nor yet wholly rejected: but every one of the Prelates acted according to that Sentiment they had embraced. [b] And some of them courageously defended what had been expounded in that Synod, nor would they recede even from one syllable of it's determinations, or admit of the alteration of one Letter: but with much confidence * separated from, and would in no wise endure to communicate with those, who admitted not of *that Synod*'s Decrees. But others, not only embraced not the Synod at *Chalcedon* and the determinations made by it; but also * *Anathematized* it, together with *Leo's Epistle.* Othersome stiffly adhered to *Zeno's Henoticon*; [which they did] notwithstanding their disagreement amongst themselves concerning *the one* or *the two Natures:* these being imposed upon by the [c] composure of the Letters; and those having a greater inclination to Peace and Unity. In so much that the Churches of the whole world were divided into private Factions, nor would the Prelates hold Communion one with another. Hence hapned many * Dissentions both in the *East*, and in the *Western* parts and throughout *Africa*; neither the *Eastern* Bishops keeping up a Society and Amity with the *Western* or those of *Africa*, nor yet on the other hand these with the *Eastern* Prelates. Moreover, the matter proceeded to an higher Degree of absurdity. For, neither did the *Eastern* Prelates hold a Communion amongst their own selves; nor [would] those who governed the [Episcopal] Chairs of *Europe* or *Africa* [cherish a communion one with another,] much less with Strangers and Foreigners. Which when the Emperour *Anastasius* perceived, he ejected those Bishops who made any Innovation, out of the Church; where-ever he found any such person, either crying up the *Synod* of *Chalcedon* contrary to the usage in those places, or else *Anathematizing* it. He ejected therefore out of the Imperial City, in the first place *Euphemius*, as we have related * before, and then *Macedonius*; after whom *Timotheus* was made [Bishop.] *Flavianus* also [was by him ejected] out of *Antioch.*

[a] How *Anastasius* was affected towards Ecclesiastick affairs, and in what manner he behaved himself in the administration thereof, *Liberatus*, in *his Breviary chap.* 18. informs us in these words: *Ascenderunt quidam & adversantium, &c. Some persons both of those who were against him, and of them who communicated with him, went up to* Anastasius. *And whilst they had a debate before the Emperour, some proposing that the Synod should be* Anathematized, *and so they would communicate; but others, being more calm, were for adding those things in the Uniting Edict, which might satisfie those who had communicated with* Petrus: *The Emperour considering that if he should make an addition to the Edict, he might raise a disturbance in the Church, and that, to* Anathematize *the Synod was impossible; perswaded them that the Uniting Edict was sufficient that they might communicate mutually with one another, as the rest of the Bishops of the Churches did. And when they would not obey to perform these things, he dismissed them without their having obtained any thing.* From which words you see, that the Emperour *Anastasius* wholly followed *Zeno's Edict*, nor would besides innovate any thing. *Vales.*

[b] Κἂν ἔνιοι μὲν, *although some*: It must be, καὶ ἔνιοι, *And some*, Vales.

* Or, *Leapt from.*

* Or, *Surrounded it with an* Anathema.

[c] Τῇ συνθήκῃ γεγραμμάτων. *Johannes Langus* seems to understand the Emperour *Zeno's Letters* con-cerning the uniting of the Churches. For thus he renders it; *ii quidem Literis insidiosè compositis per fraudem decepti, those being through fraud deceived by the Letters craftily composed.* Which sense *Christophorson* has likewise followed. Indeed, this place of *Evagrius* can't be otherwise explained. For he brings two reasons, why some persons would not acquiesce in *Zeno's Edict*. He says therefore, that some were deceived by that flattering Oration of the Emperour, which was composed to perswade. But that others, allured with a desire of the peace and repose of the Churches, had acquiesced in *this Edict*. *Vales.*

* Or, Sections.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Letter of the Monks of Palestine *to* Alcison *concerning* Xenaias *and some other persons.*

NOW concerning *Macedonius* and *Flavianus*, the Monks in *Palestine*, in their Letter to [a] *Alcison*, say word for word thus: *But,* [b] Petrus *being dead, they were again divided amongst themselves; and* Alexandria *and* Egypt *and* Libya *continued within their own Communion. The rest of the East likewise held a Communion separate from others,* [c] *in regard the Westerns refused communicating with them on any terms, unless to their* Anathematizing *of* Nestorius, Eutyches, *and* Dioscorus, *they would add* Petrus Mongus *also, and* Acacius. *The Churches therefore over the whole world being in this posture, the genuine* [*followers*] *of* Dioscorus *and* Eutyches *were reduced to the smallest number imaginable. And when they were now just a-*

[a] This *Alcison* was Bishop of *Nicopolis*, (which is the *Metropolis* of *Old Epirus*;) one of the chief defenders of the *Chalcedon Synod.* He died in the year of Christ 516. *Petrus* being *Consul* alone. *Marcellinus* mentions him in his *Chronicon*, who terms him *Alcissus.* See *Baronius* at the year of *Christ* 516. Vales.

[b] In regard there were two *Petrus*'s at one and the same time, the one Bishop of *Alexandria*, the other of *Antioch*; 'tis uncertain which of those two is here meant. But it seems more probable, that *Petrus* of *Alexandria* should be meant here; because the *Monks* of *Palestine* do immediately speak of *Alexandria*, of *Egypt*, and of *Libya.* Yet, this meaning is hindred by what is objected by the same *Monks*; to wit, that after *Petrus*'s death *Egypt* held a separate communion, and that the *Orientals* were disjoyned from their communion. For *Petrus Alexandrinus* was succeeded by *Athanasius*, who wrote *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and was joyned in a communion with him, as I have observed above from *Evagrius* and *Liberatus.* But again, if we should say that *Petrus* of *Antioch* were meant at this place, there would be the same difficulty. But, answer may be made, that the *Monks* do speak here, not of the Patriarchs themselves, but of a whole *Diœcesis*, and of the greatest part of the Bishops. 'Tis certain, after *Petrus Alexandrinus*'s death, the *Eastern* Bishops desired the communion of the Church of *Rome*; as 'tis apparent from *Pope* Gelasius's *Letter to the Orientals.* Vales.

[c] Τῶν δυτικῶν ἀνεχομένων. A negative particle is doubtless to be added, in this manner, ὧν δυτικῶν μὴ ἀνεχομένων, *in regard the Westerns refused*; which is the reading in *Nicephorus* and in the *Tellerian* MS. *Vales.*

bout

bout vanishing in such a manner as not to appear any more in the world, One [d] Xenaias, [a person agreeable to his name] truly a stranger from God, (on what design we know not, nor what the grudge was which he would revenge upon Flavianus, but) under a pretext of the Faith, as most do say, begins to move against Flavianus, and to calumniate him as a Nestorian. But when Flavianus had Anathematized Nestorius together with his opinion, Xenaias passes from Nestorius [e] to Dioscorus, and to Theodorus, and Theodoret, Ibas, [f] and Cyrus, and Eutherius, and Johannes, and we know not to what persons else, nor whence he had gathered them. Some of whom had in reality been Asserters of Nestorius's Sentiments: but others of them, suspected to have been [Nestorius's followers,] had Anathematized him, and had ended their lives in the Communion of the Church. Unless (says [Xenaias to Flavianus]) you will Anathematize all those persons who are distempered with Nestorius's Tenets, you are an Embracer of Nestorius's Sentiments, although you should Anathematize him a thousand times, together with his Opinion. By Letters also he excites the Favourers of Dioscorus and Eutyches, perswading them to assist himself against Flavianus, and to require him not to Anathematize the Synod, but the forementioned persons [only.] When Flavianus the Bishop had made a long and stout resistance against these men, and against others who together with Xenaias combined against him, to wit, one [g] Eleusinus Bishop of the Second Cappadocia, Nicias [Bishop] of Laodicea in Syria, and others from other places; (to relate the Causes of which per- * Or, narrowness of mind. sons * hatred against Flavianus, benes longs not to us, but to others:) at length [Flavianus] supposing [h] they would not be

[d] They derive *Xenaias*'s name from the Greek word ξένος, which signifies *a stranger*, or, *an extraneous person*. This *Xenaias* was Bishop of *Hierapolis*, ordained by *Petrus Fullo*; he was by another name called *Philoxenus*. Concerning this pestiferous person, *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus*, and others, have related much. *Vales.*

[e] I doubt not but the name of *Dioscorus* is by mistake put here instead of the name *Diodorus*.

For *Xenaias*, an Enemy of the *Chalcedon Synod*, would not have *Anathematized Dioscorus*, but *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, and the rest. So, 'tis certain, *Victor Tunonensis* [tells us] in his *Chronicon*. *Johanne Gibbo* (says he) *Coss. Anastasius Imp. Flaviano*, &c. *When* Johannes Gibbus *was Consul, the Emperour* Anastasius, Flavianus *being Prelate of* Antioch, *and* Philoxenus *Bishop of* Hierapolis, *convenes a Synod at* Constantinople; *and perswades them to pronounce an* Anathema *against* Diodorus *of* Tarsus, *and* Theodorus *of* Mopsuestia *together with their writings*, [*also, against*] Theodoret *of* Cyrus, Ibas *of* Edessa, Andreas, Eucherius, Quirus *and* Johannes, *Bishops, and against all others who asserted two Natures in Christ, and two Forms, and who confessed not one of the Trinity to have been Crucified, together with* Leo *Bishop of* Rome *and his Tome, and together with the* Chalcedon *Synod. Theophanes* confirms the same in his *Chronicon*, pag. 131. *Vales.*

[f] Καὶ κύρον καὶ εὐθέριον. *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon* terms them *Quirus* and *Eucherius*, as we saw in the foregoing note; where *Quinegius* is put for *Cinegius*. Further, *Nicephorus* has at this place substituted the name *Eleutherius*, instead of *Eutherius*. Vales.

[g] This *Eleusinus* [or, *Eleusinius*] is mentioned by *Liberatus* in his *Breviary chap.* 19, in these words, speaking of *Severus*: *Ita ut ob hoc scriberet*, &c. *So that on this account he would write, even to* Flavianus *himself, as 'tis signified in his own Epistles, and to* Maronus Lector, *and to* Eleusinus *and* Eutherius *Bishops, and to* Oecumenius Scholasticus *of* Isauria. The same person is mentioned by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 128 of the *King's Edition*; whose words *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* has rendred thus: *Anastasius quiete potitus à præliis, Macedonium Patriarcham avertere ab orthodoxâ fide satagebat. Multi autem Episcoporum Anastasio gratiam præstantes, Chalcedonensi resistebant Concilio, quorum primus erat Eleusius Sasimensis.* *Theophanes*'s words in Greek are these; ὧν πρῶτος ἦν ἐλεύσιος ὁ σασίμων. But it must be written, ἐλαδσίνιος ὁ σασίμων, which is the reading in the *Vatican Copy*. Indeed, the *Monks* of *Palestine* do affirm, that this *Eleusinius* was Bishop of the *Second Cappadocia*. Now, *Sasima* is a City of *Cappadocia Secunda*, (whereof *Gregorius Nazianzenus* was heretofore Bishop;) as the *Old Notitiæ* do inform us, and especially *Hierocles*. Vales.

[h] Διὰ τέλους εἰρηνεύειν. It should, as I think, be written εἰρηνεύσειν; or rather, a Negative particle is to be added, in this manner; νομίσας διὰ τέλους μὴ εἰρηνεύειν αὐτοὺς; and we have rendred it accordingly. Nor do I doubt but *Evagrius* wrote it thus. But *Antiquaries* [that is, *Transcribers of Books*,] writing hastily, omitted the Negative particle at this place. Further, by τέτους, *these persons*, he means *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, *Theodoret*, and the rest mentioned above. See *Theophanes*, pag. 131. *Vales.*

quit in behalf of these persons, yielded to their contentious humour: and having in writing Anathematized the foresaid persons, sent [his Libel] to the Emperour: For they had incensed him against Flavianus, as being an Assertour of Nestorius's Opinion. But Xenaias not satisfied even herewith, required again of Flavianus, that he should Anathematize the Synod it self, and those who asserted two natures in the Lord [Christ,] one of the Flesh, another of the Deity. Which when Flavianus had refused to do, Xenaias accused him again, as being a Nestorian. After many debates in reference to this matter, when the [i] Patriarch had drawn up an Exposition of the Faith, wherein he profest that he embraced the Synod as to what related to the Deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, but not as to its definition and doctrine of the Faith; they renewed their Accusations against him, as if he were a secret favourer of Nestorius's Sentiments, unless he would add an Anathematism against the Synod it self also, and against those who asserted two Natures in our Lord, one of the Flesh, another of the Deity. Moreover, by their many fraudulent words and expressions, they induced the [k] Isauri also to embrace their own Opinion. And having drawn up a Writing concerning the Faith, wherein they Anathematized the Synod together with those who affirmed two Natures, or Proprieties [in Christ;] they withdrew themselves from a Communion with Flavianus and Macedonius; and enter into society with others, who had subscribed to their Writings. During this interim, they entreated the Bishop of Jerusalem also, that he would draw up in writing the Form of his own Faith. Which he having set forth, sent it to the Emperour by the followers of Dioscorus. [l] And that [Copy of it] which they produce, does indeed contain an Anathematism of those who assert two Natures. But, the Bishop of Jerusalem himself affirms, that it has been adulterated by them, and produces another without any such Anathematism. Nor, need this seem a wonder. For they have frequently corrupted the Books of the Fathers. And by [false] Titles have ascribed many of Apollinaris's Books, to Athanasius, to Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and to [m] Julius. By which [Books] especially, they have induced many persons to [embrace] their own impiety. Further, they requested of Macedonius a Writing concerning his own Faith. Who set forth an Exposition thereof, affirming that he knew no other Faith save that of the Three hundred and eighteen, and hundred and fifty [Holy Fathers;] and he Anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who assert two Sons, or two Christs, or who divide the Natures: [n] but has made no mention of the Ephesine Synod which deposed Nestorius, nor of that at Chalcedon attributed some Epistles to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, which in reality were *Apollinaris*'s. Vales.

[i] *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch* is meant. Which I should not have remarked, had there not been a fault in *Christophorson*'s Version.

[k] Τὸς ἰσαύρους. *Vales.* In *Nicephorus* 'tis righter, thus, ἰσαύρους, *the Isauri*. Vales.

[l] Ὅπερ αὐτὸ μὲν περέχειν. A conjunction seems necessary to be added here, in this manner; καὶ ὅπερ μὲν αὐτό, &c. *And that* [Copy of it] *which they produce.* Vales.

[m] See *Leontius de Sectis*, in the eighth Action.

[n] Where he tells us, that the *Acephali*

[n] So indeed *Macedonius* behaved himself in the beginning of his Episcopate, whilest he was willing to gratifie the Emperour *Anastasius*, by whom he had been promoted to the *Patriarchate*. Therefore, many of the Antient Writers have related, that *Macedonius* at the beginning had subscribed to *Zeno's Henoticon*. So, 'tis certain, *Theodorus Lector* affirms, whom *Baronius* has causelessly reproved on that account. For *Liberatus* relates the same in his *Breviary* chap. 18; where he speaks concerning *Johannes Hemula* Bishop of *Alexandria*; —— and a little after that, where he mentions *Johannes Nicæota*, *Hemula's* successour. *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon* writes thus concerning *Macedonius*: *Anastasio Aug. Cos.* &c. *In the Consulate of* Anastasius Augustus, Macedonius *Bishop of* Constantinople, *a Synod being convened, condemns those who embraced the Decrees of the* Chalcedon Synod, *and such as defend* [*the Sentiments*] *of* Nestorius *and* Eutyches. Lastly, *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 120, does wholly agree with *Theodorus Lector*. Vales.

wherein

wherein Eutyches had been deposed. Whereat the [o] Monasteries about Constantinople where highly offended, and separated from the Communion of Macedonius the Bishop. In the mean while, Xenias and [p] Dioscorus having brought over many of the Bishops to their own party, became intolerable; and raised Tumults against those who refused to Anathematize [the Synod.] And against such as would not in the end yield to them, they framed many stratagems, and caused them to be cast into Exile. In this manner therefore, they banish Macedonius, and [q] Johannes Bishop of Paltum, and Flavianus. These are the Contents of the aforesaid Letter.

[o] He means the Monasteries of *Dius*, and *Bassianus*, and of the *Acœmeti* [or, *sleepless Monks*,] and of *Matrona*; who had separated themselves from the communion of *Macedonius*, and [the Monasteries] of those who had subscribed *Zeno*'s *Henoticon*, as *Theophanes* tells us in *his Chronicon* pag. 122. *Vales.*

[p] This, as I think, is *Dioscorus Junior*, who succeeded *Johannes Nicaota* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*. *Baronius* places his ordination on the year of Christ 516, five years after *Macedonius*'s banishment. To whom agrees *Theophanes* in *his Chronicon*. But *Liberatus* contradicts it, who relates *Dioscorus*'s ordination before the deposition of *Macedonius*. And this *Evagrius* confirms here. But, after a more accurate examination of the matter, *Dioscorus Junior* can't be meant here. For *Macedonius* was ejected out of his Bishoprick on the year of Christ 51[illegible], as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*; and in his room was substituted *Timotheus*, who forthwith wrote *Synodick Letters* to *Johannes Nicæota* Bishop of *Alexandria*; as *Liberatus* and *Theophanes* do attest. Whereas therefore *Dioscorus Junior* succeeded *Nicæota*, he must necessarily begin his Precedency after *Macedonius*'s deposition. Wherefore, another *Dioscorus* is meant here. And perhaps, instead of *Dioscorus*, it must be written *Soterichus*. Vales.

[q] Concerning this *Johannes*, *Victor Tunonensis* in *his Chronicon* writes thus: *Theodoro Viro C. Cos. Julianus Bostrenus*, &c. *The most famous* Theodorus *being Consul*, Julianus *of* Bostri, *and* Johannes *of* Paltum *voluntarily left their own Churches, and others are put into their places.* But *Marcellinus* in *his Chronicon* relates that in the Consulate of *Paulus* and *Mussianus*, on the year of Christ 512. Vales.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Expulsion of Macedonius [*Bishop*] *of* Constantinople, *and of* Flavianus [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch.

BUT, there were other things which secretly[a] wrung *Anastasius*. For when *Ariadne* had taken a resolution to cloath *Anastasius* with the Imperial purple; *Euphemius*, who presided over the Archi-Episcopal Chair [of *Constantinople*,] would on no terms give his consent, till such time as *Anastasius* had delivered to him a Caution [or, Contract,] in writing, written with his own hand, and [confirmed] with great Oaths, that he would preserve the Faith entire, and introduce no Innovation into God's Holy Church, if he should obtain the Imperial Scepter. Which paper *Euphemius* delivered to *Macedonius* who was intrusted with the custody of the *Sacred Vessels*. *Euphemius* had done these things on this account, because *Anastasius* was by many persons thought to be addicted to the *Manichæan* Heresy. After *Macedonius* therefore had ascended the Episcopal Throne, *Anastasius* was desirous of having his own Caution restored to him, saying it would be a reproach to the Empire, if the forementioned *Obligatory-Instrument* should be kept [laid up in the Church.] Against which when *Macedonius* made a resolute opposition, and affirmed that he would not betray the Faith; the Emperour [*Anastasius*] framed all imaginable design against him, resolving to eject him out of his [Episcopal] Chair. Certain Boys therefore who were slanderers, were produced, who falsly accused both themselves, and *Macedonius* of a filthy and unclean act. But, when it was found that *Macedonius* was deprived of his Genitals, they betook themselves to other Arts and Designs; till at length, by the advices and perswasions of *Celer Master of the Offices at Court*, *Macedonius* withdrew privately from his [Episcopal] Chair. But in the Expulsion of *Flavianus*, they have added other things. For we have received information from some very aged persons, who perfectly remembred what ever had hapned during *Flavianus*'s being Bishop; which persons do affirm, that those Monks [who dwelt] in that Country termed [b] *Cynegica*, and what ever other [Monks] inhabited the *first Provinces of the Syrians*, perswaded thereto by [c] *Xenaias* a man [by Extract a *Persian*;] (which *Xenaias* was Bishop of *Hierapolis* a City near to [*Antioch*,] and by a Greek name he was termed *Philoxenus*,) flock'd together, and in a tumultuous and very disorderly manner made an irruption into the City [*Antioch*,] where they would compel *Flavianus* to *Anathematize* the *Chalcedon Synod* and *Leo*'s *Epistle*. Whereat *Flavianus* being extreamly troubled, and the Monks pressing on with great violence; the populacy of the City made an Insurrection and slew a great many of the Monks; in so much that a vast number of them had the [River] *Orontes* for their Tomb, their bodies being buried in its waves. There hapned another thing also, not much inferiour to this. For, the Monks of *Syria-Cœle* (which is now termed *Syria Secunda*,) having a mighty affection for *Flavianus*, because he had lead a Monastick life in a certain Monastery which was situate in a * Country named *Tilmognus*; came to *Antioch*, with a resolution to defend *Flavianus*: so that at that time also some, and those no small [mischievous accidents] hapned. Whether therefore on account of the former [Tumult,] or by reason of [that disorder we have mentioned] in the second place or for both, *Flavianus* is ejected and banished to *Petra*, [a Town] situate in the utmost confines of *the Palestines*.

[a] Τὰ ὑ συμμάχου. πε. There is a fault in the word Συμμάχουλα. *Nicephorus*, (book 16. chap 26.) writing out this passage of *Evagrius*, makes use of the Word πλήξαντα, *smote* or *wounded*. But I am for treading in the footsteps of the ordinary reading; and therefore think it is to be restored thus, Συναρχουλα, *wrung*, or, *choak't*; after which manner *Christopherson* seems to have read. In the *Tellerian* M. S. the reading is, τὰ ὑ γε συμμάχουλα. *Vales.*

[b] *Nicephorus* (book 16. chap. 27.) thought there was a Monastery so named from one *Cynegius* its Founder. But it seems likelier to me, that a Country of *Syria*, was so termed, wherein there were many Monasteries. *Vales.*

[c] Ὑπὸ ξεναία ἀνδρί. The last word must be expunged, being superfluous; how it crept into this place, I know not. If we have a mind to retain this word the reading must be thus, ἀνδρὸς πέρσε. *a man by extract a* Persian. For 'tis referred to the *Participle* πεισθέντες, *perswaded*. *Xenaias* was indeed by Nation a *Persian*, as *Theophanes*, *Nicephorus*, and others do attest. *Vales.*

* *Field*, or, *Village*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning Severus *Bishop of* Antioch.

FLavianus therefore having been ejected, *Severus* is preferred to the Episcopal Throne of *Antioch*, on the [a] five Hundred fifty first year

513

[a] This was the year of *Christ* 513. For the first year of the *Antiochians* precedes the vulgar *Æra* of *our Lords Nativity* 48. years. *Severus* therefore entred upon the Bishoprick of *Antioch* on the year of Christ 51[illegible], in the month *November*, in the *sixth Indiction*. So *Marcellinus Comes* in *his Chronicon*: *Indict. 6. Clementino & Probo Coss.* &c. *In the sixth Indiction*, Clementinus *and* Probus *being Consuls*, Severus *a worshipper* of Eutyches's *perfidiousness*, *by the desire of* Anastasius Cæsar, *possessed the See of the Prelate* Flavianus, *and of a Monk was made a Bishop*. Vales.

year of *Antioch's* being * styled a free City, in the month *Dius*, it being the *Sixth Indiction* of the [b] *Cycle* then [current;] but at this present time wherein we write, it is the Six hundred forty first year. This *Severus* had *Sozopolis* for the place of his Nativity, which is one of the Cities of the Province *Pisidia*. He had formerly imployed himself in the study of the Law at *Berytus*. But, having afterwards soon left * those studies, when he had received holy Baptism in the sacred Temple of the divine Martyr *Leontius* who is honoured at *Tripolis* a City of the [c] *Maritime Phœnice*, he betook himself to a Monastick life in a [d] certain Monastery situate in the mid way between the small City *Gaza* and that little Town termed *Majuma*.

* See book 2. chap. 12. note (a.)

[b] Τῷ τλωι κάδε κύκλε. *Christophorson* omitted these words in *his Version*. The meaning of them is this; *on the sixth year of the Indictional Circle which then was.* For, *an Indiction is a Circle of fifteen years*, after the ending whereof, another Circle begins of as many years. *Evagrius* terms the partition of the Circle of fifteen years, ἐπανέμησιν τῦ κύκλε, which *the Latines* call *Indictionem, an Indiction*. But, whereas *Evagrius* says, that *Severus* was ordained on the month *Dius* that is, *November*; that must necessarily have been done in the *seventh Indiction*. For a new *Indiction* was begun on the month *September*. *Evagrius* has expressed himself in the same manner before, at book 2. chap. 12; where he says these words concerning the Earthquake, which happened at *Antioch* in the times of *Leo Augustus*; ἀνὰ τ ἑνδέκατον ἐπανέμησιν τῦ κύκλε, *on the eleventh partition of the Cycle*, that is *on the eleventh year of the partition of the Circle*. So in the *thirteenth Edict* of *Justinian*; μέχει τ δευτέρας ἐπανεμήσεως τῦ παρωχηκότ@ κύκλε; *Until the second partition of the past Cycle*. Valef.

* Or, *The Exercise of the Laws.*

[c] There was a twofold *Phœnice*; the one termed *Maritime* [because *it lay by the Sea-coast*;] in Greek called παραλ@, or, Παραλία: the *Metropolis* whereof was *Tyre*. The other named *Libanensis*, the head City whereof was *Emesa*; as the *Old Notitiæ* do inform us. In the *Maritime Phœnice* was the most famous City *Tripolis*. In that City, as *Evagrius* does here attest the Martyr *Leontius* was honoured. This is the *Leontius*, of whom mention is made in the *Menologie*, at the *eighteenth day of the month* July. The *Monks*, in their Libel presented to the *Patriarch Menas*, (*which Libel* is recorded in the *fifth Action* of the *Constantinop. Synod sub Mena,*) do attest, that *Severus* was baptized in this Martyrs Church. *Valef.*

[d] *Liberatus* in *his Berviary* chap. 19. writes thus concerning *Severus*: *Is enim Severus cum sederat prius in Monasterio*, &c. *For this* Severus, *when he formerly lived* [*or sate*] *in the Monasterie, admitted not of* Zeno's *Edict, nor* [*received to communion*] Petrus Mongus. *After this, living in the Monastery of the* Abbot Romanus, *and of* Mamas *who presided after him, he was from thence sent to reside as Apocrisarius* [*that is*, Legate] *at* Constantinople; *and becomes one of their number, who were of* Petrus Mongus's [*party.*] This Relation of *Liberatus*'s is far different from that of *Evagrius*. For, *Evagrius* says, that at first *Severus* was a Monk in a Monastery which was between *Majuma* and *Gaza*. And this is confirmed by *Theophanes* also. But, that afterwards he resided [or, sate] in the Monastery of the *Abbot Nephalius*; which was in *Egypt*, as *Evagrius* tells us in the *two and twentieth chapter of this Book*. Out of which Monastery *Severus* being driven, came (says he) to *Constantinople*. But *Liberatus* relates, that *Severus* sate indeed in two Monasteries: but, attests, that he was not ejected out of any Monastery, but, was made *Apocrisarius*. But, whose *Apocrisarius* he was, he says not. I am of Opinion, that he was the *Apocrisarius* of the *Monks of the East*, who were of the same Sect with himself. So *Theonas* is termed the *Apocrisarius* of the Monasteries in *Palestine*, in the *first Action of the Constantinopolitan Synod under* Menas. And that *Evagrius* confirms here. *Valef.*

[e] Concerning this *Petrus Iberus*, *Evagrius* has spoken already, at chap. 8. book 2. There is mention made of the same *Petrus*, in *The Libel of the Monks to the Patriarch Menas*, which is recorded in the *fifth Action of the Constantinopolitane Synod under* Menas. *Valef.*

* Διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλθε σκαμμάτων, *Had passed through the same exercises*; [to wit] *of a Monastick life.*

[e] In which place *Petrus* the *Iberian* also, who had been Bishop of the same *Gaza*, and was banished together with *Timotheus Ælurus*, * had exercised a Monastick life, and had left himself a famous name. Further, *Severus* [on a time] ingages in a dispute with *Nephalius*, who formerly had been of the Same † Sentiment with him concerning the one Nature [of Christ;] but had afterwards united himself to the Defenders of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and to those who asserted two Natures in our Lord *Jesus Christ*. By this *Nephalius* therefore, and those who were of his party, [*Severus*] is driven out of his own Monastery, together with several others who held the same opinion with himself. From whence he went to the Imperial City, under the notion of an Embassadour, in defence both of himself, and those who had been ejected with him. And there he becomes known to the Emperour *Anastasius*, as He hath related at large who wrote *Severus*'s *Life*. Moreover, the same *Severus*, in the [f] *Synodick Letters* which he wrote, has in express words *Anathamatized* the *Chalcedon Synod*. Concerning which matter, [the Monks of *Palestine*,] in their Letter to *Alcison*, say these words. [g] *The* Synodick Letters *of* Timotheus *now* [*Bishop*] *of* Constantinople, *have indeed been approved and admitted of here in* Palestine: *but the Deposition of* Macedonius *and* Flavianus, *hath not been allowed of*; *nor yet* Severus's Synodick Letters. [h] *But, those persons who brought them hither, were disgracefully and contumeliously used, agreeable to their desarts and betook themselves to their heels*; [i] *the populacy of the City and the Monks having made an Insurrection against them. In this posture was* Palestine. [k] *But, of those who were subject to* [*the See of*] Antioch, *some, induced thereto by fraud, were prevailed upon*; *of which number is* Marinus *Bishop of* Berytus. *But others, by force and* * *compulsion gave their assent to* Severus's Synodick Letters, *wherein was contained an* Anathematism, *both of the* Synod, *and of the rest who had asserted two Natures or properties in our Lord, one of the Flesh, another of the Deity. Some, when through necessity they had given their assent, afterwards altered their minds, and revok't* [*it:*] *of which number are the Bishops subject to* Apamia. *Others wholly refused to assent*; *of which number are* Julianus [*Bishop*] *of* Bostri, *and* Epiphanius *of* Tyre, *and some others, as they say, Bishops. But the* Isaurians, *now come to themselves, condemn themselves for their former mistake: Moreover, they* Ana-

† Or, *party.*

[f] He means the *Synodick Letters* which *Severus* wrote to *Timotheus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and to *Johannes Nicæ*otæ Bishop of *Alexandria*. For *Liberatus* (in his *Breviary*, chap. 19.) informs us, that *Severus* held communion with these Prelates. Indeed, *Theophanes* (in his *Chronicon*, pag 135.) relates, that *Timotheus*, when he would have inserted *Severus*'s name into the *Diptychs*, was hindred by the people of *Constantinople*. Valef.

[g] *Theophanes* casts a great light upon this place. He writes (pag. 135.) that *Timotheus* sent his *Synodick Letters*, and the deposition of *Macedonius*, to all the Bishops, that they might subscribe to them: and, that the weaker persons amongst them, afraid of the Emperour, subscribed to each Libel. But that those who were of a mind more stout and courageous, would subscribe to neither. Further, that some, taking a middle way, subscribed to *Timotheus*'s *Synodick Letters*, but in no wise subscribed to the deposition of *Macedonius*. Amongst these persons therefore who took the middle way, were the Bishops of *Palestine*, as the *Monks* do attest here in their Letter to *Alcison*. Valef.

[h] Ἀλλὰ ϗ οἰκοδωμήσαντες. Without doubt the reading must be, οἱ κομίσαντες, *those persons brought them*; as it is in *Nicephorus*. In which Author also the reading is fuller by one word; thus οἱ κομίσαντες ἐνταῦθα, *Those persons who brought them thither*. Besides, in the *Tellerian Manuscript* I found it plainly written, οἱ κομάσαντες &c. *Valef.*

[i] In *Nicephorus*, this place is otherwise distinguished, to wit, in this manner: ἔφυγον τ πόλεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺ τ δήμε τε ϗ τῶν μοναχῶν συνηθέντων, *Fled out of the City: the populacy and Monks having made an Insurrection against them.* Which distinction I like best. *Valef.*

[k] Τῶν ὃ ὧν' ἀντιοχείαν. *Nicephorus* words it thus, ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ, *in Antioch*; which I like not. For the Monks of *Palestine* do not speak of *Antioch* here, but of the Bishops who were subject to the See of *Antioch*. For, having before spoken concerning the affairs of *Palestine*, which were subject to the *Patriarch* of *Jerusalem*, they now pass to the Bishops of the *East*, who were under the Jurisdiction of the *Patriarch* of *Antioch*; and in the first place they name *Marinus* Bishop of *Berytus*, which was a City of *Phœnice*. Now *Phœnice* was under the dispose of the *Antiochian Patriarch*, according as it hath been agreed in the *Chalcedon Synod* between *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Valef.

* Or, Necessity.

Anathematize Severus *together with his followers. Yea, some of the Bishops and Ecclesiasticks under* Severus, *having relinquished their own Churches, are fled away: of which number is* Julianus [*Bishop*] *of* Bostri, *and* Petrus *of* Damascus, *who reside here with us.* [1] Mamas *also; which Person seemed to have been one of the two Ring-leaders of the* Dioscorians, [m] *by whom* Severus *himself had been instructed; who has condemned their arrogancy.* And after the Interposition of other words. *But, the Monasteries here, and* Jerusalem *it self, also most other Cities together with their Bishops, by God's assistance are of one and the same mind in relation to the true Faith. For all which Persons, and for us, pray (most Holy Lord and our most Honoured Father!) that we enter not into temptation.*

[1] *Liberatus* makes mention of this *Mamas* in his *Breviary*, chap. 19. whose words we have quoted at *note (d.)* in this Chapter, therefore the two Ring-leaders of the *Dioscorites* [or, *Dioscorians*] by whom *Severus* had been instructed, are *Romanus* and *Mamas*, Abbots of that Monastery which was between *Majuma* and *Gaza*. Indeed, *Theophanes*, in his *Chronicon*, terms that a Monastery τῶν ἀποφάσεων μοναχῶν, *of Schismatical Monks*. Valesius.

[m] Ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Σεβῆρος κατήχθη, *By whom* Severus *himself had been lodged*. I had rather write κατηχήθη, *had been catechized*, or, *instructed*. For the Abbots *Mamas* and *Romanus* had instructed *Severus*; as we have said before, out of *Liberatus*. Valesius.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning the [*Libel of*] *Deposition sent to the same* Severus *by* Cosmas *and* Severianus.

But, in regard the forecited Letters do attest, that [a] those Prelates under [the Jurisdiction of the Church of] *Apamia* receded from [the Communion] of *Severus*; come on, let us add a certain passage, *which we have been told by our Fathers, although it be not as yet recorded in any History. *Cosmas* Bishop of our *Epiphania*, † in the Vicinage whereof runs the [River] *Orontes*, and *Severianus* [Bishop] of *Arethusa* a neighbouring City, being disturbed at *Severus*'s *Synodick Letters*, severed themselves from his Communion, and sent a Libel of Deposition to him whilst he sate Bishop of the City *Antioch*. They deliver the Libel to one *Aurelianus* * Archdeacon of the Church of *Epiphania*. Who, in regard he feared *Severus*, and [dreaded] the Grandeur of so great a Bishoprick, after his arrival at *Antioch*, cloathed himself in the habit of a Woman, and comes to *Severus*, † jesting and playing the wanton, and by all ways imaginable feigning himself to be a Woman. [In fine] having let down the Veil werewith his Head was covered, as far as his Breasts he lamented, and by fetching deep sighs besought assistance; and under the pretence of a *Supplicatory Libel*, delivers a Deposition to *Severus*, then going forth. And without being taken notice of by any Person, withdraws out of the croud which followed [*Severus*;] and by flying purchases his own safety, before *Severus* knew what the Contents of the *Libel* were. But *Severus*, notwithstanding he had received the *Libel*, and understood what was contained therein, nevertheless continued possest of his own See, until the death of *Anastasius*. Further, when *Anastasius* was informed of what had hapned to *Severus*, (for, we must not omit the mentioning of an Act of *Anastasius*'s, which was wholly made up of Clemency and Humanity:) he orders *Asiaticus* [b] who bore the Command of the *Militia* in *Phœnice Libanensis*, to eject *Cosmas* and *Severianus* out of their own Sees, because they had sent a *Libel of Deposition* to *Severus*. After *Asiaticus* was arrived in the Eastern parts, and found many Persons defending the Opinions of *Cosmas* and *Severianus*, and that their Cities made a stout resistance in favour of their own Bishops; he gave *Anastasius* an account, that those Bishops were not to be driven out of their own Sees without bloodshed. So much of Clemency and Humanity therefore was there in *Anastasius*, that he wrote expresly to *Asiaticus*, that he would in no wise [c] effect any thing, though never so great and spendid, if but a drop of blood were to be spilt. In this posture therefore were the affairs of the Churches over the whole world, *during the Empire of *Anastasius*. Whom some Persons judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon* Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the *Sacred Tables*. But at *Jerusalem*, even whilst living, he was *Anathematized*.

[a] *Apamia* was the Metropolis of *Syria-Cœle*, or *Syria Secunda*, to which *Epiphania* and *Arethusa* were subject, as the *Old Notitiæ* inform us. *Valesius*.

* Or, *Which hath passed to us from our Fathers.*

*Or, *which has* Orontes *its neighbour.*

* Or, *The first of the Deacons.*

† Ἀκκιζόμενός τε καὶ θεατριζόμενος. *Valesius* renders these words thus: *jocans ac lasciviens, jesting* [or, *drolling*,] *and playing the wanton*. The primary signification of the term ἀκκίζομαι is, *feignedly to refuse*; it imports also *to dissemble*, or, *to play the fool, to behave ones self as that most petulant Woman* Acco *did*; from whose carriage this word had its original.

[b] Τῶν δουκικὴν ἀρχήν. We have restored this place from the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. wherein 'tis thus written, τὴν στρατηλικὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐν Φοινίκῃ λιβανησίας, *The Command of the Militia in* Phœnice *Libanensis*. There were two *Phœnice's*, as I have marked above; the one termed *Maritima*, the other *Libanensis*. Over this Province was set the *Dux of Phœnice*, concerning whom see the *Notitia Imp. Rom.* Valesius.

[c] Instead of παρελθεῖν, *attempt*; it would, if I mistake not, be better written thus, φθεῖραι, *effect* Valesius.

* Or, *Until.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the destruction of the Isaurian *Tyrants.*

But, it will not be disagreeable to the promise we have made * before, if to this History we annex some other [Transactions] worthy to be recorded, [a] which have hapned during the times of *Anastasius*. *Longinus Zeno*'s Kinsman, being arrived in that [Country] wherein he had been born, as hath been shewn * before, † engages in an open War against the Emperour. And great Forces having been raised on the one side and on the other, amongst which was *Conon*, heretofore Bishop at *Apamia* [a City] of the Province of the *Syrians*, who, in regard he was an *Isaurian*, bore Arms under the *Isaurians*; at length the War was terminated [in this manner.] The *Isaurians* who fought under *Longinus* were all cut off to one Man. But the Heads of *Longinus* and [b] *Theodorus* were sent to the Imperial City by *Johannes Scytha*. Which Heads the Emperour [ordered to be] fixt upon Poles, [carried about,] and hung up in that [Suburb] termed *Sycæ* situate over against *Constantinople*: a grateful spectacle to the *Byzantines*, because of those mischiefs they had suffered from *Zeno* and the *Isaurians*. Moreover, the other *Longinus*, surnamed *Selinuntius*, the chief supporter of that Tyrannick Faction, and together with him *Indes*, are [taken and] sent alive to *Anastasius*, by *Johannes* surnamed *Gibbus*, wherewith the Emperour

* At book 1. chap. 1.

[a] Χρόνοις ῥωμαϊκοῖς. I agree with Sir *Henry Savil*, who at the margin of his Copy hath mended it thus, ῥωμαϊκά, *which hapned*. The same Person corrects the beginning of this chapter thus, οὐκ ἀπὸ τόπου δὲ, &c. *But 'twill not be inconvenient*, &c. it may also be made, οὐκ ἄπο τόπου δὲ, *But it will not be disagreeable*, or, *misplac'd*; and perhaps 'tis better so. For 'tis the same, as if you should say, οὐκ ἄτοπον, *It will not be absurd*. Instead of ῥωμαίοις, *hapned*, the *Tellerian* Manuscript has it written γεγενημένοις, *have hapned*. Valesius.

* Chap. 29.

† Or, *Puts on.*

[b] *Marcellinus Comes* in his *Chronicon* (at *Anastasius*'s being *Consul* alone;) calls this Person *Athenodorus*, and so does *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 118 *Valesius*.

Emperour and the *Byzantines* were highly pleaſed, in regard *Longinus* and *Indes* were in the manner of a Triumph lead through the ſtreets of the City, and through the *Cirque*, [carrying] Chains made of Iron, which were put round their necks and about their hands. From that time thoſe [Donatives] heretofore named [c] *The Iſaurica* began to be paid into the Imperial Treaſury. Now, that was [a ſum] of Gold, paid every year to the *Barbarians*, amounting to the weight of fifty thouſand pounds.

[c] He means *The Donative*, which the Tyrant *Hillus* had allowed to the *Iſaurians*, and which the Emperour *Zeno*, though againſt his will, had beſtowed upon them, to procure a Reconciliation. Which Donative the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* having refuſed to pay to the *Iſaurians*, they made war againſt the *Romans*, as *Jordanes* relates in his book *de Succeſſione Regnorum*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the * Saracens, *that they made a Peace with the* Romans.

* Or, *Barbarians, term'd* Scenitæ; that is, *who dwelt in Tents.*

THoſe *Barbarians* alſo [termed] *Scenitæ*, not without damage to themſelves, became petulant, and inſulted over the *Roman* Empire; and ruined the * Province *Meſopotamia*, [a] both the *Phœnices*, and *Paleſtine*. But, having received a ſevere overthrow from the Military Commanders in each Province, at laſt they were quiet, and by a general conſent that whole Nation made a Peace with the *Romans*.

* Or, *The affairs of* Meſopotamia, &c.

[a] Φοινίκεως ἐκδέχεται. It muſt be φοινίκης; as the Reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 17. pag. 3[r]. Further, we have remarked already, that there were two *Phœnice's*; the one termed *Libanenſis*, the other *Maritima*. Nor muſt this be omitted, that, that Province is by the *Latines* ſometimes termed *Phœnicem*, from the Nominative Caſe *Phœnix*. 'Tis certain, in the *Itinerary Tables of the Putingeri*, it is called *Syria Phœnix*; as alſo in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. In the Manuſcript Copies, 'tis written *Dux Phœnicis*. Nor found I it written otherwiſe in *Ægeſippus*, book 3. chap. 20. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the Siege of Amida, *and the Building of* [*the City*] Daras.

MOreover, the *Perſians*, then ſubject to their King *Cavades*, broke the League [with the *Romans*;] and having left their native Soil, in the firſt place invaded *Armenia*, and took the ſmall Town named *Theodoſiopolis*; after which they marched to [a] *Amida*, a well fortified City of *Meſopotamia*; which they laid Siege to and took. But the *Roman* Emperour by vaſt Labour rebuilt it. But, if any one be deſirous of having a particular knowledge of theſe matters, and would read an accurate Narrative of all theſe Tranſactions; [let him conſult] *Euſtathius*, who with much Acuteneſs, great Labour, and a ſingular Elegancy, hath written an Hiſtory [of theſe affairs.] Which Hiſtorian having brought down his Hiſtory to theſe very times, departed this Life, and left off writing at the twelfth year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Empire. After this war was ended, *Anaſtaſius* makes *Daras* (a place of *Meſopotamia*, ſituate in the utmoſt confines of the *Roman* * pale, and being *The Boundary* as it were of the *Roman* and *Perſian* Empire;) a City, from its being a Field: which he fortified with a ſtrong wall, and adorned with various and thoſe ſplendid Buildings, to wit, Churches, and other ſacred Houſes, and with *Royal Porticus*'s, publick Baths, and other [Works,] of which the moſt eminent Cities do [uſually] boaſt. 'Tis ſaid by ſome Perſons, that this place got the name of *Daras*, becauſe *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, Son to *Philip*, had totally vanquiſhed *Darius* there.

[a] *Marcellinus Comes*, in his *Chronicon*, ſays, This City was taken by the *Perſians*, on the tenth *Indiction*, in the Conſulate of *Probus* and *Avienus*; that is, on the year of Chriſt 502. and on the eleventh year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Empire. See *Procopius* in book 1. *Perſic.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Empire.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Long Wall.

THe ſame Emperor perfected a vaſt Work, worthy to be recorded, [a] which is uſually termed *The Long Wall*, ſituate in a very convenient place of *Thracia*. This Wall is diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, about two hundred and eighty Furlongs: it embraces both the Seas, [and runs out] like a Streight to the length of four hundred and twenty Furlongs: it makes the [Imperial] City from being a *Peninſula*, almoſt an Iſland, and affords a moſt convenient and ſafe paſſage to thoſe who have a mind to ſail from that place termed *Pontus* to *Propontis* and the *Thracian* Sea. It repels alſo thoſe *Barbarians*, who make Excurſions out of that termed the *Euxine* Sea, out of *Colchis*, from the Lake *Mœotis*, and from the places about *Caucaſus*; and likewiſe them, who are uſually poured in, out of *Europe*.

[a] Καὶ τὸ μακρὸν καλούμενον τεῖχος. The Particle ἐν muſt be expunged, being uſeleſs and ſuperfluous. Further, this Wall was from its Builders name called *Anaſtaſianus*: it was built in *Anaſtaſius Auguſtus*'s third Conſulate, on the year of Chriſt 507. as the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* writes. Concerning this Wall *Suidas* gives this Relation, in the word τεῖχος; Ἀνασάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς κτίζει, &c. *The Emperour Anaſtaſius builds the* Long Wall, *ſixty miles from the City* Conſtantinople. *It is extended from the Sea at the North, to that at the South. Its length contains forty miles, and its breadth twenty foot.* See more in *Petrus Gillius*'s firſt book *de Topographia Urbis Conſtantinop. cap.* 21. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Concerning that [Tax] *termed the* Chryſargyrum, *and how* Anaſtaſius *aboliſhed it.*

MOreover, the ſame Emperour performed an eximious and plainly divine Action, to wit, the perfect and intire * Abolition of that [Tax] termed † *The Chryſargyrum*. Concerning which thing we are now to ſpeak, although it wants the Tongue of a *Thucydides*, or rather one of more Eminency and Eloquence, [to give a Narrative of it.] However, I will declare the matter, not induced thereto by my Eloquence, but confiding in [the greatneſs of] that Action. Upon the Dominions of the *Romans*, which were ſo great and ſo far diffuſed, was impoſed a miſerable Tax, deteſtable to God, and misbecoming even the *Barbarians* themſelves, much leſs [agreeable] to the *moſt Chriſtian* Empire of the *Romans*. This Tax, on what account neglected and tolerated I know not, continued till the times of *Anaſtaſius*, who by his Imperial Magnificence aboliſh'd it. It was impoſed both upon many others, who got their maintenance from a charitable Contribution, and alſo upon thoſe Women who ſold the Beauty of their Bodies, upon * common Whores likewiſe who proſtituted themſelves in Baudy-houſes [which

* Or, *Inhibition.*

† That is, *A Tax of Gold and Silver.*

* Χοίλων πορνείων, *Whores that made no diſtinction in their admiſſion of cuſtomers.*

which stood in the hidden and obscure places of the City; moreover, upon * *Catamites*, who affected not only Nature it self, but the Republick also with Ignominy. In so much that, this Tax, instead of a Law, made loud proclamation, that those who had a mind, might securely and with impunity commit such abominable Leachery. Further, that impious and detestable † profit arising from this Tax, was every fourth year paid in to the [a] *First and Chiefest of the Præfectures*, by the Collectours who gathered it in all places; so that, it was not the smallest part of this *Præfecture*, to have both its [b] Proper * *Scrinia* (as they term them,) and also [c] such Officers as managed the Accounts of this Nature; [and these were] not Persons mean and obscure, who look'd upon this Employ to be a † *Militia* as well as the rest. Which when *Anastasius* understood, and had [d] referred it to the Senate, and had likewise deservedly pronounced this thing to be a detestable impiety, and a wickedness new and unheard of; he made a Law, wherein 'twas declared that it should be wholly abolished, and he burnt those Papers || which contained a *Summary* of *this Exaction*. And, being resolved to make a perfect *Holocaust* [as it were] of *This Tax* to God, to the end that no one of his Successors in the Empire might in future again renew the old Infamy of this [Exaction;] he feigns himself grieved and vexed; [e] and accused himself of imprudence, and of the highest degree of madness, saying, that by attributing too much to Vain-glory; he had neglected the utility of the Republick, and had rashly and inconsiderately abolished so great a Tax, which had been found out by his Ancestours, and confirmed by so long a duration of Time; before he had duely weighed in his mind the imminent dangers, or the expence of the *Milice*, (which is the living Wall of the Government,) or [Lastly] those [charges which are necessary] to the Service of God. Without declaring therefore any of the thoughts of his mind, he signifies, that it was his intent to restore the forementioned Tax. And having sent for those Officers who had been employed in Collecting that Tax, he confess'd that he repented indeed of what he had done; but knew not what course he could now take, or how he might correct his own mistake, in regard all the Papers were burnt, which could have set forth a * *Notitia* of this Tax. These Persons having, not feignedly, but in reality lamented [the Abolition of] this Tax on account of that unjust gain which accrued to themselves therefrom, and pretending the like difficulty [that the Emperour did, in getting it, restored:] *Anastasius* perswaded and entreated them, that they would proceed in all imaginable methods of making a search, whether or no the way of Assessing and Collecting this whole Tax might be found out from those Tables which lay in every place: And having assigned a Salary to each of them, he dispatch'd them away to make a Collection of those Papers, giving orders, that whatever Paper might be of use in setting forth the *Notitia* of this Tax, wherever it were found, should be brought to himself; to the end that, after much circumspection, and the most exquisite accuracy imaginable, *a Notitia* of this whole Tax might be again composed. When therefore those Persons, who were employed in this affair, had some time after made their return, *Anastasius* seemed very chearful and full of joy. And he did [f] really rejoice, because he had obtained what he desired. He inquired therefore the manner how, and with whom [these Papers] had been found, and whether or no any one of this sort [of Monuments] were left behind. But, when they had affirmed positively, that great pains had been taken

* *Such as hired out themselves to be abused contrary to Nature.*

†Or, *gain.*

[a] Ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην καὶ κεφαλαίαν τῶν ἀρχῶν By these words *Evagrius* seems to mean the *Pretorian Præfecture*. For that (to use *Amm. Marcellinus*'s Expression) *Vertex erat omnium dignitatum, was the Crown* [or *Top*] *of all Dignities*. To this *Præfecture* therefore the *Tribute Chrysargyrum* was every fourth year brought in. Indeed, the Tributes were wont to be brought into the Chest of the *Prætorian Præfecture*. Hence 'tis, that in the thirteenth book of the *Theodosian Code*, in the Title *de Lustrali Collatione*, the greatest part of the Laws are directed to the *Præfecti Prætorio*. For the *Lustralis Collatio* was nothing else but the *Chrysargyrum*: to wit, Gold and Silver imposed upon Merchants, or *The Lustralis auri Collatio*, and *The Auraria Functio*. For so 'tis called in the same Title. Further, whether it ought to be called a *Tribute*, or rather a *Toll* [or *Tax*,] 'tis uncertain. *Evagrius* terms it τέλος, which is *Vectigal*, a *Toll*, or *Tax*. 'Tis termed also *Vectigal* in the last Law save one *de Lustrali Collatione*. The Old Author of the *Quæstions* on the Old and New Testament tells us, this was usually termed *Aurum pœnosum*, *The punishing Gold*; see him, in *Quæst.* 75. There is an Elegant passage concerning this Tribute, in *Libanius*'s Oration against *Florentius*, pag. 427. which I will transcribe here. Λεγέσθω τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τ' ἄλλα πάντα νενικηκὸς· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὁ ἀφόρητος φόρος, ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς, φείδεσθαι προσιέμενος ποιῶν τὰς δεινὰς περιτελείας· ὄνομα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμπόρων τῷ πόρῳ τούτῳ· τῇ θαλάττῃ δὲ ἐκείνων εἰς διάδοσιν χρωμένων, οἷς μόλις ἄρτι προσφέρουσιν αἱ χεῖρες, ἀπόλλυται· διαφθορὰ δὲ καὶ νεοττοτρόφου· ἃς ἐγὼ πολλάκις εἶδον τὴν σμίλην εἰς ὕψος αἴροντας, ὁμνύντας, μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα εἶ) ζῆσιν· ὃ μὲν τοῦτό γε αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάττῃ τῶν ἐσκομμάτων, καὶ ὑλακτοῦντων, καὶ μόνον ὃ δακνόντων· ὅτος ὁ καιρὸς ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλείω τὴ δυλείαν καθίσησιν ἐκβάλλων ἐλευθερίας τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων πολυωρύους ἔχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς δέξηται τὴ τιμὴν τὸ κιβώτιον, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτῶν ἴδωσιν εἰς τὴ τῶ κατεπείγοντος δεξιὰν ἐρχομένην. Which words I render thus: *Let us also now relate that* [*Mischief*] *which has so far surpassed all the rest. This is that intolerable Tribute*, The Chrysargyrum, *which renders the approaching* Lustra, [or, *every fifth year*,] *dreadful and horrid. The Name* [*imposed*] *upon this Tribute is indeed specious*, [*taken*] *from Merchants. But whilst they make use of the Sea in order to the vending their Wares, those whose hands do scarce afford them bread, are utterly ruined. Not so much as a Cobler escapes* [*paying this Tribute.*] *Whom I my self have frequently seen lifting their knife wherewith they cut their leather, up to Heaven, and swearing that in that knife their all was placed. Nevertheless, this frees them not from* [*the vexation of*] *those who are urgent and pressing upon them, and who bark, and do only not bite. This time (O Emperour!) increases the number of servants; depriving of Liberty those who are sold by their Parents, not that their own Coffer may receive the price* [*for which their Children are sold,*] *but that they* [*the Parents*] *may see it coming into the hand of the Exactor.* In the Greek Text of *Libanius*, instead of διάδοσιν, I have mended it thus, διάδεσιν, and in place of the word ἐσκομμάτων, I have substituted ἐσκεμμένων. *Vales.*

[b] Amongst the *Officials* of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, four *Numerarii* are reckoned in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*; the first of whom was the *Numerarius* of the Gold; that is, of the *Aurum Lustrale*, or *Chrysargyrum*. There was also amongst the *Officials* of the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, a *Primicerius* of the *Scrinium* of the Golden Mass and a *Primicerius* of the *Scrinium* of Gold; on this account perhaps, because a certain part of this *Tax* was brought in to the Chest of the Sacred *Largesses*. Indeed in the Title *de Lustrali Collatione*, there is extant a Law of *Valentinian*'s, directed to *Florentius* the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, [that is, *of the Sacred Largesses.*] Whence it appears, that some part of this *Golden Function* belonged to the *Largitional Titles*. Vales.

[c] Καὶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα διαψηφιζόντων. He means the *Numerarii* [that is, *Officers who managed the Accounts*] of the *Aurum Lustrale*, who were in the Office of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as I have said in the foregoing note. For διαψηφισαὶ are the *Numerarii*, (as I have long since remarked at *Amm. Marcellinus*,) who by another Name were termed also *Rationarii*. Vales.

* *Offices, Cabinets,* or *Rooms.*

† See *Eus. Eccl. Hist.* book 10. chap. 8. note *(b.)*

[d] Ἐπὶ τὴν χρυσίων θεσθεὶς. At my peril write θεσθεὶς. For θεσπεσθαι has the same import with *Referre, proponere, to referr, to propose*, The *Tellerian* MS. confirms our Emendation, wherein I found it plainly written θεσθεὶς, as I had conjectured. *Vales.*

|| Or, *Which set forth this Exaction.*

[e] Ἀβουλίας. I had rather write ἀβουλίας ἑαυτῷ κατηγόρει. *and accused himself of imprudence.* Some few words after this, instead of [ἀπερισκέπτως ἀνήρηκεν, *And had rashly, inconsiderately suspended*;] it must be written thus, εἰκῇ τε καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως ἀνήρηκεν, *and had rashly and inconsiderately abolished.* Vales.

* Or, *Summary*, or, *Rationary, containing an account how this Tax was to be Assessed and Collected.*

[f] Καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείας. Every body sees it must be made ταῖς ἀληθείαις. Which is the same as if he should have said, ὡς ἀληθῶς *really*. Further, this Adverb is referred to the Verb *Rejoice*. Which being most certain, 'tis nevertheless strange, that both Translatours should have referred this Adverb to the following word τετυχηκὼς, thus, *And he did rejoice, because he had really and truly obtained what he desired.* Vales.

taken by them in the Collecting of theſe Papers, and had ſworn by the Emperour himſelf, that no other Paper could be found in the whole *Roman* Empire, which might ſet forth *The Notitia* of *this Tax:* [the Emperour ordered] a great fire to be again made of thoſe Papers which had been brought, the aſhes whereof he [cauſed to be] put into water; it being his intent wholly to aboliſh this Exaction; that ſo, neither the duſt nor the aſhes, nor any the leaſt remain of this thing, or of the burnt Papers, might be left appearing. But, leaſt whilſt we ſo much extol the * abolition of this Tax, we ſhould ſeem not to know, what, and how great matters have with partiality enough been related by the more ancient Writers concerning this [Exaction:] Come on, I will now produce even thoſe paſſages alſo, and will demonſtrate them to be falſe, and moſt eſpecially, from thoſe very things which they themſelves have related.

* Or, *Inhibition.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning what Zoſimus *hath written in relation to* The Chryſargyrum, *and about the Emperour* Conſtantine.

Zoſimus (one of their number [who have followed] the execrable and abominable Superſtition of the † Heathens,) being highly incenſed againſt *Conſtantine* [on this account,] becauſe he was the firſt Emperour that embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, and relinquiſhed the abominable Superſtition of the * *Græcians*; relates, that he was the firſt [Emperour,] who invented that termed *The Chryſargyrum*, and made a Law, that ſuch a Tax as that ſhould be brought in [to the Treaſury] every fourth year. [The ſame *Zoſimus*] has ‖ loaded that Pious and Magnificent Emperour with infinite other [Calumnies.] For, he ſays, that he contrived ſeveral other altogether intolerable [miſchiefs] againſt [Perſons of] all Qualities and Conditions; and, that he cruelly murdered his Son *Criſpus*, and likewiſe killed his own Wife *Fauſta*, whom he ſhut up [and ſtifled] in a Bath which had been over-much heated. And, that when he had ſought amongſt his own Prieſts for an Expiation of ſuch horrid and nefarious Murders as theſe, and had found none; (for they openly declared, That ſuch black Crimes as theſe could not be purged by Sacrifice;) [he adds] that he accidentally met with an *Egyptian* who had come out of *Iberia:* and, that having received information from him, that the Faith of the *Chriſtians* aboliſhed all manner of ſin, he embraced thoſe things which the *Egyptian* had imparted to him. And, that from that time he relinquiſhed * the Religion of his Anceſtours, and made a *beginning of Impiety*, † as he terms it. Now, that theſe things are notoriouſly falſe, I will demonſtrate immediately: But, in the firſt place I muſt give a Relation concerning *The Chryſargyrum.*

† Or, *Gentiles*, or, *Græcians.*

* Or, *Gentiles.*

‖ Or, *Blaſphemed.*

* Or, *His Paternal Religion.*

† Or, *As he ſays.*

CHAP. XLI.

An Invective *againſt* Zoſimus, *on account of the Reproaches and Calumnies he has caſt upon* Conſtantine *and the* Chriſtians.

THou ſayſt therefore, (O deſtructive and impure * *Dæmon!*) that *Conſtantine* reſolving to build a City equal to *Rome*, at firſt attempted the erecting of ſuch a great City in the mid way between *Troas* and *Ilium*; and having laid the Foundations and raiſed the Wall to an heighth, afterwards he found *Byzantium* to be a place more commodious, and ſo incompaſſed that with Walls; which old City he enlarged to ſuch a degree, and adorned it with ſuch † ſplendid Buildings, that it ſeemed not much inferiour to *Rome*, which in ſo many years had by little and little arrived at that Greatneſs. Thou ſayſt further, That he diſtributed amongſt the *Byzantine* People ‖ *The Annona* out of the publick Stock, and gave a vaſt ſum of Gold to thoſe who had removed together with him to *Byzantium*, for the building of their own private Houſes. Again, thou writeſt word for word thus; *After* Conſtantine's *death*, [*the Supream management of*] *Affairs devolved only to his Son* Conſtantius, [*to wit,*] *after the death of his two Brothers. And when* Magnentius *and* Vetranio *had ſet up for Tyrants, he attacked* Vetranio *by perſwaſives. For, both their Armies being come together,* [a] Conſtantius *in the firſt place made a Speech to the Souldiers, and put them in mind of his Father's Liberality, with whom they had waged many Wars, and* [*by whom*] *they had been honoured with the greateſt Gratuities. Which when the Souldiers had heard, they diveſted* Vetranio *of his Purple, and drew him out of the Tribunal* [*clothed*] *in a private habit;* and in *Nicephorus* book 16. chap. 41. And a little after this, inſtead of πολεμίους, *Enemies*; it muſt be πολέμους, *Wars*; as the Reading is in the ſame *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Genius.*

† Or, *Beauties of Buildings.*

‖ Or, *Bread*, or, *Bread-corn.*

[a] Πρῶτος ὁ κωνσαντίνου. It muſt be made *Conſtantius*, as the Reading is in the *Tellerian* MS.

Notwithſtanding, [thou doeſt affirm,] that he underwent nothing of moleſtation from *Conſtantius*, who together with his Father hath by Thee been loaded with ſo many Calumnies. How therefore Thou canſt judge it agreeable [to affirm] the ſame Perſon to have been ſo liberal, and ſo bountiful; and yet ſo tenacious and ſordid, as to have impoſed ſuch an execrable Tax; I am [I muſt confeſs] wholly ignorant. Further, that he neither ſlew *Fauſta* nor *Criſpus*, nor for that reaſon, received our Myſteries from any *Egyptian*; hear the words of *Euſebius Pamphilus*, who flouriſhed in the ſame Times with *Conſtantine* and *Criſpus*, and was frequently converſant with them. (For, thou writeſt not even what thou haſt received by Report, much leſs the truth: in regard thou livedſt a long time after, [to wit,] in the Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* (to [b] whoſe Times thou haſt brought down thine Hiſtory,) or rather, after them.)

[b] Μέχρι σῶν χρόνων. Doubtleſs it muſt be μέχρις ὧν, in two words; and accordingly we have rendred it, *to whoſe times.* And ſo *Nicephorus* read, who hath expreſt theſe words of *Evagrius* thus, οἷς καὶ τὴν ζωσίμου ἱστορίαν; which place of *Nicephorus*, *Langus* underſtood not, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion of it. It muſt be rendred thus, *Quibus hiſtoriam tuam terminaſti, wherein thou haſt cloſed thine Hiſtory.* For *Zoſimus* brought down his Work to the taking of *Rome* effected by *Alaricus*, as 'tis manifeſt from *Photius's Bibliotheca.* Further, from this paſſage in *Nicephorus* and *Evagrius*, *Voſſius* (in his book *de Hiſtoricis Græcis*) affirms, that *Zoſimus* lived in the times of *Theodoſius Junior.* Yet, neither of thoſe two Authors hath ſaid that of *Zoſimus.* They only ſay, that he lived under *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, with which [Emperours] he terminated

nated his History, or rather long after them. Indeed, I am of Opinion, that this *Zosimus* lived about the times of *Anastasius*. For he cites *Olympiodorus Thebæus*, who wrote his History under *Theodosius Junior*, as *Photius* attests; and he names *Syrianus Philosophus*, who was the Master of *Proclus Diadochus*. Now, *Proclus* lived in the times of *Anastasius*. Lastly, *Suidas* writes, that *Zosimus* the *Sophist* lived in the Reign of *Anastasius*; whom I think to be the same with *Zosimus* the Historiographer. For many *Rhetoricians* and *Sophists* betook themselves to writing History, as 'tis manifest both from *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, and also from many others. And the Dignity of Advocate of the *Fiscus* [or, *Treasury*,] wherewith *Zosimus* was adorned, disagrees not much from the *Sophistick* Dignity. *Vales.*

c This passage of *Eusebius* occurrs at book 8. chap. 13. Eccl. Hist. from which place our *Evagrius* is to be corrected. *Vales.*

In the c *Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical History* [*Eusebius*] writes word for word thus: *Within some small interval of time, the Emperour* Constantius *(a Person of extraordinary mildness throughout his whole Life, most favourable to his Subjects, and one that had a singular affection for the Divine Doctrine* [*of our Religion,*]) *ended his Life according to the common Sanction of Nature, leaving his own Son* Constantine, *Emperour and* Augustus *in his stead.* And, after some other words: Constantine, *Son to this Man, being immediately from that very time* [*of his Father's death,*] *proclaimed Supream Emperour and* Augustus *by the Souldiers, (but not long before that, by the Supream God) exhibited himself an Emulatour of his Father's Piety towards our Religion.* And, at the * Close of his History, he expresses himself in these very words: *But* Constantine *the mighty Conquerour, gloriously adorned with all the Virtues of Religion, (together with his Son* Crispus, *a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recovered his own East.* Doubtless *Eusebius* (who survived *Constantine,*) would never have so highly extolled *Crispus*, if he had been murdered by his Father. Moreover, *Theodoret* relates in his † *History*, that *Constantine* at the very close of his Life, was made partaker of Salutary Baptism at *Nicomedia*; and, that he defer'd it till that time, because he was desirous of being baptized in the River *Jordan*. Thou sayst moreover, (most execrable and impurest of Mortals!) that the ‖ *Roman* Empire, from such time as the *Christian* Religion shewed it self, hath decayed, and been utterly destroyed, [which thou affirmest,] either because thou hast read nothing of what hath hapned in ancient times, or else with a designed malice to attack the Truth. For, the contrary is manifestly apparent; to wit, that the *Roman* Empire hath increased together with our Faith. Consider therefore, how about the very [time of the] Advent of Christ our God amongst Men, d most of [the Cities of] the *Macedonians* were ruined by the *Romans: Albania* also and *Iberia*, the *Colchi* and *Arabians*, were made Subjects to the *Romans*. [Consider likewise,] how *Caius Cæsar*, on the Hundred e eighty second *Olympiad*, in great fights subdued the *Galli*, *Germani*, and *Britanni*, (which Nations inhabited Five hundred Cities,) and annexed them to the *Roman* Empire; as it hath been recorded by *Historians*. This is the *Cæsar*, who after the *Consuls*, was the first *Monarch* of the *Roman* Empire; who made a way

* To wit, pa. 198. of our Version.

† See *Theodoret's* Eccles. Hist. book 1. chap. 32.

‖ Or, *Affairs of the* Romans.

d Long before Christ's Advent *Macedonia* had been subdued by the *Romans*. Moreover, the *Albani*, *Iberi*, and *Colchi* had been conquered by the same *Romans* long before Christ's Birth. Therefore what *Evagrius* says here, is nothing to the purpose. But, concerning this whole *Invective* of *Evagrius's* against *Zosimus*, see *Johannes Leunclavius's Apology*, which he has prefixt before his Edition of *Zosimus*. Vales.

e Κατὰ τὴν τελίτλω καὶ εἰκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπάδα, *On the Hundred twenty third* Olympiad: The same is the Reading in the Greek Copies of *Nicephorus*; but it must be made δευτέραν καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὴν, &c. *On the Hundred eighty second* Olympiad, from *Eusebius*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, pag. 437. *Vales.*

out of * *Polytheism* and † *Democracy*, and introduced a previous Veneration of a Monarchy, on account of *that* just ready to come, *The Monarchy of Christ*. Immediately, all *Judæa*, and the Neighbouring Countries, were annext [to the *Roman* Empire:] in so much that *The* * *First Inrolment* was then made, in which *Christ* also together with others was Enrolled, to the end that *Bethlehem* might publickly declare the Completion of that Prophecy [which had been uttered] concerning it self. For it hath been predicted by the Prophet *Micah* concerning *it* in this manner: ‖ *And thou Bethlehem in the Land of Judah, art not the least amongst the Princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come forth to me a Governour, who shall* * *rule my People Israel.* And f after the Nativity of *Christ* our God, *Egypt* was added to the *Roman* Empire, *Augustus Cæsar*, under whom *Christ* was born, having totally subdued *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* who killed themselves. After which Persons, *Cornelius Gallus* is constituted *Præfect* of *Egypt* by *Augustus Cæsar*; and he was the first who Governed *Egypt* after *The Ptolemies*, as it has been recorded by *Historiographers*. Further, how many [Countries] have been taken away from the *Persians*, by *Ventidius*, and by *Corbulo*, *Nero's* * *Dux*; by g *Trajan* also, *Severus*, and *Carus*; by *Cassius* likewise, *Odænatus* of *Palmyra*, h *Apollonius*, and others: how often have [the Cities] *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* been taken; as likewise *Nisibis*, (which sometimes passed into the hands of the *Romans*, at others, into those of the *Persians:*) [Lastly,] that *Armenia*, and the adjacent Nations, have been annexed to the *Roman* Empire, Thou thy self, together with other Writers, dost relate. But I had almost omitted those things which Thou writest were done by *Constantine*, who together with his professing of our Religion, valiantly and with great Courage governed the *Roman* Empire: and what *Thy Julian* suffered, a partaker of the same Mysteries with thy self, who left such deep wounds upon the *Roman* State. But, whether any thing of what hath been predicted concerning the end of the World, hath either received * a Prelude, or shall obtain an End, is of a higher Dispensation than Thou canst conceive. But, if Thou pleasest, let us make inquiry, in what manner those Emperours who asserted the Superstition of the Gentiles, and how they who had a value for the *Christian* Religion, concluded their [Lives and] Reigns. Was not *Caius Julius Cæsar*, the *First Monarch* of the *Roman* Empire, murdered by Treachery, and so ended his Life? did not some Souldiers with their Swords kill the other *Caius*, who was * Nephew to *Tiberius?* was not *Nero* murdered by one of his Domesticks? Did not *Galba* undergo the same Fate? *Otho*, and *Vitellius* also; which three Emperours Reigned only sixteen months. Did not *Domitian* (who was his Brother,) destroy the Emperour *Titus* by poison? Was not *Domitian* himself in a miserable man-

* Or, *The worship of many Gods*

† Or, *A turbulent Dominion managed by the People.*

* See *Eusebius* Eccl. Hist. book 1. c. 5. note (*a*, *b*, *c*.)

‖ See Mich. 5. 2.

* Or, *Feed.*

f *Evagrius* mistakes. For about twenty years before our Saviour's Nativity, *Egypt* was reduced into the form of a Province. *Vales.*

* Or, *Commander.*

g Σὰλλης τραϊανὸν, &c. It would be better written thus, *Trajan also, Severus* and *Carus* For this is required by the order of Time. Instead of *Severus*, it might be written *Verus*. For he got a great Victory over the *Persians*, as we are informed from the Writers of the *Historia Augusta*. Vales.

h Concerning this *Apollonius*, I have read nothing in any place. *Vales.*

* Or, *Proœm*, or, *beginning.*

* *Germanicus C. Cæsaris pater Drusi & Minoris Antoniæ filius, à Tiberio patruo adoptatus*, &c. So *Suetonius* in the Life of *Caius Caligula*.

ner removed out of this World by *Stephanus*? What wilt thou ſay concerning *Commodus*, did not he end his Life by [the violent hands of] *Narciſſus*? *Pertinax* alſo, and *Julian*, underwent they not the ſame Fate? did not *Antoninus* Son to *Severus*, murther his Brother *Geta*, and was not he himſelf afterwards taken off in the ſame manner by *Martialis*? What [of] *Macrinus* alſo, was not he carried up and down like a Captive about *Byzantium*, and nefariouſly murdered by his own Souldiers? *Aurelius Antoninus* likewiſe, born at the City *Emeſa*, was not he ſlain together with his Mother? and *Alexander* his Succeſſor in the Empire, fell not he together with his Mother * by the like Fact! What ſhall we ſay concerning *Maximinus*, was not he deſtroyed by his own Souldiers? What concerning *Gordianus*, who by *Philippus*'s Treacheries [was murdered] by his own Souldiers, and ended his days? Now, do Thou tell me, was not *Philippus* and his Succeſſor *Decius* ſlain by their Enemies? *Gallus* and likewiſe *Voluſianus*, were they not thruſt out of their Lives by their own Forces? *Æmilianus* alſo, fell not he in the ſame manner? *Valerianus*, was not he taken priſoner, and carried up and down by the *Perſians*? [In fine,] after *Galienus* had been treacherouſly murdered, and *Carinus* ſlain, the [Supream Management of] affairs came to *Diocleſianus*, and thoſe whom he took in to be Colleagues in the Empire with himſelf. Of whom, *Maximinianus Herculius*, and his Son *Maxentius*, as likewiſe *Licinius*, were utterly deſtroyed. But, from ſuch time as the moſt celebrated *Conſtantine* entred upon the Empire, and dedicated to *Chriſt* a City built by himſelf, which bore his own Name; look about earneſtly [and ſee,] whether any of thoſe who reigned in that City, excepting only *Julian* thy *Pontiff* and Emperour, have been ſlain either by their own Citizens, or by their Enemies; or whether any Tyrant hath ever vanquiſhed an Emperour, [i] ſave only *Baſiliſcus* who drove out *Zeno*: notwithſtanding, he was afterwards routed by the ſame *Zeno*, and ended his Life. I aſſent alſo to what thou writeſt concerning *Valens*; [becauſe] he was the Occaſioner of ſuch and ſo vexatious miſchiefs againſt the *Chriſtians*. For, concerning any other Emperour [beſides theſe,] even Thou thy ſelf canſt not ſay it. Let no Perſon account theſe things to be foreign to our *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*; but rather [look upon them as] moſt uſeful and † accommodate; in regard the *Hiſtoriographers* amongſt the Heathens do deſignedly attempt to cloud the accurate Knowledge of Tranſactions. But let us return to the remaining Actions of *Anaſtaſius*.

* Or, *The ſame.*

† Or, *Coherent.*

[i] Ἢ μόνον βασιλίσκε. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it written, ἢ μόνε βασιλίσκε: but I would rather expreſs it thus, πλὴν μόνε, *ſave only*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLII.

Concerning * The Chryſotelia.

* Or, *Golden Tax.*

THE Actions we have already mentioned, were egregiouſly performed by *Anaſtaſius* in a manner beſitting the Imperial Majeſty. But the ſame Emperour did ſomethings in no wiſe anſwerable to thoſe [we have related.] For he invented that termed [a] *The Chryſotelia*, and [b] rated the Expence of the *Militia* at a very high value, to the great damage [c] of the *Provincials*. Beſide, [d] he took away the *Exaction* of the Tribe, is hard to gueſs, in regard our *Evagrius*, contenting himſelf in ſetting down the bare Name, has omitted to explain the Thing it ſelf; nor has any other of the Ancient Writers, that I know of, made mention of this thing. But as much as I am able to attain by Conjecture, I do think *The Chryſotelia* to have been nothing elſe, but a *Paying of Gold*; which *Anaſtaſius* firſt ordered to be exacted from the *Provincials* inſtead of the *Tributary Function*. For the old *Romans* were wont to bring in the Tributes in the very *Species* themſelves, to wit, in *Wheat*, *Barley*, *Wine* and *Oyl*: out of which, being carried together into the publick Granaries, the *Military* and *Civil Annona* was diſtributed. Moreover, by the Sanctions of the Emperours it had been forbidden, that the Collectors ſhould exact Gold of the Provincials inſtead of the *Species*, [to wit, *Wheat*, *Barley*, &c.] as may be ſeen in the Fourth and Fifth Law of the *Theodoſian Code*, Tit. *Tributa in ipſis ſpeciebus inferri*. But *Anaſtaſius* was the firſt who gave order, that inſtead of *The Species*, Money ſhould be exacted of the Provincials. Now, I gather this, partly from the word *Chryſotelia* it ſelf, whereby is ſignified *a paying of Gold inſtead of Tribute*; and partly from that which *Evagrius* ſpeaks in this whole Chapter concerning the *Tributary Function*, as we ſhall ſee afterwards. *Valeſ.*

[a] What *The Chryſotelia* ſhould be, is hard to gueſs, in

[b] Ἀπεμπολήσας ἢ στρατιωτικὼ δαπάνῳ. *Johannes Langus* has rendred this place very well, in this manner: *Et populos ſuos Vectigales bellicis impenſis per nundinationem divenditis ſupra modum gravavit. And he over-much burthened his People that payed Tribute, the Military Expences, being by a Market made Sale of.* *Muſculus* tranſlates it thus: *Et Militares ſumptus oneroſiſſimè contra conſuetas contributiones divendidit, And in a moſt burdenſome manner made ſale of the Military Expences, contrary to the uſual contributions.* But, *Chriſtorphorſon* renders it worſt of all, in this manner: *Et Stipendia Militaria, unà cum Exactionibus, non ſine graviſſimo Reipublicæ detrimento divendidit, And ſold the Military Stipends, together with the Exactions, not without the heavieſt detriment to the Republick.* But, to the end we may fully underſtand the thing it ſelf, we will diligently weigh each word. *Evagrius* therefore ſays, ᾧ ἀπεμπολήσας. That word ſignifies in *Latine*, *eum qui vendidit*, *him that hath ſold*. *Suidas* alſo obſerves, that *a fraudulent ſelling*, or *ſale*, is underſtood by this word. Now, the ſelling of the Military Expence may be meant in a twofold manner. For, either *Anaſtaſius* Farmed out the Military Expence to *Publicans*, in ſuch manner as our Kings are wont to do, who uſually let out the Allowance of the Military *Annona*, [that is, the Souldiers Proviſions,] of Cloths, and other things of that nature, to *Publicans* and *Farmers*. Or elſe, that Sale was no other thing than an *Adæration*, [or, ſetting a Money-value upon theſe Expences:] in ſuch a manner as if *Anaſtaſius* ſhould have rated at a moſt burthenſome value the Military Expence, to wit, Clothes, Arms, Forage, &c. which were wont to be brought in by the Provincials: which thing redounded to the loſs of the Provincials, who inſtead of the *Species* themſelves, were forced to pay a Price. And this latter Senſe I have followed in my Rendition. Now, by theſe words, στρατιωτικὼ δαπάνῳ, *Evagrius* means not only the Military Stipends, [or, Souldiers Pay,] as *Chriſtophorſon* thought; but all manner of charge belonging to the Militia, to wit, Clothes, Arms, and Proviſions. *Juſtinian* makes frequent uſe of this word in his Thirteenth Edict; where he diſtinguiſhes alſo between δαπάνας and Ϛιτήσεις. And he informs us, that the Ϛιτήσεις were the *Annonæ*, and the *Capita*, [or, Forage for the Beaſts] which were paid to the Magiſtrates in Gold: but of what ſort the δαπάναι were, he explains not; only he intimates, that the values of them alſo were exacted from the Provincials; where he ſpeaks concerning *The Dux* of *Libya*. Valeſ.

[c] Κατὰ τὴν Ϛωλεῶν. What Ϛωλεῖς were, *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not. The Provincials who paid Tribute, are ſo termed. The Old Gloſſes explain Ϛωλεσὴς, thus, *Tributarius*, a Perſon obnoxious to the paying of Tribute; Ϛωλέια, τὸ ἐπίτιμα, *Tributum*, *Tribute*. So *Evagrius* (book 5. chap. 13.) calls the *Tributaries* τοὺ σωλελᾶντας. Valeſ.

[d] Πεεισῆλε τλὼ τῶν φόρων εἴσπραξιν ἐκ τῶν βελδήκεων. Amongſt the Burthens of the *Decuriones*, the *Exactione*, [or, *Collection*] of the Tributes was not the leaſt. For they out of their own Body made *Suſceptores* [*Takers*, or *Receivers*] of *The Annonæ*, and *Præpoſiti* [or, *Overſeers*] of *The Manſions* and *Granaries*; as 'tis evident from the *Theodoſian Code*. In the Title *de Decurionibus*, and in the Titles *de Suſceptoribus*. Which yet is not ſo to be underſtood, as if only the *Decurions* might collect the Fiſcal Tributes. For, both the *Officials* of the *Præfecti Prætorio*, and likewiſe the *Officials of the Preſidents*, were wont to collect the Tributes from the Provincials; as *Amm. Marcellinus* informs us, book 17. in theſe words: *Denique inuſitato exemplo, id petendo Cæſar impetraverat à Præfecto*, &c. *In fine by an unuſual Example, Cæſar by entreaty had obtained that of the Præfect, that the diſpoſe of the ſecond* Belgica, *which was oppreſſed with manifold miſchiefs, might be committed to him; to wit, on that condition, that neither the Official of a Prefect, nor of a Preſident ſhould urge any one to pay.* [In *Valeſius*'s Edition of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 90. where this paſſage occurs; it is printed thus: ..... *iniq*

inique. *Inſitato Exemplo* &c; which imperfection in *Marcellinus's* Copy he does, I ſuppoſe, ſupply here by altering the punctation, and making it, *Denique inuſitato*, &c.] The Emperour *Anaſtaſius* wholly took away from the *Decurions* the exaction of the Tributes, which they in part took care of. Hence 'tis, that in *Juſtinian's thirteenth Edict*, where he treats concerning the Exaction of the Tributes of *Egypt*, he makes no mention of the *Decurions*; but only names the *Scriniarii* and the *Tractatores* of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, who Collected the *Fiſcal Tributes* from the Payers, and brought them to the *Double Table*, or *Cheſt*, of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, the one *Private*, the other *General*. Which thing was, I ſuppoſe, inſtituted by *Anaſtaſius*, who had Decreed, that the Tributes ſhould be brought in, not in their very *Species*, but in Gold, as I have remarked above. Now, why *Anaſtaſius* ſhould inſtitute that, this reaſon may be aſſigned. The Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, in regard he was moſt provident in managing the publick affairs, (as *Procopius* atteſts,) was willing rather to buy Peace of the *Barbarians* with Gold, than to engage with them in a doubtful War. Which when he had ſucceeded in according to his deſire, he leſſened the number of the Milice, in regard he had no need of them, becauſe the *Barbarians*, appeaſed with Gold, would keep the Peace. Therefore *Suidas* in the word ἀναξίσιος, ſays that the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, were in his Times almoſt empty of Souldiers. Whereas therefore the *Roman Legions* had been reduced to ſo ſmall a number, there was no neceſſity of carrying ſo many *Species Annonariæ* [that is, *Wheat*, *Barly*, &c.] into the publick Granaries. Wherefore *Anaſtaſius* judged it to be better, to exact money from the Provincials, wherewith he might redeem Peace from the *Barbarians*. Valeſ.

butes from the Courts [of the Cities,] and inſtituted thoſe termed [e] *The Vindices* in every City, [f] by the inducement (as 'tis ſaid,) of *Marinus* the *Syrian*, who adminiſtred the ſupreameſt dignity, that [Grand Officer who bore that place] the Ancients termed *The Præfectus Prætorio*. Whence it hapned, that the Tributes were both extreamly leſſened, and the beauty alſo of the Cities decayed. For anciently, the nobleſt perſonages were enrolled in the *Albs* [or, *Regiſters*] of [all] Cities, and each City had and appointed thoſe [perſons who were regiſtred] in * *The Curia*, inſtead of a certain Senate.

[e] Τὰς κατὰ πόλεις ἐνδίκους. There is mention of theſe *Vindices* in *Juſtinian's Novels*, and in the *thirteenth Edict*. The words of the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* pag. 985. are theſe: ἐν οἷς ἐσφάγη ἀντίπατρος ὁ βίνδηξ ἀντιοχείας: which *his tranſlator* hath rendred thus: *inter quos Antipater Antiochiæ Vindex ſeu Judex occubuit, amongſt whom was ſlain Antipater the Vindex or Judge of* Antioch. But the *Vindices* were not Judges, but perſons ſet over the Collection of the Tributes, as *Juſtinian* informs us, in *Novel* 124. and 125. Where he joyns them with the *Curiales*, *Officiales*, *Canonicarii*, and *Exactours of the Tributes*. And the ſame is confirmed by this place of *Evagrius*. For he ſays, that the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* took the Exaction of the Tributes from the *Curiales*, and tranſlated it to thoſe *Vindices* which himſelf had inſtituted. The *Vindices* therefore exacted the Tributes from the Provincials. The ſame *Juſtinian* in his *thirteenth Edict* ſays, that one *Potamon*, in the times of *Anaſtaſius*, under pretence of *Vindex* of *Alexandria*, was ſet over the exaction of the Tributes. For ſo I render theſe words; ποτάμωνα τινὰ ἐπὶ δημοσίων τῆς ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως κατέστησε τὸ τῆς ἐνδίκου ὄνομα. Whence alſo we learn, that the *Vindex* of *Alexandria* was ſet over the exaction τῆς ἐξαγωγίου; *that was the Tax for the Exportation of Tyles and other wares which were exported out of the City Alexandria*. Further, out of this money which the *Vindex* had Collected, he was compelled to allow wood to heat the publick Baths, and to fulfill other ſolemn duties, as the ſame *Juſtinian* informs us in the *above mentioned Edict*. From which paſſages therein, ſome perſons might be able to Collect, that there was only one *Vindex* in every City. 'Tis further to be noted, that that Conſtitution of *Anaſtaſius*, wherein the Exaction of the Tributes is ſaid to have been taken from the *Curiales*, was in no wiſe obſerved by the ſucceeding Emperours. 'Tis certain, *Juſtinian*, in the *forementioned Novels*, does expreſly name the *Curiales* amongſt thoſe who at their own peril exacted and undertook the Tributes. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *In the Courts of Judicature.*

[f] Ἐπῃνέσει φασὶ μεγέθει τοῦ σύμπαντος. The Emperour *Juſtinian* calls this perſon *Marianus*, in his *thirteenth Edict*, in theſe words: ἣ σὺν εὐδοξότητι ἔγραψεν, &c *Your glorious Magnificence hath found in a certain paper in the times of the Emperour* Anaſtaſius *of pious memory, then when Marianus of glorious memory adminiſtred the publick affairs under him.* But, *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon* terms him *Marinus*; *Indictione V.* [ſays he.] *Paulo & Muſciano Coſſ. die dominico, dum jubente Anaſtaſio Cæſare, per Marinum perq; Platonem in Eccleſiæ pulpito conſiſtentes, in Hymnum Trinitatis Deipaſſianorum quaternitas additur*, &c. *Plato* was indeed *Præfect* of the City *Conſtantinople*, as *Victor Tunonenſis* informs us in his *Chronicon*: but *Marinus* was *Præfectus prætorio*; wherefore he is ſet before *Plato* by *Marcellinus*. Further, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, whilſt they tell the ſame thing with *Marcellinus* and *Victor*, mention not the names of *Marinus* and *Plato*, but do expreſs the dignity of each of them, ſtiling the one of them λογοθέτης, the other ἔπαρχον. Where, by the term λογοθέτης they mean the *Præfectus Prætorio*, becauſe the *Præfectus Prætorio* managed the accounts of the Tributes. But, we muſt not omit what *Zonaras* relates, to wit, that by this *Marianus* the Præfect (for ſo he calls him) *Vitalianus* the Tyrant was vanquiſhed in a Sea-fight, by the help of certain Burning glaſſes, which had been framed by *Proclus* the Philoſopher. From which words ſome might conjecture, that this was the *Marinus Syrus* Scholar to *Proclus* the Philoſopher. Indeed, *Nicephorus* alſo, in the *laſt Chapter of his fifteenth Book*, calls his *Marinus*, a *Syrian*. But I am of opinion, that that *Marinus Syrus*, who was *Præfectus Prætorio* in *Anaſtaſius's* times, muſt be diſtinguiſhed from *Marianus Syrus the Philoſopher*, who wrote *Proclus's Life*. For this *Marinus* laſt mentioned was by Religion a *Pagan*, as we learn from an old Epigram which occurrs in *the Anthologia*. But, the former *Marinus* was a *Chriſtian*, as 'tis manifeſt from *Marcellinus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning the Tyranny of Vitalianus.

[FUrther,] *Vitalianus* by Extract a *Thracian*, makes an inſurrection againſt *Anaſtaſius*. Having laid waſte *Thracia* and * *Myſia* [a] as far as [the Cities] *Odeſſus* and *Anchialus*, he haſtned to the Imperial City, at the head of a [vaſt, but] inconſiderate multitude of the Nations of the *Hunni*. Againſt whom the Emperour ſent *Hypatius*. Who having been betrayed by his own [Forces,] and taken alive by the Enemy, was afterwards redeemed with a vaſt Ranſome; and *Cyrillus* undertakes the management of that whole War. And in the firſt place, a doubtful Engagement hapned. Then, after [the fight] had received many * Turns, as well in purſuits, as Retreats, and *Cyrillus* had had the better; [on a ſudden] [b] the Enemy began to fall on again, the [*Roman*] Souldiers having voluntarily given ground and turned their backs. And, in this manner *Vitalianus* took *Cyrillus* † in the [City] *Odeſſus*: and after he had ruined all places with fire and ſword, he made his march as far as that place called *Sycæ*; having no other thoughts in his mind, than of taking the Imperial City it ſelf, and of being put into poſſeſſion of the Empire. But when *Vitalianus* had encamped in *Sycæ*, *Marinus* the *Syrian*, of whom we have made mention before, is ſent by the Emperour, to engage him with a * *Marine Army*. Both † Fleets therefore ſtood oppoſed to each other, the one having *Sycæ a Stern*, the other *Conſtantinople*. And at firſt [by compact as 'twere] they forbore engaging. Then, after ſome excurſions of the Ships, and ‖ Skirmiſhes on both ſides, a ſharp Sea-fight was begun between the two Fleets, about thoſe places termed *Bytharia*; and *Vitalianus* having Tack'd about, flies with all the Sail he could make, after he had loſt moſt of his Forces. They alſo who were about him, Sailed off with all imaginable haſt; in ſo much that on the day following, not one of the Enemy was to be found about [c] *Anaplus*, or at the Imperial City it ſelf.

[a] Μέχρις ὀδυσσοῦ, *as far as Odyſſus*. It muſt be written, ὀδησσοῦ, *Odeſſus*. For ſo 'tis termed by *Diodorus Siculus*, by *Strabo*, and by *Stephanus*. *The ancient Coyns* alſo have it thus written, as I have long ſince obſerved at the *twenty ſeventh Book* of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *pag.* 334 *of my notes*. Nevertheleſs, moſt Writers, as well *Greek* as *Latine*, call it *Odyſſus* as if it had had its name from *Ulyſſes*. Indeed, *Johannes Langus* has rendred that *Ulyſſopolim*, which *Nicephorus* had termed ὀδυσσὸν in chap. 38. book 16. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Alterations.*

[b] Ἐπιστροφὴν πάλιν δίαξις. I judge it muſt be written in one word thus, παλινδίωξις. There is the ſame miſtake in *Nicephorus*, Chap. 38. Book 16. what the import of ὀπιστροφὴν is *Suidas* tells us incomparably well, in *that word*. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it plainly written παλινδίωξις. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Out of Odeſſus.*

* Or, *Naval Forces.*

† Or, *Armies.*

‖ Or, *Throwing of Miſſile weapons.*

[c] There was a place ſo called, as *Marcellinus* atteſts in his *Chronicon*, whoſe words we have quoted at chap. 25. *note* (c.) *Stephanus* has made mention of the ſame place in the word γυναικόπολις. *Valeſ.*

'Tis moreover said, that [after this,] *Vitalianus* spent some time at *Anchialus*, and kept himself quiet. Further, another Nation of the *Hunni* [a] having past the *Caspian Streights*, made an Incursion [into the *Roman* Provinces.]

[a] Περαιωθὲν τὰς Κασπίους πύλας. The *Hunni* having passed the *Caspian Streights*

At those very same times also, *Rhodus* * was shaken by a most Violent Earthquake, in the dead of the night; which was the third calamity it had suffered of that Nature.

* Or, *Suffered a most violent*, &c.

[or, *narrow passes*,] made an irruption into *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Pontus*, in the Consulate of *Anthemius* and *Florentius*, on the year of Christ 515, as *Marcellinus* and *Victor Tunonensis* relate in their *Chronicons*. They were also termed *Sabiri*, or *Saber*, as *Cedrenus* attests: for so 'tis to be read in *Theophanes*. From which Authors it must be made here περαιωθὲν τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, *having past the Caspian Streights*. 'Tis certain, *Nicephorus* has thus expresst this place of *Evagrius*, at book 16. chap. 38. Through these *Caspian Narrow Passes*, the *Hunni* were wont to break into the *Roman Pale*, as *Procopius* tells us Book 1. *Persic*. Where he gives an excellent description of these *Narrow Passes*, and attests that they had been heretofore fortified by *Alexander* the *Macedonian*. Whence, that passage of *Saint Jerome*, in his *Epitaph of Fabiola*, receives light; which runs thus: *Ecce subito discurrentibus Nunciis, Oriens totus intremuit, ab ultimâ Mœotide inter Glacialem Tanaim, & Massagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucasi rupibus feras Gentes Alexandri Claustra cohibent, erupisse Hunnorum examina. Vales.*

CHAP XLIV.

That Anastasius *being desirous to add these words*, Who hast been Crucified on our account, *to the Hymn* [*termed*] * The Trisagium, *a Sedition and disturbance happned amongst the people. Which* [Anastasius] *fearing*, † *made use of dissimulation, and soon altered the minds of the people. And concerning the death of* Anastasius.

* See *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word τειτάγιον.

† Or, *Feigned an humiliation.*

But at *Constantinople*, when the Emperour was desirous of making an addition of these words, *Who hast been Crucified on our account*, to [The Hymn termed] *The Trisagium*; a most violent Sedition hapned, as if the *Christian* Religion had been totally * Subverted. *Macedonius* and the *Constantinoplitan* Clergy were the Authors and Abettours of this Sedition, as *Severus* affirms in his *Epistle to* [a] *Soterichus*.

* Or, *Abrogated.*

[a] This *Soterichus* [or *Soterichus*,] had been ordained Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* by *Macedonius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Who going over afterwards to the *Eutychian* party, joyned himself to the impious *Xenaïas*, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that *Severus*, a Ringleader of the *Eutychians*, should have written Letters to *Soterichus*, a person like himself, and should in them have accused *Macedonius* a Catholick Bishop, as being the Author of the Sedition. *Severus* himself was rather the Occasioner of this Sedition, who had perswaded the Emperour *Anastasius*, that to *The Hymn* [termed] *The Trisagium* he should add this Clause, *Who hast been Crucified for us, having mercy upon us*; as *Cedrenus* relates in his *Chronicon*. Further, *Proclus* Bishop of *Constantinople* had been taught *this Hymn* [termed] *The Trisagium*, by Angels. Which, as soon as the Priest had approacht the altar, the *Chaunter* out of the Pulpit began to sing, in this manner, ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς. ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς. ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, *Holy God*; *Holy Mighty*: *Holy Immortal*; as *Jovius Monachus* writes Book 6. in *Photius's Bibliotheca*. On account of this Hymn most violent Tumults arose afterwards in the Church, when the *Easterns* would add this Clause to it, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, *Who hast been Crucified for us*, referring it to *Jesus Christ*. But the *Constantinopolitans* and *Westerns* rejected that addition, *least any person should be attributed to the Consubstantial Trinity*: and in place thereof sang these words, ἁγία τριὰς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, *Holy Trinity have mercy upon us*; as *Ephræmius Patriarch of Antioch* informs us in *Photius* his *Bibliotheca*. *Macedonius* did right therefore, who retaining the usage delivered by *Proclus*, refused that addition. *Vales.*

Which [*Epistle*] he wrote before he had obtained the *Episcopal Throne*, whilst he resided [b] at the Imperial City, to wit, at that time [c] when he, together with others, had been ejected out of his own Monastery, as I have * related already. On account of these Calumnies, besides other reasons † already mentioned, I am of opinion that *Macedonius* was ejected [out of his See.] From this occasion the populacy was enraged, and in regard they were not any longer to be withheld, many personages of the Nobility were reduced to the greatest of dangers, and several of the eminentest places [of the City] were burnt down. And when the people had found a certain Country-fellow (who lead a Monastick course of life,) in the house of *Marinus* the *Syrian*, they cut off his head; affirming that by this mans motives and perswasions *that Expression* had been added [to *The Hymn.*] They also put his head upon a pole, [carried it about] and in a deriding manner exclaimed, that he was the Enemy of the Trinity. [Further,] the Sedition increased so vastly, ruining all things, and being superiour to all * Opposition, that the Emperour, † compelled by necessity, went to the *Cirque* without his Crown, and sent the Criers to the people, to make Proclamation, that with all imaginable readiness he would resignd his Empire: but that it was a perfect impossibility for all of them to obtain the Empire, which cannot endure many Colleagues; and, that there was of necessity to be one, who might Govern the Empire after him. Which when the people perceived, by a certain Divine impulse as it were, they altered their minds, and besought *Anastasius* to put his Crown upon his head, and promised to be calm and quiet [in future.] When *Anastasius* had survived these disturbances [d] some small interval of time, he departed to another life, having Governed the Empire of the *Romans*, seven and twenty years, three months, and as many days.

* See Chap. 33.

† Chap. 32.

* Or, *Strength.*

† Or, *Out of necessity forced to a compassion.*

[b] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας. *Christophorson* has rendred this place ill, thus, *Vitam in aulâ Imperatoriâ degebat*, *Lead his life in the Imperial Palace*. *Nicephorus* also committed the same mistake, who has expounded these words of *Evagrius* thus: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἐνδιατρίβων, *but as yet resided in the Imperial Palace*. But, in *Evagrius* it must be written, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, that is, *at the Imperial City*. For so *Evagrius* is wont to call *Constantinople*, as I have noted above. Besides, in the foregoing chapter he terms it so. *Vales.*

[c] Οὔτε τῶ καθ' αὐτόν. Doubtless it must be, ὅτε τῶ καθ' αὐτὸν, and we have rendred it accordingly. So also *Nicephorus* read: for he has expresst *Evagrius's* words thus: καθ' ἐκεῖνο καιρῶ, ὁπηνίκα τῶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀπηλάθη μοναστηρίω, *at that time, when he was driven from his own Monastery*. Yet I wonder, that this was not perceived by the Translatours, to wit, *Musculus* and *Christophorson*. Vales.

[d] Nay; *Anastasius* lived seven years compleat after this Sedition. *Vales.*

The End of the Third Book of Evagrius's *Ecclesiastical History.*

THE

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS*;

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Empire of * Juſtinus Senior.

* Or, *Juſtinus the Firſt.*

Naſtaſius therefore being (as I have ſaid,) tranſlated to a better allotment, *Juſtinus*, by Extract a *Thracian*, veſts himſelf with the purple Robe, on the ninth day of the month *Panemus*, which amongſt the *Romans* is termed *July*, in the Five hundred ſixty ſixth year of *Antioch*'s being ſtyled a free City: he was declared [Emperour] by the Imperial Guards, of whom alſo he was Commander, having been made [a] *Maſter of the Offices* at Court. He obtained the Imperial Dignity beyond all expectation, in regard there were many of *Anaſtaſius*'s relations, who were eminent perſonages, had arrived at the greateſt fortunateneſs imaginable, and who had procured to themſelves all that power which might have inveſted them * with the Imperial Dignity.

[a] Ἡγεμὼν ὢν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεων. That is, *Magiſter Officiorum*, *Maſter of the Offices*. For ſo the *Greeks* do uſually explain that dignity.

* Or, *With ſo great a dignity.*

Nevertheleſs, *Jordanes* in *his Book de Succeſſione Regnorum*, relates that *Juſtinus* was by the Senate elected Emperour, not from his being *Maſter of the Office*, but *Comes of the Guards*. To whom agrees the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and the *Old Chronographer* whom I long ſince publiſhed at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*'s *Hiſtory*. *Procopius* (in *his Anecdota*, *pag.* 28.) ſpeaking of the Emperour *Juſtinus* as yet a private perſon, writes thus; Ἀρχοῦλα ὁ αὐτὸν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς κατεστήσατο τῆς ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων, *For the Emperour Anaſtaſius had made him Comes of the Guards in the Palace.* The ſame *Procopius* makes *Juſtinus*, not a *Thracian*, (as *Evagrius*, *Cedrenus*, and *Zonaras* do,) but an *Illyrian*, born at the Town *Bederiana*. *Theophanes* alſo ſays *Juſtinus* was an *Illyrian*. But I cannot enough admire at the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, who although he makes him a *Bederianite*, yet terms him a *Thracian*. Valeſ.

CHAP II.

Concerning the Eunuch Amantius, *and* Theocritus; *and in what manner* Juſtinus *put theſe perſons to death.*

MOreover, there was [at that time] one *Amantius* the chief perſon of the Imperial Bed-Chamber, a man of great power [and intereſt.] Who, in regard 'tis unlawful for a man deprived of his Genitals [as he was,] to be poſſeſt of the *Roman* Empire, was deſirous of encircling *Theocritus*, a great Confident of his, with the Imperial Crown. Having therefore cauſed *Juſtinus* to be ſent for, he gave him vaſt quantities of money, ordering him to diſtribute it amongſt thoſe who were moſt fit to effect this thing, and who might be able to inveſt *Theocritus* with the purple Robe. But *Juſtinus* having with this money purchaſed, either [the ſuffrages of] the people, or elſe the Benevolence of thoſe termed *The Guards*, (For 'tis reported both ways;) inveſted himſelf with the Imperial Dignity. Forthwith therefore he * takes off *Amantius* and *Theocritus*, together with ſome other perſons.

* Or, *Deſtroys from amongſt men.*

CHAP. III.

In what manner Juſtinus *ſlew* Vitalianus *by treachery.*

BUt, he calls *Vitalianus* [then] [a] making [his Reſidence] in *Thracia*, (who had attempted to diveſt *Anaſtaſius* of the Empire,) to *Conſtantinople*: being afraid of his power, of his ſkill in relation to Military affairs, of the greatneſs of his Fame then [ſpread] amongſt all men, and of the deſire he had to obtain the Empire. But perceiving by a ſagacious foreſight, that he could on no other terms bring *Vitalianus* within his own power, unleſs he ſhould feign himſelf his friend; and having [for that reaſon] mask'd his face with a fraud not to be detected, he conſtitutes him *Maſter* of [b] one [of thoſe Armies] termed *The Preſent Militia*.

[a] Ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ποιούμενον. *Nicephorus* (book 17. chap. 1.) inſtead of the Word ποιούμενον, *making*, ſubſtituted διάγοντα, *living*. But I am of opinion, that *Evagrius* wrote, τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενον, *making his Reſidence*; and, that the two former words were omitted by Tranſcribers. The reading may alſo be σκηνοποιούμενον, *pitching his Tent*, or, *dwelling*. Valeſ.

[b] Ἑνὸς τῶν καλουμένων πεδισίνων. There were two Armies in the Court of the *Roman* Emperour, who were called *Præſentes*, in *Greek*, τὸ πεδισινὸν. Theſe were commanded by two *Magiſtri Militum*, who were termed *in Præſenti*, or *Præſentales*. And in the *Eaſtern Empire*, one of theſe Commanders was a *Magiſter of Foot*, the other *of Horſe*. But in the *Weſtern Empire*, each of them was

was a *Maſter of Horſe and Foot*. Concerning theſe two *Magiſtri of the preſent Milice*, or, *Milice in waiting*, *Malchus* ſpeaks in his *Excerpta Legationum* pag. 93. Moreover, *Jordanes* in his *Book de Succeſſione Regnorum* agrees with our *Evagrius*, where he ſpeaks theſe words concerning the Emperour *Juſtinus*; *Fœduſque cum Vitaliano percuſſit*, &c. *And he made a League with* Vitalianus, *and after he had ſent for him, made him preſent Maſter of the Milice and ordinary Conſul.* See *Meurſius's Gloſſary* in the word πεμισεύλιον. In the *Fifth Action of the Conſtantinoplitan Synod under* Menas, pag. 751. theſe words occurr, καὶ τοῖς σπαθηρίοις τῶ θείω πεμισεύλιω ἑκατέρας διωάμεως. *Valeſ.*

*Or, *Place.* After this, he gave a great * occaſion of perſwaſion, whereby *Vitalianus* might more deeply be impoſed upon, and promotes him to the Conſulate. [c] *Vitalianus* therefore being made Conſul, after he was arrived at the Imperial Palace, ended his life by being treacherouſly murdered [d] at one of

[c] Οὗτος τῆς ὑπατείας ἐχόμενος. In the *Tellerian* M S. this place is written thus, ἕτος δὲ εἰς ὑπάτας ἐχόμενος. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἐν πνὶ μεταυλείῳ θύρᾳ. *Muſculus* renders this place thus, *in obſcuriore quâdam Palatii januâ, in a certain more obſcure gate of the Palace.* *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it in this manner; *in portâ quâdam poſt Aulam poſitâ, in a certain gate placed after* [or, *behind*] *the Palace.* *Johannes Langus*, who rendred *Nicephorus* into Latine, has tranſlated it thus: *ad quandam in mediâ Aulâ Januam, at a certain Gate in the middle of the Palace.* He was minded belike to expreſs that word which *Nicephorus* made uſe of, to wit, μεσαυλείῳ. The *Greeks* had two Gates in their *Edifices which had no Cellars*, or, *Vaults*. The firſt of theſe, which look'd towards the Street, was termed αὐλειος θύρα, the *Porch-Gate*, as *Harprocation* informs us in the word αὐλειος: the ſecond Gate was called μέσαυλος, or, μεσαύλειος, becauſe *it was in the midſt between the Porch and the Atrium* [or, *Court*;] or elſe becauſe it was in the middle between *The* ἀνδρωνῖτις, *men's Apartment*, and *The* γυναικωνῖτις, *womens Apartment*; as the *Author of the Etymologicon* affirms. *Lyſias* mentions both theſe Gates in his *Oration pro Eratoſthene de Cæde*, in theſe words; ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐψόφει ὁ μέταυλος θύρα καὶ ἡ αὐλειος, *but having remembred that in that night the Gate between the Porch and Atrium and the Porch Gate creak'd.* I think it muſt be written thus, ὁ μέταυλος καὶ ἡ αὐλειος θύρα. *Heliodorus* (in the *cloſe of his third book*) alludes to this place of *Lyſias*, when he ſays, ἐψόφει τε ἡ μέταυλος. Which paſſage the Tranſlatour renders thus. *Perſtrepebat Oſtium Atrii, the Gate of the Atrium creak'd.* *Ælius Dionyſius* (in his *Lexicon in Euſtathius* on ἰλιάς δ'. λ'. pag. 862,) ſays theſe words; ἀτθικοὶ μὲν τὸ μέσον θύραν μέσαυλον φασὶ, μάλιστα μὲν τὸ μέσον δυοῖν αὐλαῖν ὡς φησὶν Αἴλιος Διονύσιος. ἢν καὶ μέταυλον αὐτὸς φησί; *The Greeks term the Gate* μέσαυλος, *eſpecially the middle of the two Gates, as* Ælius Dionyſius *affirms. Which* [*Gate*] *alſo the ſame perſon ſtiles* μέταυλος. The ſame is affirmed by *The Scholiaſt of Apollonius at his third book.* Let thus much be noted concerning the propriety of this word, in the Expoſition whereof *Harpocration* is miſtaken, (ſee him in the word μέταυλος;) who from *Lyſias* thought the import of it was, ἡ ῥυπῶσα λεγομένη αὐλὴ, *that termed the ſordid Court* [or, *Yard*] *were the fowls were.* But, we muſt now come nearer to the matter. The words of *Victor Tunonenſis* in his *Chronicon* are theſe: *Maximo V. C. Coſſ Vitalianus*, &c. *In the Conſulate of the moſt famous* Maximus, Vitalianus *is ſaid to have been killed at* Conſtantinople *within the Palace*, (*in a place which by a Greek word they term* The Delphicum,) *by the faction of* Juſtinianus *the Patricius.* Further, *The Delphicum* was an Houſe in the Palace at *Conſtantinople*, wherein were the *Stibadia* [ſee book 5. chap. 13. note (*a.*)] of the Emperour; it was ſo termed from *The Delphick Table*; whereon drinking Cups were wont to be placed, as *Procopius* informs us in the *firſt book of his Vandalicks*, pag. 116. *The Delphicum* therefore was *The Houſe of the nineteen places to lie down on and banquet*, near to which was a ſpacious *Atrium*, or *Area*, as we will declare hereafter at *our Annotations on book 5. chap. 13.* In this *Area*, therefore or *ſpacious Court*, *Vitalianus* was ſlain in *his own Conſulate*, on the year of Chriſt 520. as *Marcellinus* informs us in his *Chronicon.* For μέσαυλος, or μεσαύλειος imports *Curtis, a large and ſpacious Court*, which was betwixt *the mens Apartment* and *the womens Apartment*, as we have ſeen from *the Author of The Etymologicon*, &c. But, if we would rather take μέσαυλος to ſignifie *a Gate*, we muſt mean the Gate of *The Delphicum.* Thus the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod under Menas* is ſaid to have been held ἐν τῷ μεσαύλῳ τῷ δελφικῷ; that is, *in the Weſtern* Atrium *of the Venerable Church of the Bleſſed Virgin Mary.* *Cedrenus* in Juſtinian's *thirty ſeventh year* ſays that the μεσαύλιον of the *greater Church* was burnt; which is termed *The Garſonaſtaſium.* *The old Gloſſes de Habitatione*, interpret μεσαύλιον, *compluvium, a pent houſe.* *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 158. relates that *Juſtinian* built a great Ciſtern of *The Meſaulium* or *Atrium* of *Illus's Baſilica.* The *Old Gloſſes* expound μεσαύλιον, *Atrium, a Court.* But when we read that the Council was held in the *Meſaulium*, it is not to be underſtood of *an open Court*, but of the *Porticus's of the Court.* For the Councils of Biſhops were not held abroad in the open Air. *Valeſ.*

the inner Gates; [e] paying this puniſhment for thoſe high contumelies wherewith he had affected the *Roman* Empire. But theſe things happened afterwards.

[e] Ταύτην κάλαλαεῶν. I had rather make it καταβαλὼν, *paying.* For ποινὴν καταλαβεῖν is no *Greek* phraſe, if I miſtake not. But, 'tis righter thus, καταβαλεῖν; which the Latines term *pœnas ſolvere, to undergo puniſhment.* Thus *Evagrius* expreſſes himſelf in chap. 32. of this book. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IV.

How [Juſtinus] *having Ejected* Severus, *put* Paulus *into his place: and, that ſome little time after,* Euphraſius *obtained the See of* Antioch.

BUt *Severus*, who had been Ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, agreeable to what we have * already related, (in regard he ceaſed not [a] daily to *Anathematize* the Synod at *Chalcedon*, eſpecially in thoſe they term [b] *The Inſtalling Letters*, and in the Anſwers thereto, which he ſent to the *Patriarchs* in all places; (but they were embraced and admitted of at *Alexandria* only, by *Johannes* Succeſſour to the former *Johannes*, and by *Dioſcorus* and alſo [c] *Timotheus*, which *Letters* are preſerved till theſe Times of Ours;) and becauſe many contentions in the Church aroſe therefrom, and the moſt faithful people were divided into Factions; this *Severus* [I ſay] is by *Juſtinus*'s order Seized in the [d] Firſt year of his Empire, and underwent the puniſhment of having his Tongue cut out, as it has been reported by ſome perſons.

* Book 3. Chap. 33.

[a] Ἐφ' ἑκάστης. It muſt be made ἐφ' ἑκάστης, *daily*, as the reading is in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*. *Evagrius* took this paſſage out of the *Libel of the Monks*, which is recorded in the *Fifth Action* of the Conſtantinopolitan *Synod under Menas*, pag. 712. τῷ γὰρ ἐν χαλκηδόνι ἁγίων σύνοδον ἐφ' ἑκάστης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀναθεματίζειν τολμῶν, κοινωνεῖ ταύτῃ. πολλὰς γὰρ συνεδρεύσας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χαλκηδόνα ἁγίαν συνόδῳ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὁπωσδήποτε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔχων διπτύχοις; *for daring daily (as we may ſay,) to Anathematize the Holy Synod at Chalcedon, he hath held Communion thus far,* [or, *in this manner,*] *he has in the ſacred Diptycks many of the Biſhops under himſelf who had ſate at that Holy Synod at* Chalcedon. For ſo it muſt be read agreeable to the *Old Tranſlatour*: and this, *Liberatus* confirms in his *Breviarium*, chap. 19. where his words concerning *Severus* are theſe: *Sed vexabatur in Epiſcopatu, tanquam Anathematizaret quidem Synodum, nominaret autem Epiſcopos Synodi; But he was vexed in his Biſhoprick, as if he ſhould Anathematize the Synod, but would name the Biſhops of the Synod.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἐν τοῖς καλουμέναις ἐνθρονιστικαῖς συλλαβαῖς. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this term, as 'tis apparent from his *Verſion.* For he has rendred it thus: *Et maximè in Litteris quæ* ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, *id eſt, quæ de Epiſcopis in ſede Epiſcopali collocandis ſcriptæ ſunt*, &c; *and eſpecially in the Letters which* [are termed] ἐνθρονιστικαὶ, *that is, which are written concerning the Biſhops to be placed in the Epiſcopal Chair.* *Johannes Langus* (in chap. 2. book 17. of *Nicephorus*,) tranſlates is truer, thus: *Potiſſimùm verò in eis quæ Enthroniſticæ, ſive Synodales dicuntur, Epiſtolis*, &c; *but moſt eſpecially in thoſe Letters, which are termed Enthroniſtick or Synodical Letters*, &c. So the Letters were termed, which the Patriarchs ſent one to another, at their Inſtallment, that is, in the beginning of their Epiſcopate. There were alſo *Enthroniſtick Homilies*, or *Sermons*, which the Biſhops Preacht to the people at their entrance upon their Epiſcopate. Concerning theſe, *Liberatus* (chap. 19.) writes thus, treating of our *Severus*, concerning whom *Evagrius* ſpeaks here: *Fertur autem Expoſitio ejus, quæ ab eo dicta eſt in Enthroniſmo*, &c; *But his Expoſition is extant, which was ſpoken by him at his Inſtallment, wherein he does both embrace* Zeno's *Uniting Edict, and alſo Anathematizes the* Chalcedon *Synod, and likewiſe confeſſes himſelf to hold Communion with the* Alexandrian *and* Conſtantinopolitan *Prelates.* Valeſ.

[c] He means *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had ſucceeded *Dioſcorus Junior* in that Biſhoprick, as *Liberatus* relates chap. 19. For *Timotheus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* cannot be meant here, in regard *Evagrius* has ſaid juſt before, that *Severus's Synodick Letters* were embraced and admitted of only at *Alexandria.* *Valeſ.*

[d] Nay; *Severus* was ejected in the ſecond year of the Emperour *Juſtinus*, on the year of Chriſt 517. as *Baronius* has remarked truly. *Valeſ.*

The

The executing of which punishment was committed to *Irenæus*, [e] who being then *Comes* of the *East*, resided at *Antioch*. 'Tis certain, *Severus* himself (in his *Letter* to some of the *Antiochians*, wherein he relates the manner of his own Flight;) does averr, that *Irenæus* had been ordered to apprehend * him. In which Letters, he loads *Irenæus* with the greatest Calumnies, [f] because he had placed the watchfullest Guard imaginable about him, that he might not make his escape out of *Antioch*. There are those who affirm, that *Vitalianus*, who as yet seemed to hold the chiefest place of favour and authority with *Justinus*, requested *Severus*'s tongue, because *Severus* in his own Sermons had been injurious towards him. *Severus* therefore flies from his own See [the Chair of *Antioch*,] in the month *Gorpiæus*, which in the *Roman* Tongue is termed *September*, on the Five hundred sixty seventh year of *Antioch*'s being styled a free City. after whom *Paulus* ascends that [Episcopal] Chair, and [g] is ordered publickly to commend and assert the *Chalcedon Synod*. Moreover, *Paulus* having [h] voluntarily withdrawn himself from *Antioch*, finished his life, and goes the [common] way of all men. After him, *Euphrasius*, who [came] from *Jerusalem*, is preferred to his Chair.

[e] Ὃς ἐφεισήκει τῇ ἑῴᾳ τῶν ἀρχῶν. By these words I am of opinion the *Comes of the East* is meant; which was a *Civil dignity*, as I have long since remarqued at *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 5. *of my notes*. Nevertheless, *Nicephorus* thought that this *Irenæus* was the *Dux of the Militia*. For he has interpolated this passage of *Evagrius* in this manner: ὃς τῶν κατ' ἀντιόχειαν στρατιωτικῶν ἡγεῖτο τμημάτων, *Who commanded the Military Companies at* Antioch. But there is a fault in these words of *Evagrius*, τῶν ἀρχῶν which in my judgment are to be expunged; or else to be corrected in this manner ἐρχῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ἀντιόχειαν. *Vales.*

[f] Καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ, &c. Without doubt it must be ὡς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ περιθέντα, *because he had placed the watchfullest Guard imaginable about him*, &c. I have noted already, that in these Books of *Evagrius*, καὶ is most frequently put instead of ὡς. *Vales.*

[g] The Emperour *Justinus*, at the beginning of his Empire made an establishment by a Law, that all the Bishops should embrace the *Chalcedon Synod*: but if any would not embrace it, they should be driven from their Sees. *Liberatus* has mentioned this Law in his *nineteenth chapter*, in these words: *Mortuo Anastasio, & Justino facto Imperatore*, &c. Anastasius *being dead, and* Justinus *being made Emperour*, Severus *is accused by* Vitalianus *the Magister Militum, a Religious and Orthodox person, because he despised the Emperours Command, and would not embrace the Synod.* See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 519. *Number* 145. Further this place of *Evagrius* seems to have given occasion of a mistake to *Nicephorus*. For, because our *Evagrius* had said, that *Paulus*, *Severus*'s successor had been ordered to assert the *Chalcedon Synod* at his Installment, *Nicephorus* thought that this *Paulus* was in secret an *Eutychian*: Nevertheless, that this was false, *Liberatus* informs us in his *Breviarium*, chap. 19; as also the *Legates of the Apostolick See in their Relation to Pope* Hormisda, which *Baronius* records at the year of Christ 519. *Vales.*

[h] *Paulus* Bishop of *Antioch* was accused by his own Clergy, and by some others of the People of *Antioch*, before the *Legates of the Apostolick See*, who as yet resided at *Constantinople*; and after their departure, before the Emperour *Justinus*; who not able to clear himself of the Crimes objected against him, being vanquished by the testimony of his own Conscience, presented *Recusatory Libels*, requesting that he might have leave to retire from the Episcopal Office which he had undertaken. Which when he had been permitted to do, he spontaneously removed himself from the Sacerdotal Function, as the Emperour *Justinus* relates in his *Letter to Pope* Hormisda, which *Baronius* records at the year of Christ 521. But although it is not expressly said in the *foresaid Letter*, to whom *Paulus* presented *those Libels*: yet it seemeth to me, that he presented *those Libels* to the Emperour *Justinus*. For, that is declared by *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, in the Letter which he wrote to Pope *Hormisda* concerning the same affair. *Vales.*

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Fires which happened at Antioch, *and the Earthquakes; wherein* Euphrasius *was buried, and ended his life.*

ABout these same Times of *Justinus*, frequent and dreadful Fires happened at *Antioch*, which lead the way as 'twere to those most terrible earthquakes that followed afterwards, and gave beginning to the ensuing Calamities. For, after some short time, in the seventh year of *Justinus*'s Reign, [a] on [his] Tenth month, in the month *Artemisius*, or *May*, on the Twenty ninth day thereof, at the very hottest time of Noon-day, on the sixth day of that termed *The week*, a shaking and quaking of the Earth invaded the City, which almost wholly overturned and ruined it. After these [trem-blings and quakings of the Earth] followed a Fire, sharing as it were the Calamity with them. For, those places which these [shakings and quakings of the Earth] afflicted not, the fire spreading it self all about, reduced to Embers and Ashes. Further, what places of the City were ruined, how many persons perished in the Fire and by the Earthquakes, (as 'tis probably supposed;) also what wonderful and [almost] inexpressible accidents happened; *Johannes* the *Rhetorician* has most pathetically related, with the Narrative whereof he hath closed his *History*. Lastly, *Euphrasius* himself also, having been inclosed within those ruins, [b] ended his life; [which accident brought] another Calamity upon that City, in regard no person was left alive, who might provide such things as were necessary.

[a] Μηνὶ δ' κάτῳ. *Christophorson* understood not this passage, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders it thus: *Anno Septimo Regni ejusdem Justini, mense decimo, Artemisio videlicet, id est, Maio*, &c. *In the seventh year of the same Justinus's Reign, on the tenth month, to wit Artemisius, that is, May*, &c. *Christophorson* thought, that the tenth Month was here termed *Artemisius*. But 'tis not so. For *Artemisius* was not the tenth month of the *Macedonians*. *Evagrius* therefore says this only here, that that Earthquake happened at *Antioch* in the seventh year on the tenth Month of *Justinus*'s Empire. Concerning the year we shall see afterwards, whether it be truly reckoned the *seventh*. But the *tenth Month* is rightly put by *Evagrius*. For, that Earthquake happened in the month *May*, as *Evagrius*, and likewise *Theophanes* do attest. Now, this was the tenth Month of *Justinus*'s *Empire*. For *Justinus* began his Reign on the ninth day of the month *July*, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* observes. Therefore, the month *May* of the following year was the tenth month of *Justinus*'s Reign. These things concerning the month admit of no doubt. As to the year, our *Evagrius* has done ill to place this Earthquake on the seventh year of *Justinus*'s Empire, in regard he ought rather to have said the *Eighth*. For this Earthquake happened on the *fourth Indiction*, when *Olybrius* was Consul alone; as *Marcellinus Comes* and *Theophanes* do attest in their *Chronicon's*: which was the year of Christ, 526. On which year the eighth year of the same Emperour's Reign was current till the month *July*. *Baronius* therefore has not rightly placed this Earthquake on the year of Christ 525; who was led into a mistake by *Evagrius*. Further, in the *Florentine Manuscript*, at these words of *Evagrius*, *this Scholion* was set in the Margin; ὅτι ὁ μαΐου λέγει, [*Note*] *that* May *is termed the tenth month*. But this *Scholiast*, whosoever he was, is mistaken here. For *May* is not simply and absolutely termed the tenth month by *Evagrius* here, but only the tenth month of *Justinus*'s Empire, as I have said above. *Vales.*

[b] Τελευταῖον ἤν, *in fine therefore*. In the *Florent.* MS. the reading is truer, thus, τελευτᾷ δὲ, *ended his life*. Further, concerning this Earthquake wherewith *Antioch* was ruined in the times of the Emperour *Justinus*; besides *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, *Procopius* speaks in the *first book of his Persica*, page. 67, and 68; where he relates that three hundred thousand persons perished in that Earthquake. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Ephræmius *who succeeded* Euphrasius.

BUT the Salutary providence of God over Men, which [usually] provides the Remedy before the Blow, and sharpens the Sword of its Anger with Clemency, which in the very interim that affairs are in a deplorable and desperate posture, displays its own compassion; excited

excited *Ephræmius* [a] then *Comes of the Eaſt*, to take all poſſible Care, that the City might want nothing of thoſe things that were neceſſary. Which perſon the Inhabitants of *Antioch* admired on this very account, and choſe him their Biſhop. *Ephræmius* therefore obtains the *Apoſtolick Chair*, which was allotted to him as the Reward and Recompence as 'twere of ſuch his providence [towards that City.] Thirty months after this, *Antioch* was again afflicted with Earthquakes: [b] at which time alſo it [changed its name, and] was called *Theopolis*; and the Emperour made proviſion for it by all other care and diligence whatever.

[a] Τῆς ἑῴας ἀρχῆς νενικηκὼς διέπων, *who held the Reins of Government of the Eaſt.* That is, *was then Comes of the Eaſt; under whoſe diſpoſe were all the Provinces of the Eaſt*; as the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* informs us. That *Ephræmius* was adorned with this diginity, we are told by *Johannes Moſchus* in chap. 37. of *his Limonarium*; where his words are theſe: *Eo tempore vir clemens, & miſericordiæ operibus deditus Ephræmius Comes Orientis erat*, &c. *At that time* Ephræmius, *a perſon of great clemency, and addicted to works of compaſſion, was Comes of the Eaſt, and by him the publick Buildings were repaired: for the City had been ruined by an Earthquake.* *Photius* alſo atteſts the ſame, in his *Bibliotheca, chapter* 228. Valeſ.

[b] Τότε καὶ Θεόπολις *and then alſo*, &c. I would rather read, ὅτε καὶ Θεόπολις, *at which time alſo*, &c. Which is the reading in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*, who writes, that in *Juſtinian's* Reign *Antioch* had that name given it. The ſame is atteſted by *Stephanus Byzantius* in the word Θεόπολις, and by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*. This Latter Earthquake hapned on the twenty ninth day of *November*, in the *ſeventh Indiction*, two years after the former Earthquake, as *Theophanes* relates pag. 151; or rather thirty months after the former Earthquake, as *Evagrius* ſays truly. For, ſo many months are reckoned from the twenty ninth of *May* in the year of *Chriſt* 526, to the twenty ninth of *November* in the year of *Chriſt* 528. In which year the *Seventh Indiction* began to be reckoned from the month *September*. Whence, that appears to be moſt true which I have remarked before, *viz.* that that former Earthquake hapned at *Antioch* on the year of *Chriſt* 526; and not on the year 525. as *Baronius* thought. And yet *Baronius* has rightly placed the latter Earthquake on the year of *Chriſt* 528; which is true. For, whereas he follows *Evagrius's* Calculation, he ought to have placed that Earthquake on the year 527: in regard the former Earthquake had hapned at *Antioch* on the year 525 of *Our Lord's Nativity*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Zoſimas *and* Johannes *who were Workers of Miracles.*

BUT, in regard we have mentioned the foreſaid Calamities, come on, we will alſo inſert ſome other paſſages, worthy to be remembred, into this our preſent Work; which paſſages were brought to our knowledge by thoſe who ſaw them. There [was] one *Zoſimas*, a perſon who exerciſed himſelf in a Monaſtick life, by Extract a *Phœnician*, of that *Phœnice* termed *Maritima*; the place of his Nativity was *Sinde*, a Village diſtant from *Tyre* not full out twenty furlongs. This man, by his abſtinence from and uſe of meats, and by other virtues of his life, had in ſuch a manner * poſſeſt himſelf of God, that he could not only foreſee things future, but had alſo received [from God] the Gift of † being free from all manner of perturbation of mind. Being therefore [one time] in the City *Cæſarea*, which is the *Metropolis* of one of the *Paleſtines*, at the houſe of [a] a perſonage of eminency; (his name was *Arceſilaus*, a Perſon nobly Deſcended and Learned, and one who had arrived at Honours and thoſe other [accompliſhments] which adorn the life of a man:) at that very inſtant of time wherein *Antioch* was ruined [by the Earthquake,] this *Zoſimas* all on a ſudden grew ſad, mourned and ſighed deeply, and ſhed ſo great a quantity of tears that he wetted the Earth. He alſo asked for a Cenſer, and having burnt Incenſe all over that place where they ſtood, he proſtrates himſelf on the Ground, in order to his appeaſing God with Prayers and Supplications. Then *Arceſilaus* asking him, what that was which troubled him ſo much, he anſwered in expreſs words, that the Noiſe of the Ruin of *Antioch* juſt then rang in his Ears. In ſo much that *Arceſilaus* and thoſe then preſent, being ſtriken with an amazement, wrote down the Hour, and found afterwards, that it had ſo hapned as *Zoſimas* had declared. Several other wonders were wrought by this perſon; the multitude whereof I will omit, in regard they are even more in number than can be told; and will mention only ſome of them: There flouriſhed at the ſame time with this *Zoſimas*, a man by name *Johannes*, for virtues like to him; who had exerciſed a *Monaſtick* and * *immaterial* life in the *Laura* [b] *Chuziba*, (which is ſituate in the extremity of the valley, at the Northern part of the highway that leads paſſengers from *Jeruſalem* to the City *Jericho*;) [c] but had been made Biſhop of the forementioned City *Cæſarea*. This *Johannes* the *Chuzibite*, in regard he had heard that the wife of the foremention *Arceſilaus* had beat out one of her Eyes with a Weavers Shuttle, ran to her in great haſt, to make an inſpection into the wound. But when he had ſeen it, and [perceived] that the pupil was fallen out, and the whole Eye perfectly run out, he orders one of the Phiſicians who had * come thither, to bring a Sponge, and to put the Eye which was fallen out, into its place again as well as he could, and to put the Sponge about it, and bind it with † Swathels of Linen. *Arceſilaus*, was not then preſent. For he hapned to be at that time with *Zoſimas*, in his Monaſtery, which was ſituate in the Village of the *Sindeni*, diſtant from *Cæſarea* about five hundred furlongs. Meſſengers therefore ran in great haſt to *Arceſilaus*, to acquaint him with what had hapned. *Arceſilaus* was ſitting near to *Zoſimas* holding a Conference with him. As ſoon as he underſtood [the misfortune that had befallen his wife,] he wept bitterly, pluckt off and tore his hair, and threw it into the Air. When *Zoſimas* enquired the reaſon hereof, *Arceſilaus* gave him an account of what had hapned, but made frequent interruptions in his Relation by ſighs and tears. *Zoſimas* therefore having left him, retired alone by himſelf into a certain little * Room, where he was wont to converſe with God, as 'tis the uſage of ſuch perſons. After ſome

* Or, *Brought God home within himſelf.*

† Πάσης ἀπαθείας, *of all manner of undiſturbedneſs in relation to the Paſſions.*

* Αὔλιον, *a life void of matter.*

* Or, *Followed.*

† Or, *Rollers.*

* Or, *Houſe.*

[a] Σωπῆν τῶν τι ἐπισήμων ἄνδρα τῷ καίσαρος πόλιν. *Muſculus* has referred theſe laſt words, to the word ἐπισήμων. For he renders it thus: *Hic junctus erat nobili cuidam Cæſarienſi, He was joyned to a certain noble Man of* Cæſarea. But *Nicephorus* and *Chriſtophorſon* conſtrued theſe words otherwiſe, and referred them to the verb σωπῆν which proceeds, thus; *Being therefore*, &c. as we have rendred it. Which opinion I do rather approve of. Yet, that which follows in *Evagrius* raiſes a doubt, to wit, that *Zoſimas* asked the ſtanders by for a Cenſer. For, if *Zoſimas* was in the houſe of *Arceſilaus* a Laick, how could he ſeek a Cenſer there, in regard 'tis not uſual to have Cenſers in the houſe of a Laick? *Valeſ.*

[b] Χουζικᾶ, *Chuzica.* So alſo the reading is in *Nicephorus*, and *Ortelius* has retained the ſame reading in his *Theſaurus Geographicus*. But in the excellent *Florentine Manuſcript* it is χουζιβᾶ *Chuziba*; which is doubtleſs truer. For ſo *Johannes Moſchus* terms *that Laura* in chap. 24. *cùm autem veniſſet in Eremum, & moraretur in Cellis Cuſibæ*, &c. *But when he was come into the Deſert, and abode in the Cells at* Cuſiba, *he performed the ſame works of mercy. For he went through the high way which leads from* Jordan *to the Holy City.* Where 'tis obſervable, that thoſe are termed *Cells* by *Moſchus*, which *Evagrius* calls a *Laura*. Indeed, *a Laura* was nothing elſe but *Cells of Monks diſperſed here and there*, as I have remark'd above, at book 1. chap. 21. note (*b.*) yet *Moſchus* (chap. 24.) calls it the *Monaſtery Chuziba.*— Valeſ.

[c] This *Johannes* was firſt Abbot and Presbyter of the Monaſtery *Chuziba*; whence he had the ſurname of *Chuzibite*. But afterwards he was made Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, as (beſides *Evagrius*) *Johannes Moſchus* informs us. *chap.* 24. Valeſ.

some little time he came out, look'd chearfully, and with a modest and grave smile † stroak'd *Arcesilaus*'s hand softly, *Go*, says he, *go away with joy: Grace is given to the* Chuzibite. *Your Wife is cured; she has both her Eyes; that accident could deprive her of nothing, in regard it so pleased the* Chuzibite. And so it hapned, these two righteous Persons having at one and the same time wrought a Miracle. This same *Zosimas* going one time to *Cæsarea*, and leading an Ass after him whereon he had laid some things that were needful to him, meets a Lyon, who having seized upon the Ass, went his way. *Zosimas* followed the Lyon over the wood, till such time as he had filled his belly with the Asse's Flesh. After which *Zosimas* laugh'd, and spake [these words] to the Lyon; *But Friend* [says he] *my Journey is stopt, for I am a Man* [d] *gross and fat, and of a very great age; nor am I able to carry that burthen on my back which was laid upon the Ass. If therefore thou have a mind that* Zosimas *should remove from hence, you must necessarily carry my Burthen,* [*though this be a thing*] *contrary to the Law of your Nature; and* [*after that*] *you shall be a wild Beast again.* The Lyon wholly forgetting his Rage, began to fawn, in a most gentle manner, [e] ran immediately to *Zosimas*, and by his Gesture * shewed his Obedience. *Zosimas* therefore having laid the Asses burden on him, lead him as far as the Gates of *Cæsarea*; demonstrating hereby the power of God, and how all things serve and obey us Men, when we live to God, and do not adulterate that Grace which is given to us. But, least I should lengthen my History by [relating] more [such passages as these,] I will return to that place from whence I have made a digression.

† Τῷ χεῖρα κλάσαντι ψύχων, *cooled his hand.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is, τῇ χεῖρα χειρὶ ψύχων.

[d] Παχεῖ καὶ βαρεῖ ὄντι. *Musculus* omitted these words in his Version. But *Christophorson* has rendred them thus; *quippe cùm annis plurimis onustus sim, in regard I am loaden with many years.* Which rendition is not to be born with; for his following words are, *& ætate admodùm provectus, and very aged.* By this Version therefore *Evagrius* would be made to say the same thing in both places. The *Greeks* term *Gross, thick,* and *fat Men* παχεῖς. Which sort of Persons are tender and delicate, and unfit to carry a burden. See *Suidas* in the word παχεῖς. *Nicephorus* also understood not this Word. For instead thereof he has substituted these ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνδειαν ἐκτετηκυίαν, *and by reason of my want of necessaries am macerated,* [or, *milted.*] Vales.

[e] Ὡς ἔτρεχε. Doubtless it must be written, προσέτρεχε, *ran to.* In *Nicephorus* the reading is ὑπέδραμε, *ran under.* But our Emendation seems better. *Vales.*

* Or, *Roared out.*

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Universal Calamities.

DUring the same *Justinus*'s Governing the [*Roman*] Empire, that [City] now named *Dyrrachium* (which was anciently called *Epidamnus,*) was ruined by an Earthquake. As was likewise *Corinthus*, situate in *Achaia*. *Anazarbus* also, the *Metropolis* of the *Second Cilicia*, [suffered] a fourth Calamity of this sort. Which Cities *Justinus* rebuilt by the expence of a vast sum of Money. In these very same times also, *Edessa* a City of the *Osröeni*, which was vastly great and rich, was drowned by the waters of the torrent of the *Scirtus* which runs hard by it; in so much that most of the houses were beaten down, and an innumerable multitude of men destroyed, whom the water carried away. *Edessa* and *Anazarbus* had their [ancient] names changed by *Justinus*; for both those Cities were adorned with * his own name.

* That is, *he gave each of them the name of* Justinopolis.

CHAP. IX.

How Justinus *whilst he was yet living, took* Justinianus *to be his Colleague in the Empire.*

THE same *Justinus* having passed the eighth year of his Empire, [a] and also nine months and three days [of his ninth year,] *Justinianus* his Sisters Son is made his Colleague in the Empire, being proclaimed on the first [day of the month] *Xanthicus*, or *April*, in the Five hundred seventy fifth year of *Antioch*'s being stiled a free City. And when these affairs had proceeded in this manner, *Justinus* removes from his Empire here [on earth,] * having ended his life on the first day of *Lous*, or the month *August*, when he had reigned four months with *Justinianus*, and had [b] held the Empire [as well alone, as with a Colleague] nine compleat years [[c] one month,] and three days. [Further,] when *Justinianus* was invested with the sole Government of the whole *Roman* Empire, and the Synod at *Chalcedon* had been asserted over all the most Holy Churches, by the order of *Justinus*, as I have related; [the affairs of the Ecclesiastick constitution were as yet disturbed in some Provinces; and especially at the Imperial City, and at *Alexandria*: *Anthimus* then Governing the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*, and *Theodosius* presiding over the Church at *Alexandria*. For both [these Prelates] asserted *one Nature* [in Christ.]

[a] The *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, instead of, *three days*, has made it, *five*. For he writes, that *Justinianus* was made *Augustus* by *Justinus*, after eight years nine months and five days of *Justinus*'s Empire, on the *Calends* of *April*, in the Consulate of *Mavortius*; which was the year of Christ 527. But the *Author of that Chronicle* disagrees from himself: for he relates, that *Justinus* entred on the Empire on the ninth day of *July*, in the year of our Lord's Nativity 518. From which time to the *Calends of April* in the year 527, there are eight years, and as many months, together with one and twenty days. But if we follow *Cedrenus*, who relates that *Justinianus* was made *Augustus* by *Justinus* on the fourteenth of *April*, then the Computation of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* will be most certain. *Vales.*

* Or, *Having undergone his perfect day.*

[b] Τὴν αὐτοκρατορίαν διανύσας ἀρχὴν. In the *Tellerian Manuscript*, I found it written, τῶν αὐτοκρατορικὴν διανύσας ἀρχὴν *and had held the Imperial Government*, or, *the Empire*: which reading pleases me best. *Vales.*

[c] From *Evagrius*'s own Computation 'tis apparent, that these words [*one month*] must be added here. For in regard he has said a little before this, that on the *Calends of April* of this year, the eighth year of *Justinus*'s Reign was compleated, and that he had reigned over and above, nine months and three days; the consequence is, that on the *Calends of August* of the same year, nine years were passed togegether with one month and three days. Whence 'tis Collected, that *Justinus*'s Reign is to be begun from the twenty eighth day of *June*, according to *Evagrius*'s Sentiment. *Vales.*

CHAP. X.

How Justinianus *favoured those who embraced the* Chalcedon Synod. *But* [*his Wife*] Theodora *was a Lover of the Contrary party.*

JUstinianus indeed courageously defended the [Fathers] which had been convened at *Chalcedon*, and the Expositions they had made. But his Wife *Theodora* [favoured] them who asserted one Nature: [a] whether it were becausе they themselves really thought so:

[a] Εἴτε καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔτως ἐφρόνουν. I think it should be worded thus; εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀληθῶς ἔτως ἐφρόντων, *whether it were becausе they themselves really thought so.* For the sense requires this reading. *Nicephorus* in no wise understood the meaning of this passage. But *Musculus* has explained it excellently well in this manner: *Sive autem sic verè sentiebant, sive sic dispensatione quâdam inter ipsos convenerat; But whether they really thought so, or whether it had been so agreed amongst themselves by a certain dispensation. Christophorson* has followed *Musculus*, and began a new period from these words, in this manner. *Sive igitur ità reverà sentiebant,* &c. *Whether therefore they really thought so,* &c. But we have joyned them with the foregoing words. *Vales.*

(For

(For when the Subject of the debate is concerning the Faith, Fathers differ from their Children, and Children from their Parents, the Wife [diſagrees] with her own Husband, and again the Husband with his own Wife:) or whether it had been ſo agreed upon between themſelves [b] out of a politick deſign, that the Emperour ſhould defend thoſe who aſſerted *two Natures* in *Chriſt* our God after the Union: but the Empreſs, them who maintained [there was but] *one Nature*. Nevertheleſs, neither of them yielded to the other. But *Juſtinian* pertinaciouſly adhered to what had been agreed on at *Chalcedon:* and *Theodora*, addicted to the Contrary party, made all imaginable proviſion for thoſe who aſſerted one Nature. And ſhe every way cheriſhed [c] our Country-men; but ſhe favoured Foreigners with vaſt preſents of money. [In fine,] ſhe perſwades *Juſtinian* to cauſe *Severus* to be ſent for [to *Conſtantinople.*]

[b] Καθ' οἰκονομίαν. *Muſculus* renders it, *diſpenſatione quâdam, by a certain diſpenſation.* Which Verſion I do not approve of. *Johannes Langus* tranſlates it, *ex compoſito, by agreement*, or *appointment. Chriſtophorſon, deditâ operâ, on ſet purpoſe. I* would rather render it, *per ſimulationem, through pretence*, or, *out of a politick deſign.* For, 'tis oppoſed τῇ ἀληθείᾳ *to truth.* Some therefore were of opinion, that by fraud and under a Colour it had been agreed on between *Juſtinian* and *Theodora*, that the one ſhould adhere to the *Catholicks*, the other to the *Acephali.* In *French*, we ſhould term it, *Par Politique.* Valeſ.

[c] Ἡμεδαπὸς. By this word *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood the *Acephali.* For he has explained this place thus: *Et ejus opinionis Homines, ſi noſtrates eſſent, benevolè & amicè complexa eſt: Sin externi, præmiis benignè remunerata: And the men of that opinion, if they were our Country-men ſhe entertained kindly and friendly: but if Foreigners, ſhe rewarded them liberally with gifts.* But *Nicephorus* renders ἡμεδαπὸς, *the Catholicks and the Orthodox*; which I can by no means approve of. For, by ἡμεδαπὸς our *Evagrius* means the *Orientals.* But, by ἀλλοδαπὸς *Foreigners*, he means the *Weſterns.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XI.

How Severus *perverted* Anthimus [*Biſhop*] *of* Conſtantinople, *and* Theodoſius [*Biſhop*] *of* Alexandria: *which prelates the Emperour ejected, and put others* [*into their Sees.*]

Severus's Letters, both to *Juſtinianus*, and alſo to *Theodora*, are ſtill extant: from which it may be Collected, that *Severus*, after his relinquiſhing the Chair of *Antioch*, at firſt deferred his Journey to the Imperial City; but that afterwards he went thither. He writes alſo [in the ſame Letters,] that when he was come to *Conſtantinople*, he diſcourſed with *Anthimus*, and finding that he embraced the ſame Sentiments with himſelf, and [maintained the ſame] opinion in relation to God; he perſwaded him to relinquiſh his [Epiſcopal Chair.] He wrote alſo concerning the ſame matters to *Theodoſius* who was Biſhop of the City *Alexandria:* in which [Letters] he boaſts, that he had perſwaded *Anthimus* himſelf, as hath been ſaid, to give ſuch Opinions as theſe the preference before earthly Glory, and his own [Epiſcopal] Chair. *Anthimus*'s Letters to *Theodoſius* concerning theſe matters are alſo extant, as likewiſe *Theodoſius*'s to *Severus* and *Anthimus*; which Letters I omit, (leaving them to thoſe who are deſirous of reading them,) leſt I ſhould heap together an immenſe multitude [of tranſactions] [a] within this preſent book. But, both theſe [* Prelates,] in regard they proceeded contrary to the Emperour's Commands, and would not embrace what had been agreed on at *Chalcedon*, were expelled from their own Sees. And [b] *Zoilus* ſucceeds in the Chair of *Alexandria:* but in that of the Imperial City, [c] *Epiphanius:* [d] ſo that, in all the Churches from hence forward, the *Chalcedon Synod* was publickly [e] preach'd up and aſſerted, and no body dared to *Anathematize* it: but thoſe perſons who would not embrace theſe Sentiments,

[a] Τῷ παρόντι βίῳ. I agree with the Learned, who have already mended this place thus; τῷ παρόντι βιβλίῳ, *within this preſent book.* Valeſ.

* To wit, *Anthimus*, and *Theodoſius.*

[b] In the place of *Theodoſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *Paulus* was ſubſtituted. Who being ſoon ejected, *Zoilus* was put into his See, as *Liberatus* informs us in his *Breviary*, chap. 23; and likewiſe *Victor Tunonenſis* in his *Chronicon*, and *Theophanes* pag. 188. *Liberatus* atteſts, that this *Paulus* was *Orthodox.* But *Victor Tunonenſis* and *Theophanes* affirm him to have been an Heretick, and to have celebrated *Dioſcorus*'s name in the *Sacred Diptycks.* For *Victor*'s words are theſe: *Baſilio V. C. Coſ. Alexandrinæ Eccleſiæ*, &c; *in the Conſulate of the moſt famous* Baſilius, Theodoſius *and* Gaianus *being baniſhed from the* Alexandrian *Church, inſtead of them* Paulus *the firſt of the Tabenneſiotæ* [*is made Biſhop,*] *who celebrating the depoſition of his predeceſſor the Heretick* Dioſcorus, *is depoſed by the* Paleſtine *Council, and* Zoilus *is ordained Biſhop in his room.* But *Theophanes* writes thus concerning *Paulus:* ὅτου τὴν μνήμην ζεσήνης τῶν ἀνόσιον ποιήσας, &c; *This perſon having celebrated the memory of the profane* Severus, *was ejected out of his Biſhoprick by the Emperours diſpleaſure.* He had better have ſaid, *of the profane* Dioſcorus; for *Severus*, if I miſtake not, was as yet living, at ſuch time as *Paulus* was ejected out of his Biſhoprick, that is, on the year of Chriſt 537. I have made theſe remarks for this reaſon, becauſe *Baronius*, in his *Annals*, ſays nothing elſe concerning this *Paulus*, ſave what had been related by *Liberatus.* Valeſ.

[c] *Evagrius* miſtakes and puts *Epiphanius* inſtead of *Menas.* For *Anthimus* had ſucceeded *Epiphanius.* After *Anthimus* was ejected, in his place *Menas* was ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* by Pope *Agapetus*; after *Beliſarius*'s Conſulate, on the year of Chriſt 536; as *Marcellinus* relates in his *Chronicon.* Valeſ.

[d] Concerning this Peace and Union of the Churches which hapned after the Ordination of *Paulus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *Liberatus* (in his *Breviary*, chap. 23.) ſpeaks theſe words: *Hoc ergo modo unitas facta eſt Eccleſiarum anno decimo imperii Glorioſi Juſtiniani* Auguſti, *On this manner therefore an Union was made of the Churches in the tenth year of the Empire of the Glorious* Juſtinianus Auguſtus. For all the Patriarchs at that time embraced and admitted of the *Chalcedon Synod*; that is in the year of Chriſt 537. To wit, the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe *Apocriſarius* [or, *Legate,*] *Pelagius* was at *Conſtantinople: Paulus* Biſhop of *Alexandria: Ephræmius* of *Antioch* and *Petrus* of *Jeruſalem.* Of which Prelates, *Paulus*, when at the beginning he had pretended to aſſert the true Faith, afterwards revolted to the *Eutychian Hereſy*, as I have remarked at note (*b*,) from *Victor* and *Theophanes their Chronicles.* Valeſ.

[e] Some perſon ſtudious of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity, will perhaps make enquiry here, in what manner or order this Preaching [Publiſhing, or Aſſerting,] of the *Chalcedon Synod* was wont to be performed. I anſwer, that this preaching was uſually made in the *Ambo*, or *Pulpit* of the Church, by the Biſhop, or any other perſon deputed by him, whilſt the Solemn [or, Publick] Prayers were performed. We have this information from the *Letter*, or *Libel of the Orthodox Biſhops* preſented at *Conſtantinople* to *Pope Agapetus*, *which Libel* is recorded in the *Firſt Action of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod under* Menas, where they ſpeak thus concerning the Emperour *Juſtinian:* Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νομοθετῆσαι τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ ἁγίας πατέρας Συνόδους ἐν ᾗ ὁτιδήποτε θεομύστου θείας μυσταγωγίας μεγαλοφώνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν κηρύκων κηρύττεσθαι, *And on this account he made a Conſtitution that the four Sacred and Holy Synods ſhould be Preached by the divine Preachers in the divine Prayers whereſoever performed. The Old Tranſlator* renders theſe words thus: *& propter hoc ſtatuit quatuor Sanctas Synodos in divinis & ſacris initiationibus, a ſacris prædicatoribus prædicari, And on this account he ordered, that the four Holy Synods ſhould be preach'd by the Sacred Preachers, in the divine and ſacred Initiations. This Tranſlator* thought, μυσταγωγία was taken in this place for *Initiation*, or *Baptiſm*, as it is wont uſually to be taken. But at this place, θεία μυσταγωγία is taken for the *Publick Prayers*, and has the ſame import with θεία λειτουργία, the *Divine Liturgy.* Indeed the *Chalcedon-Synod* was firſt Preach'd [or, Aſſerted] in the *Publick Prayers* at *Conſtantinople*, in the Reign of *Juſtinus Senior*, as may be ſeen in the *Fifth Action of the Conſtantinopolitan Synod under* Menas, *pag.* 725, &c. *Edit. Colon.* But the Studious of Eccleſiaſtick Antiquity muſt be cautioned, that they ſuffer not themſelves to be led into an error by the *Latine Tranſlator*, who writes that this *Publication* was made after the prayers were ended. When as nevertheleſs, the Greek Text there has a far different import; the words whereof are theſe: χθὲς ἢ παρελθοῦσαν κυριακὴν καὶ δευτέραν, λειτουργίας ἐπιτελουμένης ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c: *when Sunday and Munday come, the Liturgy being to be performed* [or, *celebrated,*] *in the Holy Church of God.* The ſame error is committed by the Tranſlator, at pag. 733; where the *Greek* runs thus: καὶ μὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου, ἐξ ἔθους τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἐπιτελουμένης καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κλειομένων, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μαθήματος καὶ τὸ σύμβολον λεχθέντος, &c. which words are to be rendred thus: *And after the reading of the Holy Goſpel, when the Divine Liturgy, as uſually, is to be celebrated, and the doors are ſhut, and the Holy Creed, according to cuſtom, read*, &c. Which paſſages the ſtudious Reader may peruſe there, if he has a mind to underſtand the whole order [or faſhion,] wherein

wherein the Four *Oecumenical* Synods were preach'd [or proclaim'd,] and read in the *Sacred Diptycks*. Valef.

were by innumerable ways compelled to give their consent thereto. A [f] Constitution therefore was written by *Justinianus*, wherein he hath *Anathematized Severus* and *Anthimus* with others, and has made obnoxious to most sore punishments those who assert their Opinions. From that time therefore, nothing of dissention remained in the Churches over the whole world: but the *Patriarchs* of each *Diœcesis* agreed one with another, and the Bishops of the Cities followed their own [g] *Exarchs*: and the *Four Synods* were preach'd up in the Churches; the *First* whereof was that at *Nicæa*, then, that at *Constantinople*, the *Third* [was] the Former Synod at *Ephesus*, and the *Fourth* that at *Chalcedon*. Moreover, there was a *Fifth* Synod convened by the order of *Justinianus*: concerning which I shall speak what is fit and accommodate in its due place. In the interim, I will interweave into this present History those affairs which were transacted one after the other in these very times, and which deserved to be recorded.

[f] He means *Justinian's* forty second *Novel*, which is also recorded in the fifth *Action* of the *Constantinopolitan* Synod under *Menas*. In the Edition of *Henry Stephens*, who publish'd *Justinian's Novels* in *Greek*; this *Constitution* is indeed said to have been dated on the seventeenth of the *Calends* of *August*, in the Consulate of the most Famous *Belisarius*. But in the Edition of the *Constantinopolitan* Council under *Menas*, 'tis said to be dated on the eighth of the *Ides* of *August*, after the Consulate of the most Famous *Belisarius*; which is doubtless truer. For, in regard *Justinian* promulged that Constitution against *Anthimus* and *Severus*, after the Sentence of the *Constantinopolitan* Synod pronounc'd against those Prelates, (as the Emperour himself attests in the Preface of that Constitution:) and whereas the *Constantinopolitan* Synod pronounc'd a Sentence of Condemnation against the foresaid *Anthimus* and *Severus* on the twelfth of the *Calends* of *June*, after *Belisarius's* Consulate: it is altogether necessary, that that Constitution of *Justinian's* should have been promulged on the year after *Belisarius's* Consulate. *Valef.*

[g] *Exarchs* at this place are the *Primates*, or *Patriarchs* of each *Diœcesis*, as *Evagrius* has said a little before: in the same manner as *Jacobus Syrmondus* has explained it in the second Book of his *Propempticon*, chap. 5. where he discourses excellently and most learnedly concerning *Exarchs*. To whose exact diligence there remains nothing to be added by us. Nor has *Christophorson* done ill in rendring Ἐξάρχους here, *Archbishops*. For *Primates* were heretofore termed *Archbishops*, as *Isidorus* informs us in the seventh Book of his *Origines*, in these words: *Ordo Episcoporum quadripartitus est*, &c. *The Order of Bishops is divided into four parts, into Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitanes, and Bishops. A Patriarch in the* Greek *Tongue imports the highest Father, because he holds the first, that is, the Apostolick place: as the* Roman, *the* Antiochian, *the* Alexandrian. *Archbishop in* Greek *is termed the highest of Bishops. For he holds the Apostolick place, and presides as well over Metropolitanes, as Bishops.* Valef.

CHAP. XII.

Out of the History *of* Procopius Cæsariensis, *concerning* Cavades *King of the* Persians, *and his Son* Chosroes.

PRocopius the *Rhetorician* has written the Affairs transacted by *Belisarius*: [and he declares,] that *Cavades* King of the *Persians*, desirous to invest *Chosroes* being the younger of his other Sons, with the Kingdom, [a] considered how he might procure his Son *Chosroes* to be adopted by the Emperour of the *Romans*; to the end that by this means the Kingdom might be most firmly secured to him. In regard therefore * he mist of this his design; by the Inducement of *Proclus*, who sate *Quæstor* to [the Emperour] *Justinian*, the Feud against the *Romans* was increased. Further, the same *Procopius* with much exquisiteness and great elegance hath set forth the Actions of *Belisarius Master of the Eastern Milice*, at such time as the *Romans* and *Persians* were at War one with another. He relates the first Victory therefore of the *Romans* about the places *Daras* and *Nisibis*, when *Belisarius* and *Hermogenes* commanded the *Roman* Army. To which he subjoyns also what hapned in the Country of the *Armenians*, and with how great [mischiefs] *Alamundarus* Commander of those *Barbarians* [termed] * *Scenitæ*, infested the *Roman* Provinces. Which *Alamundarus* took *Timostratus*, Brother to *Rufinus*, alive, together with the Souldiers † under his Command; and afterwards delivered him up [when ransomed] with a vast sum of Money.

[a] Βάλε?) ὥστε. The conjecture of Learned Men displeases me; who (instead of βάλεται, *desires*,) have mended it thus, βουλεύεται ὥστε, *consulted how*, &c. *Nicephorus* (book 17. chap. 10.) instead of these two words uses this, διενοήθη, *thought*, or, *cast in his mind*: which pleases me best. *Valef.*

* *Cavades.*

* Or, *Who dwelt in Tents.* He means the *Saracens.*

† Or, *About him.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Alamundarus *and* Azarethus; *and concerning that Sedition at* Constantinople, *which had the name* Nica *given it.*

[THE same Author] * most passionately describes the Incursion of the foremention'd *Alamundarus* and *Azarethus* into the † *Roman* Pale; and how *Belisarius*, forced thereto by his own Army, made an attack upon those *Barbarians* in their return to their own Countrey, near the Banks of the *Euphrates*, the Festival of *Easter* then approaching; and how the *Roman* Army was ruined, by their refusing to obey the Advices of *Belisarius*: and lastly, how *Rufinus* and *Hermogenes* made that Peace with the *Persians*, called * *The Interminate Peace*. To which † he subjoyns the popular Sedition that hapned at *Byzantium*, whereto *The* ‖ *Word* of the People gave a Name. For they gave it the Appellation of *Nica*, [because] the Populacy being assembled together had given one another *this* † *Word*, in order to their distinguishing one another. In that [Sedition] *Hipatius* and *Pompeius* were by the Populacy forced to set up for Tyrants. But the Heads of them both by *Justinian's* Command were cut off by the Souldiers, and drowned in the Sea; the People having been soon quell'd. Moreover, *Procopius* affirms, that thirty thousand Men perished * in this Tumult.

* Or, *With a vehemency of affection.*

† Or, *Land of the Romans.*

* Or, *Endless*, or, *boundless.*

† *Procopius.*

‖ Or, *Watch-word.*

† Or, *Watch-word.*

* Ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τότε, *In this mischief*, or, *harm.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning * Hunericus *King of the* Vandals, *and concerning those* Christians, *whose Tongues were cut out by him.*

* Or, *Onorichus.*

THE same *Procopius*, in his book wherein he has related the Affairs of the *Vandals*, gives a Narrative of † strange things, and which deserve for ever to be kept in memory by Men; which matter I come now to relate. *Hunericus* who succeeded *Gisericus* in the Kingdom, in regard he embraced [the Tenets] of *Arius*, behaved himself most barbarously towards those *Christians* in *Africa*; forcing them who asserted the Orthodox Opinions to [retract and] turn to the Opinion of the *Arians*. And if any refused to obey his Commands, he destroyed them by fire, and infinite other sorts of death. But he ordered the Tongues of some of them to be cut out. *Procopius* affirms, that he him-

† Or, *The Greatest.*

[a] Τῇ Θείᾳ προσβολῇ. It must be παραλαβεῖν, as others before us have already observed. Further, concerning these *African* Confessours (whose Tongues *Hunericus* King of the *Vandals* had commanded to be cut out, and who afterwards desisted not from speaking though their Tongues were cut out) *Marcellinus Comes* speaks in his *Chronicon* at the Consulate of *Theodoricus* and *Venantius*; where he also attests that some of them were seen by him. *Victor Tunonensis* records the same in his *Chronicon*, at *Zeno Augustus*'s Consulate, And *Victor Vitensis* in his book *De Persecutione Vandalorum*, and lastly the Emperour *Justinian* in his First Law, *de Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africæ*. Which Constitution of *Justinian*'s our *Evagrius* quotes a little lower in this Chapter; although in the *Greek* Text the Name of *Justinus* is erroneously written instead of *Justinianus*. See more in *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 484. *Vales.*

self * saw these Persons when they were at *Constantinople*, to which City they had fled; and that he conferred with them [and heard them] speak in such a manner as if they had suffered no such thing: and [he says] that their Tongues indeed were cut out from the very root; but, that they had an articulate Voice, and spake distinctly: [which thing was] a wonder new and unusual. *The Constitution* of * *Justinian* mentions these Persons also. Two of whom Lapsed, as the same *Procopius* relates. For in regard they would † converse with Women, they were deprived of their Voice, and the grace of Martyrdom continued not any longer with them.

* In the *Greek* Text here, and in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition 'tis *Justinus*: See note *(a)* in this Chapter.

† Or, *Have to do with.*

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Cabaones *the* Moor.

[a] Ἀναγῇ, *produces.* I had rather make it, ἀναφέρῃ, *relates*; as *Evagrius* expresses himself at the beginning of the next Chapter. *Vales.*

MOreover, [*Procopius*] [a] relates another admirable passage, which was wonderfully effected by God [our] Saviour, amongst Men who were strangers indeed to our Religion, but who behaved themselves piously and holily at that time.

He says, that *Cabaones* was King of those *Moors* about *Tripoli*. *This* Cabaones, says he, (for I think fit to make use of *Procopius*'s own words, who has elegantly related these matters, as well as others;) *having received Information, that the* Vandals *would undertake an Expedition against him, he behaved himself in this manner. In the first place he ordered his Subjects, to abstain from all manner of Injustice, and* * *from dainty and delicious Dishes; but most especially from the* † *company of Women. Then, he pitch'd two Camps, in the one he himself encamped, together with all the Men: but within the other he shut up the Women, and threatned he would inflict a punishment of death upon any one that should go into the Womens Entrenchment. After this, he sent* ‖ *Spies to* Carthage, *to whom he gave these Orders: That if the* Vandals, *when on their Expedition, should* * *defile any Oratory* † *wherein the* Christians *worshipped, they should make an Inspection into what was done. But, when the* Vandals *were removed from that place,* [*he enjoyned them*] *to do all things that were the quite contrary, to that Church out of which the* Vandals *had made their Removal, and were gone. 'Tis reported that* ‖ *he said this also, That he was indeed ignorant of that God whom the* Christians *worshipped: but 'tis probable, says he, if he be a strong and powerful* [*God,*] *as he is said to be, that he will be revenged on those who injure* [*his Deity,*] *and will defend his Worshippers. The Spies therefore, when they were arrived at* Carthage, *continued there, and* * *viewed the Preparation of the* Vandals: *But when their Army had begun their Expedition towards* Tripoli, † *they put themselves into a mean garb, and followed them. The* Vandals *on the very first day* [*of their march*] *made Stables of the* Christian *Oratories, into which they brought their Horses, and their other Beasts; omitting the performing no sort of Contumely whatever: also they themselves practised* * *their usual unrulinesse, cuff't those* Christian ‖ *Ministers whom they could take, tore their backs with many stripes, and commanded them to wait on them. But,* Cabaones's *Spies, as soon as ever the* Vandals *had removed from those places, performed what they had been ordered to do. For they cleansed the Churches immediately, with great care carried away the dung and whatever else had been irreligiously put therein, lighted all the Candles, paid the highest Reverence imaginable to the* * *Ministers, and were indulgent to them in all other instances of kindness and beneficence. Then, they distributed Money amongst the indigent, who sate about those sacred Houses; in this manner they followed the Army of the* Vandals. *And the* Vandals *from this very time throughout their whole Expedition committed such impious Facts as these: but the Spies made it their business to apply remedies thereto. But when the* Vandals *drew near* [*towards the* Moors] *the Spies hastned and told* Cabaones, *as well what the* Vandals, *as what they themselves had done to the Churches of the* Christians, *and* [*informed him*] *that the Enemy approacht.* Cabaones *hearing this, put his Army into a posture fit to engage. Most of the* Vandals, *as 'tis said, were destroyed: many of them were taken by the* Moors, *and very few of that Army returned to their own homes. This overthrow* Thrasamundus *suffered from the* Moors: *and not long after this he ended his Life, when he had reigned seven and twenty years over the* Vandals.

* Or, *From food which brought nourishment.*

† Or, *Copulation with.*

‖ Or, *Scouts.*

† Or, *Be injurious to.*

† Or, *Which.*

‖ *Cabaones.*

* Or, *Beheld.*

† The Scouts, or, Spies.

* Or, Their own Intemperance.

‖ Or, Priests.

* Or, Priests.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Belisarius's *Expedition against the* Vandals, *and their total overthrow.*

THe same *Procopius* relates, that *Justinian* (in compassion to those *Christians* who suffered grievously there,) declared [he would undertake] an Expedition [into *Africa*;] but by the suggestions of *Johannes* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, he was diverted from that Design. Yet, he was afterwards admonished in a [a] Dream, not to desist from that Invasion.

[a] Concerning this Vision which appeared to *Justinian* in his sleep, *Victor Tunonensis* writes thus: *Justiniano Aug. IV. Cos. Justinianus Imper. Visitatione Læti, &c. Justinianus Augustus being the fourth time Consul. The Emperour* Justinianus, *by a Visitation of* Lætus *the Bishop who was made a Martyr by* Hunericus *King of the* Vandals, *sends an Army into* Africk *against the* Vandals, *under the Command of* Belisarius *Master of the Milice. Victor Vitensis* made mention of this *Lætus* Bishop in his first book *De Persecutione Vandalorum.* Further, concerning this Expedition of *Justinian* into *Africk* against the *Vandals*, *Marcellinus Comes* speaks also in his *Chronicon*, and places it on the Fourth Consulate of the same *Justinianus*, that is on the year of Christ 534. *Marius Aventicensis* relates the same in his *Chronicon.* But *Baronius* in his Annals reproves *Marcellinus*, and maintains that the Expedition was undertaken by *Justinianus* in his Third Consulate, on the year of Christ 533. *Justinian*'s Constitution *de Confirmatione Digestorum* (which is prefixt before the Work of the *Pandects*,) confirms *Baronius*'s Opinion. But, by *Baronius*'s favour, I think the Opinion of *Marcellinus* and *Victor* to be truer. Nor do I doubt, but a fault has crept into *Justinian*'s Constitution, (on the Authority whereof *Baronius* relies,) and that the Third Consulate of the Emperour *Justinian* was written by Transcribers of Books instead of the Fourth. And this *Justinian* himself does so manifestly shew in the foresaid Constitution, that I admire it was not perceived by *Baronius.* For thus *Justinian* speaks: *Leges autem nostras, quas in his Codicibus, id est, Institutionum & Digestorum, posuimus,*

posuimus, &c. *But our Laws which we have put in these Codes, that is, of the Institutions and Digests,* [*shall*] *obtain their strength from* [*our*] *third most happy Consulate of the present twelfth Indiction, on the third of the Calends of* January, *and shall be of force for ever.* For on the twelfth *Indiction Justinian* bore his Fourth Consulate, as *Marcellinus Comes* attests. But, some one will object, that the twelfth *Indiction* was begun from the *Calends* of *September*, in *Justinian*'s third Consulate. Therefore, we must have recourse to another Argument, to prove what I have said above; *viz.* That the *Vandalick* Expedition was begun on *Justinian*'s Fourth Consulate; and that that *Constitution* whereon *Baronius*'s Opinion is founded, was written in *Justinian*'s Fourth Consulate. Now, this may be proved thus. In the end of the foresaid *Constitution*, as well in the *Greek* as *Latine*, *Justinian* makes mention of a *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africa*. But a *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Africa* was first created by *Justinian* in his Fourth Consulate, a little before the *Calends* of the *September* of the Thirteenth *Indiction*, as the First Law of the *Code de Præfecto Prætorio Africæ* informs us. For *Justinian* speaks in this manner: *Hæc igitur magnitudo tua cognoscens, ex Calendis Septembribus futuræ decimæ tertiæ Indictionis effectui mancipari procuret.* Vales.

For [he was told,] that in case he would give the *Christians* assistance, he should ruine * the Kingdom of the *Vandals*. Incouraged by this Dream, [b] having passed the seventh year of his Reign, he sends *Belisarius* to the *Carthaginian* War, about the *Summer Solstice*: after the * *Prætorian Ship* had been brought to that Shore which is before the Palace, and *Epiphanius* Bishop of the [Imperial] City had made such Prayers as were fit and agreeable, and had put aboard the *Prætorian Ship* some of those Soldiers, whom he had baptized a little before. The *same Author* likewise has given a Narrative of some passages concerning *The Martyr Cyprianus*, which deserve [to be inserted into this] History: his express words are these. *All the* Carthaginians *have an high veneration for that holy Person* Cyprianus, *and* [*in honour*] *of him have erected a most magnificent Church* * *without that City, near the Sea-Shore, and besides other Religious respects* [*by them paid to him,*] *they also celebrate an* Anniversary Festival, *which they term* Cypriana; *and hence the Mariners are wont to call that Storm* (*which I have even now mentioned,*) *by the same name with this Festival, because it usually rages at that very time, whereon the* Africans *are accustomed perpetually to celebrate that Festival. In the Reign of* Hunericus, *the* Vandals *took this Church from the* Christians *by force, drove the Priests out thence with great ignominy, and afterwards* * *altered it, in regard it was come into the possession of the* Arians. *The* Africans *being vexed and highly displeased on account hereof, they say that* Cyprianus *appeared and visited* [*them*] *frequently in* [*their*] *sleep,* [*and said to some of them,*] *that the* Christians *ought in no wise to be sollicitous about him: for that he himself in process of time would be his own Revenger. Which Prediction was compleated in the times of* Belisarius; *when* Carthage *by the Commander* Belisarius *was reduced to a subjection to the* Romans, [c] *after the* Ninty fifth year *of its being lost: when also the* Vandals *were totally vanquished, the Heresy of the* Arians *was perfectly driven out of* Africa, *and the* Christians *recovered their own Churches, according to the* Martyr Cyprianus's *Prediction.*

[b] Ἕβδομον τῆς βασιλείας ἀνύων ἔτος. *Procopius*'s words out of the first book of his *Vandalicks* pag. 107, are these: Ἕβδομον ἤδη ἔτος ἦν αὐτοκράτορι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχων Ἰουστινιανός, &c. Which words import, that *his seventh year was already past.* Now, if we should say that the *Vandalick* Expedition was undertaken in *Justinian*'s Third Consulate, as *Justinian*'s words do wholly seem to perswade; (when about the *Summer Solstice*, the *Roman* Navy came up to the *Byzantine Port*, and soon after set sail from thence (as *Procopius* relates,) that is about the end of the month *June:*) *Justinian* was then in the seventh year and third month of his Empire. For the first day of *Justinian*'s Reign is brought from the *Calends* of *April.* But if we should place the *Vandalick* Expedition on *Justinian*'s Fourth Consulate; it will be the eighth year of his Empire; and not the seventh, as *Procopius* writes: wherefore *Baronius*'s Opinion is truer; which is confirmed both by the Emperour *Justinian*'s Authority, and also by the testimony of *Procopius.* Vales.

[c] The Emperor *Justinian a-*

* Or, *Affairs.*

* Or, *Admiral Ship*

* Or, *Before.*

* *Reformed*, or, *repaired.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Spoils which were brought out of Africa.

THe same *Procopius* hath recorded this passage. *When* Belisarius (*says he*) *having vanquished the* Vandals, *was returned to* Constantinople, *bringing along with him the Spoils, the Prisoners of War, and* Gelimeres *himself King of the* Vandals; *a Triumph was granted him,* [*at which time*] *he lead through the* Cirque *all things that were worthy of admiration. Amongst which there was a vast Treasure; for* Gizerichus *had heretofore plundered the Palace at* Rome, (*as has before been related by me;*) *at such time as* Eudoxia *Wife to* Valentinian *Emperour of the* Western Romans, (*having both lost her Husband by* Maximus's *means, and also been injured as to her Chastity,*) *had sent for* Gizerichus, *promising she would betray the City to him. At which time* [Gizerichus] *burnt* Rome, *and carried away* Eudoxia *with her two Daughters into the Country of the* Vandals. *When also, together with other Treasures, he made plunder of whatever* Titus, *Son to* Vespasian, *had brought to* Rome, *after his Conquest of* Jerusalem; *to wit,* Solomon's *Gifts, which he had dedicated to God. Which Gifts* Justinian *sent to* Jerusalem *again, in honour to Christ our God; whereby he exhibited a due honour to God, to whom they had been before dedicated. Procopius* says also, That *Gelimeres*, lying then prostrate on the ground in the *Cirque*, over against the Emperour's Throne whereon *Justinian* sate, and beheld what was done, uttered this divine Oracle in his own Country Language, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning those Phœnicians *who fled from the Face of* Jesus *the Son of* Nave.

MOreover, [the same *Procopius*] relates another thing never mentioned by any Author before him, which is most admirable, * and transcends almost all belief. He relates therefore, that *The Moors*, a Nation of the *Africans*, removed out of *Palestine*, and took up their habitation in *Africa:* and, that they are those [People] whom the sacred Scriptures do mention [by the names of] *Gergeshites* and *Jebusites*, and those other Nations who were vanquished by *Jesus* the Son of *Nave.* And he supposes this thing to be ‖ unquestionably true, from a certain Inscription cut in *Phœnician Letters*, which he affirms that he himself read. This [Inscription he says,] is to be seen near a Foun-

* Or, *And transcends the Hyperbole* [*excess*, or, *superlativeness.*] *of every wonder.*

‖ Or, *Every way.*

tain, where two Columns of white Marble are erected, on which theſe words are cut: WE ARE THEY WHO FLIE FROM THE FACE OF THAT THIEF JESUS THE SON OF NAVE. And this was the concluſion of theſe tranſactions; *Africa* was again reduced to a ſubjection to the *Romans*, and paid in the Annual Tributes, as it had uſually done before. 'Tis moreover reported, that *Juſtinian* repaired an hundred and fifty Cities in *Africa*, (ſome whereof were wholly ruined, and others, as to their greateſt part) and, that he made them moſt tranſcendently more magnificent than they had been before, [beautifying them] with an eximious ſplendidneſs, with Ornaments, and with Structures as well private as publick; with the Incloſures of Walls alſo, and with other vaſt Edifices, wherewith Cities are both uſually adorned, and alſo [wherein] the Deity is appeaſed; with plenty of Waters likewiſe, as well for uſe, as ornament; ſome of which Waters were firſt brought into them by him, the Cities having not had them before; and others he reduced to their ancient courſe and order.

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning *Theodoricus *the* Goth, *and what hapned at* Rome *under him till the times of* Juſtinian, *and, that* Rome *was again reduced to a Subjection to the* Romans, *after* Vitiges *had fled out of the City.*

*Or, Theuderichus.

I Come now to declare the affairs which were tranſacted in *Italy*, and theſe *Procopius* the *Rhetorician* has with great accuracy related till his own times. After *Theodoricus*, as it has * already been declared by me, had taken *Rome*, (having wholly vanquiſhed *Odoacer* who tyrannized therein;) and had governed the *Roman* Empire as long as he lived; *Amalaſuntha*, who had been his Wife, undertook the † *Tutelage* of ‖ *Atalarichus* Son to them both, and governed the Empire; ſhe * was a Woman of a Maſculine Spirit, and in this manner ſhe managed affairs. This Woman firſt incited *Juſtinian* to a deſire of a *Gothick* War, having ſent Embaſſadors to him, in regard a Plot was framed againſt her. Further, when *Atalarichus* had ended his Life, which he did whilſt very young, *Theodatus* Kinſman to *Theodoricus* takes upon himſelf the Adminiſtration of the Weſtern Empire. Who, when *Juſtinian* had ſent *Beliſarius* into the weſtern parts, relinquiſhed his Government; (for being a Perſon addicted rather to Books and Study, he was wholly unexperienced in Military affairs;) *Vitiges* a moſt Warlike Perſon being in the interim Commander in Chief of the Weſtern Forces. From the Hiſtory of the ſame *Procopius* we may extract this alſo, that when *Beliſarius* arrived in *Italy*, *Vitiges* left *Rome*; and, that *Beliſarius* with his Army about him made his approach to *Rome*. Whom the *Romans* received moſt willingly, and opened their Gates to him; that having been chiefly effected by *Silverius* then Pontiff of that City; who on this account had ſent *Fidelis* a Perſon that had been Aſſeſſour to *Atalarichus*. Thus the City was delivered up to *Beliſarius* without an Engagement: and *Rome* was again brought to a ſubjection to the *Romans*, after [the ſpace of] ſixty years, on the ninth of the month *Apellæus*, which the *Latines* term *December*, when *Juſtinian* was in the eleventh year of his Empire. The ſame *Procopius* relates alſo, that when the *Goths* beſieged *Rome*, *Beliſarius* having a ſuſpicion that *Silverius* Pontiff of that City would betray it, † condemned him to a *Deportation* into *Achaia*; and made *Vigilius* Pontiff in his ſtead.

* Book 3. Chap. 27.

† *Guardianſhip.*

‖ *Athalaricus.*

* Or, *She inclined rather to a maſculine gravity.*

a *Or, Theudatus.*

† Or, *Carried him away into* Greece.

CHAP. XX.

How thoſe [*People*] *termed* The Eruli *turned* Chriſtians *in the times of* Juſtinian.

ABout theſe very times, as the ſame *Procopius* relates, *The* [a] *Eruli* (who long before had paſſed the River *Danube*, at ſuch time as *Anaſtaſius* Governed the *Roman* Empire;) having been kindly received by *Juſtinian* who enriched them with great wealth, by a general conſent turned all *Chriſtians*, and changed their priſtine way of living for a more civilized and quieter courſe of Life.

[a] Concerning the converſion of theſe People to the Faith of *Chriſt*, *Procopius* ſpeaks in book firſt of his *Gothicks*, and *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, p. 149. Theſe People, in regard they lived near the Lake *Mœotis*, in Fenny places, were from thence firſt termed *Eluri*. For ἕλη in *Greek* ſignifies *Fens*, or *Enniſh places*. *Jordanes* in his Book *de rebus Geticis*, writes thus concerning *The Heruli*: *Nam prædicta Gens, Ablabio Hiſtorico referente*, &c. *For the foreſaid Nation, as* Ablabius *the Hiſtorian relates, dwelling near the Lakes of* Mœotis, *in Fenniſh places, which the* Greeks *term* Ele, *were named* Eluri. The Author of the *Etymologicon* ſays the ſame in the word ἕλλεγες. *Helmoldus* in his *Chronicon* of the *Sclavi*, chap. 2. affirms that theſe *Heruli* were a *Sclavick Nation*, who dwelt between *Albia* and *Odora*, and reach'd a great way out to the South in a long Bay; who alſo, as he writes, were by another Name termed *Heveldi*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXI.

That Beliſarius *recovered* [*the City*] Rome, *which had been again taken by the* Goths.

AFter this *Procopius* ſets forth *Beliſarius*'s return to *Conſtantinople*, and how he carried *Vitiges* along with him, together with the Spoils taken out of *Rome*; alſo, *Totila*'s ſeizure of the *Roman* Empire, and how *Rome* was again reduced under the *Goths* Dominion; and, that *Beliſarius* arriving the ſecond time in *Italy*, recovered *Rome* again. And how, when the *Perſian* War broke out, *Beliſarius* was again ſent for to *Conſtantinople* by the Emperour.

CHAP. XXII.

That the Abaſgi, *turned* Chriſtians *alſo in thoſe times.*

THe ſame [Writer] relates, that about theſe very times the *Abaſgi* became more civilized, and embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion; and, that the Emperour *Juſtinian* ſent one of the Eunuchs belonging to his Court, by deſcent an *Abaſgian*, his name *Euphrata*, amongſt the *Abaſgians*, to declare to them, that no one in that Nation ſhould in future have his Genitals cut off with an Iron; nor, that a force ſhould be put upon Nature. For out of theſe the Servants of the Imperial Bed-Chamber were for the muſt part choſen, whom they uſually term Eunuchs. Then alſo *Juſtinian* built a Church [in honour] of *The Theotocos* amongſt the *Abaſgi*, and conſtituted Prieſts amongſt them. And from thence forward [*The Abaſgi*] learned

* Or, *The Dogmata of the Christians* with the greatest accuracy imaginable.

CHAP. XXIII.

That the Inhabitants of Tanais *also at that time embraced the* Christian Religion; *and concerning the Earthquakes which hapned in* Greece *and* Achaia.

IT is related by the same Writer, that the Inhabitants of *Tanais* (those who dwell in this Region, term that Stream [which runs] out of the *Lake Mœotis*, untill [it falls] into the *Euxine Sea*, *Tanais*;) earnestly entreated *Justinian* to send a Bishop to them; and, that *Justinian* [a] brought their Petition to effect, and most willingly sent a Prelate amongst them. The same Author with much elegancy records, that in the times of *Justinian*, the *Goths* made an irruption out of *Mœotis* into the * *Roman Pale*; [he declares] also, that there hapned dreadful Earthquakes in *Greece*, *Bœotia*, and *Achaia*, and, that the places about *The Crisæan Bay* were shaken, and, that innumerable other Towns and Cities were totally ruined. That there hapned likewise *Chasms* of the Earth in many places: and, that in some places the Ground closed and came together again: but, that in others, [those *Chasms*] continued.

[a] Ἐμμελῆ τε τῷ Νίνῳ, I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote ἐπιτελῆ τε τῷ Νίνῳ ἰησυιτικὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι, *and that Justinian brought their petition to effect.* For thus *Nicephorus* words it, book 17. chap. 13. *Vales.*

* Or, *Land of the Romans.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Narses *a* Master of the Milice, *and his Piety.*

* *Procopius* † Or, *Command of the Army.*

* HE relates likewise *Narses*'s † Expedition, who was sent into *Italy* by *Justinian*; and in what manner he Conquered *Totila*, and after him *Teia*; and how *Rome* was taken the Fifth time. Further, those persons who had an intimacy with *Narses* do report, ‖ that he appeased the Deity with supplications and other [offices of] Piety [in such a manner,] paying so due a veneration thereto, that even *The Virgin* and *Theotocos* her self manifestly declared to him the time when he ought to Engage: and that he should not give the *Onset*, before he had received the *Signal* from † thence. Many other actions, which deserve great commendation, were performed by *Narses*; for he vanquished *Buselinus* and *Sindvaldus*, and reduced many [Regions,] as far as the Ocean, [to the *Roman* Empire.] Which [Actions] *Agathias* the *Rhetorician* has recorded, but as yet they are not come to our hands.

‖ We have rendred this Clause, as far as the next full point, according as we found it pointed in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; the punctation in *Valesius's Edition* (as the *Learned Reader* will easily observe,) puts a sense upon these words far different from that we have expressed in our Version.

† Ἐκεῖθεν; that is, *Cœlitùs, from Heaven*, as *Grynæus* and *Curterius* have rendred it. *Valesius* translates it, *ab illâ, from her*, to wit, *The Virgin Mary.*

CHAP. XXV.

That Chosroes, *Stimulated with Envy at the prosperous successes of* Justinian, *broke out into a War against the* Romans, *and ruined many* Roman *Cities, amongst which* [*he destroyed*] Antioch The Great *also.*

THE same *Procopius* has related these matters also, how *Chosroes*, after he had received information that affairs both in *Africa* and *Italy* had succeeded so fortunately to the *Roman* Empire, was excessively inflamed with envy: and objected some things against the *Roman* Empire, affirming that the League was violated [by them,] and that they had broken the Peace which had been agreed on [between the two Empires.] And, that in the first place *Justinian* dispatch'd away Embassadors to *Chosroes*, who might perswade him not to break *that Interminate Peace* [which had been made] between them, nor to violate the Articles of agreement, but rather that the matters in controversie might be inquired into, and composed in an amicable manner. But he says, that *Chosroes*, corroded by envy which stimulated him within, would accept of none of those rational proposals; but with a numerous Army made an Invasion into the *Roman* Territories, in the Thirteenth year of *Justinian*'s Governing the *Roman* Empire. [The same *Procopius*] relates likewise, how *Chosroes* laid Siege to and destroyed * *Sura* a City situate on the Banks of *The Euphrates*, [with the Inhabitants whereof] he seemingly made some Articles of agreement, but dealt with them far otherwise, [perpetrating] all the most Impious and Nefarious Facts [amongst them,] having not in the least heeded the Articles of agreement; and was made Master of that City by Treachery rather than his * Arms. Also, how he burnt *Berœa*; and after that [made] an Attack upon *Antioch*, *Ephræmius* being then Bishop of that City, who had left it, [a] in regard nothing of what he did, succeeded according to his design. Which [Prelate] is reported to have preserved the Church and all [the Edifices] about it, having adorned [the Church] with sacred Gifts, [on this design,] that they might be the price of its Redemption. Moreover, [the same Writer] also gives a most pathetical and lively description of the Siege of *Antioch*, laid to it by *Chosroes*, and how *Chosroes* [becoming master of it] ruined and destroyed all things with Fire and Sword. Also, how * he went to *Seleucia* a neighbouring City [to *Antioch*,] then to the *Suburb Daphne*; and after that to *Apamea*, *Thomas* then Governing the Chair of that Church, a person [admirable and] most powerful both in words and deeds. This Prelate wisely refused not to be a Spectatour, together with *Chosroes*, of † *The Cirque-Sports* in the *Hippodrome*, (though that was a thing contrary to the usage of the Church;) [it being his desire] by all imaginable ways to gratifie *Chosroes*, and

* Σύεσν.

* Or, *War.*

[a] Μόνης αὐτῷ τῶν κατασκοπῶν φροντίδος. I have corrected this place from the *Tellerian Manuscript*, and from *Nicephorus*, in which *Author* 'tis written thus: Μόνης αὐτῷ τῶν κατ' σκοπὸν φροντίδος, *in regard nothing of what he did succeeded according to his design*, or, *desire.* See *Procopius Book* 2. *Persic.* where he says, that *Ephræmius* the Bishop was falsely accused for having a design to deliver up *Antioch* to the *Persians*; and, that soon after he fled into *Cilicia*, being afraid of the Irruption of the *Persians.* But concerning the Ornaments given by *Ephræmius* to the Church of the *Antiochians*, there is not a word extant in *Procopius.* Vales.

* *Chosroes.*

† Or, *Equestrian Game.*

to mitigate his mind. Whom *Chosroes* asked, whether he should be willing to see him at his own City. And they say, that *Thomas* answered really and according to the true sentiment of his own mind, that he would not willingly see *Chosroes* in his own City. Which answer, as 'tis reported, *Chosroes* wondred at, and deservedly admired this man [for the love he bore] to Truth.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Miracle of the Pretious and Vivifick wood of the Cross, which hapned at Apamia.

But, in regard I am fallen upon this relation, I will also declare a Miracle that hapned * there, which deserves to be inserted into our present History. When the Inhabitants of *Apamia* were informed that *Antioch* had been burnt [by *Chosroes*,] they earnestly besought the forementioned *Thomas*, to bring forth and expose to view (though contrary to the usual custom,) the Salutary and Vivifick wood of the Cross, to the end they might have the last sight of, and kiss the only Salvation of men, and might take the † *Viaticum* of another life, the pretious Cross being their Convoy to a better allotment. Which thing *Thomas* performed, and brought forth the Vivifick wood, having appointed some set days for its being exposed to view, to the end that all the neighbourhood might come together thither, and enjoy the safety [arising] from thence. Together therefore with others, ‖ my Parents also went thither, leading me along with them who then * went to [the School of] a *Grammar* master. Wherefore at such time as we were vouchsafed to reverence and kiss the pretious Cross, *Thomas* lifting up both his hands, shewed the wood of the Cross [which was] the abolition of the Old Curse, and went all about the sacred Church, as 'twas the usage on solemn and set days of † veneration. But, as *Thomas* moved up and down, there followed him a vast flame of a shining, not of a burning fire, in so much that every place, where he stood to shew the pretious Cross, seemed to be all on a flame. And this hapned not once, or twice, but oftner, whilst the Bishop went round all that place, and whilst the people there assembled earnestly entreated *Thomas* that that might be done. Which thing predicted that safety which hapned to the *Apamensians*. A picture therefore was hung up at the Roof of the Church, [a] which [a] by its representation might declare these things to those who know them not. [a] Τῇ γεγραφῇ διαγγέλλουσι. 'Tis doubtful what γεγραφὴ should signifie here, whether *a picture, and an image of that flame which had followed the wood of the Cross*; or, *a Writing*. *Musculus* took it for *a Writing*, or, *an Inscription*; as did also *Christophorson*, who renders it thus: *Ob quam causam imago in testudine Sanctuarii statuta fuit, quæ Inscriptione in Basi incisâ, hoc miraculum illis qui ejusdem ignari erant, commonstravit; For which reason an image was set up in the Roof of the Sanctuary, which by an Inscription cut upon its Basis, might show this Miracle to those who were ignorant of it.* But this Rendition is intolerable. For first, *a Basis* is not a term properly used about a *Painted Picture*, but concerning *a Statue* only. Besides, if the Image were in the Roof, where, I pray, was the *Basis* set. My Sentiment is, that the Image [or, representation] of this Miracle was Painted in the Arched Roof of the Church, whereon perhaps some Verses were inscribed, which might record this Miracle. Such like Inscriptions are extant in *Gruther's Thesaurus*, and in *Paulinus's Epistles*. Vales.

Which [picture] was preserved intire until the incursion of [b] *Adaarmanes*, and the *Persians*. At which time it was burnt, together with Gods holy Church and that whole City. And these things hapned thus. But *Chosroes* at his going away violated his Articles of agreement, (for he had agreed to some things then also;) and did the quite contrary; which [behaviour] was agreeable indeed to his unstable and inconstant humour, but does in no wise befit a man of sense and reason, much less a King, * who has a value for his Articles of agreement.

[b] In *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian Manuscript* the reading is ἀρδαάρμανης. *Ardaarmanes*. Concerning this *Adaarmanes* Captain of the *Persians*, and his irruption into *Syria*, our *Evagrius* speaks in his *sixth book*. Vales. In *Robert Stephens* he is called *Adearmanes*.

* Or, *Who makes an account of his*, &c.

CHAP. XXVII.

Concerning Chosroes's *Expedition against* Edessa.

The same *Procopius* records what has been related by the Ancients concerning *Edessa* and *Agbarus*, and how Christ [a] wrote to *Agbarus*. [a] Περὶς ἀβγαρον ἀπέστειλε. I agree with *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil*, who instead of ἀπέστειλε, *sent away*, have mended it thus, ἐπέστειλε, *wrote*. Moreover, the words which immediately follow, (to wit, these, εἶτα ϰὴ ἐς ἑτέραν ἔφοδον, &c.) are corrupted also. In the *Florentine Manuscript* 'tis thus worded, εἶτα ϰὴ ὡς ἐς ἑτέραν ἔφοδον, &c. But the place as yet is not without fault. I write thus therefore: εἶτα ϰὴ ὡς ϰαθ' ἑτέραν ἔφοδον ἐς πολιορϰίαν τῶν ἐδεσηνῶν ϰαθέστη ὁ χοσρόης, *Further also, how in* [or, *at*] *another incursion* Chosroes *resolved upon a Siege of the Edessens*. Vales.

Further also, how in another Incursion *Chosroes* resolved upon a Siege of the *Edessens*, supposing he should * enervate what had been divulged by the faithful, [to wit,] that *Edessa* should never be subdued by † an Enemy. Which thing is not indeed extant in *that Letter* sent from Christ our God to *Agbarus*, [b] as may be gathered by the studious from what has been related by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who has inserted that Letter word for word [into *his* ‖ *History*.] Nevertheless, 'tis both divulged and believed amongst the Faithful, [c] and the Event it self declared the Truth, Faith bringing the Prediction to effect. For, after *Chosroes* had made an Attack against the City, and had several ways attempted to break into it, and had raised so vast a Rampire, that in highth it surmounted the City-walls; and had made use of infinite other Engines; [after all this, I say] he retreated without effecting his design. But I will give a particular Narrative of what was done. *Chosroes* ordered the Forces he had about him, to bring together a vast quantity of wood of any sort of Trees they could light on, in order to a Siege. This [wood] having no sooner been ordered to be brought together than 'twas effected, he laid it round in the form of a circle, cast Earth into the midst of it, and advanced it directly towards the City. Building in this manner

* Or, *prove false*.

† Or, *Enemies*.

[b] Ὡς ἐστὶν ποῦ φιλοπόνως ἐλεῖν. I had rather write, τοῖς φιλοπόνοις, *by the studious*. Vales.

‖ Book 1. Chap. 13.

[c] Καὶ τὸ πέρας ἐδείξατο. This whole place is corrupted, as 'tis apparent to the Readers. Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his *Copy* hath noted, *that perhaps it should be* ἐδείξατο, *demonstrated*, or, *declared*: Which emendation *Nicephorus* confirms, in chap. 16. book 17. where he writes out this place of *Evagrius* thus; ἔδειξε δὲ ϰὴ τὸ ἔρσον τῳ τῆς πίστεως θεῤῥήσιν, ὡς μάλιστ' ἀληθὴ εἶη ϰὴ σύνφωνον: that is, as *Langus* renders it, *Res ipsa quoque prædictionis ejus fidem, quòd vera maximè sit & sibi ipsi consentiens, confirmavit; the thing it self also confirmed the authority* [or, *faith*] *of that prediction, that it might be very true and agreeable to it self*. My Sentiment therefore is, that this whole clause of *Evagrius* must be written thus: ϰὴ τὸ πέρας ἔδειξε τὸ ἀληθὲς, τῆς πίστεως ἐς ἔρσον τῳ θεῤῥήσιν ἀσαφὲσης, *and the event it self declared the Truth, Faith bringing the prediction to effect*. Vales.

* Or, *By little and little.*

ner * by degrees upon the wood and on the earth, and making nearer approaches to the City, he raised it to so vast a height, and made it surmount the City-wall so far, that from an higher place he could throw darts against those who in defence of the City endangered themselves on the wall. The Besieged therefore, when they saw the Rampire (like a Mountain) coming near and approaching the City, and were in expectation that the Enemy would set foot into the City; very early in the morning attempted to work a Mine directly opposite to the Rampire which by the *Romans* is termed an [a] *Aggesta*; and put fire therein, to the end that, the wood being consumed by the flame, the Rampire of Earth might fall to the Ground.

[a] See *Procopius* (out of whom *Evagrius* borrowed this,) book 2. *Persic.* pag. 83. In what manner *these Aggesta* were built by the *Romans*, *Apollodorus* informs us incomparably well in his *Mechanicks*. *Which Book, being lately done into Latine by me*, by Gods assistance I will e're long publish, together with some other Writings of the same subject. *Vales.*

* Or, *They miss of their design.*

† Or, *Embrace the matter.*

And that work was brought to perfection. But, after they had kindled the fire, * their project proved unsuccessful, in regard the fire had not a passage, whereby the air being let in, it might † catch hold of the heap of wood. Being reduced therefore ‖ to the greatest *Non-plus* imaginable, they bring forth [c] that Image framed by God, which the hands of men had not made; but Christ [our] God had sent it to *Agbarus*, in regard [*Agbarus*] desired to see him. Having carried this most holy Image therefore into the Mine which they had made, and † sprinkled it with water, they cast [some] of the same [water] upon the pile of fire and on the wood: and immediately (the Divine power giving assistance to their Faith who had done this,) what had before been impossible to them, was brought to effect. For the wood forthwith received the flame, and being in the twinkling of an eye reduced to coals, transmitted it to the wood which lay above, the fire preying all about upon all things. Now the Besieged, when they saw the smoak breaking out above, made use of this device. They brought forth little † Stone-bottles, and having stuft them with Brimstone, Tow, and other matter which would readily take fire, they threw them upon that termed *The Aggesta:* which Bottles, (the fire kindling within them by the force of their being thrown,) raised a smoak, and thereby effected this, [to wit,] that it was not perceived that a smoak broke out of the Rampire. For all persons who were ignorant hereof, supposed, that the smoak came out of the Bottles rather than from any other place. On the third day after this therefore, * the small Tongues of Fire appeared coming forth out of the earth, and then those of the *Persians* who fought † upon the Rampire, were sensible what imminent danger they were in. But *Chosroes*, as if he resolved to make a resistance against the Divine power, turned the *Aqueducts* which were before the City, upon the pile of fire; and attempted to extinguish it. But, the fiery pile received the water as if it had been rather Oyl, or Brimstone, or some such matter as is † combustible, and was much more increased, till such time as it had destroyed the whole Rampire, and perfectly reduced the *Aggesta* to ashes. Then therefore *Chosroes*, disappointed of all his hopes, and being experimentally sensible, that he had gotten great disgrace by supposing he could vanquish that God worshipped by us; made an inglorious return into his own Territories.

‖ Or, *To the greatest difficulty, or, highest pitch of desperation.*

[c] This place of *Evagrius* is cited in the *Seventh Oecumenical Synod*, pag. 613; and likewise by *Barlaam* in his *book Contra Latinos*. Further, concerning this Image not-made-with-hands, which Christ is said to have sent to *Agbarus*, see *Greeser* in his *book De Imaginibus non Manufactis*. But, it is to be noted, that no mention is made of this Image transmitted by Christ to King *Agbarus*, either by *Eusebius* in the *First Book of his Ecclesiastick History*, or by *Procopius* in his *Siege of the City Edessa*. For these Authors relate, that a Letter only was sent by Christ to *Agbarus*, by the Apostle *Thaddæus*. Vales.

† Or, *Overwhelmed.*

† Λαχανίδας. In *Robert Stephens's* Edition 'tis λαχανίδας. *Lexicographers* have no such word. I meet with the term λάγηνος, which signifies *Lagenam a Flagon*, or *Stone-bottle*.

* Ἀπὸ γλωσσίδες πυρὸς.

† Or, *From*,

† Or, *Wont to catch*, or, *nourish a flame.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning the Miracle which was performed at Sergiopolis.

MOreover, I will relate another thing, which was done by [the same] *Chosroes* at the City *Sergiopolis*; in regard 'tis [a passage] worthy to be recorded, and in reality deserves to be consigned to eternal memory. For *Chosroes* came to this City also, and attempted to take it by a Siege. After therefore he had made an Attacque against its walls, † the Inhabitants came to a Parley with him about a preservation of the City. And it is agreed [at length on both sides,] that the sacred Treasure and Gifts [which had been dedicated to the Church] should be the Ransome of the City; amongst which [gifts] was that [a] Cross also which had been sent thither by *Justinianus* and *Theodora*. After these things had been brought to *Chosroes*, he asked the Priest and those *Persians* who had been sent with him [into the City on that account,] whether there were any thing remaining. Then a certain person of those not accustomed to speak the truth, returned answer to *Chosroes*, that there were other sacred Gifts of great value, which were concealed by the Citizens who were very few in number. Now, of [the sacred Treasure] which was brought out [of the City to *Chosroes*,] nothing of value had been left behind consisting either of Gold or Silver, but of another sort of matter more pretious, and which was wholly dedicated to God; to wit, the most holy Reliques of the Victorious Martyr *Sergius*, which lay in a certain oblong Chest covered over with Silver. When *Chosroes*, perswaded hereby, had sent his whole Army to the City, on a sudden, round the whole Circuit [of the City walls] there appeared an innumerable multitude of Souldiers, who with Bucklers defended the City. Which [Apparition] those sent by *Chosroes* having beheld, returned, and with admiration declared both their number, and their kind of Armour. But *Chosroes*, after on a second enquiry he understood that very few persons were left in the City, and those either very aged or very young, the men of strength and vigour being all cut off and destroyed; found that the Martyr was the Author of this Miracle. And being [on this account] put into a fear, and having admired the Faith of the *Christians*, he returned into his own Kingdom.

† Or, *There was a conference on both sides about*, &c.

[a] Concerning this Golden Cross which *Chosroes* had taken out of the Church of the *Sergiopolitanes* for the price of its Redemption, *Theophylactus Simocatta* speaks in the *Fifth Book of his History*, *Chap.* 13. Where also *Chosroes*, Grandchild [or, *Nephew*] to this *Chosroes* here mentioned by *Evagrius*, does in expres words attest, that that Cross in honour of the Martyr *Sergius* had been sent by the Emperour *Justinian* to *Sergiopolis*, and was placed in the Church of St. *Sergius*. Vales.

dom. [b] They say also, that at the close of his Life he was vouchsafed [the Laver of] Divine Regeneration.

[b] In the excellent *Florentine Manuscript* these words are written in the margin here: ὅτι φασὶ περὶ Χοσρόου, ὅπερ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐκ εἶπεν; that is, [*Note that Evagrius*] *speaks that concerning* Chosroes, *which no other Historian has mentioned*; to wit, that about the close of his Life he received the Sacrament of Baptism. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning the Pestilential Distemper.

MOreover, I will give a Narrative of that [Pestilential] Distemper which brake out [in these times,] and which has raged now these Two and fifty years, ([a] a thing which is never related to have hapned before,) and has in a manner destroyed the whole Earth.

[a] Μὴ πρότερον ἱστορηθέν. A *Postpositive Article* seems necessary to be added, in this manner; ὅ μὴ πρότερον ἱστορηθέν, *a thing which is never related to have hapned before.* Which Emendation *Nicephorus* confirms book 17. chap 17; who hath worded this place of *Evagrius* thus; ὅπερ ἅπαντα ἦλθεν εἰς ἀκοήν, δεύτερον καὶ πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος ὅπουσοῦν τῷ γῇ, *which thing never was heard of, that it* [a Plague] *should invade the earth for the space of two and fifty years.* Indeed, no Plague is recorded to have raged so long. This Pestilence is said to have begun on the year after *Basilius's* Consulate, which was the year of Christ 543, as 'tis attested by *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon*, and by the *Continuer* of *Marcellinus Comes's Chronicon*. *Victor Tunonensis* writes thus concerning this Plague: *Horum exordia malorum generalis orbis Terrarum mortalitas sequitur*, &c. *A general Mortality of the world follows the beginnings of these mischiefs, and the greater part of the people is killed by a Persecution of their Groynes.* The words of *Marcellinus's Continuer* run thus: *Indictione 6 Anno Secundo post Consulatum Basilii*, &c; *in the sixth Indiction, on the Second year after* Basilius's *Consulate, a great Mortality destroys* Italy, *the East and Illyricum having in the same manner been already consumed. Victor* does indeed seem to agree with *Marcellinus*, relating that that Plague began on the second year after *Basilius's* Consulate, as *Marcellinus* records. But, in reality he dissents in the space of one year. For, the second year after *Basilius's* Consulate, in *Victor Tunonensis* is the same with the first year after *Basilius's* Consulate, to wit, the year of Christ 542. For, *Victor Tunonensis* does always term *that year, immediately following the Consulate of any Consul*, the *second year*, not *the first*; as may be proved by many instances. Further our *Evagrius* seems to follow *Victor Tunonensis's* opinion. For *Evagrius* says, that that Pestilence began two years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*. Now, *Antioch* was won by the *Persians* when *Justinus Junior* was Consul, on the year of our Lords Nativity 540, as *Marcellinus* and *Marius* relate in *their Chronicles*. But *Baronius* will have this Plague to have begun on the year of Christ 544. *Valesius.*

For, two years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*, a Pestilential disease began to rage, in some things like to that recorded by *Thucydides*, in others far different. And it took its beginning from *Æthiopia*, as 'twas then reported: but by turns it has over-run the whole world; this Distemper having, I think, left no Mortals untouch'd. Some Cities were so sorely oppressed [with this Calamity,] that they became wholly empty of Inhabitants: but in other places where the Distemper arrived, its chastisement was more light. Nor did [this Pestilence] rage at any certain and set season [of the year;] nor, after it had raged, did it in a like manner recede: But, it seized some places at the beginning of Winter, others in the Spring time, [b] others in Summer; again, others some during the procedure of the Autumn. And, in some Cities, when it had touched some parts, it abstained [from infecting] the other parts thereof. And you might frequently see in a City not infected, some Families utterly destroyed: But in other places, one or two Families having been consumed, the rest of the City in future continued untouch'd by the Distemper. But, after a more accurate inspection into the matter, we found, that those Families which had continued untouch'd, were on the year following the only ones which suffered [by this Distemper.] But that which was the most wonderful thing of all, was this, that if it hapned that the Inhabitants of those Cities infected, removed to any other place where this Distemper raged not, they were the only persons seized with these Diseases, who [coming] out of infected Cities, made their Residence in Cities uninfected. And these things hapned frequently, both in Cities and in other places, at the periods of those *Cycles* termed the *Indictions*. But, most especially [c] on the 2d year * of each Indiction, almost a total destruction befel men. In so much that I my self who write these things; (For I thought good to interweave into this History what has a relation to my self, by a fit insertion of what is Congruous at places opportune and convenient: [I my self, I say,]) who [d] as yet frequented [the School of] a *Grammar-Master*, was seised with those termed the † *Bubo's*, about the beginning of this [Pestilential] Distemper. And in those Sicknesses which raged at several times, I lost many of my Children, my Wife, and several others of my Relations, [e] my Servants also, and very many of those who look'd after and tilled my Grounds: the Circles of the *Indictions* dividing as 'twere the Calamities that befel me amongst themselves. At what time therefore I did write these things, being in the [f] fifty eighth year of mine age, [g] within these two last years, when this Distemper had raged at *Antioch* now the fourth time, *the year of Christ* 539. Sir *Henry Savil* thought indeed, that by these words *Evagrius* meant, *that that Plague had raged chiefly on the Second Indiction.* But *Evagrius* says not that; nor, had that Plague begun to rage on the year of Christ 539. *Evagrius* therefore says this only; *viz.* that on the second year of each Indiction that Plague raged more sorely than 'twas wont to do at other times. *Valesius.*

[b] Ἄλλως διειζονίος. I think it should be worded thus, ἄλλως δέρους ὄντος, *others in Summer*, as the reading is in *Niceph.* book 17. chap. 18. *Valesius.*

* See *Thucydides's Hist.* book 2. pag. 129, &c. *Edit. Francofurt.* 1594.

† Or, *Swellings in the Groyn.*

[c] Ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει. I am of the same opinion with Learned men, who have mended it ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, *in* [or, *on*] *the second year*; as the reading is in *Nicephorus*. So, 'tis certain, Sir *Henry Savil* hath mended it in the margin of his Copy, and hath added this note, *Anno Christi* 539, *on*

* Or, *Of the Cycle of fifteen years.*

[d] In the excellent *Florent.* and *Tellerian* MSS. I found it written, ἐς καμαιδιδασκάλως ἔτι φοιτῶντα *as yet frequented* [*the School of*] *a Grammar Master*; which is more elegant. And thus *Evagrius* speaks above, at chap. 26; where he writes, that he frequented the School of the Grammarians, at such time as *Antioch* was taken by *Chosroes*, that is, on the year of Christ 540. *Valesius.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is, ἐς καμαιδιδασκάλως ἔτι φοιτῶντα, *as yet frequenting the Grammar-Masters.*

[e] Οἰκέτας τε καὶ χωρίτας: This is, *Servos & Colonos, my Servants and Husband-men.* For, χωρίται are *Rusticks*, or *Tillers of Ground*, who are likewise termed χαεικοί, as I have remarked at book 6. of *Eusseb. Eccles. Hist.* chap. 40. note (*e.*) So *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* pag. 139. speaking of *Dioscorus Junior's* Election; ἀνεχώρησε, says he, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χωρικῶν. Where *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* renders it well, thus, *Multitudinem Rusticorum, the multitude of the Rusticks.* Valesius.

[f] From this place, *Evagrius's* Birth may easily be found out. For, whereas he has said in the beginning of this chapter, that at such time as he wrote these things, it was the fifty second year of that Plague; and does now assert, that whilst he wrote the same things, he was in the fifty eighth year of his age; it necessarily follows, that he had been born six years before the beginning of this Plague. Further, that Plague began on the year after *Basilius's* Consulate, or, two years after the destruction of *Antioch*, as *Evagrius* has said above. *Evagrius* therefore was born on the year of Christ 536, or 537. *Valesius.*

[g] Οὐ πρόσω τέτων δυὸ χρόνων. That is, *duobus his postremis annis nondum elapsis, these two last years being not yet overpast.* Which I should not have remarked, had not I perceived, that both Translatours have been out in the Version of this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus: *Cùm autem ista scriberem, & annum ætatis quinquagesimum octavum agerem, & duo ista temporis spatia nondum elapsa essent*, &c; *But whereas I wrote these things, and was in the fifty eighth year of my age, and those two spaces of time were not yet over past*, &c. But *Christophorson* translates it thus: *Cùm autem ista scriberem, quinquagesimo octavo anno scilicet ætatis, non biennio antè*, &c; *But when as I wrote these things, to wit, in the fifty eighth year of my age, not two years before*, &c. He had better have said, *intra hoc postremum Biennium, within these two last years.* Valesius.

(For

(For the [h] fourth Cycle [of the Indictions] hath passed from the beginning [of this calamitous Disease:]) besides the persons foremention-ed, I lost my Daughter, and my Grandchild born of her. Further, this Distemper [*] consisted of a complication of Diseases. For, in some it began from the head, and having made the eyes bloudy, and tumified the face, it descended into the throat, and sent the person seized with it from among men. In others there hapned a [†] looseness of the Belly. In others some arise *Bubo's*, and thence [hapned] very high Fevers: and within two or three days they died, being as firm and sound in body and mind as those who had been afflicted with no Distemper. Others became distracted and mad, and so ended their lives. Carbuncles also breaking out [of the body,] destroyed many men. Some persons having once, twice, and thrice been seized [with this Distemper,] and escaped with their lives, afterwards were infected [with it] again, and died. The ways likewise of contracting this Distemper were different and manifold, and such as were [*] unaccountable. For some died, meerly by conversing and living together [in the same house:] others, by a touch only: other some, by entring into an house: again, others [contracted the Infection] in the *Forum*. Some having fled out of infected Cities, continued uninfected themselves, but imparted the Disease to those who were not infected. Others contracted no Distemper at all, although they had lived with many infected persons, and had touched not only persons Distempered, but those likewise who were dead. Other some (although they made it their business to destroy themselves, because of the loss of their Children or Families; and on this account especially were continually conversant with the infected; nevertheless, as if the Disease made a resistance against their will,) were in no wise seized with it. This Pestilential Distemper therefore has raged Two and fifty years, as I have said, till this present time; having out-done all [Plagues] which [ever hapned] before. [i] But *Philostratus* admires, because in his time a Plague raged Fifteen years. Now, the Events after this yet to come, are uncertain, in regard they proceed thither whither it shall seem well pleasing to God, who certainly knows both the Causes [of things,] and also whither they tend. But I will return to that place, from whence I have digressed, and will give a Narrative of the rest of *Justinian*'s Transactions.

[h] These words are not to be understood so, as if four entire Indictions had passed from the beginning of this Plague, to that year whereon *Evagrius* wrote these things. For four entire Indictions make sixty years. But, *Evagrius* has said above, that at such time as he wrote these things, it was the fifty second year of that Pestilence. These words therefore are not meant concerning entire Indictions. For the Pestilence began to rage in the East, in the fifth Indiction on the year after *Basilius*'s Consulate, which was the year of Christ 542. From which if you count two and fifty years in order, it will be made the year of Christ 594. *Vales.*

[*] Or, *Was made up of many Diseases.*

[†] *Flux*, or, *Lask.*

[*] Or, *Surpassing* [all] *account.*

[i] Φιλόστρατος δὲ θαυμάζει. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* Manuscripts, 'tis written, φιλόστρατος δὲ θαυμάζει, *For Philostratus admires*; which reading nevertheless I approve not of. But, who this *Philostratus* should be concerning whom *Evagrius* speaks, and where he should have written this, 'tis uncertain. *Philostratus* an *Athenian Historian* is mentioned by *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Chronicon*, on the first year of the Emperour *Aurelian*. Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

Concerning [*] Justinian's *insatiable Avarice.*

[*] Or, *Justinian's love of money, and insatiableness.*

Justinian was indeed [a person] of an insatiable Avarice, and so [†] extravagant a Lover of what was another's, that for Gold he sold his whole Empire, to those who governed the Provinces, to the Collectors of the Tributes, and to any persons else who for no cause at all are [‖] wont to frame Plots against men. Besides, [*] by patching Calumnies together, he punished many and [almost] innumerable persons, whose possessions were great, with the loss of their whole Estates. Further, if a woman who got her livelyhood by the prostitution of her body, had [†] falsely objected a familiarity or mixture against any one, out of her desire to procure what he had; immediately all the Laws were abolished and made null, and, provided she had made *Justinian* partaker of her [*] filthy gain, she might remove all the riches of the person calumniated to her own house. Nevertheless, the same Emperour was profuse in his expending money: in so much that he erected many holy [a] and magnificent Churches every where; and other pious Houses for the taking care of men and women, as well young as old, and of those disquieted with Various diseases: and he allotted vast Revenues, out of the Income whereof these things might be done. He likewise did infinite other pious [Acts,] and such as are well pleasing to God, provided the doers thereof perform [those works] with such Goods as are their own, and offer their pure Actions, as a sacrifice unto God.

[†] Or, *unseemly.*

‖ Or, *Desirous.*

[*] Or, *Having coloured over inexcusable Pretexts.*

[†] Or, *Forged any familiarity or mixture*; that is, *an Act of uncleanness.*

[*] Or, *Absurd.*

[a] Καὶ ἐναγχῶς ναοὺς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. Sir *Henry Savil* has expunged the particle ἐναγχῶς out of his *Copy*. But I am of opinion it is to be retained here, provided the words be only transposed, in this manner ὥστε καὶ πολλοὺς ἁγίους καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐναγχῶς ναοὺς ἀνασῶσαι, *in so much that he erected many holy and magnificent Churches every where.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concerning the Great Church of Saint Sophia, *and* [*that*] *of* The holy Apostles.

Further, [the same Emperour] erected not only many other Churches at *Constantinople* of a graceful composure, [in honour] to God and [his] Saints: but he also built that great and incomparable Work, [the like whereto] is not to be found any where on record, [to wit,] [*] that most spacious Church of Saint *Sophia*, [a Structure] beautiful and eminent, and which exceeds the possibility of a description. Nevertheless, as far as I am able, I will attempt to describe this Church. [†] The fabrick of the Sanctuary is a ‖ *Tholus*, erected upon four Arches, raised to so vast an heighth, that 'tis very difficult for those who look steadfastly from below, to see the Top of the [*] *Hemisphære*: but such as stand above, though they be persons very bold and daring, will in no wise attempt to look down, and cast their eyes downwards to the Pavement. The Arches are raised [a] empty from the Pavement to the very Covering [or, Top] of the Roof. Some one On will per-

[*] Τὸν μέγιστον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ναὸν, *that most spacious Temple of the Church.*

[†] Ὁ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ναὸς, *the Temple of the Sanctuaries.*

‖ See *Evagrius*, Book 2. Chap. 3. note *(b.)*

[*] Or, *Arch.*

[a] Αἱ δὲ καμάραι κεναί.

haps ask, what this word κενὰ *empty*, means. For *Evagrius* ſays, that the Arches or Vaults aroſe empty from the Pavement to the top. In this place therefore we are to underſtand, that [the Arches] were open, upheld by no Columns. *Procopius* in his firſt book *De Ædificiis*, atteſts this concerning two of the Arches only: ἧς ὑπὲρ ἀψίδων κεναὶ μὲν δύο κατὰ κενὸν τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπωρέσηται πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύοντά πως τὸν ἥλιον; *But two of the Arches were raiſed up into the empty Air, at the riſing and at the ſetting Sun.* Valeſ.

On the right hand and on the left, [b] oppoſite to the [Arches] are placed Pillars, framed of *Theſſalick* Stone: and they bear up [c] *Hyperωa*, which being underpropt by other ſuch like Columns, give a liberty to thoſe that are deſirous of looking down from on high upon *The Myſteries*. To which place alſo the Empreſs comes on Holidays when ſhe is preſent at the Sacred performance of *The Myſteries*. But the [Columns placed] at the Eaſt and Weſt, [d] are ſo left, that there ſhould be nothing which might hinder the admiration of ſo vaſt a Greatneſs. The *Porticus*'s of the forementioned *Hyperωa*, finiſh ſo great a Work with Pillars and ſmall Arches. Further, that the *Miracle* of this Structure may be plainer and more manifeſt, I have reſolved to inſert here the [number of] Feet, both of its Length, Breadth, and Heighth, as likewiſe the empty ſpaces, and heighth alſo of the Arches. The Meaſure therefore is this. The length from that † Door oppoſite to the Sacred [e] *Concha*, where the unbloody Sacrifice is offered, unto the [*Concha*] it ſelf, is an hundred and ninty Feet: the breadth from North to South, One hundred and fifteen Feet: the * heighth from the Center of the *Heſphære* to the Pavement, is an Hundred and eighty Feet. The breadth of each of the Arches is [f] ..... Feet. The length from East to Weſt [contains] Two hundred and ſixty Feet. [g] The breadth of their Light is Seventy five Feet. There are beſides at the Weſt two other *Porticus*'s very ſplendid, and *Open Courts* on all ſides of an admirable Beauty and Gracefulneſs. The ſame *Juſtinian* built the Church of *The Divine Apoſtles*, which will not readily give precedency to any other Temple. In which Church the Emperours [h] and the Prelates are cuſtomarily interred. But, concerning theſe and ſuch things as theſe, let thus much every way [ſuffice] to have been ſaid.

† Or, *gate*.

* Or, *depth*

[b] Αὐτῆς ὑπεστέλλατο. Tranſlatours have rendred this Place very badly. *Muſculus* turns it thus: *In dextro latere ad ſiniſtram ordinatæ ſunt in illis Columnæ, In the right ſide on the left hand Columns are placed in them. Chriſtophorſon* interprets it in this manner: *In dextro latere, ſunt homini ingredienti ad lævam Columnæ ordine locatæ*, &c. *In the right ſide, on the left hand to a Man going in, Pillars are placed in order*, &c. They were led into a miſtake by the omiſſion of one Conjunction, [to wit, καὶ *and* which is wanting in *Rob. Stephens*'s Edition;] which we have put in from the *Florentine* Manuſcript, in this manner, ἐν δεξιῷ ᾗ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀώνυμον, &c. *On the right hand and on the left*, &c. It remains now that we explain what thoſe words mean which follow next; viz. ὑπεστέλλατο αὐτῆς κίονες. *Evagrius* himſelf therefore ſhall be his own Interpreter; who (in his firſt Book Chap. 14.) deſcribing the Sacred Church of *Symeones* the *Stylite*, ſays *it conſiſted of four Portico's*. [But, by *Valeſius*'s favour, *Evagrius*'s words in that Chapter are theſe; ἐπὶ τ' τεσσάρων στοῶν κοσμικῶς, *beautified with Porticos's of* [or, *at the*] *four ſides*. And then he adds theſe words, παρατετάχαται ᾗ ταῖς στοαῖς, κίονες, &c That is, *oppoſite to* [or, *near to*] *thoſe Portico's are placed Pillars*; wherefore at this place, inſtead of αὐτῆς, I would more willingly read αὐταῖς; to wit, by underſtanding the term ψαλίσι, *Arches*. Valeſ.

[c] Theſe *Hyperωa* [*Galleries*, or, *Upper Rooms*] were deſigned for the Women, that being therein placed apart by themſelves, they might behold the ſolemn performances of the Divine Service, as *Paulus Silentiarius* relates in his Deſcription of Saint *Sophia*; which Author ſays, that thoſe *Upper Rooms* or *Galleries*, were upheld by ſix Columns of *Theſſalick* Marble; whereas nevertheleſs, there were only two Columns below, which upheld the Galleries, pag. 110. *Paulus* terms them θηλυτέρων ὑπερῴα, *The Women's Hyperωia*; in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here, and alſo *Procopius* in his firſt Book, where he deſcribes this Church of Saint *Sophia*: altho' *Procopius* rather terms them *Porticus*'s. Valeſ.

[d] By theſe words *Evagrius* ſets forth the difference which was between the Columns of the Church of Saint *Sophia*. For he ſays, that the Columns which were at the right and left ſide of the Church, that is, at the North and South, had Galleries or Chambers laid upon them, out of which the Faithful might behold the Sacred Myſteries which were celebrated at the Altar. But the Columns which were placed at the Eaſt and Weſt, upheld no Gallery, but were left naked. It was my ſentiment that theſe things were to be more largely explained; for this reaſon, becauſe I perceived Tranſlatours, eſpecially *Chriſtophorſon*, ſaw nothing here. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ἐκ τ καλαντικὺ διέξις τῆς ἱερᾶς κόγχης. He means, I ſuppoſe, the moſt Eaſternly part of the Church; which, becauſe the whole Structure was a *Tholus*, muſt be almoſt ſemicircular, or made in the form of a Shell.

[f] In *Robert Stephens*'s Edition, as likewiſe in this of *Valeſius*'s, there is an imperfection in the *Greek* Text here. *Curterius*, *Grynæus*, *Chriſtophorſon*, and Dr *Hanmer* in their Verſions, have inſerted this number *Sixty ſix*, from what Authority I know not. *Muſculus* and *Valeſius* leave a Blank here in their Verſions; the latter of whom ſays nothing concerning this Imperfection in his Notes.

[g] See, if you pleaſe, the Deſcription of St. *Sophia*'s Church, which *Franciſcus Combefiſius*, (a Perſon that deſerves well of Learning) has lately publiſhed, pag. 254. *Paulus Silentiarius* deſcribes theſe *Windows*, in his *Ecphraſis*, (which the moſt Learned Perſon *Carolus de Fraxino* hath newly publiſhed;) and *Procopius*, in his firſt book *De Ædificiis*. Valeſ.

[h] *Sozomen* ſays the ſame in the Cloſe of his ſecond Book of *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*. But, (which is to be taken notice of,) neither of them (neither *Evagrius* nor *Sozomen*,) do affirm it was peculiar to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Biſhops, that they, in like manner as were the Emperours, ſhould be buried in the Church of the *Apoſtles*; but they ſpeak in general concerning the Biſhops. Indeed *Nicephorus* (book 8. chapter the laſt,) does expreſly atteſt, that not only the *Conſtantinopolitan*, but other Biſhops alſo, who for ſanctity of Life had excelled others were interred there. For it often hapned, that Biſhops, either ſent for by the Emperours, or making a journey to the Imperial City, on account of Eccleſiaſtick Affairs, ended their Lives there. Thus in the times of *Anaſtaſius*, *Alciſſus* and *Gajanus* died at *Byzantium*, and by *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon*, are recorded to have been buried in one Sepulcher. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Emperour [Juſtinian's] *madneſs rather than kindneſs ſhewn* * *towards* [*the Faction*] *of the* Venetiani.

* Or, *Towards* [*the Faction in the Blue Colour.*

[a] THere was alſo another thing in *Juſtinian*, that exceeded the utmoſt ferity of Savage Beaſts: (which whether [it proceeded] from a fault of Nature, or from Sloth and Fear, I cannot ſay; but, it took its beginning from that popular Sedition [termed] * *Nica.*) For he ſeemed ſo † highly to favour the one of the Factions, I mean that ‖ of the *Venetiani*, that they committed murders upon Perſons of the contrary Faction at noon-day, and in the midſt of the City; and not only feared not puniſhments, but alſo obtained rewards: in ſo much that hence it hapned, that many were made Murderers. Moreover, a liberty was indulged them of entring even into Houſes, of plundring the Riches laid up therein, and of ſelling [miſerable] Men their own ſafety. And if any one of the Magiſtrates had attempted to puniſh them, he endangered his own ſafety. 'Tis certain, a Perſonage who was *Comes of the Eaſt*, becauſe he had ordered ſome ſeditious Perſons to be beaten with † *Bow-ſtrings*, he himſelf was lead through the midſt of the City and ſcourged with *Bow-ſtrings*. *Callinicus* likewiſe Governour of *Cilicia*, becauſe according to the Preſcript of the Laws he had inflicted a capital puniſhment upon two *Cilician* Murderers, *Paulus* and *Fauſtinus*, who fell upon him and would have murdered him; was Crucified, undergoing this puniſhment on account of his great prudence in paſſing Judgment

[a] Εἰπεῖν δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἕτερον. In *Robert Stephens*'s Edition, the Verb δεῖ is wanting, which the *Geneva Printers* have inſerted unhappily from the Conjecture of *Chriſtophorſon* and others. But from the *Tellerian* and *Florentine* Manuſcripts I have mended this place thus, ἐπεῖν ᾗ καὶ ἕτερον, &c. *There was alſo another thing*, &c. Which Emendation *Nicephorus* confirms. For inſtead of theſe words of *Evagrius*, he ſubſtitutes theſe, ἐν δὲ τι παρεξεῖν αὐτῷ. *Valeſ.*

* See Chap. 13.

† *Manifeſtly*, or, *openly*.

‖ Τῶν κυανέων, *Thoſe of the Blue.*

† Δέσεις: The term ſignifies originally a *Nerve*, or, *Sinew*; it imports alſo *a Bow-ſtring*, or, *Rope.*

ment, and of [his obſerving] the Laws. Hence it hapned, that * thoſe of the other Faction, having fled out of their own Country, and finding reception amongſt no Men whatever, but being driven from all places as perſons moſt deteſtable; beſet Travellers, and committed Rapines and Murders: and all places were filled with untimely deaths, Robberies, and ſuch like horrid and impious Crimes. But ſometimes † he turned to the contrary opinion, and ſlew the *Veneti* themſelves; ſubjecting them to the Laws, to whom he had given permiſſion of perpetrating nefarious Facts, in a Barbarick manner, throughout every City. But, to give a perticular Narrative of theſe matters, is a thing above Relation or [any compaſs of] time: nevertheleſs, theſe things [I have mentioned] are ſufficient for the making a conjecture concerning the reſt.

* Οἱ δυσεξεμίκτους. *Valeſius* renders theſe words: *Praſinians, the green coloured faction.*

† *Juſtinian.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning Barſanuphius *the* Aſceta.

AT the ſame time, Divine perſons, and ſuch as were Workers of great Miracles, lived in various parts of the world: but ſuch of them, whoſe Glory ſhone every where, [were thus termed]. *Barſanuphius* by extract an *Egyptian:* This perſon led an unfleſhly life in the fleſh, in a certain Monaſtery near the Town *Gaza:* inſomuch that he performed many Miracles, and ſuch as are ſuperiour to [any] Relation. Moreover, 'tis believed that he lives at this preſent, ſhut up in his Cell; although Fifty years and upwards are now paſt, ſince he hath been ſeen by any perſon, or has pertaken of any thing that is upon the Earth. Which things *Euſtochius* Prelate of *Jeruſalem* [a] disbelieving, when he had ordered the Cell, wherein this man of God had incloſed himſelf, to be dug open, a fire brake out thence, which burnt almoſt all perſons that were there preſent.

[a] Δυσαπιστῶν ἐνδόχως. Inſtead of the Verb [δυσαπιστῶν, *eaſily believing*] which undoubtedly is corrupted, *Nicephorus* makes uſe of ἀπιστῶν, *disbelieving*. And inſtead of *Euſtochius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the ſame *Nicephorus* has *Salluſtius*. *Salluſtius* was indeed Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius Auguſtus*. But *Euſtochius* governed the ſame Biſhoprick about the beginning of *Juſtinus Junior's* Empire, as *Theophanes* atteſts in his *Chronicon*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Concerning the Monk Symeon, *who for Chriſt's ſake* [*feigned himſelf*] *a Fool.*

MOreover, at [the City] *Emiſa* there was one *Symeones:* this perſon had in ſuch a manner diveſted himſelf of the Garment of Vain-glory, that amongſt all perſons who knew him not, he was accounted an Idiot, although he abounded with all manner of wiſdom and divine Grace. Further, this *Symeones* for the moſt part lived alone by himſelf, allowing no perſon whatever a Liberty of knowing, either when or in what manner he † prayed to God; not [permitting them to know] at what time he abſtained from, or partook of nouriſhment at home. At ſome times being abroad in the ſtreets, he ſeemed [a] to be a perſon diſtracted, and to have nothing of prudence or wiſdom in him.

† Or, *Rendred the Diety Propitious.*

[a] Ἐκτὸς τεθραῦσθαι τῆς καθεστώτος. Doubtleſs it muſt be made καθεστικότος, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 17. chap. 22. *Valeſ.*

At other times he would go into a Victualling-houſe, and eat of whatever food or proviſion he met with, when he was hungry. But, if any perſon [b] bowed his head and reverenced him, he would immediately run from that place in anger, being afraid that his own Virtue ſhould be found out by the Vulgar. And in this manner *Symeones* behaved himſelf in the *Forum*. But there were ſome perſons that held a familiarity with him, with whom he uſually converſed without any thing at all of diſſimulation. Amongſt thoſe of his acquaintance therefore, one had a maid, who having been debauch'd and got with child by ſome perſon, when ſhe was forced by her Maſters to declare the man who had done this, ſhe affirmed that *Symeones* had had to do with her in private, and that ſhe was with child by him, and that ſhe would ſwear that the matter was ſo, and (if need ſhould require,) could manifeſtly prove the thing. Which when *Symeones* had heard, he aſſented, ſaying that he carryed fleſh about him, which was a frail and mutable thing. But when this matter came to be divulged amongſt all perſons, and *Symeones* (as it ſeemed) was obnoxious to a great ignominy, he withdrew himſelf, and feigned that he was aſhamed. When therefore the Woman's time of delivery was come, and ſhe ſate in the uſual poſture of women in Travail; her Labour cauſed moſt acute, many, and intolerable pangs, and brought the woman into the immineneſt danger of her life. But the Birth * fell not in the leaſt. *Symeones* therefore being deſignedly come thither, when he was requeſted [by thoſe preſent] to go to Prayers, he declared before them all, that the woman ſhould not be delivered, until ſhe would confeſs who was the Father of the child in her womb. Which when ſhe had done, and had named the true Father, the Infant leap'd forth immediately. Truth it ſelf doing [as 'twere] the office of a Mid-wife. The ſame perſon was one time obſerved to go into the houſe of a Strumpet, and having ſhut to the door, he and ſhe continued alone for ſome time: after this he opened the door again, and ran away in great haſt, looking round leſt any one ſhould ſee him, whereby he much increaſed the ſuſpicion. In ſo much that the Perſons who had ſeen him, brought forth the woman, and enquired of her, both what the meaning of *Symeones*'s coming in to her was, and why he made ſo long a ſtay. The woman ſwore, that for three days before that, becauſe of her want of neceſſaries, ſhe had taſted of nothing but water only: but, that *Symeones* had brought victuals and meat and a Veſſel of Wine along with him, and having ſhut the door, had ſpread the Table, and bad her go to ſupper, and fill herſelf with proviſions, becauſe ſhe had been ſufficiently afflicted with want of nouriſhment; and ſhe fetch'd out the Remains of the victuals [which *Symeones*] had brought to her. Further, ſome ſmall time before that Earthquake hapned which ſhook *Phœnice Maritima*, wherein [c] *Berytus*, *Byblus* and *Tripolis*, ſuffered more [than other Cities, the ſame *Symeones*] holding a whip on high in his hand, ſcourged moſt of the Columns in the *Forum*, and cryed out, *Stand, You muſt dance*. Becauſe therefore nothing was done unadviſedly and without deſign by this man, ſome

[b] The *Laicks* were wont to bow their heads, not only before the *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*, but before the *Monks* alſo, to receive their Bleſſing. An Illuſtrious inſtance of which is extant in *Sozomen*, book 8. chap. 13. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Was not in the leaſt forwarded.*

[c] Concerning this Earthquake, the *Author of Antoninus Martyr's Itinerarium* ſpeaks in

theſe words: *Inde Venimus in partes Syriæ, ubi requieſcit ſanctus Leontius*, &c. *Thence we came into the parts of* Syria, *where Saint* Leontius *reſts, which City, together with other Cities, was ruined by an Earthquake in the time of the Emperour* Juſtinian. *From thence we came to* Byblus, *which City alſo, with all things that were therein, was deſtroyed. From thence we came into the City* Triari. *which was likewiſe ruined. Thence we came into the moſt ſplendid City* Beryto, *wherein there was lately a ſtudy of Learning; which was alſo ruined, as we were told by the Biſhop of the City, to whom the perſons were known, except the ſtrangers who periſhed there.* Further, that City wherein Saint *Leontius* reſts, is *Tripoli*, as I have remarked before, book 3. chap 33. *note, (c.)* This Earthquake hapned on the twenty fourth year of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, as *Cedrenus* writes in his *Chronicon*, and *Theophanes* pag. 192. What *thoſe Authors* relate concerning *Botry* a City in *Phœnice*, is memorable, *viz.* that in that City there was an Haven made by that Earthquake, (there having been no Port there before,) the Promontory which was called *Lithoproſopon* being removed. But in *Theophanes* 'tis written βόϛρυϑος, inſtead of βότρυϑος. By which fault in the writing the Tranſlator was induced to render it *Boſtra*; which is a very groſs miſtake; in regard *Boſtra* is a Mid-Land City of *Arabia*. The name of this City is in my Judgment to be reſtored in *Antoninus Martyr's Itinerary*, at that place which I have quoted above. For, inſtead of the City *Triary*, it muſt be written *Botry*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the Monk Thomas, *who in like manner feigned himſelf a Fool.*

THere was alſo at the ſame time one *Thomas*, who followed the ſame courſe of life in *Syria-Cœle*. This perſon went [one time] to *Antioch*, to receive the annual ſtipend [allotted for the maintenance] of his own Monaſtery. [a] For [this annual ſtipend] was ordered [to be paid] out of the [Revenues of the] *Antiochian* Church. * *Steward.* *Anaſtaſius* * *Oeconomus* of the ſame Church, in (regard the ſaid *Thomas* troubled him frequently,) gave him [one day] a box on the ear with his hand. Whereat when the perſons preſent with them were much offended, *Thomas* ſaid, that neither he himſelf would receive any thing more [of the annual ſtipend,] nor ſhould *Anaſtaſius* † pay any more. Both which things came to paſs: *Anaſtaſius* ended his life on the day following; and *Thomas* being tranſlated to an immortal life [b] in the *Hoſpital of the Infirm* at the *Daphnenſian Suburb*, whilſt he was on his Return home. They laid his dead Body in the Monuments of *the Strangers*. But, in regard when one or two had been buried after him, *Thomas*'s Body was ſtill above them, God ſhewing a great Miracle, even after his death: for [the other Bodies] were removed and thruſt down;) [the Inhabitants] admire this holy perſon, and declare [the thing] to [c] *Ephræmius*. Then his * Holy dead Body is removed to *Antioch* with a publick Feſtivity and [a ſolemn] pomp, and is honourably buried in the *Cœmetory*; having at its tranſlation cauſed the Peſtilential diſtemper, which then raged at *Antioch*, to ceaſe. And the Inhabitants of *Antioch* do magnificently celebrate an anniverſary Feaſt [in honour] of this [*Thomas*] till theſe our times. But let us † return to the * propoſed *Series* of our Hiſtory.

[a] Ἐτέτακτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς αὐτόσε ἐκκλησίας. Who would not admire, that three Learned men ſhould have been miſtaken in the Rendition of this place? *Johannes Langus* tranſlates it thus: *Illius enim Eccleſiæ cenſebatur, for he was reckoned of that Church.* And *Muſculus* renders it almoſt in the ſame manner. But *Chriſtophorſon* has tranſlated it worſt of all, thus: *ab eâ ſiquidem Eccleſiâ Presbyter fuerat ordinatus, for he had been ordained Presbyter by that Church.* Theſe perſons thought that theſe words [ὁ Θωμᾶς, *this Thomas*] were here to be underſtood; whereas we are to underſtand ἡ ἐπέτειος χορηγία, *this annual ſtipend*, or, *Alms which was wont yearly to be diſtributed out of the Revenues of the Church of* Antioch *to the Monaſtery of the Abbot* Thomas. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Give.*

[b] *Johannes Moſchus*, in *his Limonarium Chap.* 83. ſays this *Thomas* dyed in the Church of *Saint Euphemia* which was in the *Daphnenſian Suburb*. Therefore the Church of the *Bleſſed Euphemia*, was near the *Hoſpital*, wherein ſtrangers were entertained: in ſuch manner as we now adays ſee Churches joyned to *Hoſpitals* and *Spittles*. Further, *Johannes Moſchus* ſays, that this *Thomas* was the *Apocryſarius*, that is, the *Procurator*, of his own Monaſtery. For thoſe were termed *Apocryſarii, who managed the affairs of Monaſteries and Churches*, as *Juſtinian* informs us in his *ſixth Novel*. Valeſ.

[c] *Moſchus* in the *forecited chapter*, calls the Biſhop of *Antioch*, (not *Ephræmius*, but) *Domnus*, who ſucceeded *Ephræmius*. *Nicephorus* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* terms this perſon *Domnus*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Moſt holy.*

† Or, *Turn our courſe.*

* *Preſent*, or, *oppoſite.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the Patriarch Menas, *and concerning the Miracle which hapned then to the Boy of a certain* Hebrew.

Anthimus having been ejected (as I have * ſaid,) out of the Chair of the Imperial City, [a] *Epiphanius* ſucceeded in that Epiſcopate: and after *Epiphanius*, *Menas*; in whoſe times hapned a Miracle highly worthy to be recorded. There is an [b] ancient uſage at *Conſtantinople*, that when a great quantity of the Holy parts of the immaculate Body of Chriſt our God are left remaining, [ſome] young Boys of their number who frequent the Grammar-Schools are ſent for, that they may eat them. Which thing having hapned at that time, the Son of a * *Glaſs-maker* (as to his opinion a *Jew*,) was † called amongſt the other Boys. This child told his Parents, who enquired the reaſon of his ſtay, what had hapned, and what he together with other boys had taſted of. His Father, highly incenſed and enraged, ſnatcht up the boy immediately, and threw him into the Furnace of coals, wherein he uſually formed Glaſs. But his Mother ſought for her ſon, and when ſhe could not find him, ſhe went all about the City mourning and * making great lamentation. And on the third day after ſtanding at the door of her Husband's work-houſe, ſhe called her Son by his name, † weeping and tearing herſelf. The Boy knowing his Mother's voice, anſwered her out of the Furnace. She breaks open the doors, goes in, and ſees her Son ſtanding in the midſt of the coals, the fire having not touch'd him in the leaſt. The Child, when afterwards asked in what manner he had continued un-hurt, ſaid, that a woman cloathed in a purple Garment came to him frequently, gave him water, quenched the coals that were near him, and fed him as often as he was hungry. Which paſſage having been brought to [the hearing of] *Juſtinian*, he [ordered] the Boy and his Mother to be ‖ Baptized in the Laver of

* Book 4. Chap. 11.

[a] We have taken notice of this miſtake of *Evagrius*'s above at chap. 11, *note*, (c;) which *Nicephorus* has alſo corrected. But *Nicephorus* himſelf, whilſt he amends *Evagrius*'s error, has committed another. For he relates, that *Menas* was ordained by Pope *Agatho*, whereas he was ordained by *Agapetus* in the place of *Anthimus*, as 'tis agreed amongſt all perſons. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Nicephorus Calliſtus* (Book 17. Chap. 25.) atteſts, that this Cuſtom, (*viz.* that the Particles of the Sacred Eucharift which remained, were at *Conſtantinople* diſtributed amongſt the Boys to be eaten;) continued even in his age; and he writes, that he himſelf, whilſt he was a Boy and was frequently converſant in the Churches, partook of thoſe parts. *Valeſ.*

* Λύγον κωκύσασα.

† Or, *Tearing herſelf with weepings.*

‖ Φωτισθέντας, *enlightned.*

of generation; and [c] enrolled them amongst the Clergy: but his father, because he would not embrace the Profession of Christianity, was [by the Emperour's order] crucified in [the Suburb] [d] *Sycæ*, as designing to have murdered his own Son. These things hapned in this manner.

[c] Ἐγκέκριμεν. *Johannes Langus* renders this place thus: *Puerum cum matre divino Regenerationis Lavacro adhibuit, deoque dicavit, He admitted the Boy with his Mother to the Divine Laver of Regeneration, and dedicated* [them] *to God.* But *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have translated it far worse. For *Musculus* terms it, *servavit, he kept*, or, *preserved.* But *Christophorson* has rendred it thus: *Puerum cum matre Lavacro Regenerationis tingendos decernit, He decreed the Boy with his Mother to be Baptized in the Laver of Regeneration.* I doubt not but the place is thus to be rendred: *Puerum simul ac matrem Regenerationis Lavacro initiatos Clero adscripsit, He enrolled the Boy and his Mother, having been initiated in the Laver of Regeneration, amongst the Clergy.* Which must be understood in this manner, That the Emperour ordered that Boy to be reckoned amongst the *Readers* of the Church; but, commanded his Mother to be ordained a *Deaconess*. Vales.

[d] In this Suburb of the City of *Constantinople*, punishments were heretofore usually inflicted on Criminals, as I have already intimated in my Notes on Book 28. *Amm. Marcell.* pag. 362. Whereto add a passage of Saint *Jerome* out of his *Commentaries* on *Matth.* 26th, which runs thus: *Extra urbem enim & foras portam loca sunt in quibus truncantur capita damnatorum, & Calvariæ, id est, Decollatorum sumpsere nomen.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Who were Bishops of the greater Cities at that time.

AFter *Menas*, *Eutychius* ascends the [Episcopal] Throne [at *Constantinople.*] But at *Jerusalem*, after *Martyrius*, *Salustius* succeeds in that See, and after him, *Helias*. After *Helias*, *Petrus*; and after *Petrus*, *Macarius*; [whose Election] the Emperour approved * not of; so that he was [afterwards] ejected out of his own Chair: [a] For they affirmed that he asserted *Origen*'s Opinions. After this [*Macarius*] therefore, *Eustochius* succeeded in that Bishoprick. After the Ejection of *Theodosius*, as has been related † above, *Zoilus* is declared Bishop of *Alexandria*. And when he was added [b] to [the *Alexandrian* Bishops] his predecessours, *Apollinaris* undertakes [the Government of] that Chair. After *Ephræmius*, *Domninus* is entrusted with the [Episcopal] Throne of *Antioch*.

* Or, *Not as yet.*

[a] Indeed, many Monks severed themselves from his Communion, because he was thought to assert *Origen*'s Opinions.

† Chap. 11.

One of their number was the *Abbot Elias*, who was also called βοσκὸς, as *Johannes Moschus* relates in the nineteenth Chapter of his *Limonarium*. And yet *Theophanes*, in his *Chronicon* pag. 205. says, *Macarius* was ejected out of his See χτ Συκαλῶ, that is, by *subornation, fraud and calumny.* But *Theophanes* relates that in a place wholly unfit and incongruous, to wit, in the Empire of *Justinus Junior*. Now, *Macarius* was ordained Bishop of *Jerusalem* on the year of Christ 546. and having after two years been expelled out of his See, *Eustochius* was substituted in his room on the year of Christ 548, as *Baronius* relates. Nevertheless, *Victor Tunonensis* differs herefrom, in his *Chronicon*. For he attributes eight years of the Episcopate to *Macarius*, and says that *Eustochius* was ordained whilst he survived, on the year before the *Fifth Synod*, that is on the year of Christ 552. and my Sentiment is, that this is truer. *Vales.*

[b] Τοῖς αὐτὸν ὑπσαμψίοις. The same is the Reading in *Nicephorus* also, book 17. chap 26. But do not think it can be said in *Greek*, αὐτὸν ὑπσαμψίοις. I write therefore, ἢ χ τοῖς αὐτῶν ὑπσαμψίοις, &c. For, τῶν ἀλεξανδρέων is understood. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Fifth Holy Oecumenical Synod, *and on what account it was convened.*

DUring therefore *Vigilius*'s precedency over the *Elder Rome*; whilst in the first place *Menas*, and then *Eutychius* [was Patriarch] of *Constantinople*; and whilst *Apollinaris* [was Bishop] of *Alexandria*, *Domninus* of *Antioch*, and *Eustochius* of *Jerusalem*; *Justinian* convenes the *Fifth Synod*, on this Account. The Assertours of *Origen*'s Opinions abounding and growing powerful [in the Monasteries of *Palestine*,] and especially [a] in that termed *The new Laura*; *Eustochius* made it his whole business to eject them. And going to *The new Laura* he drove them all out, and pursued them to a great distance, as being the common pest [of Mankind.] They, dispersed into several places, associated many Persons to their own party. *Theodorus* surnamed *Ascidas* (Bishop of *Cæsarea* the Head-City of the Province *Cappadocia*; [a Prelate] resident with *Justinian*, faithful to him, and of whom the Emperour made great use;) undertook the Patronage of these [Monks.] Upon * his making a disturbance therefore at the [Imperial] Palace, and terming [*Eustochius*'s] Fact the † highest impiety and wickedness; *Rufus Abbot* of *Theodosius*'s Monastery, and [b] *Conon* [Abbot] of the [Monastery] of *Saba* (Persons of the chiefest note * amongst the *Monasticks*, both for their own worth, and on account of the Monasteries over which they presided;) are sent to the Imperial City by *Eustochius*. They were accompanied with others also, not much inferiour to them in dignity. And these Men resolved to debate concerning *Origen* primarily, and concerning *Evagrius* and *Didymus*. But *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian*, desirous of diverting them to another matter, [c] proposes to be debated the Cause of *Theodorus* [Bishop] of *Mopsuestia*, and that *mensem impleſſet in Administratione*, &c. *Which* Cassianus, *when he had compleated his tenth month in his Administration, departed out of this life; after which the Monks commit the Præfecture to* Conon. *They command, but God, I suppose, moved the minds of the Monks to this. Now, he was a person highly eminent for true Sentiments, all manner of Virtue and good Actions: who also made use of great care and diligence in his Prefecture. For he both recollected those Fathers which had departed from thence, being ejected by the* Origenists; *and likewise erected and as it were renewed the* Laura, *which by those frequent Tumults and Wars of Hereticks, was now brought to its knees. Johannes Moschus* speaks of the same *Conon* Governour of St. *Saba*'s Laura, in chap. 42. where he intimates, that he was an Acquaintance of *Eustochius*'s Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Vales.

[a] This *New Laura* is mentioned in the Life of St. *Euthymius*. Concerning this matter *Theophanes* (though in an unfit place, to wit, in the Affairs of *Justinus Junior,*) writes thus: ἐυσόχιος ὁ ἀπελθὼν εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα, &c. *But* Eustochius *removing to* Jerusalem, *out of that hatred he bore to* Apollinaris, Agatho *and* Macarius, *ejected those Monks of the* New Laura, *as Origenists: And on this account he himself was also* [*afterwards*] *ejected, and* Macarius *was again restored to his own Chair. Baronius* thinks indeed, that *Macarius* was restored to his own See, a little before *Eustochius*'s Ordination; and then, that *Eustochius* had obtained the See of *Jerusalem* again, because by his Legates he was present at the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod* on the year of Christ 553. as 'tis sufficiently manifest from our *Evagrius*, and from the *Acts* of the aforesaid Synod. But *Baronius* was widely mistaken. For *Macarius* (*Eustochius* being ejected,) was restored to his own See long after the Fifth Synod, in *Justinian*'s Thirty seventh year, on the Twenty fourth year after *Basilius*'s Consulate; as *Victor Tunonensis* relates in his *Chronicon*, who lived in those very Times, and could not be ignorant of that. *Vales.*

* *Theodorus*'s

† Or, *All impiety.*

[b] *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* has composed an illustrious Elogy of this *Conon*, in the Life of St. *Saba*, about the end, in these words. *Qui Cassianus cùm decimum mensem implesset*

* Or, [*amongst those*] *of the Solitude.*

[c] Ἐπεισάγει τὰ χτ Θεόδωρον, *Superinduces the Cause of* Theodorus. *Liberatus* relates the same in his *Breviary*, chap. 24. Yet *Liberatus* says nothing concerning *Rufus* and *Conon* the Abbots sent by *Eustochius* to *Constantinople*. On the other hand *Evagrius* makes no mention of that Condemnation of *Origen*, which had been made by the Emperour *Justinian* by the Endeavour of *Pelagius Apocrisiarius* of the *Roman* See; to which Condemnation all the Patriarchs had subscribed; to wit, *Zoilus* of *Alexandria*, *Euphræmius* of *Antioch*, *Petrus* of *Jerusalem*; as *Liberatus* writes in the foregoing chapter: now, that hapned on the year of Christ 538. as *Baronius* relates. But that Embassy of *Conon*, *Rufus*, and the other *Palestine Monks*, was sent to *Eustochius* by *Constantinople* on the year of Christ 551. For on that year *Apollinaris* was put into the place of *Zoilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, as *Baronius* affirms. But *Eustochius*, out of his hatred chiefly to *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Alexandria*, ejected the Monks of the *New Laura* out of their Monastery, as being *Origenists*; agreeable to what we have related above out of *Theophanes*. Vales.

of *Theodoret* and *Ibas:* the All-good God having excellently well disposed the whole matter so, that whatever was profane both on the one and on the other side might be wholly expelled. The first Question therefore having been proposed, Whether it were lawful to *Anathematize* the dead; *Eutychius* who was then present, (a Person incomparably well versed in the Sacred Scriptures, who during *Menas*'s Life was not very Eminent; for he was then but [d] *Apocrisiarius* to the Bishop of *Amasia*;) being not only wiser, but also looking with contempt upon those convened, said in express words, That that Question need not be debated: in regard King *Josias* did not only heretofore slay the living Priests of *Dæmons*, but also dug open the Sepulchers of those who had been dead long before. All Persons that were present look'd upon these [words of *Eutychius*] to be most appositely spoken. Which [saying of his] when *Justinian* was acquainted with, he preferred * him to the Chair of the Imperial City, on the death of *Menas*, which hapned soon after. Further, *Vigilius* [e] gave his consent by his Letters, but refused to be present at the Synod. The Synod therefore being convened, when [the Emperour] *Justinian* asked, what their Sentiment was concerning *Theodorus*, and in relation to those things which *Theodoret* had written against *Cyrillus* and his *Twelve* † *Heads*; also, [what they thought] of that Letter said to be *Ibas*'s, [written by him] to *Maris* the *Persian:* after many passages had been recited [out of the Books] of *Theodorus* and *Theodoret*, and after it had been made apparent, that *Theodorus* had long since been condemned, and [his Name] expunged out of the *Sacred Diptycks*; and, that Hereticks ought to be condemned even after their death: with *all suffrages* (as the usual saying is,) they *Anathematize Theodorus*, and what had been written by *Theodoret* against *Cyrillus*'s *Twelve Heads*, and against the true Faith; *Ibas*'s Letter also, which he wrote to *Maris* the *Persian*; [their Condemnation of the foresaid Persons and Writings] being conceived in these express Words.

[d] Ταῦτ᾽ δὲ ἀποκείσεσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβητήσεως ἀφορμὴν ἔφασκε· βασιλεῖ γὰρ Ἰωσίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ζῶντας τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν δαιμόνων οὐ μόνον τὸ πρότερον σφάξαι, τοὺς δὲ πάλαι τεθνεῶτας ἀνορύξαι τῶν τάφων. That is, *was* Apocrisiarius *to the Bishop of* Amasia.

* *Eutychius.*

† Or, *Chapters.*

[e] Ἐγγεγράφως συνθέμενος. *Johannes Langus* understood these words concerning *Eutychius*'s Ordination. For he has rendred them thus: [see *Niceph.* book 17. chap. 27.] *Porro Vigilius etiamsi ei scripto intervenienti, cum Eutychio conveniret; assidere tamen illi noluit, Further, although* Vigilius *agreed with* Eutychius, *approaching* [or, *interceding with*] *him by a Letter; yet he would not sit together with him.* But this Rendition is contrary to the meaning of *Evagrius*, and of *Nicephorus* himself. For *Evagrius* says only this, That *Vigilius* gave his consent indeed to those matters which were transacted in the Synod; but would not be present at it. And the same thing is confirmed by the *Acts* of the Fifth *Constantinopolitan* Synod, pag. 112. From which *Acts* we are informed, that Pope *Vigilius*, who was then at *Constantinople* (although he had been frequently asked, both by the Emperour *Justinian*, and also by all the Bishops convened in that City, that he would come to the Council, and had himself promised that by his Letter; yet) would never come to the Synod. Further, that Writing, whereby *Evagrius* says *Vigilius* had consented to the determination of the Synod, is nothing else but *Vigilius*'s *Constitution*, which *Baronius* has published at the year of Christ 553; or else, the Letter of Pope *Vigilius*, which *Petrus de Marca* first set forth in *Greek*, together with a most Learned *Dissertation*, which it would be worth while to read. *Vales.*

[f] *Whereas the Great God and our Saviour* Jesus Christ *according to the Parable in the Gospels, &c.* And after some other words. *Besides all those other Hereticks which are condemned and* Anathematized *by the four forementioned holy Synods, and by the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church; We also Condemn and* Anathematize Theodorus *who is styled Bishop of* Mopsuestia, *and his impious Writings; also, what hath been impiously written by* Theodoret, *both against the true Faith, and against the* Twelve Heads *of* Cyrillus *of Blessed Memory, and against the* First Holy Synod *at* Ephesus: *In fine whatever has been written by the same* [Theodoret] *in defence of* Theodorus *and* Nestorius. *Moreover, we also* Anathematize *that impious* Letter *said to have been written by* Ibas *to* Maris *the* Persian. And after some few words, they expounded Fourteen [g] Heads concerning the right and † sincere Faith. † Or, *Unblameable.*

[f] This Sentence is extant in the eighth *Collation* of the Fifth Synod, pa. 112. *Vales.*

[g] These fourteen *Capitula*, or *Expositions of the true Faith*, are extant pag. 115 and 116. *Synod. Constantinop.* Vales.

And these things proceeded in this manner. But, [h] when *Libels* were delivered in by the Monks *Eulogius*, *Conon*, *Cyriacus*, and *Pancratius*, against the Opinions of *Origen Adamantius*, and against the followers of his impiety and errour,; *Justinian* consulted the then convened Synod about these matters, having subjoyned [to his own Letter] a Copy of the *Libel*, as also what he had written to *Vigilius* concerning these things. From all which it may be gathered, that *Origen* had made it his business to fill the * Purity of the Apostolick † *Dogmata* with [i] *Paganism* and *Manichæan* Tares. A *Relation* therefore was transmitted to *Justinian* from the Synod, after the Exclamations which they [had heaped together] against *Origen* and those involved in the same erroneous Tenets with him. Part of which [*Relation*] runs thus.

[h] In the *Acts* of the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod* which have come to our hands in the *Latin* Tongue, there is nothing of those things extant which *Evagrius* subjoyns here, to wit, concerning the condemnation of *Origen*, *Evagrius* and *Didymus*. Therefore *Baronius* with good cause thought that *those Acts* were maimed and imperfect. *Nicephorus* affirms these things to have been done against *Origen* and his followers in the *Second Convention:* but *Theophanes* and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* relate, that the *Fifth Synod* was principally and most especially convened against the errours of *Origen*, *Evagrius*, and *Didymus*; but in the second place against *the Tria Capitula.* Vales.

* Or, *Simplicity.*

† Or, *Opinions.*

[i] These words are taken out of the Emperor *Justinian*'s Letter to the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*; part of which Letter is recorded by *Cedrenus* in *his Chronicon.* Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διέγνωσαν ἡμῖν ὡς πρὸς οἱ ἱεροσολύμοις εἰσὶ μοναχοὶ διήθεν πυθαγόρα καὶ πλατῶνι καὶ ὠριγένει κατακολουθήσαντες, δεῖν ὠήθημεν φροντίδα καὶ ζήτησιν ποιήσασθαι περὶ τούτων, ἵνα μὴ τέλεον διὰ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ μανιχαϊκῆς ἀπάτης αὐτῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσωσι That is, *In regard therefore it has been told us, that there are certain Monks at* Jerusalem *who were followers of* Pythagoras, Plato, *and* Origen; *We were of opinion, that care ought* [*to be taken*] *and enquiry made about these persons, least by their* Paganish [or, Grecian,] *and* Manichæan *error they should perfectly ruin many persons.* The same occurrs in the Emperor *Justinian's Letter to Menas, concerning the Errors of Origen.* Vales.

You who possess a mind partaker [k] *of a Celestial Nobility, Most Christian Emperour!* And after some other words. *We have avoided therefore, we have avoided that* [*Doctrine.*] *For we knew not the voice of Strangers. And having securely bound this person, as a Thief, and like a Robber, with the Ropes of an* Anathema, *we have cast him out of the Sacred Rails.* And after some few words. *But you will know the power and efficacy of the matters which have been transacted by us, by the reading thereof.*

[k] Τῆς ἄνωθεν οὐσίας. I cannot approve of *Christophorson*'s translation, who turns these words thus: *Qui animum nobilitatis antiquæ participem tenes, who possess a mind partaker of Ancient Nobility. Johannes Langus* and *Musculus* have rendred it better. *Langus*, in this manner; *Qui animum obtines cælestis participem generositatis, who have a mind partaker of a celestial generosity.* And *Musculus*, thus; *Animum supernæ nobilitatis sortite, Christianissime Imperator! You who have gotten a mind of Supernal Nobility, Most Christian Emperour!* Vales.

Hereto

Hereto they also annexed whatever * Heads *Origen*'s followers had [from their Masters] learned to assert; which [Heads] manifested both their agreements, as also their disagreements, and likewise their [1] manifold errour. Amongst these there was a *Fifth Head* [which contained] the Blasphemies broacht by some private persons of that termed *The New Laura*; the Contents of which Head run thus. [m] *Theodorus Ascidas the Cappadocian said: If the Apostles and the Martyrs do now work Miracles, and are in so great honour; unless in the Resurrection they shall be made equal to Christ, what manner of Resurrection shall they have?*

* Or, Chapters.

[1] Τὴν πολυχεφαλῶν πάνυ. In *Nicephorus* 'tis written truer, thus, πολυχεφάλων; nor am I of opinion that πολυχεφάλης is a Greek word. To my best remembrance I have noted the same fault somewhere before this But the place comes not at present into my mind. *Vales.*

[m] As far as may be gathered from these words of *Evagrius*, this *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian* was one of the Monks of the *New Laura*, which was near the City *Jerusalem*. This therefore is the *Theodorus*, follower of *Nonnus* the *Origenist*, who being afterward made Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, openly undertook the patronage of the *Origenists*, as *Cyrillus Scythopolitanus* relates *in the Life of Saint* Saba. Further, whereas this *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* acted the chief parts, as I may say, in the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*, as may be seen from its *Acts*, how is he now accused in the same Synod as an *Origenist*? We may therefore not without Cause conjecture, that these things which *Evagrius*, *Theophanes*, and *Cedrenus* say were done in the *Fifth Synod* against *Origen*, were long after *that Synod* added to it, on account of the likeness of their Subject: but, were not done in *that Synod*. So also, the *Acts* of the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Menas*, against *Anthymus* and *Zoaras*, were wont to be joyned to this *Fifth Oecumenical Synod*, as *Photius* attests in his *Bibliotheca*. The same thing may also be proved by what *Evagrius* subjoyns. For he says, that many impious expressions gatherered out of the Books of *Evagrius*, *Didymus*, and *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, were related to *that Synod*. Now, if these things had been done in the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*, as *Evagrius* says, it would have been altogether superfluous and unuseful, to repeat those expressions of *Theodorus*, which had so often been reckoned up and condemned in the abovesaid Synod. My Sentiment therefore is, that these things were acted against *Origen* in another *Constantinopolitan Synod* on the Year of Christ 538; then, when certain Monks of *Jerusalem*, who were favoured by *Pelagius* a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and by *Menas* Bishop of *Constantinople*, presented a Libel to *Justinian*, containing certain Heads collected out of *Origen*'s Books; and requesting of the Emperour, that those Heads might be condemned; as *Liberatus* tells us chap. 23. of his *Breviary*. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 538. Moreover, our conjecture is fully confirmed by what *Evagrius* writes a little before this; *viz.* that into those things done against *Origen* was inserted the Emperour *Justinian*'s Letter to Pope *Vigilius* concerning the errors of *Origen*. These matters therefore were not transacted in the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod* on the Year of Christ 553. For on that Year *Vigilius* was at *Constantinople*; nor was there any need that *Justinian* should treat with him by Letters. Wherefore these things were done against *Origen* long before, to wit, then when *Justinian*, having received the Libel of those *Palestine* Monks, wrote a Letter to *Menas* Bishop of *Constantinople* concerning the errors of *Origen*; giving him order, that when he had assembled the Bishops that were present in the Imperial City, and the Abbots of Monasteries, he should condemn those errors. This Letter of *Justinian*'s is extant in *Greek* and *Latin*, published at the end of the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*. In a place altogether foreign and unfit. For it belongs not to the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod* which was celebrated on the Year of Christ 553, but to another *Constantinopolitan Synod*, which by the Emperour *Justinian*'s order had been convened on the Year of Christ 538. Therefore *Baronius* has rightly placed that Letter of *Justinian* at that Year I have mentioned. Now at the close of his Letter *Justinian* affirms in expres words, that he had also written a Letter to *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* upon the same Subject. For thus he says. *Hæc porro eadem scripsimus non modo ad Sanctitatem tuam*, &c. *Moreover, we have written the very same things not only to your Sanctity, but to the most Holy and most Blessed* Vigilius *also Pope and Patriarch of the Seinour* Rome, *and to all the other most Holy Bishops and Patriarchs, of* Alexandria, Theopolis, *and* Jerusalem, *that they might both take care of this matter, and also that these things may come to an end.* Lastly, those *Anathematisms* which *Nicephorus* says were thrown against *Origen*'s opinions in the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*, occurr in the self same words in *Justinian*'s Letter to *Menas*, which was written long before the *Fifth Synod*, on the Year of Christ 538; as *Baronius* informs us from *Liberatus*. The same also may be proved from the Letter which *Gregory the Great* wrote to the Four Patriarchs in the beginning of his *Episcopate*. For, although he does expresly profess in that Letter, that with Veneration he gives Reception to the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*, in which Letter some writings of *Ibas*, *Theodorus*, and *Theodoret* are condemned; yet he says not one word concerning *Origen*'s condemnation. Which certainly he would not have omitted, if *Origen* had been condemned in that Synod. *Vales.*

The same Fathers related several other Blasphemies of *Didymus*, *Evagrius*, and *Theodorus*, which with great diligence they had collected out of their Books. Further, some interval of time after this Synod, [n] *Eutychius* is ejected, and [o] *Johannes* is placed in the Chair of the *Constantinopolitan* Church in his room. This *Johannes* was born at [p] *Sirimis*, which is a Village situate in the *Cynegick Region*, in the *Antiochian* Territory.

[n] These things are written carelesly enough by *Evagrius*, who has disguised the Cause of *Eutychius*'s deposition, least he should in any wise offend the Memory of the Emperour *Justinian*. If any one be desirous of reading a compleat Narrative of this matter, 'tis extant in *Surius* in the *Life of the Blessed Patriarch* Eutychius, *elegantly written by his disciple* Eustathius, and in *Nicephorus* Book 17. Chap. 29. *Baronius* says that was done on the Year of Christ 564, which was the Emperour *Justinian*'s last Year. *Vales.*

[o] This is *Johannes Scholasticus* who has *a Collection of Canons Extant*. *Victor Tunonensis* in *his Chronicon*, gives us this account of his Ordination: *Anno* 39. *Imperii sui Justinianus Eutychium Constantinopolitanum Episcopum*, &c. *In the* 39th *Year of his Empire* Justinian *sends into Exile* Eutychius *Bishop of* Constantinople, *a Condemner of the three Heads, and of* Evagrius *the Hermit a Deacon, and of* Didymus *the Monk an* Alexandrian *Confessour, whose praises we have produced above from the authority of illustrious Men; and in his room makes* Johannes *Bishop a like* [*assertor*] *of the same Error.* Vales.

[p] Ἐκ τῆς σειμῶ. In the excellent *Florentine Manuscript* I found it written σειμῶ, both here and in the following Chapter. *Theophanes* makes mention of this *Mannor* or *Village*, in *his Chronicon*, pag. 151; where he writes concerning *Alamundarus*'s irruption into *Syria*; κ) ἔκαυσε (says he) τὰ ἔξω καλχηδόν κ) τὸ σειμίον κτῆμα κ) τὴν κωμηλάν χώραν: that is, *And he burnt the outward parts of* Chalcis, *and* [*ruined*] *the Mannor* [or, *Possession*] *Sirmium, and the Cynegick Region.* In the *Greek*, instead of καλχηδόν, *Chalcedon*, I have mended it thus, χαλκίδ, *Chalcis.* *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

That Justinian * *having forsaken the right Faith, asserted the Body of* [*our*] *Lord to be incorruptible.*

* Or, *Being perverted from the right opinion.*

AT the same time *Justinian* † deflected from the right High-way of [Orthodox] Sentiments, and having entred a path untrodden by the Apostles and Fathers, fell into Thorns and Brambles. Wherewith being desirous to fill the Church, he mist of his design; the Lord having securely fenced * the High-way [a] with hedges not to be broken, that Murderers [and Thieves] might not break in, as if the wall had been faln and the Fence broken down: [and thus] he fulfilled the Prophets Prediction. *Johannes* therefore, who was also termed *Catelinus*, having [b] succeeded *Vigilius* in the Bishoprick of the *Elder Rome*, and *Johannes* born at *Sirimis* Governing the *Constantinopolitan* Church, and *Apollinarius* that of *Alexandria*, *Anastasius* successour to *Domninus* presiding over the *Antiochian* Church, and over that at *Jerusalem* [c] *Macarius*, who was again restored to his own Chair:

† Or, *Turned aside.*

* Or, *The King's way.*

[a] Ἀῤῥήκτοις ξείλοις, *with unspeakable Hedges.* In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written thus, ἀῤῥήκτοις ξείλοις, *with Hedges not to be broken.* Which writing the *Tellerian Manuscript* confirms. *Vales.*

[b] *Evagrius* mistakes. For *Johannes* succeeded not *Vigilius*, but *Pelagius* was his successour. After whose death, *Johannes Junior* undertook the Episcopate of the Church of *Rome*, on the Year of Christ 560. *Vales.*

[c] This place is chiefly to be taken notice of against the Sentiments of *Baronius*, who believed *Macarius* was restored to his own See before the *Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod*. But this passage of *Evagrius* refutes *Baronius*'s Opinion; *Evagrius* informing us here, that *Macarius*'s Restitution was made long before *that Synod*. To *Evagrius* agrees *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon*, in these words: *Anno* 37. *Imperii Justiniani*, &c. *On the* 37th *Year of* Justinian's *Empire*, Eustochius *Bishop of* Jerusalem *who had been ordained whilst* Macarius *was alive, is ejected: and* Macarius *is again put into his own See.* But *Theophanes*, *in his Chronicon*, places *Macarius*'s Restitution on the times of *Justinus Junior*, as I have observed above. *Vales.*

when * he had Anathematized *Origen*, *Didymus*, and *Evagrius*, after *Eustochius*'s Deposition; *Justinian* writes that which amongst the *Romans* is called *an Edict*, wherein he has termed the Body of [our] Lord incorruptible; and incapable of Natural and irreprehensible † passions; affirming that [our] Lord ate in the same manner before his Passion, as he did eat after his Resurrection, his most holy Body having received no change or alteration from its very Formation in the Womb, neither in the Voluntary and Natural Passions, nor yet after [his] Resurrection. To which [Assertions] *Justinian* [resolved] to force the Prelates in all places to give their assent. But when all of them affirmed, that they earnestly expected [the Opinion of] *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, they [thereby] repress the [Emperour's] first Attempt.

* *Justinian.*

† Or, *Affections.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning Anastasius *Archbishop of* Antioch.

MOreover, this *Anastasius* [was a Person] both incomparably well skilled in the Sacred Scriptures, and also accurate in his Morals and way of living: in so much that he would * take consideration about the most trivial matters, nor would he † deflect at any time from a constancy and firmness, much less in things momentous, and which had a relation to the Deity it self. And he had * tempered his disposition so, that neither an easiness of access to and conference with him, might render him exposed to what was unmeet and inconvenient; nor should an Austerity and Rigour make him inaccessible in relation to what was fit and rational. In [conferences that were] weighty and serious, he was of a ready Ear, and fluent Tongue: But in [discourses that were] impertinent and superfluous he had his Ears perfectly shut. A bridle repress his Tongue in such a manner, that he † measured his discourse with reason, and rendred Silence far better than Talk. This Person therefore *Justinian* makes an Attack against, as against some inexpugnable Tower, and sets upon him with all manner of Engines; considering with himself, that if he could ruine [a] this [Tower,] he should afterwards become Master of the City with ease, enslave the Doctrine of the true Faith, and lead captive the Sheep of

* Or, *Observe.*

† Or, *Make an excursion.*

* Or, *Mixt*

† Or, *Directed his discourse by reason.*

[a] Ἐι τάτε κρ]ασείσ]ε. In *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian* Manuscript it is truer written thus, εἰ τᾶτον κρ]ασείσ]ε. *If he could ruine this* [*Tower.*] For so the Rules of Grammar require it should be. 'Tis a Metaphor drawn from Machines used in Sieges, wherewith Cities are wont to be assaulted. Further, concerning the constancy of this *Anastasius Sinaita* in defending the true Faith against the Heresy of the *Aphthartodocitæ*, *Eustathius* writes also in the Life of the Blessed *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Vales.

Christ. But *Anastasius* by a divine heighth of mind raised himself so far [above the Emperour,] (for he stood upon a Rock of Faith not to be broken;) that by his own *Relation* sent to *Justinian*, he openly contradicted him, and in the same [*Relation*] demonstrated [to him] most Perspicuously and with great Eloquence, that the Body of [our] Lord was corruptible in passions natural and irreprehensible, and that the Divine Apostles and * Holy Fathers both thought and taught so. The same answer he returned to the Monks of the *First* and *Second Syria*, who had consulted him: and he confirmed the minds of all Persons, and † prepared for the Conflict, reciting daily in the Church that saying of that Vessel of Election; * *If any one preach any other Gospel unto you, than that you have received, though he be an Angel from Heaven, let him be accursed.* Which [words] when all Persons had ‖ weighed in their minds, a very small number only excepted, they imitated him. The same *Anastasius* wrote a [b] *Valedictory Oration* to the *Antiochians*, after he had received Information, that *Justinian* was resolved to send him into Banishment. Which Oration is deservedly delightful and admirable, for the elegancy of its words, the abundance of its * sententious expressions, the frequent Quotations of Sacred Scripture, [c] and for the Accommodateness of the History.

* Or, *Divine.*

† Ἐπτλέσ]ωσε, *anointed himself.*

* Galat. 1. 8, 9.

‖ Or, *Looked on.*

[b] Ἀνασ]ασ. πρὸς τὸν ἀντιοχέας λόγος. 'Tis strange that three Translators, *Langus*, *Musculus* and *Christophorson*, should all mistake in the Rendition of one word. The *Græcians* termed Ἀνασ]ατικὰς and Ἀνασ]ατικοὺς λόγους, *Valedictory*, or, *Farewell Orations*, and have handed down to us the peculiar method of those *Orations*, as I have remarked in my Notes upon *Eusebius*'s Life of *Constantine*, book 3. chap. 21. note (*a.*) Vales.

* Or, *Sentences.*

[c] Καὶ πρόσφορον τ῀ ἱσ]ορείας. Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy has mended it, καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον. For so the Rules of Grammar require it should be. But I have observed that the Rules of Grammar are sometimes despised by our *Evagrius*. *Nicephorus*, when he wrote out this passage of *Evagrius*, instead of the Conjunctive Particle, substituted a Præposition, in this manner, πρὸς τὸ πρόσφορον τ῀ ἱσ]ορείας. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the death of Justinian.

BUt this Oration was not published, God having provided some better thing for us. For *Justinian* whilst he dictated a Sentence of *Deportation* against *Anastasius* and the Prelates about him, was invisibly wounded, and ended his Life, after he had reigned in all thirty eight years and eight months.

The End of the Fourth Book of Evagrius's *Ecclesiastical History.*

THE

THE FIFTH BOOK OF THE Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS*;

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Election of [*the Emperour*] Juſtinus, *and concerning his Morals.*

WHen therefore *Juſtinian* in this manner had fill'd all places with Diſquietude and Tumults, and at the cloſe of his Life had received the condign reward of ſuch [Actings,] he departed to the infernal * puniſhments: but *Juſtinus* his Siſter's Son, who was intruſted with the cuſtody of the [Imperial] Palace, which [Grand Officer] the *Roman* Tongue terms [a] *Curopalates*, is inveſted with the purple after his [death:] neither *Juſtinian*'s departure, nor the Election of *Juſtinus* having been made known to any perſon, ſave to thoſe that were his Confidents, till ſuch time as he appeared at the * *Ludi Circenſes*, † in order to his performing and undertaking what uſually belongs to an Emperour.

* Or, *Judicatories.*

[a] Concerning the Office of the *Curopalates*, much hath been already ſaid by many perſons, to repeat which here is ſuperfluous; we will remark this only, that the *Curopalates* always went before with a Golden Rod, as often as the Emperour would appear in publick. *Caſſidorus* tells us this in his *Formula Curæ palatii*, in theſe words: *Conſidera quâ Gratificatione tracteris*, &c. *Conſider with what Gratification you are treated, how being adorned with a Golden Rod, amongſt numerous obeyſances, you ſeem to go firſt before the Royal feet.* So alſo *Corippus* in Book 2. Chap. 7. *De Laudibus Juſtini Minoris*; where he deſcribes *Juſtinus*'s proceſſion to the *Cirque* [in theſe words,]

——— ——— *Tunc ordine longo*
Incedunt ſummi proceres, fulgenſque Senatus,
Ipſe inter primos vultu præclarus honoro,
Fratris in obſequium gaudens Marcellus abibat.
Diſpoſitorque novus ſacræ Baduarius Aulæ,
Succeſſor Soceri, factus mox Curopalates.

Concerning this Golden Rod which was wont to be carried before the *Roman* Emperours, *Paulus Silentiarius* ſpeaks, in his *deſcription of the Church of Saint Sophia*, not far from the beginning.

——— ——— Ὀρνύμενος δὲ
Ὡς δέμις, ἐκ μέμβλωτος ἀνεμπόδιστον ἀσπίδιωτιν,
Οὐ χρυσῆν τινα ῥάβδον ἀεὶ προκέλευθεν ἀνάκτων.

For I aſſent not to that Learned man, who hath rendred it, *Aureas Secures*, *Golden Axes*. And at firſt this dignity was ſmall, for it was under the diſpoſe of the *Caſtrenſis* [See Dr. *Howell's Hiſtory, Second part, pag* 64.] *of the Sacred Palace.* But afterwards it began to be accounted the chiefeſt dignity of the Palace, from ſuch time as *Juſtinus* Nephew to *Juſtinian* bore it. It was a *Civil*, not a *Military* dignity, as *Alemannus* thought, who (in his *Notes on* Procopius's *Hiſtoria Arcana*,) confounds the *Curopalates* with the *Comes Excubitorum*. Valeſ.

After theſe [Solemnities] therefore were over, when nothing of an * oppoſition had in any wiſe been attempted [againſt him,] he returned to the Palace. [By] the firſt Edict he promulged, the [b] Prelates who had been convened in all places, were ſent home to their own Sees, in order to their worſhipping God in the uſual and received manner, no Innovation being made in relation to the Faith. And this Action done by him was highly commendable. But, as to his Life, he was diſſolute, and * altogether a ſlave to Luxuries and † obſcene pleaſures: ſo ardent a lover alſo of other mens money, that he ſold all things for illegal gain; and revered not the Deity even in the Eccleſiaſtick preferments, which he made his markets of to any perſons he could meet with, and publickly propoſed even theſe to ſale. Moreover, being poſſeſt [c] with [two moſt contrary] Vices, Boldneſs and Sloth, in the firſt place he cauſed his [d] kinſman *Juſtinus* to be ſent for, a perſonage of an univerſal honour and eſteem, both for his skill in Military affairs, and for thoſe other dignities [which he had born:] he at that time made his reſidence about the *Danube*, and hindred the *Abari* from paſſing that River.

* Or, *Innovation.*

[b] Τὰς ἀπαυταχῆ συνελεύσεις ἱερέων. *Nicephorus* (book 17. chap. 33.) took theſe words of *Evagrius* as meant of the Biſhops, who had been baniſhed by *Juſtinian* into various places for their defence of the true Faith. But that word συνελεύσεις can not bear this interpretation. Therefore *Chriſtophorſon* choſe to interpret this place concerning the Biſhops, who from all places had been aſſembled together at *Conſtantinople*. But neither can I approve of this Rendition; in regard *Evagrius* ſays thoſe Biſhops were not convened at *Conſtantinople*, but ἀπαυταχῆ, that is, *in all places*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Openly involved in.*

† Or, *Immenſe.*

[c] Ταῖς κακίαις. Some word ſeems to be wanting, which may be ſupplied in this manner; ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις κακίαις, *moſt contrary Vices*. And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read. *Valeſ.* See *chap.* 19. *note* (*d.*)

[d] This *Juſtinus* was Son to *Germanus Patritius*, and Couſin-german to the Emperour *Juſtinus*, as *Johannes Biclarienſis* informs us in his *Chronicon*. Indeed, *Germanus* and *Juſtinus Junior* were akin. For *Germanus* was *Juſtinian*'s Nephew by his Brother. But the Emperour *Juſtinus* was the Son of *Vigilantia Juſtinian*'s Siſter. Further, this *Juſtinus* Son to *Germanus* had born the Conſulate in the year of Chriſt 540. The Emperour *Juſtinian* had created the ſame perſon

Master of the Milice throughout *Colchis* and *Armenia*, in place of *Martinus*, as *Agathias* writes in his *Fourth Book*; but afterwards he made the same person *Master of the Milice* throughout the *Thracia's*; as *Menander Protector* declares in the *First Book of his History*, *pag.* 99. Vales.

The *Abari* are a *Scythick* Nation who live in Waggons, and inhabit the * Regions situate beyond *Caucasus*. Which people, in regard they had been sorely afflicted by the [c] *Turks* their Neighbours [left their habitation, and] with their whole Families fled from them, and came to the *Bosphorus*. Then leaving the Shore of that termed the *Euxine* Sea, (where many barbarous Nations who had left their own dwellings, inhabited; moreover, Cities, * *Castra*, and [f] some *Stations* had been built [there] by the *Romans*, when either † *Veteran* Souldiers, or Colonies had been sent thither by the Emperours:) they continued on their journey, engaging all the *Barbarians* they met with, till such time as they were arrived at the Banks of the *Danube*, and [g] had sent Embassadours to *Justinian*. From thence therefore *Justinus* was sent for, on pretence as if he were to enjoy [the advantage of] that Compact which had been made betwixt him and the Emperour *Justinus*. For, in regard both of them were equal as to their Secular Grandeur and Power, and whereas the Empire * hung as it were betwixt them; after many debates they had come to this agreement, that he who was arrived at the Empire, should give the other the Second place; that so, by being Second in the Empire, he might be First in respect of all other persons.

* Or, *Fields.*

[c] In what manner these *Abari*, or *Abares*, having been vanquished by the *Turks*, betook themselves into *Europe*, *Theophylactus Simocatta* relates, *Book* 7. *Chap.* 7. Vales.

* Or, *Camps.*

† Or, *Disabled.*

[f] Καὶ τινες πρὸς ὁρμήσεις. In *Nicephorus* Book 17. Chap. 34. and in the *Tellerian Manuscript*, 'tis written in one word, thus, προορμήσεις. *Stations*, or *Landing places*; which I rather approve of. But I think this whole place must be thus written, ἔνθα συχνὰ μὲν ἔθνη βαρβαρικὰ ᾠκίσαν· ᾠκίσαν δὲ καὶ ῥωμαίων πόλεις τε καὶ στρατόπεδα, &c, *where many Barbarous Nations*, &c. according as we have rendred it. *Vales.*

[g] In *Justinianus Augustus's* times, the *Abares* having passed into *Europe*, became first known to the *Romans*, as *Theophylactus Simocatta* relates in *Book* 7. *Chap.* 8: for when they had come to the places of *Scythia* and *Mœsia*, they sent Embassadours to *Justinian*, on the thirty first year of *Justinian's* Empire, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon* and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*. But *Victor Tunonensis* mentions this Embassy a little later. *Post Consulatum*, &c. *After the Consulate of the most famous personage* Basilius *on the twenty third year*; *the Emperour Justinian makes the Embassadours of the Nation of the* Abari *whence they had come*, &c. This was the thirty sixth year of *Justinian's* Empire. Concerning the same Embassy of the *Abares* to *Justinian*, *Menander Protector* is to be consulted in the *First Book of his History*, pag 99 *of the King's Edition*, where he excellently well describes that Embassy, and confirms *Victor Tunonensis's* opinion. For he says, that *Justinian* died not long after. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning the Murder of Justinus *Kinsman to the Emperour* Justinus.

[THE Emperour] *Justinus* therefore received *Justinus* with great appearances of kindness and friendship; but soon after he framed [various] causes and pretences, and [by degrees] deprived him of his * *Satellites*, his *Domesticks*, and the *Protectors* of his Body, and [a] forbids his Access to himself: [b] for he sate at home.

* *Guards*, or, *Partisans.*

[a] Τάς τε παρ' αὐτῷ περόδους. *Nicephorus* took away the *Præposition* here. For he has expresst this place of *Evagrius* thus: καὶ τὰς αὐτῷ περόδους ἀνεῖργε, *and hindred him from going abroad*. But I had rather write with *Evagrius*, τάς τε παρ' αὐτὸν περόδους εἶργον. Which reading I have followed in my Version. *Vales.*

[b] Καθῆστο γὰρ οἴκοι *Nicephorus* and *Christophorson* understood these words of *Evagrius* concerning *Justinus* kinsman to the Emperour *Justinus*. But I had rather take them as meant of the Emperour *Justinus* himself. For he being sickly, for the most part sate at home, and forbad his kinsman *Justinus* access to himself. Indeed, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras* do attest what I have said concerning *Justinus*; For *Cedrenus's* words are these: ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰουστῖνος συνεχῶς νοσηλεύόμενος καὶ σκοτοδινιῶν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος περέρχεσθαι, *This* Justinus *was continually sick, and dimsighted, and unable to come abroad.* Vales.

[At length] by *Justinus's* order [c] he is removed to the Great City *Alexandria*; where he is most inhumanely murdered in the dead of the night, whilst he lay in his bed; this being the reward he received for his kindness to the Republick, and for those eminent Services he had performed in the Wars. Nor would the Emperour *Justinus* and his wife *Sophia* abate of their rage, or could they satiate their burning fury [conceived against *Justinus*,] till such time as they had seen his head after 'twas cut off, and had trampled it under their feet.

[c] Ἐσωκίσθη, *is brought home.* I had rather read ἐξωκίζεται, *is removed.* So in the foregoing chapter, where the reading is ἐσωκίσθησαν, &c; *Nicephorus* reads, ἐξωκίσθησαν, and understands that place of *Evagrius* concerning the *Barbarians* who had been carried thither by the *Romans*. Further, this *Justinus* was made *Augustalis* and *Dux* of *Alexandria*, by the Emperour *Justinus* in the sixth year of his Empire, as *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* do relate. *Cedrenus's* words are these: ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰουστῖνος, ὅτι ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ αὐγουστος, ὃς ἦν δὲ ἀλεξανδρείας συσκευὴν μελετᾷ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, πέμψας αὐτὸν ἀπεκεφάλισε. *But* Justinus *having heard that his kinsman, who was* Augustalis *and* Dux *of* Alexandria, *meditated treachery against the Emperour, he sent and beheaded him.* Write thus, ὃς ἦν αὐγουσταλιος καὶ δὲξ ἀλεξανδρείας, according as the reading is in *Theophanes*. For those two dignities, *Augustalis* and *Dux*, although they were distinct, yet were now and then given to one and the same person by the Emperours, as may be proved by many instances. Further, this dignity was bestowed on *Justinus* by the Emperour, not in honour to him, but rather that he might send him far off from the Imperial City. Therefore the City *Alexandria* was to *Justinus* instead of a prison. Hence 'tis, that *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* relates, that *Justinus Augustus* detained his Cousin-German *Justinus* prisoner as 'twere at *Alexandria*. Moreover, *Johannes Biclarensis*, in his *Chronicon*, places the murder of this *Justinus* on the second year of *Justinus Junior's* Empire; to wit on the same year whereon *Ætherius* and *Addæus* had a capital punishment inflicted on them. And this is more agreeable to the account given here by *Evagrius*. Vales.

CHAP. III.

Concerning those Miscreants Addæus *and* Ætherius.

MOreover, [a] not long after, the Emperour delivered up *Ætherius* and *Addæus*, (persons of the [b] *Senatorian* Order, who had been great Favourites of the Emperour *Justinian*,) to a judiciary process, they being charged with an accusation of High-Treason. Of these two, *Ætherius* confessed that he designed to kill the Emperour by Poyson, and said that he had *Addæus* his Accomplice in this attempt, and his Assistant in all [his other designs.] But *Addæus* with horrid Oaths affirmed, that he was wholly ignorant of these [Treasons.] Nevertheless, both of them were beheaded. *Addæus* at such time as his head was cut off, affirmed, that in this matter he had been falsely accused, but that he was deservedly punished by [divine] Justice, which inspects all affairs wherever transacted: for [he said] that by Magick he had murdered *Theodotus* the *Præfectus-Prætorio.*

[a] Οὐ μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ. The former negative particle must be expunged, as being altogether superfluous. *Vales.*

[b] The words of *Johannes Biclarensis in his Chronicon* are these: *Anno Secundo memorati principis*, &c *On the second year of the mentioned Emperour, in the Imperial City,* Ætherius *and* Addæus Patritii, *being detected whilst by Physitians they attempted to kill* Justinus *by Poyson rather than sword, are ordered to be punished with a capital sentence: the former was devoured by wild Beasts, the the second was burnt to death.* I know not whether *Johannes Biclarensis* termed these men *Patritii* instead of *Senators*; but there is a great difference between the *Patritian* and *Senatorian* dignity. Concerning the same *Ætherius* and *Addæus*, *Eustathius* in the *Life of* Eutychus *Patriarch of* Constantinople, writes thus: *Quâ quidem die, id est, tertiâ Octobris*, &c; *On which day, that is the third of* October, *those persons also who had framed Plots against the holy man and had cast him into Exile*, [*I mean*] Ætherius *and* Addæus, *the latter of whom was Præfect of the City, and the former was* Curator *of* [*the house of*] Antiochus, *died*, &c. *Vales.*

But

But I cannot positively affirm whether or no these things were so: however, they were both most flagitious wretches. *Addæus* was a Notorious * *Sodomite*. And *Ætherius* omitted no sort of Calumny, but preyed upon the Estates as well of the living, as of the dead, in the name of that Imperial [c]House, of which he was *Curator* [or, Governour] during the Empire of *Justinian*. And such was the conclusion of these matters.

* Or, *Buggerer*.

[c] He means the house of *Antiochus*, of which *Ætherius* was *Curator*, as *Eustathius* attests in the place just now cited: *ille autem Antiochiæ Curator*. *Eustathius*'s words in Greek, if I mistake not, are these; ὁ δὲ ἐπίτροπος τῆς ἀντιόχου, that is, *But* Ætherius *Curator of the House of* Antiochus. The same *Eustathius* makes mention of this house, when he describes in what manner *Eutychius* was ejected out of the Imperial City: *Dicebant enim quidam graves viri*, &c. *For some grave men said, if he should go out of the Sacred Temple, he would be killed. For some Armed men, who were placed in the Mannour-House of* Antiochus, *stayed for him without, for that purpose. Theophylactus* mentions the same Imperial House in his *third Book, Chapter* 3. There were many such houses, at *Constantinople*, as the House of *Placidia*, the House of *Flaccilla*, the House of *Hormisda*, and several others belonging to the Emperour: each of which Houses had its *Curator*, who look'd after that House or Palace, and all its Revenues. These Officers are termed *Curæ Palatiorum* in the *Notitia of the* Roman *Empire*, under the dispose of the *Castrensis of the Sacred Palace*. But then, the dignity of these *Curators* was the chiefest, and their Title was *Most Glorious* and *Most Magnificent*; as *Tiberius Augustus's Constitution de Domibus Imperialibus informs us*. Vales.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Edict of our Faith, which Justinus *wrote to the* Christians *in all places.*

MOreover, the same *Justinus* wrote an Edict to the *Christians* in all places, [the Contents] whereof [ran] in these expres words. IN THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST OUR GOD, EMPEROUR CÆSAR FLAVIUS JUSTINUS, FAITHFUL IN CHRIST, MILD, THE GREATEST, BENEFICENT, ALEMANICUS, GOTTHICUS, GERMANICUS, ANTICUS, FRANCICUS, ERULICUS, GEPÆDICUS, PIOUS, HAPPY GLORIOUS, VICTOR, TRIUMPHATOR, ALWAYS ADORABLE, AUGUSTUS.

* John 14. 27. * My peace I give unto you, *says the Lord Christ, our true God.* My peace I leave with you, *declares the same* [*Christ*] *to all men. The purport of which* [*expressions*] *is nothing else,* † Or, *Run together into.* *but that those who believe in him should* † *unite in one and the same Church: being of the same mind in relation to the true* ‖ *Faith of the Christians, and having an aversion for them who affirm or think the contrary. For, the* * *Primary safety* [*which*] *has been appointed to all men,* [*is*] *the Confession of the true Faith. Wherefore, We also following the Evangelick Admonitions, and the Holy Symbol, or Creed of the Holy Fathers, do exhort all men to betake themselves to one and the same Church and Opinion: believing in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, in the Consubstantial Trinity, in the One Deity,* † Or, *Substance.* *or Nature and* † *Essence, both in word and deed,* ‖ Or, *Glorifying.* *and* ‖ *asserting One Might and Power and Operation, in the three* Hypostases *or Persons, into which we have been baptized, in which we have believed, and to which we have been conjoyned. For we adore the Unity in the Trinity, and the* * Or, *Joyning together.* *Trinity in the Unity, which hath an admirable both Division, and* * *Unition: and Unity in respect of the* † *Essence or Deity: but a Trinity in* † Or, *Substance.* *respect of the proprieties or* Hypostases *or Persons. For, that we may so speak, it is indivisibly divided, and divisibly conjoyned. For* [*there is*] *One in Three,* [*to wit,*] *the Deity, and Three* [*are*] *One, in whom* [*namely*] *is the Deity, or, to speak more accurately, which* [*are*] *the Deity it self: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, when as each Person is considered by himself; the mind* [*to wit*] *dividing those things which are inseparable: the Three* [*Persons being one*] *God, understood together, on account of the same Motion and the same Nature. For we ought both to confess one God, and also to assert Three* * Hypostases *or Proprieties. But we Confess him, the only Begotten Son of God, God the Word, who was begotten of the Father before Ages and without time, not made; in the last days to have descended from Heaven on our account and for our Salvation, and to have been incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and of our Lady the Holy Glorious* Theotocos *and Ever-Virgin* Mary, *and to have been born of her:* [a] *who is our Lord* Jesus Christ, *one of the Holy Trinity, Glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.* [a] Ος ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, *who is to the Father and to the Holy Ghost.* In *Nicephorus*, Book 17. Chap. 35. where this Edict of the Emperour *Justinus* concerning the Faith is recorded, this place is read thus: ὃς ἐστὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἴσος. *who is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit.* Which reading *Christophorson* hath followed. For he renders it thus; *Qui est æqualis Patri & Spiritui Sancto, who is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit.* But in this place the equality of the Father and Son is not treated of: but, whether Christ be one of the Trinity. I have therefore supplyed this place righter from the excellent *Florentine Manuscript*, in this manner; ὃς ἐστιν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἰησοῦς χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, συνδοξόμενος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, *who is our Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. The *Tellerian* MS. has it written thus: ὃς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, *who is in the Father and in the Holy Spirit.* Vales. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is the same with that set at the beginning of this note.

For the holy Trinity hath not received an addition of a Fourth Person, although one of the holy Trinity, God the Word, hath been incarnate: but he is One and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, *Consubstantial to God and the Father according to the Deity, and the same* [*Person is*] *of the same substance with us in respect of the Humanity: passible in flesh, and the same* [*Person*] *impassible in the Deity. For we acknowledge not One God the Word who wrought Miracles, and another who suffered: but we confess One and the same our Lord* Jesus Christ *God the Word, to have been incarnate and perfectly made man, and that the Miracles* † *belong both to One and the same, as likewise the sufferings, which he voluntarily underwent in the flesh on account of our Salvation. For* * *a man gave not himself for us; but God the Word himself, made man without* [*any*] *Conversion,* ‖ *underwent both a Spontaneous Passion, and a death in the Flesh for us. Although therefore we confess him to be God, yet we deny not that the same person is also Man: and by our confessing him to be man, we deny not the same Person to be also God. Whence, whilst we profess one and the same* [*Person*] *our Lord* Jesus Christ *to be* * *compounded of both Natures, the Deity and the Humanity,* [b] *we introduce not a Confusion into the Unition.* [b] Σύγχυσιν τῇ ἑνώσει οὐκ ἐπεισάγομεν.

† Or, *Are of.*

* Or, *a certain, or, some one man.*

‖ Or, *Received.*

* Or, *Made up.*

Christophorson has rendred this place ill, in this manner: *Non Confusionem in Unitatem introducimus, We introduce not a confusion into the Unity.* Nor has *Musculus* done right; who translates it thus: *Unitatem non confundimus, We confound not the Unity.* I do not wonder at *Musculus*, who in this Edict of *Justinus* always renders ἕνωσιν *Unitatem, Unity*, very erroneously. That Learned man hath committed the same mistake, *who has done into Latine the Fragments of* Ephræmius *Bishop of* Antioch, *which are extant in* Photius's *Bibliotheca*. But why *Christophorson*, who every where renders ἕνωσιν, *Copulationem, Copulation*, should at this place translate

tranſlate it otherwiſe, I know not. *Johannes Langus Nicephorus's* Tranſlatour renders it thus: *In Unione confuſionem non inducimus, We induce not a confuſion in the Union.* Exactly right, if you add a Syllable, in this manner, *in Unitione, in the Unition.* For the term *Unio*, though it be now a days frequently uſed in the Schools of Philoſophers and Divines, is a barbarous word, when 'tis taken for *Unition.* For *Unio* in *Latine* ſignifies *Unitatem, Unity*; as may be proved from *Tertullian, Jerome, Prudentius, Pope* Simplicius, and others. Let therefore thoſe *Zoili* [*Carpers*, or, *Cenſurers*] ceaſe reproving of us, becauſe in the *Letter of* Alexander *Biſhop of* Alexandria, which is recorded by *Socrates book* 1. *chap.* 6. we have tranſlated μονάδα, *Unio.* For we did that from the uſe and propriety of the Latine Tongue: which they being wholly ignorant of, thought that *Unio, Union,* was nothing elſe but *Unitionem, Unition.* But, betwixt *Unio* and *Unitio*, there is as much difference, as between μονὰς and ἕνωσις. *In Union* or *Unity, there is nothing but what is ſimple or ſingle.* But, *in Unition ſomething compounded of two is neceſſarily underſtood.* 'Tis certain, the *Old Tranſlatour of the* Chalcedon *Synod* always renders ἕνωσις, *Unition*, or *adunation.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Shall not.* † Or, *So as we are.* ‖ *Sublimity*, or *Eminency.* * Or, *Being both at the ſame time.* † Διαίρεσιν μὲν τὴν ἀνὰ μέρος, ἢ τιμὴν ἐκ ὀφείλομεν τῇ μιᾷ ὑποστάσει τοῦ ἑνώσαντος. [a] Νοουμένης δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπαρχούσης. [b] Λόγῳ, *Form, faſhion, ſtate.* [c] Ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἔχει τὸν ἑνώσαντα. [d] Ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ.

For he * will not ceaſe to be God, becauſe † agreeably to us he was made man: nor again, becauſe by Nature he is God, and cannot receive a likeneſs to us, will he refuſe to be man. For, as he hath continued God in the Humanity, ſo alſo [though] exiſting in the ‖ *Majeſty* of the Deity, he nevertheleſs [continues] *Man*: * exiſting *Both in the ſame, and* [is] *One God and alſo Man,* The Emmanuel. [*Further, whereas*] *we confeſs him perfect in the Deity, and perfect in the Humanity, of which* [two] *he is alſo made up,* [*yet*] † *we bring not in a particular Diviſion or Section upon his one compounded* Hypoſtaſis: *but we ſhow the difference of the Natures, which is not deſtroyed* [*or, taken away*] *by the Unition. For, neither has the Divine Nature been changed into the Humane, nor hath the Humane Nature been converted into the Divine. But both* [*Natures*] [c] *being underſtood, or rather exiſting in the definition and* ‖ *manner of the proper Nature, we affirm that the Unition was made according to the perſon: now, the Unition according to the perſon imports, that God the Word, that is one Perſon of the Three perſons of the Deity, was united not to a præ-exiſting Man, but in the Womb of our Lady the Holy-Glorious* Theotocos *and Ever-Virgin* Mary; *that from her he framed to himſelf in a proper Perſon Fleſh of the ſame ſubſtance with us and ſubject to like paſſions in all things, ſin only excepted, and that it was enlivened with a rational and intelligent Soul.* [d] *For he had a Perſon in himſelf, and was made Man, and is One and the ſame our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *Glorified together with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt.* [*Moreover,*] *weighing in our minds his ineffable Unition, we rightly confeſs one Nature incarnate of God the Word, which in the Fleſh is enlivened with a rational and intelligent Soul. And again, taking into conſideration the difference of the Natures, we aſſert them to be two, introducing no manner of Diviſion. For each Nature is in him. Wherefore, we confeſs One and the ſame Chriſt, One Son, One Perſon, One* Hypoſtaſis, [*to be*] *God and alſo Man.*

[a] In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἐν αὐτῷ, understand *in the very Fleſh.* Which reading is not tolerable. For Chriſt had not a proper ſubſiſtency in the Fleſh, but before he aſſumed Fleſh, he had a proper ſubſiſtency, in regard he was the ſecond perſon of the Sacred Trinity. Nevertheleſs, if any one be minded to defend *Nicephorus's* reading, I ſhall not much gainſay it. For it more fitly coheres with the words preceding. The ſenſe therefore is this, that *the Son of God, who had a proper ſubſiſtency from all Eternity, having aſſumed Fleſh, ſubſiſted therein perſonally.* Valeſ.

[b] Νοουμένης δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπαρχούσης. In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written, thus; νοουμένης δὲ ἢ ὑπαρχούσης μᾶλλον, &c. But, I had rather read thus; νοουμένης δὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἢ ὑπαρχούσης *being underſtood, or rather exiſting*, &c. Nor do I doubt but the Emperour *Juſtinus* wrote ſo as I have ſaid: For he reproves himſelf, becauſe he had ſaid, νοουμένης, *being underſtood*; as if the difference of the two Natures in Chriſt were in the underſtanding only, and did not really exiſt. *Valeſ.*

[c] Λόγῳ, *Form, faſhion, ſtate.*

[d] Ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἔχει τὸν ἑνώσαντα. In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἐν αὐτῇ, underſtand *in the very Fleſh.*

But all thoſe, who have thought or do think contrary hereto, we Anathematize, *and judge them eſtranged from the Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church of God. Whereas therefore the true* * Dogmata, *which have been delivered to us by the Holy Fathers, are aſſerted; We exhort you all to Concur in one and the ſame Catholick and Apoſtolick Church; yea rather, we beſeech you. For we are not aſhamed, though placed in the ſublimity of Royalty, to make uſe of ſuch expeſſions* [e] *for the Conſent and Union of all Chriſtians, to the end one Glorification may be* † *attributed to the Great God and our Saviour* Jeſus Christ; *and that in future no perſon might pretend to quarrel* [f] *about the Perſons or the Syllables. For the Syllables tend to one and the ſame right Faith and meaning: that Uſage and* ‖ *From, which hitherto hath obtained in God's Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church,* [*remaining*] *in all things firm and without Innovation, and continuing* [*ſo*] *to all Futurity.*

* *Points* or *Opinions.* † *Sent forth.* ‖ *Scheme*, or, *State.*

To this Edict all perſons gave their conſent, and affirmed [that the Faith and Doctrine] was [therein] Orthodoxly promulged: but yet it reduced not ſo much as one [of the Church's members,] which had been rent inſunder, to an Unity, becauſe [the Emperour] in expreſs words had declared, that [the State of] the Churches had been preſerved firm and without Innovation, and for the time yet to come [ſhould ſo continue.]

[e] Ὑπὲ τῆς, &c. I am of the ſame mind with the Learned, who have long ſince mended it, ὑπὲρ τῆς, *for the*, &c. Although *Nicephorus* has retained the vulgar reading. *Valeſ.*

[f] Περὶ πρόσωπα ἢ συλλαβάς. The firſt word πρόσωπα, *perſons*, is uſed on account of *Neſtorius's* Hereſie, who aſſerted two perſons in Chriſt, the one of man, the other of the Word. But the word συλλαβὰς *Syllables* was annext on account of the *Eutychians* and *Acephali*, who affirmed that Chriſt conſiſted of two Natures before the Unition; but after the Unition, they aſſerted but one Nature in him. On the other hand, the Catholicks adored Chriſt in two Natures. Thoſe Syllables therefore are ἐν and ἐκ. Which though they are different, yet if they be rightly underſtood, do both aim at one and the ſame Faith and Opinion, as *Juſtinus* adds. See *Evagrius* above, at book 1. chap. 1. note (*c.*) Further, this Edict was promulged by *Juſtinus Junior* on the firſt year of his Empire, to wit the year of Chriſt 566, as *Baronius* remarks: than which Edict *Juſtinus* conferred nothing more upon the Catholick Church: but, ſatisfying himſelf in having only expounded the Orthodox Faith, he in future prohibited diſputes about the *Neſtorian* and *Eutychian* Opinion, and permitted every one to think of theſe matters according to his own arbitrement. From this Edict therefore followed no advantage, as *Evagrius* obſerves truly. Wherefore *Johannes Biclarienſis* [ſaid] amiſs in his *Chronicon*, whoſe words concerning *Juſtinus Junior* are theſe: *Qui Juſtinus anno primo Regni ſui*, &c; *Which* Juſtinus *in the firſt year of his Reign, deſtroyed thoſe things which had been deviſed againſt the* Chalcedon *Synod. And ſuffered the Creed of the Holy Fathers of the Church convened at* Conſtantinople, (*which Creed had been laudably received in the* Chalcedon *Synod,*) *to have entrance, and to be ſung by the people in every Catholick Church, before the Lords Prayer was to be repeated. Biclarienſis* attributes thoſe things to *Juſtinus Junior*, which rather befitted *Juſtinus Senior.* Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Ejection of Anaſtaſius *Biſhop of* * Theopolis.

* Or, *Antioch.*

MOreover, *Juſtinus* ejected *Anaſtaſius* out of the Chair of *Theopolis*; objecting againſt him, both the profuſe expence of the ſacred Revenue which had been made, ſaying it was immoderate, and not according to what was meet and neceſſary; and alſo [charging him] with † reflecting abuſively on himſelf. For when *Anaſtaſius* was asked, why he would fling away the ſacred money in ſo laviſh a manner, he replyed openly, *that it might not be taken away by* Juſtinus *that common Peſt.* But 'twas ſaid that [*Juſtinus*] had therefore conceived an old Grudge againſt *Anaſtaſius*, becauſe when he

† Or, *Blaſphemy againſt himſelf.*

[a] Τὴν ὅτι σκῆπτρον ἐχειροτόνησε, *Nicephorus*, in regard he underſtood not

he demanded money of him [a] at his promotion to the Biſhoprick, *Anaſtaſius* would not give it him. Moreover, [b] other matters were objected againſt *Anaſtaſius*, by ſome perſons who, I ſuppoſe, were deſirous of ſerving and promoting the Emperor's deſign.

theſe words, omitted them, as may be ſeen in book 17. chap. 36. For he has expreſt this place of *Evagrius* thus Περήρευσε δὲ μλωίσαι τὸν ἰωάννου ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι περ ζητοῦντα χρήματα, ἃ προήκατο δοῦναι, *But 'twas ſaid that* Juſtinus *was angry with him, becauſe he refuſed to give him money when he demanded it.* But 'twas eaſie to have mended the place of *Evagrius*, in this manner; ὅτι γε ζητοῦντι χρήματα τῷ ὑποκομίτῃ ἐγχειρισθεὶς οὐκ ἔθελε δοῦναι, *becauſe having been promoted to the Biſhoprick he refuſed to give* [Juſtinus] *money who demanded it.* And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus* ſeem to have read. For thus *Muſculus* renders it: *Dicitur autem Anaſtaſio juccenſuiſſe, quòd quum pecuniam pro Epiſcopatûs collatione exigeret, dare illam noluerit; But 'tis ſaid that he had been angry with* Anaſtaſius, *becauſe when he exacted money for his Collation to the Biſhoprick, he refuſed to give it.* This occaſion of hatred therefore againſt *Anaſtaſius* was of a long ſtanding, before *Juſtinus* had arrived at the Empire. Wherefore *Evagrius* uſed the word μλωίσαι, which ſignifies *an ancient and concealed Anger.* 'Tis certain, whilſt *Juſtinian* ſurvived, *Anaſtaſius* had been elected Biſhop of *Antioch.* Now, the Grandees at Court, and thoſe whoſe intereſt was great with the Emperour, were wont to exact money of them who were elected Patriarchs, as may be proved by the Example of *Chryſapius* the *Eunuch*, who demanded money of *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; as *Evagrius* has related above, ſee book 2. chap. 2. Nevertheleſs, this was forbidden by the *Novel Conſtitutions of* Juſtinian. *Valeſ.*

[b] Indeed, *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, brings another reaſon, on account whereof *Anaſtaſius Sinaïta* was depoſed from the See of *Antioch.* But, becauſe Tranſlators have in no wiſe hit the meaning of *Theophanes*, I will annex his words here: Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἀναστάσιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀντιοχείας ὁ μέγας, καταψάμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀντισέμφοις ἤγουν συνοδικῶν, ἰωάννου τοῦ κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος ἰωάννην τὸν ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τότε χειροτονηθέντα, ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκοπῆς καθ' ἁγιανάκησιν ἴσχυρὰν: That is, as I render it. *On the ſame year* Anaſtaſius *the Great, Biſhop of* Antioch, *in regard in his anſwer to the Synodick Letters, he had reprehended* John *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople *who had ordained* John *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and had* [*at the ſame time reproved him*] *who had been ordained by him, was ejected out of his Biſhoprick by reaſon of* Juſtinus's *indignation.* I read therefore in *Theophanes*, καὶ τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος, which emendation is moſt certain. *John* Biſhop of *Alexandria* had been ordained at *Conſtantinople* by *Johannes Scholaſticus*, on the fifth year of *Juſtinus*'s Empire, in the year of Chriſt 570. as *Baronius* alſo relates. After his ordination, when (as 'twas uſual) he had written Synodick Letters to *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Anaſtaſius* in his anſwer to thoſe Letters, had ſeverely reproved his Ordainer *Johannes*; in regard, contrary to the Eccleſiaſtick Rules, he had been thruſt into the place of *Eutychius* as then living. He had alſo reprehended him, who having been ordained by him, had drawn upon himſelf the fault and blot of his own Ordainer. The Emperor *Juſtinus* (who loved *Johannes Scholaſticus*, as being the perſon by whom he had been Crowned,) taking offence, at this thing, ejected *Anaſtaſius* out of his See. *Theophanes*'s *Latin Tranſlator* thought, that thoſe Synodick Letters which *Anaſtaſius* had given anſwer to, had been written by *Johannes* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; which is a miſtake. For they were written by *Johannes* Biſhop of *Alexandria* in the beginning of his Epiſcopate. Therefore, after the word συνοδικῶν a *Comma* muſt be put, as *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* has done. Further, *Baronius* places this Depoſition of *Anaſtaſius* on the year of Chriſt 573; which is the *eighth year* of *Juſtinus*'s Empire. But I had rather with *Theophanes*, place it on the *Fifth* or *Sixth year* of the ſame *Juſtinus*, in regard it hapned a little after the ordination of *Johannes* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, which was performed on the year of Chriſt 570, as *Baronius* himſelf does atteſt. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VI.

That after Anaſtaſius, Gregorius *was made Biſhop, and concerning his diſpoſition.*

[a] *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon*

BUT after *Anaſtaſius*, *Gregorius* is preferred to the Epiſcopal Throne, [a] *whoſe glory*, that I may uſe the Poet's expreſſion, *is far ſpread.*

have rendred this place very ill, as if by theſe words *Evagrius* would have ſhown, that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch* had been eminent for Poetry. But *Langus* has turned theſe words righter, thus: *Cujus lata eſt Gloria, ut Poetæ verbis utar, whoſe Glory is far ſpread, that I may uſe the Poets Words.* Valeſ. *Evagrius* makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion at chap. 15. book 1. where he ſpeaks of *Iſidorus Peluſiota.*

[This perſon] from his younger years had been exerciſed in the Monaſtick Conflicts, and had ſtriven with ſo much courage and conſtancy of mind, that in a very ſhort time, ‖ even during his youthful age, he arrived at the higheſt degrees; and Governed the Monaſtery of the [b] *Byzantii*, where he embraced a † Monaſtick life. [Afterwards,] by the * order of *Juſtinus* [he preſided over the Monks] of mount *Sinai* alſo; in which place he fell into the greateſt of dangers, by undergoing a Siege from thoſe *Arabians* [termed] *Scenitæ.* Nevertheleſs, when he had procured that place a profound Peace, he was called from thence to the † *Patriarchate.* For underſtanding and virtue of mind, [c] and in all other things he was the eminenteſt perſon of all men, and the moſt active in [effecting] whatever he had propoſed to himſelf; ‖ of an undaunted ſpirit, and a man not to be induced to yield, or to be afraid of the Secular power. He made ſuch magnificent † diſtributions of money, and uſed ſuch a bountifulneſs and liberality towards all men, that whenever he went abroad, numerous crowds of people beſides thoſe that were his uſual attendants, followed him. And whatever perſons could either ſee, or hear he was [d] going forth, flock'd together. [e] The honour given to the ſupreameſt Powers [of this world] was inferior to that [paid] to this man; for people were for the moſt part deſirous, both of ſeeing him as near as poſſibly they could, and coveted to hear him diſcourſe. For he was moſt excellently qualified to excite a deſire of himſelf in all perſons, who upon whatever account came to and converſed with him. For, his aſpect was admirable, and his diſcourſe, by reaſon of his pleaſantneſs of ſpeech, moſt delightful; as ready as ever was any man, in the preſent apprehending of a thing, and moſt quick in action: in ‖ chooſing the beſt advice, and in paſſing a judgment, as well of his own, as the affairs of others, he was † moſt prudent. On which account he perfomed ſo many and ſuch great things, never deferring any buſineſs till the morrow. He was the admiration not only of the *Roman* Emperours, but of them of *Perſia* alſo, in regard he ſo demeaned himſelf in all affairs, as either neceſſity required;

‖ Ἐκ πρώτων ἡλων, *from the firſt down upon his Chin.*

* Or, *Perſwaſion.*

† Or, *Unfurniſhed.*

† Or, *Contributions.*

‖ Or, *Not to be wounded by fear.*

‖ Or, *Giving.*

† Or, *Moſt ſufficient.*

[b] Τῆς τῶν βυζαντίων μονῆς. *Johannes Langus* renders theſe words thus: *Primùm verò Byzantii Monaſterio præfuit, but in the firſt place he preſided over the Monaſtery of Byzantium.* But *Evagrius* does not ſay, that *Gregorius* was a Monk or Abbot of *Byzantium*, but that he was Abbot of the Monaſtery of the *Byzantii.* This ſeems to have been a Monaſtery in *Syria*, wherein *Gregorius*, whilſt he was yet young, had received the Rudiments of a Monaſtick life. *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, *pag.* 206. ſays *Gregorius* had been *Apocriſiarius* (that is, *Procurator*, or *Agent*) of the Monaſtery of the *Byzantii.* Valeſ.

† Or, *Arch-Biſhoprick.*

[c] Πάντα ἐν πᾶσι κεφάτις. I conjecture we ſhould read here, πάντα τε ἐν πᾶσι κεφάτις; *and in all things he was the eminenteſt perſon of all Men* For ſo *Evagrius* expreſſes himſelf hereafter, at chap. 19. of this *book*; where his words concerning *Mauricius* are theſe; καὶ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῆ τε καὶ ἀδόνητον, *and every way accurate and immovable.* Valeſ.

[d] Περσιόντα. I had rather make it περιόντα, *going forth.* In *Nicephorus* the reading is ἰόντα, *going.* Valeſ.

[e] Καὶ ἦν τάγε ἐς τὸν τοσοῦτον ἀρχὴν δεύτερα τῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμῆς. *Nicephorus* read this place otherwiſe. For, inſtead of the word τοσαύτην he has κοσμικὴν, *Mundane*, or, *Secular.* Which in my judgment is far righter. *Johannes Langus* has tranſlated *Nicephorus*'s words thus: *Et honorem mundanis dignitatibus debitum, præ viri hujus obſervantiâ ſecundo loco habebant, And they placed* [or, *had*] *the honour due to Secular dignities, in the ſecond place, in reſpect of the obſervancy of this man.* Valeſ.

of

or occasion would bear; [to which he was] never wanting, as I shall manifest particularly in due place. There was in him much of vehemency, and also sometimes passion. But on the other hand, his Lenity and Mansuetude was not little, but rather † abundant and extraordinary. So that, that saying which with great wisdom hath been uttered by *Gregorius the Divine*, might incomparably well befit him; *an Austerity so well tempered with* ‖ *Modesty, that the one is not injured by the other; but both are an ornament and commendation to each other.*

t'Ουχ ὕστερον In my own judgement, I have restored this place very happily, in this manner, ὐχ ὑστερῶν; that is, *when time, or necessity required, he would be always at hand.* Vales.

† Πειθήσιον.

‖ Or, *Bashfulness.*

CHAP. VII.

How those termed the Persarmenii *surrendred themselves* † *to the* Romans: *on which account a War broke out* ‖ *between the* Romans *and* Persians.

† Or, *To the Christians.*

‖ Or, *With the Persians.*

DUring the first Year of this [*Gregorius*'s] Governing his Bishoprick, the [Inhabitants] of that [Country] anciently termed *Armenia the Great* (which afterwards was named *Persarmenia*; this [Region] had heretofore been subject to the *Romans*; but, after *Philippus* successor to *Gordianus*, had betrayed it to *Sapor*, that termed *Armenia the Less* remained in subjection to the *Romans*; though all the rest was in the power of the *Persians*:) being professours of the *Christian* Religion, in regard they had [a] suffered grievously from the *Persians*, and especially ‖ in those matters which related to their Religion, sent an Embassy secretly to *Justinus*, entreating they † might be received as subjects to the *Romans*; to the end they might with freedom and security perform [the Rites] of the Divine worship and honour, and that nothing might obstruct them [in those performances.] [Which Embassy] *Justinus* having admitted of, and some [Conditions set forth] in writing having been agreed to by the Emperour, and confirmed with great and solemn [b] Oaths,

[a] The same reason of the defection of the *Armenii* is assign'd by *Theophanes Byzantius* in *Photius*, and by *Johannes Biclarienſis* in his *Chronicon*; whose words are these: *Armeniorum & Iberorum Gens qui a prædicatione Apostolorum Christi fidem susceperant*, &c. *The Nation of the* Armenii *and* Iberi *who from the Preaching of the Apostles had embraced the Faith of Christ, whilst by* Chosdroa *Emperour of the* Persians *they were compelled to the worship of Idols, refused Obedience to that impious Command, and Surrendred themselves with their Provinces to the* Romans. *Which thing broke the League of Peace between the* Romans *and* Persians. *But the Abbot of Biclaire* is mistaken in this, to wit, his placing the defection of the *Armenii* on *Justinus Junior's First year.* For the Peace between the *Romans* and *Persians* was broken on the *Seventh year* of the Emperour *Justinus*, as *Theophylactus* relates in the *Third Book of his History, Chap.* 9; and likewise *Theophanes*, and *his Translatour Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, and *Cedrenus.* Besides, even *Johannes Biclarienſis* himself disagrees from himself in his Narrative of this affair. For he subjoyns these words a little after: *Anno quinto Justinus Imperator*, &c. *On* [his] *Fifth year the Emperour* Justinus, *having repelled the* Persians, *makes* Armenia *and* Iberia *Roman Provinces.* Vales.

‖ Or, *In relation to their own Sentiment* or, *Opinion*

† Or, *Might be made.*

[b] Concerning this Oath, wherein the Emperour *Justinus* had bound himself, that he would never deliver up the *Armenii* and *Iberi* (who had Surrendred themselves to the *Romans*,) to the *Persians*, *Menander Protector* speaks in his *Excerpt. Legationum*, pag. 121. *of the King's Edition*: Λόγων γὰρ ὀχ' ἥκιστα ἐποιεῖτο πολὺν ὁ καίσαρ τῶν ὀμωμοσμένων ὑπὸ ἰουστιανῦ τὰ βασιλέως τοῖς περσαρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς μεταχωρήσασιν ἰβήρων. ὀμωμόκει γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, &c. Which words the Translator understood not. In the first place therefore, instead of ὑπὸ ἰουστιανῦ by *Justinianus*, it must be mended thus, ὑπὸ ἰουστίνε by *Justinus*. And then, the whole place is to be rendred in this manner. *For* Tiberius Cæsar *deservedly made the greatest account of those Oaths, which by the Emperour* Justinus *had been given to the Persarmenii and* Iberi, *who had revolted to the* Romans. *For the Emperour had sworn, that he would use his utmost endeavour, to reduce that Land, which had nourished them, to a subjection to himself. But, if he should not be able to effect that thing, and could not put an end to the War; yet, that he would never Surrender up to the* Persians *the Authors of that defection, and their Relations, and in general those who should have a mind to be Subjects* [or, *partakers*] *of the* Roman *Republick.* Vales.

the *Armenii* kill their own [c] Governours, and * in one intire Body joyn themselves to the *Roman* Empire, together with their Neighbours whom they had taken into an Association with themselves, as well those of the same, as of other Nations; *Vardanes* [being their Leader,] a person eminent amongst 'em for descent, dignity, and skill in Military affairs. When therefore *Chosroes* complained of these things, *Justinus* dismissed [his Embassadours] with these words, that the peace [which had been made between them] was terminated, and that 'twas not possible for *Christians* to reject *Christians* when they made them their refuge in a time of War. This was *Justinus*'s answer. Nevertheless, he made no preparations for a War; but yielded up himself to his usual Voluptuousness, and ‖ Postponed all affairs to his own pleasures.

* Or, *By a general consent.*

[c] To wit, *Surenas.* For he had been made χλιάρχης, or, *Rector of Armenia* by the King of the *Persians*; after he was slain, the *Persarmenii* delivered up themselves to the *Romans*, as *Theophylactus* tells us in his *third book, chap.* 9; and *Theophanes Byzantius* in his *Excerpta in Photium.* Lastly, *Menander* says the same, in his *Excerpta Legationum, pag.* 115. Vales.

‖ Or, *Put all affairs in the Second place to*, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Marcianus *the* † Magister Militum, *and concerning the Siege of* Nisibis.

† Or, *Master of the Milice*, or, *Soldiers.*

[FUrther,] he sends [a] *Marcianus*, who was his Kinsman, *Magister* of the *Oriental* [*Milice*,] but allows him neither an Army fit for an engagement, nor any other sufficient provision for the [carrying on a] War. *Marcianus* arrives in *Mesopotamia*, to the manifest hazard and Subversion of all affairs, drawing along with him some few Soldiers, and those unarmed; having also with him some Trench-makers and [b] Ox-drivers, whom he had by force taken from among the [c] Provincials. He comes to an Engagement therefore with the *Persians* in a small Fight about *Nisibis*, (the *Persians* themselves being as yet unprovided for a War;) and having got the better, lays Siege to the City: the *Persians* [in the interim] thought not fit to shut the Gates, but most scornfully reproach'd and derided the Army of the *Romans.* Many other Prodigies were seen, which foreshewed the future misfortunes; but at the beginning of this War, we our selves saw a Calf newly calv'd, out of whose neck grew forth two heads.

[a] *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* calls this person *Martinus*, as does likewise his *Translator Anastasius Bibliothecarius.* But *Theophanes Byzantius* whose *Excerpta* are extant in *Photius's Bibliotheca*, terms him *Marcianus*, and calls him the Emperour *Justinus's* ἀδελφὸν, *Brother's Son.* [*Valesius* in his *note here*, renders *that Greek* word, thus, *Consobrinum, Sister's Son.*] And says, he was sent *Magister Militum* into the East by *Justinus* on the *Eighth year of his* Empire. *Vales.*

[b] Βουλατίας. From the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. I have mended it thus, βουλάτας *Drivers of Oxen*; and so *Nicephorus* read. But *Nicephorus* inserts two words here. For he expresses this passage thus, μεξὶ δὲ σκαπανεῖς καὶ ῥαφεῖς καὶ βουλάτας: that is, as *Langus* renders it, *as also Ditchers, and Taylors, and Drivers of Oxen.* Which word [*Taylors*] *Nicephorus* seems to have read in his Copy. For I see not whence he could have gotten it. Further, there was use of these *Taylors* in the Camps, to mend the Soldiers Clothes, or else to sow Skins together for Tents or Tabernacles. *Vales.*

[c] Σωτελῶν. Translators have rendred this place ill. For *Musculus* translates it thus: *Et fossores quosdam ac bubulcos ex municipiis acceptos secum habens, And having with him some Ditchers and Ox drivers taken out of the Towns.* But *Christophorson* renders it it in this manner: *Inter quos habuit fossores & Bubulcos ex numero vectigalium exemptos, amongst whom he had Ditchers and Ox-drivers exempted* [or, taken] *out of their number who payed Tribute.* They knew not what the

the word συμπελεῖς signified. *Evagrius* has made use of this word above, at *chap.* 42. *book* 3. At which place we have remarked, that by that word, are meant *the Provincial Tributaries*, who are also termed *Collatores* in the *Code*. From those therefore *Martinus* the *Magister Militum* had by force drawn Ditchers and Oxe-drivers, and Taylours, that he might make use of their Labour in his Army: for he reckoned them not amongst the Souldiers, as *Christophorson* seems to have thought. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

How Chosroes *(after he had sent his General* Adaarmanes *against the* Romans, *who afflicted them with many and those severe Losses;) went himself in person to* Nisibis.

BUt *Chosroes*, after he had made sufficient provision of all things necessary for a War, went to a certain [place,] and having pass'd the *Euphrates* in his own Country, sends *Adaarmanes* into the *Roman* Territories, by a [place] termed *Circesium*. This *Circesium* is a Town most commodious to the *Romans*, situate in the utmost confines of the Empire. Which [Town] is fortified not only with walls raised to a vast heighth; but the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Aboras* do likewise encompass it, and make the City as 'twere an Island. But [*Chosroes*] himself having, together with those [Forces] about him, passed the River *Tigris*, marched directly to *Nisibis*. [Though] these things had been done, [yet] the *Romans* were a long while ignorant of them: in so much that *Justinus*, giving overmuch credit to report, (which said that *Chosroes* was either already dead, or drawing his very last breath,) became highly incensed, because the Siege of *Nisibis* was protracted so long; and sent some persons who might hasten *Marcianus* forward, and might forthwith bring him the Keys of the Gates: But when this affair was not in the least forwarded, but rather he himself procured great ignominy and disgrace, in regard he would attempt those things which could not be done against such and so vast a City, and with so pitiful and despicable an Army; in the first place a message is brought to *Gregorius* Bishop of *Theopolis*. For whereas the Bishop of *Nisibis* was an intimate friend to *Gregorius*, in regard he had received great presents from him; and moreover being one that was highly displeased at the *Persians* contumelious usage of the *Christians*, which the *Christians* had continually suffered from them, being also desirous that his own City might become subject [to the Empire] of the *Romans*; he gave *Gregorius* an account of whatever was done in the Enemies Country, and in due time made known [to him] all things. Of which [matters *Gregorius*] forthwith sent *Justinus* a Relation, declaring to him *Chosroes*'s sudden irruption. But *Justinus*, involved in his usual pleasures, heeded not what had been written [to him by *Gregorius*;] nor would he give credit thereto, but only supposed [that true,] which he himself desired. For * 'tis usual with persons who are dissolute, that they should be both [a] slothful and confident against the Events [of affairs;] and if any thing happens contrary to their wills, they disbelieve it. He wrote therefore to *Gregorius*, [in which Letters] he perfectly rejected those things [told him by *Gregorius*,] as being wholly false: or if they were true, yet, that the *Persians* could never prevent the Siege; but, that if they did prevent it, they wou'd retire [from hence] with great loss. [At the same time] he sends one *Acacius* (a wicked and spiteful person,) to *Marcianus*, giving him order, that although *Marcianus* should have set one of his feet into the City, he should nevertheless * turn him out of Commission. Which thing [*Acacius*] performed exactly, obeying the Emperour's Commands though to the disadvantage of the Republick. For being arrived in the [*Roman*] Camp, he divests *Marcianus* of his Command, in the Enemies Country, without having acquainted the Army therewith. But the *Centurions* and Leaders of the Ranks, having understood at their coming off the Watch, that their Commander in chief was turn'd out of Commission, [b] would not appear in publick any more, but left [the Service,] were dispersed here and there, and brake up the ridiculous Siege. In the interim *Adaarmanes* having an Army of *Persians* and barbarous *Scenitæ* fit to engage, passed by *Circesium*, and ruined the *Roman* Territories with all manner of depopulations, burning and killing, designing in his mind or performing nothing that was mean and trivial. He also takes Castles and many Villages, no body making a resistance against him: First, because [at that time] there was no Commander [of the *Romans*:] and then, in regard the [*Roman*] Souldiers were by *Chosroes* shut up in *Daras*; as well Excursions to fetch in forage, as irruptions, were made without impediment. He made an attack also upon the † *Theopolites* by the Souldiers he had with him; (for he went not thither in person.) Nevertheless, those [Souldiers of his] received a repulse beyond all expectation, although no body, excepting only a very small number, continued in the City; and though the Bishop was fled, and had carried a long with him the sacred Treasure, because, both most part of the wall was fallen down, and the people also had raised a Sedition, being desirous of beginning an Innovation, as it usually happens, and most especially at such times as those. Moreover, [the Seditious] themselves betook themselves to their heels, and had left the City empty; nothing at all being to be found out, * that might either annoy the Enemy, or on the other hand keep them off.

* Or, *It follows.*

[a] Τὸ τε ἀῤῥᾳθὲς. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἀῤῥαθὲς, with a double *ρ*. So a little before, where the reading is ἀφάλεν; *Nicephorus* has it written ἀφάλλεν, which is more usual. Yet, that word may be written with a double λ, as *Hesychius* tells us. *Vales.*

* Or, *Remove him from his Command.*

[b] Οὐ παρέιες τὸ πλῆθος. I think it must be made ἐς τὸ πλῆθος. And so *Musculus* seems to have read. For he renders it thus: *Exercitui porro adesse nolunt, would not be any more present with the Army. Christophorson* translates it in this manner, *Copias non ulterius ducunt, lead not the Forces any more.* But the Greek will not bear this sense. *Vales.*

† *Antiochians.*

* Εἰς ἐπιτέχνησιν, ἢ ἀντεμχείρησιν; words which I have not yet met with, used in such a sense, as by all the Translatours they are taken here.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the taking of Apamia *and* Daras.

WHen therefore [a] *Adaarmanes* had been frustrated in this attempt, having burnt that City anciently termed *Heraclea*, but afterwards named *Gagalice*, he took *Apamia*, which had been built by [b] *Seleucus Nicator*, a [City] heretofore

[a] Ἀδααρμάνης. This name is found variously written in ancient Authors. In *Theophanes's Chronicon*, he is called *Artabanes*, and *Ardamanes* in the *Palatine Manuscript Copy*. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* terms him *Dux Adermanus*. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἀζδαρμάνης, *Vadaarmanes*. In *Theophanes Byzantius*, *Baraamanes*. Hereafter in the thirteenth chapter he is termed *Ardamanes*. *Theophylactus*, *Book* 3, calls him *Adormaanes*. Vales.

[b] Σελεύκε τῦ νικάτορος. Undoubtedly it must be made νικάτορος, *Nicatoris*. For *Seleucus* the first king of *Syria*, because of his famous Victories, had the surname of *Nicator*, as we learn from the *Old Coyns*; which ascribe this Title or Surname to him. *Vales.* See *Valesius's notes on Amm. Marcel.* pag. 41.

heretofore rich and populous, but in [proceſs of] time it was become extreamly ruinous. Having poſſeſt himſelf of this City on ſome Articles of agreement, (for [the Inhabitants] were in no wiſe in a capacity to make a reſiſtance, the wall by reaſon of its age being fallen to the ground;) he utterly deſtroyed it by fire; and when he had made plunder of all things, contrary to the conditions agreed to by him, he went away, and lead away Captive all the Citizens, and [the Inhabitants of] the adjacent Villages. Amongſt which [Priſoners] he carried away, alive the Biſhop of the City, and that perſon who was entruſted with the Government [of the Province.] Moreover, he committed all manner of * outrages at his departure, there being no body that might reſtrain or give him any the leſt reſiſtance, excepting a very few Souldiers ſent by *Juſtinus*, under the Command of one *Magnus*, who was heretofore *Preſident* of the † *Argentarii* at the Imperial City, but had afterwards by *Juſtinus* been made *Curator* of one of the Imperial Houſes. And theſe [Souldiers] alſo ran away with all the haſt imaginable, there having wanted but little of their being all taken by the Enemy. When therefore *Adaarmanes* had performed theſe Exploits, he came to *Choſroes*, who had not yet taken the City [*Daras*.] His joyning Forces with *Choſroes* was of great importance to [their] affairs, both becauſe it gave incouragement to their own men, and alſo ſtruck a terrour into the Enemy. Further, [*Choſroes*] found that City encompaſſed with a wall, and a vaſt Rampire of earth caſt up hard by the wall, alſo thoſe Engines [termed] * *Helepoles* ſtanding ready; and eſpecially the *Catapultæ* wherewith ſtones are thrown from an Eminence, which [Machines] they uſually term † *Petrariæ*. ‖ In this manner *Choſroes* became Maſter of that City by force, in the Winter time, *Johannes* the Son of *Timoſtratus* being its Governour, who was very little ſollicitous about it, or rather betrayed it. For both are reported. Now, *Choſroes* had laid Siege to that City five months and more, no body appearing in its defence. Having therefore brought all perſons out of the City, (which were a vaſt multitude,) and in a cruel manner killed ſome of them there, and preſerved others, which were the moſt in number, alive; he fortified the City with a Garriſon, becauſe its ſite was commodious; but he himſelf returned into his own Country.

* Or, *Cruelties.*

† *Bankers.*

* *Machines uſed in Sieges, to batter down the Walls.*

† Or, *Engines to caſt ſtones.*

‖ Or, *With which.*

CHAP. XI.

That the Emperour Juſtinus *was ſeized with a* * Frenſie: *but* Tiberius *undertook the care of the Republick.*

* Or, *Frantick diſtemper.*

WHich [proceedings] when *Juſtinus* was made acquainted with, having in his mind not ſo much as one thought that was ſound and prudent, nor bearing his [a] misfortune ſo as it becomes a man to do; from ſuch an heighth of pride and haughtineſs he falls into a Frantick diſtemper and madneſs, and in future became inſenſible of what was tranſacted. From thence forward therefore *Tiberius* had the management of the Republick, a perſon by deſcent a *Thracian*, but one who bore the chiefeſt place of truſt, [and was the greateſt Favourite] with *Juſtinus*.

[a] Τὸ συ νεχδὲν. It muſt be made σωφρονεχδὲν; as I found it written in the *Tellerian* MS. *Valeſ.*

[b] This perſon had heretofore been ſent [by *Juſtinus*] againſt the * *Abari*, [accompanied with] a vaſt Army of Souldiers which had been raiſed. But, the Souldiers not enduring ſo much as the ſight of the *Barbarians*, *Tiberius* wanted but little of being taken, had not the Divine providence in a wonderful manner protected him, and reſerved him for the *Roman* Empire; which had been reduced to ſuch danger by *Juſtinus*'s abſurd and raſh attempts, that ['twas feared leaſt] together with the whole State it ſhould be utterly ruined, and might yield to the * prevalent power and dominion of the *Barbarians*.

* Or, *Abores*, or, *Avares.*

[b] The Emperour *Juſtinus* ſent *Tiberius* the *Comes of his Guards*, againſt the *Avares*, with an Army ſufficiently ſtrong, on the ninth year of his Empire, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*. But *Johannes Biclarienſis* ſays that was done in the fourth year of *Juſtinus*'s Empire: where he relates, that from this Battel *Tiberius* returned a Conqueror to *Conſtantinople*. Which yet is declared to be falſe by *Evagrius* and *Theophanes*. Valeſ.

* Or, *So great.*

CHAP. XII.

That Trajanus *having been ſent Embaſſador to* Choſroes, * *repaired the affairs of the* Romans.

* Corrected, or, reſtored.

Tiberius therefore reſolves upon a † Courſe very ſeaſonable, and accommodate to the [preſent juncture of] affairs; which repaired the whole misfortune. For [a] *Trajanus*, a wiſe perſon of the *Senatorian Order*, a man highly valued by all men for his gray-hairs and underſtanding, is diſpatch'd away to *Choſroes*: He was not to perform that Embaſſy in the name of ‖ the Emperour, nor of the State; but was to ſpeak in behalf only of [the Empreſs] *Sophia*. Moreover, She wrote to *Choſroes*, [in which Letter] She lamented both the calamities of her Husband, and alſo the State's being deprived of an Emperour; adding withall, that 'twas misbecoming [a Prince] to inſult over a woman that was a widow, over a ‖ dead Emperour, and over a deſerted State: For, that * he himſelf, when he had fallen ſick ſometime ſince, had not only experienced the like [humanity and kind uſage,] but had likewiſe had the beſt Phyſicians ſent him by the *Roman* State, who alſo freed him from his diſtemper. [Hereby] therefore *Choſroes* is prevailed upon. And although he was juſt ready to make an Invaſion ‖ upon the Territories of the *Romans*, yet he concludes a Truce for the ſpace of three years, in the Eaſtern parts. But, 'twas thought good, that *Armenia* [b] ſhould not be included in the like [conditions of a Truce;] ſo that, he might wage War there, provided no body diſturbed the Eaſtern parts.

† Council, or, advice.

[a] This *Trajanus* was *Patritius* and *Queſtor of the Sacred Palace*; concerning his Embaſſie, to the *Perſians*, *Menander Protector* ſpeaks in the *Sixth Book of his Hiſtories*, pag. 157. and 165. This, as I think, is the *Trajanus Patritius* who had written *a ſhort Chronicle*, an admirable work, as *Suidas* atteſts. *Theophanes* mentions him in his *Chronicon*, pag. 56. *Suidas* writes indeed, that he had lived in the times of *Juſtinianus Rhinotmetus*. But I am of opinion that *Suidas* is out, in regard no perſon of this name is mentioned in the Empire of *Juſtinianus Rhinotmetus*. But in the Reign of *Juſtinus junior*, *Trajanus Patritius* is commended by *Menander Protector* in his *Sixth Book*, and by our *Evagrius* here. *Valeſ.*

‖ Τῆς βασιλέως, *of the Empire.*

‖ Or, *Dejected.*

* *Choſroes.*

‖ Τοῖς ῥωμαίοις πεχίσιαν. In *Nicephorus* the reading is truer, τῶς ῥωμαίων πεχίσιαν, *upon the Territories* [or, *affairs*] *of the* Romans. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις μεῖναι. In my own Judgment I have reſtored this place very happily, ſo that inſtead of the word μεῖναι, it muſt be writen, μὴ εἶναι. For in the Truce which was made between the *Romans* and *Perſians*, it had been expreſly cautioned, that there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Arms throughout the Eaſt only: but in *Armenia* and *Iberia* it ſhould be lawful to wage War. See *Menander Protector* in the *Sixth Book of his Hiſtories*, pag. 157. which author does fully confirm this our emendation. And ſo does *Theophylactus*, *Book* 3. *Chap.* 12. Valeſ.

During

During the transaction of these affairs in the East, *Sirmium* was taken by the [c] *Abares*: which [City] the *Gepidæ* had possest themselves of before, but had afterwards Surrendred it to [the Emperour] *Justinus*.

[c] Πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων, *by the Barbarians.* The reading in *Nicephorus* is the same. Nevertheless, I doubt not but it should be written πρὸς τῶν ἀβάρων, *by the Abares.* For the *Abares* took the City *Sirmium*, as *Menander Protector* attests in his *Excerpta Legationum*, pag. 117. Which City having before been in the hands of the *Gepidæ*, the *Abares* who had destroyed the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, asserted, that that City, (with the rest of the riches of the *Gepidæ*, had passed into their power and dominion, as the same *Menander* relates, pag. 114 and 130. See *Theophylactus*, Book 1. Chap. 3. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Election of Tiberius *to the Empire, and concerning his disposition.*

ABout the same time, *Justinus* by the advice of *Sophia*, proclaims *Tiberius*, *Cæsar*. At which Election [*Justinus*] made such a speech, as transcends all History, as well ancient as modern: the most Compassionate God allowing *Justinus* this opportunity, both for a confession of his own sins, and also that he might be the Authour of wholesome advice for the advantage and benefit of the State. For, at a convention [a] in the *Atrium* of the [Imperial] Palace (where [b] ancient custom says such Solemnities were performed,) both of [c] *Johannes* the Patriarch, whom we mentioned before, together with his Clergy, of the Magistracy and *Honorati*, and of all the Grand Officers about the Court; *Justinus*, when he had invested *Tiberius* with the Imperial Coat, and had cloathed him in the [Purple] * Robe, with a loud voice spake publickly [these following words.]

[a] Ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ αὐλῇ, *in the open Court* [*of the Palace.*] *Nicephorus* adds a word here, in this manner, ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ αὐλῇ τῶν ἀνακτόρων, *in the open Court of the Imperial Palace.* *Theophylactus* makes mention of this place, *Book* 1. *Chap.* 1. and relates, that the Emperours were usually proclaimed there; φορέσην γὰρ ἀχθεὶς ὁ πρέσβυς [says he,] ἐπὶ τὸ ὑπαίθρου τῶν βασιλείων αὐλὴν, ὅπῃ παρήνωται τῇ πολυτελεῖ τῶν ἀνακτόρων οἰκίᾳ, &c. Which place the *Latin Translator* has expresst in a long circuit of words, in this manner: *Tiberius namque in atrium palatii juxta domum, in quâ multi ex herbis, seu frondibus, ad cœnandum, dormiendumve tori, sive Lectisternia, vestibulum illustre, visendumque proscenium Huc, inquam, gestatus*, &c Whence it appears, that he understood not what was meant by these words. Likewise *Nicephorus Callistus*, when he wrote out this place of *Theophylactus* omitted the latter words. But my Sentiment is, that by these words, πολυτελεῖ οἰκίᾳ, *Theophylactus* means *that House* which in Greek was termed δεκαεννέα ἀκκούβιτα; Because in it there were *nineteen Accubita*, or *Stibadia, whereon the Emperour with his Nobles lay down and banquetted at Christmas, and on the more solemn Festival days*, as *Theophanes* and *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* do relate *in the one and thirtieth year* of Justinian; and likewise *Luitprandus* in *Book* 6 *Rerum per Europam Gestarum*, Chap 3. where his words are these: *Est domus quæ Decaenna accubita dicitur*, &c. *There is an House which is termed the Decaenna accubita. It is so called for this reason, because nineteen Tables are spread there on the Nativity of our Lord. Whereon the Emperour and likewise his Guests do banquet, not in a sitting posture, as on other days, but by lying down.* Near this House was the Tribunal, or Throne, in which the Emperours and Empresses were crowned. *Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus*, pag. 176, speaking of *Isaurus Leo*; ἐν τῷ τειβουναλίῳ (says he) λεγομένῳ δεκαεννέα ἀκκουβίτων ἕδρᾳ τὸν υἱὸν κωνσταντῖνον εἰς βασιλέα, *in the Throne termed the Decaennea Accubita he Crowned his Son* Constantine *Emperour.* *Anastasius* relates the same, as does likewise the *Author Historiæ Miscellæ*, *Book* 21. The same Writer, *book* 22, speaking of *Constantinus Copronymus*: *Anno* 28 *Imperii sui coronavit*, &c. *On the* 28th *year of his own Empire, the Emperor Crowned his Wife* Eudoxia, *after he had been thrice married, in the Tribunal of the nineteen Accubita.* Hence 'tis, that *Codinus* (in his *Origines Constantinopolitanæ*,) places τὸ στῆμων, *The Stepsimon*, near the *House of the nineteen Accubita*: by which term [*The Stepsimon*] he means the throne whereon the Emperours were Crowned. Now, this House was, in the *Third Region* [of the City,] near the *Hippodrome*, as *Luitprandus* attests. Indeed, the *Old Description* informs us, that in *that Region* was the *Great Cirque*, and the *Semicircular* [or, *half-round*] *Porticus*, which was called *The Sigma*, and lastly the Tribunal of the *Forum* of *Constantine.* And 'tis very likely, that of *that Porticus* was made the House of the *nineteen Accubita*; for *a Sigma* is the same with a *Stibadium* or *an Accubitum.* Moreover, the Church of *Saint Stephen* is by *Codinus* placed near the Tribunal of the *nineteen Accubita*, which *Petrus Gyllius* (*book* 2. *chap.* 15.) relates, from an *Old Author*, to have been near *the Sigma.* Further, this House of the *nineteen Accubita*, was also termed *The Delphica*, or, *The Delphicum*, as *Procopius* attests book 1. *of his Vandalicks*, *pag.* 116. and *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon.* *Vales.*

[b] I can't tell why *Evagrius* should say this was an old custom, that the Emperours of *Constantinople* should be proclaimed in the *Atrium* of the Imperial Palace. For the old custom was, that the *Augusti* should be proclaimed in the Seventh *Milliarium*, or, *mile*, from the City, in the presence of the Army, in the *Campus*, or Field without the City. And *Valens* [was] the first that had been stiled Emperour in that Suburb, by his Brother *Valentinian.* After whom, the following Emperours of the East were proclaimed in the same place, as I have long since observed *in my Notes on Amm. Marcellinus's* 26th *book*, pag. 115, 116. The Emperour *Zeno* also was Crowned in the *Seventh Milliarium* by his own Son *Leo*, as *Victor Tunonensis* relates in his *Chronicon.* Likewise *Basiliscus* was a little after stiled Emperour in the *Campus*, as *Theophanes* informs us. Now, the *Campus* was in the *Seventh Milliarium*, as *Theophylactus* attests, book 8. chap. 12. But who was first saluted *Augustus* in the *Atrium* of the Imperial Palace, at *Constantinople*, I have not yet plainly found Indeed, *Justinus Junior* seems to have been proclaimed Emperour there, as may be gathered from the first chapter of *this book.* Vales.

[c] *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* attests, *that* (not *Johannes Scholasticus*, but) *Eutychius* was then Patriarch of *Constantinople.* For *Johannes Scholasticus* died on the *Tenth Indiction*, in the Month *August*, the day before the *Calends of September.* And *Eutychius* was restored to his own See on the same year, in the Month *October*, on the *Eleventh Indiction*, as *Theophanes* attests. On the year following (which was the year of Christ 578, in the *Twelfth Indiction*, on the 26th *of September*,) this *Eutychius* Crowned *Tiberius Augustus*, as *Theophanes* and the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* inform us. But, on a more attentive examination of the thing, I have perceived nothing is to be found fault with here: for *Evagrius* speaks not here concerning *Tiberius's* being proclaimed *Augustus*, but of the Appellation of *Cæsar* granted to him. Further, *Tiberius* was made *Cæsar* on the *Eighth Indiction*, as the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* informs us: at which time *Johannes* was *Patriarch* of *Constantinople.* Vales.

Let not the Magnificence of Your Attire deceive You, nor the Scene *of those things which are seen: by which I have been imposed upon, and have rendred my self obnoxious to the Extreamest of Punishments. Do You correct my mistakes, and with all* * *Lenity and Mansuetude Govern the State.* Then pointing to the † Magistrates; *You ought not*, said he, *in any wise to be perswaded by them*; and further added, *For they have reduced me to those Circumstances wherein You now behold me.* [He uttered] several other such like [expressions,] which put all persons into an amaze, and drew from them plenty of Tears. Now, *Tiberius* was very tall of Body, and besides his Stature, the Comeliest person, not only of Emperours, but of all other Men, [d] as far as any one may conjecture; [e] in so much that, in the first place, even his very shape deserved an Empire. His temper of mind was Sweet and Courteous, [a person] that received all Men kindly even at the first sight. He esteemed it [the greatest] Riches to be liberal to all Men in reference to bountiful Contributions, not only as far as a necessity, but even to an affluence. Nor do I doubt but *Evagrius* left it thus written. Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*, wherein I found it plainly written in this manner. Away therefore with the rendition of *Musculus*, who translates it thus: *Insignis magis, quàm ut quisquam illi conferri possit, more eminent, than that any one might be compared to him.* But *Christophorson* turns it in this manner; *Pulchritudinis excellentiâ omnium opinione major, for the excellency of beauty, greater than the opinion of all men.* Vales.

* Εὐπαθείας, *delight of mind.*

† Or, *Governours.*

[d] Ἥπερ πῆ εἰκάσειν. I think it must be written, εἴπερ τις εἰκάσειν, *as far as any one*, &c.

[e] Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ εἶδος ἄξιον. The reading in the *Florentine Manuscript* is truer, thus, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν, &c. *in so much that, in the first place*, &c. *Evagrius* alludes to that known Verse of the *Tragœdian*; πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος. *Vales.*

f 'Ου γὰρ ὅπη λαβεῖν. I had rather write, ὃ γάρ τι λαβεῖν ὤφελον οἱ δεόμενοι, &c. *For he considered not, what Petitioners ought to receive*, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 18. chap. 1. In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuscripts*, instead of ὤφελον, 'tis written ὄφειλον. Vales.

f For he considered not, what Petitioners ought to receive, but what it became an Emperour of the *Romans* to give. 'Twas his Sentiment, that that Gold was adulterate || which was Collected with the Tears [of the Provincials.] Hence ('tis certain) it was, that he remitted the Collection of g one whole years Tribute, to the Tributaries. And those possessions which *Adarmanes* had ruined, he freed from the Tributary Function, not only in proportion to the damage they had suffered, but also much above [the loss.] Moreover, h those illegal Presents were remitted to the Magistrates, for which [Bribes] the Emperours had heretofore sold their Subjects [to them.] He also wrote Constitutions concerning these matters, making thereby provision for the security of posterity.

|| Or, *Which came from Tears.*

g There is extant a Constitution of *Justinus Junior*, wherein he has remitted to the Provincials the Remains of the Tributes of the past year, *until the Eighth Indiction of the Cycle current.* Which *Justinus* seems to have done by the perswasion of *Tiberius*, whom a little before he had Created *Cæsar*, at the beginning of the *Eighth Indiction*, as the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* informs us. Into this first Constitution therefore of the Emperour *Justinus junior*, the name of *Tiberius* the *Cæsar* ought to have been inserted. *Vales.*

h At this present there is extant a Constitution of the Emperour *Justinus junior*, concerning the promoting Rectours of Provinces without reward. Which amongst the *Novel Constitutions* of *Justinus Junior* is the *Fifth* in number. In that Constitution *Justinus* gives permission to the Provincials, that they may make known to the Emperour those persons whom they should judge fit to Govern their own Province; and the Emperour promises, that he will give forth the *Codicils* and the *Insignia* [*Marks, Tokens*] of Magistracy freely, without any present or gift. Which Law, in regard it bears date on the Eighth year of *Justinus Junior*'s Empire, was, we doubt not, set forth also by the perswasion and suggestion of *Tiberius* the *Cæsar*. Vales.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Emperour Tiberius *raised a vast Army* [*to be imployed*] *against* Chosroes; [*at the head whereof*] *he sent* Justinianus *the* Dux, *and drove* [Chosroes] *out of* * *the* Roman *Pale.*

* Or, *Land of the Romans.*

HAving therefore imployed the ill gotten Treasure to a good use, he made provision for a War. And raises so vast an Army * of valiant Men, by listing the choicest Soldiers, both of the || *Transalpine* Nations who [inhabit] about the *Rhine*, and also of the † *Cisalpines*, of the *Massagetæ* likewise, and other *Scythick* Nations; of those also about * *Pannonia* and *Mœsia*, of the *Illyrii* and *Isauri*: that he intermixt near an Hundred and fifty thousand Men with his incomparable a Troops of Horse, and Routed *Chosroes*: who after his taking of *Daras*, immediately in the Summer had made an irruption into *Armenia*, and from thence resolved upon an Invasion of *Cæsarea*, (which is the *Metropolis* of *Cappadocia*,) and of the Cities in that Region. He contemned the *Roman* Empire in such a manner, that when *Cæsar* dispatch'd away an Embassy to him, he would not vouchsafe the Ambassadours access to himself: but ordered them to follow him to *Cæsarea*: for there, he said, he would * give them audience. But when he saw the *Roman* Army fronting him, (Commanded by b *Justinianus* c Brother to that *Justinus* who had been barbarously murdered by [the Emperour] *Justinus*,) accurately well Armed, the Trumpets sounding an *Alarm*, the *Colours* raised in order to an Engagement, the Soldier greedy of slaughter, and with a most incomparable decency breathing forth rage and fury, [lastly] such and so great a number of Horse, as none of the Emperours had ever conceived in their mind; he was stricken with a great amazement, sighed deeply at so unhop'd-for and unexpected a thing, and would not begin a Fight. When therefore he deferred an Engagement, made delays, spent the time, and only feigned a Fight; d *Curs* the *Scythian*, a Person that Commanded the Right Wing, makes an Attack upon him. The *Persians* were not able to bear the † Shock of his Charge, but apparently deserted their || Ranks; whereupon [*Curs*] made a great slaughter amongst the Enemy. Then he Attacks the *Rere* [of the *Persian*,] where *Chosroes* and the whole Army had their Baggage: and he takes all the Kings Treasure, and moreover the whole Baggage, in the very sight of *Chosroes*, who bore it with patience, and e thought his own trouble might with more ease be indured, than the Attack of *Curs*. In this manner therefore *Curs*, together with his Soldiers, possesses himself of great Riches and Plunder, and drives away the Beasts of burthen together with their Burthens, amongst which happened to be *Chosroes*'s Sacred Fire, adored by him as a God: [after this] he marches round the *Persian* Army singing a Victorious Song, and about Candle-lighting returns to * the *Roman* Army, which † had now left its Station; neither *Chosroes* nor the *Romans* having begun a Fight: only some Skirmishes had happened, and (as it usually hap-

* Or, *Of men that were Heroes.*

|| Or, *Beyond the Alpes.*

† Or, *On this side the Alpes.*

* Or, *Paeonia.*

a Εἴλας ἱππέων. Without doubt it must be made ἴλας, *Troops.* 'Tis a wonder to me, that this was not taken notice of, either by *Nicephorus*, or the Translators. *Vales.*

* Or, *Consider of their Embassy.*

b *Menander Protector* has mentioned this *Justinian Magister Militum throughout the East*, in the *Sixth Book of his Histories*, *pag.* 159. As also *Theophylactus*, Book 3. Chap. 12. And likewise *Johannes Biclariensis* in his *Chronicon*: *Anno* 9. *Just.* ni Cosdroes Persarum Imperator, &c. On Justinus's 9th. year Cosdroes Emperour of the Persians *with too numerous an Army, advances to ruine the* Roman *Confines: against whom* Justinianus *Commander of the* Roman *Milice and Magister Militum of the East being sent by* Tiberius, *makes ready for a War, and in the Field which lies between* Daras *and* Nisibis *engages in a brave Fight, having with him those most valiant Nations, which in the Language of the* Barbarians *are termed* Hermani; *where he vanquishes the forementioned Emperour.* Vales.

* Or, *His own* [*forces*]

† Or, *Had now broke their own Ranks.*

c Τ' ἀδελφῷ ἰυσίνε δειλαίως ἀνηρημένῳ. From the *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuscripts* I have made good this place thus; τ' ἀδελφῷ ἰυσίνε τῷ πρὸς ἰυσίνε δειλαίως ἀνηρημένῳ, *Brother to that* Justinus *who had been barbarously murdered by* [*the Emperour*] Justinus. This *Justinian* therefore was a Son to *Germanus*, (which *Theophylactus* does also attest in his *Third Book*,) Brother of that *Justinus* who had been slain by the Emperour, as *Evagrius* relates in the beginning of *this book.* Vales.

d *Theophylactus* mentions this person, in book 3. chap. 16. and in book 1. chap. 9. In which places the *Latine Translator* terms him *Cursius*. But, he had better have translated it *Cursus*. For so *Menander Protector* calls him, in the *sixth book of his Histories*, *pag.* 159. of the *King's Edition*. In *Theophanes's Chronicon*, pag. 214, he is corruptly termed κρὸς, *Crous*. Vales.

e 'Ανεκλοτέρων δὲ τῆς ἑαυτῦ ὀπτροφῆς τὸ κὸρς ἡγεμόνε. I rather approve of *Nicephorus*'s reading, (book 18. chap. 2.) which runs thus; ἀνεκλοτέρων δὲ τῳ ἑαυτῦ ὀπτροφὴν τὸ κὸρς ἡγεμένε: only, I would add an Article, in this manner, τῆς τὸ κὸρς ἡγεμένε. That is, as *Johannes Langus* renders it, *Quòd facilius is impressionem suam, quàm ipsius Cours sustineri posse existimaret, because he thought his own impression might with more ease be endured, than the Attack of* Curs. Further, *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* relates this Flight of the *Persians* and Victory of the *Romans*, after the death of the Emperour *Justinus Junior*, when *Tiberius* had obtained the Empire alone. But *Theophylactus*, from whom *Theophanes* seems to have taken his Relation, attests that that happened whilst *Justinus* was yet alive, when *Tiberius* bore the Title and Dignity of *Cæsar* only, and governed the State; as may be seen in *Theophylactus's third book, chap.* 14. To whom agrees our *Evagrius*; for he relates the Death of *Justinus Junior* hereafter, in the *nineteenth chapter of this book*, where he says in expres words, that after *Justinus*'s death, *Tiberius* deprived *Justinian* of the Dignity of *Magister Militum.* Vales.

pens,)

pens,) ſometimes one Man [came out] of each Army and engaged in a ſingle Combat. On the night following *Choſroes* kindled many Fires, and prepared for a Night-Fight: and whereas the *Roman* Army was divided into two Camps, in the dead of the Night he falls upon thoſe who were Encamped to the Northward. After he had routed them by his ſudden and unexpected Attack, he invades *Melitina* a City that lay near, which was then without a Garriſon and deſtitute of Inhabitants. And after he had burnt down this whole City, he made preparations for his paſſing over the River *Euphrates*. But when the *Roman* Army was got together into one Body, and followed him, being put into a fear in relation to his own ſafety, he himſelf got upon an Elephant, and ſo paſt the River. But a vaſt number of the [Forces] about him were buried in the Torrent of the *Euphrates*. After he had received information of their being drowned, he marched away from thence. *Choſroes* therefore having undergone this laſt puniſhment for his ſo great † infolence towards the *Romans*, in company of thoſe [of his Forces] who had made their eſcape, went into the Eaſt, where he had a Truce, to the end no one might make an Attack upon him. But *Juſtinianus* with the whole *Roman* Army entred the *Perſian* Empire, where he paſſed the Winter ſeaſon, no body giving him any the leaſt moleſtation. About the Summer Solſtice he returned, without the loſs of any part of his Forces, and with great felicity and much glory ſpent the Summer about the Confines of both Empires.

† *Petulancy*, or, *Contumelie*.

CHAP. XV.

That Choſroes *being heavily diſquieted at his own overthrow, ended his life: but his Son* Hormiſda *undertook the Government of the* Perſians.

BUt, an immenſe [deluge of] ſadneſs being poured in upon [a] *Choſroes*, (who was now ſorely diſtreſſed, reduced to a deſperation, and overwhelmed with a reciprocal Torrent of Grief,) in a miſerable manner took him out of this life; after he had erected an immortal Monument of his own Flight, [to wit] the Law he wrote, that no Emperour of the *Perſians* ſhould in future lead forth an Army againſt the *Romans*. His Son *Hormiſda* ſucceeds him in the Empire. [b] Of whom I muſt at preſent omit to ſpeak, in regard the ſequel [of Tranſactions] calls me to themſelves, and doth expect the * thread of my Diſcourſe.

[a] The death of *Choſdroes* King of the *Perſians* is related too ſoon here. For he died after *Tiberius* had gotten the Empire, as *Theophylactus* atteſts, book 3. chap. 16. which is alſo confirmed by *Menander Protector* in his *Excerpt. Legat.* Wherefore *Theophanes* is miſtaken in his *Chronicon*, who relates *Choſdroes*'s death, and the Inauguration of his Son *Hormiſda*, in the Empire of *Juſtinus Junior*. Valeſ.

* *Line*, or, *Procedure*.

[b] Ὁ ἰοῦν ἑατέον. In the *Tellerian Manuſcript* I found it written, ὃν νῦν ἑατέον, *of whom I muſt at preſent omit to ſpeak*: which reading I prefer far before the Vulgar one. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVI.

Who at that time were Biſhops of the Greater Churches.

AFter the departure of *Johannes*, called alſo *Catelinus*, out of this life, [a] *Bonoſus* undertakes the Government of the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; he was ſucceeded by another *Johannes*, whoſe ſucceſſor was *Pelagius*. The *Conſtantinopolitan* Chair, when *Johannes* was dead, was reſtored to *Eutychius*, who had been Biſhop before *Johannes*. After *Apollinaris*, *Johannes* ſucceeds in the Throne of *Alexandria*, who was ſucceeded by *Eulogius*. After *Macarius*, *Johannes* is promoted to the Epiſcopate of *Jeruſalem*, a perſon who had been exerciſed in the Conflicts of an unfurniſhed life, in that termed the Monaſtery of the *Acœmeti*; [b] nothing of an Innovation having been attempted in relation to the Eccleſiaſtick conſtitution.

[a] In *Nicephorus*, book 17. chapt. 35. he is called *Bonoſſus*. This is he, whom *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* and the other Authors who have written *concerning the Lives of the Biſhops of Rome*, do term *Benedictus*. *Baronius* thinks he had the Surname of *Bonoſus*. Valeſ.

[b] *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words ſo, as if *Evagrius* would have ſaid, that in the times of *Johannes* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, no tumult had been raiſed in the Church. But to me *Evagrius* ſeems to mean another thing; to wit, that during that whole time, wherein thoſe Prelates, here named by *Evagrius*, ſate, there had been no tumult in the Church. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Earthquake which happened at Antioch *in the times of* Tiberius.

BUt, [a] in the third Year of *Tiberius the Cæſar*'s Governing the *Roman* Empire, there happened at *Antioch* and the Suburb *Daphne* which is near it, a moſt diſmal ſhaking of the Earth, [b] at the very hotteſt time of Noon-day. At which time all *Daphne* was totally demoliſhed by this Earthquake, and the Edifices at *Antioch*, as well the publick as the private ones, were rent in ſunder to the very earth, but fell not to the very ground. Some other accidents happened likewiſe, highly worthy to be recorded, both at *Theopolis* it ſelf, and at the Imperial City alſo: which diſquieted both thoſe Cities, and incited them to the greateſt Tumults. [Theſe Accidents] took their * beginning from a divine Zeal, and obtained a concluſion befitting God. Which [matters] [c] I come [now] to give a Narrative of.

[a] Τιβερίῳ καίσαρος τρίτου ἔτους τῆς βασιλείας διαλαμψάντων Nicephorus (book 18. chap. 3.) thought that by theſe words was meant the third Year of *Tiberius Auguſtus*'s Empire. The ſame was the Sentiment alſo of *Chriſtophorſon* and *Muſculus*, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But in my judgment, *Evagrius* ſeems to mean here the Year of *Tiberius*'s *Cæſarean* Dignity. For, in the firſt place the words themſelves do ſufficiently ſhow that. Then ſecondly, *Evagrius* has not yet related *Juſtinus Junior*'s death, nor the Coronation of *Tiberius*. For he ſpeaks of theſe hereafter, in *the nineteenth chapter of this book*. Wherefore, thoſe things related in this chapter, hapned whilſt *Juſtinus Junior* was yet alive. *Valeſ.*

* *Occaſion*.

[b] Ἐς τ' αὐτὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸ ϛαθερώτατον. It muſt be made ἐς αὐτὸ, *at the very*; as 'tis in the *Tellerian* MS; or, κατ' αὐτὸ, as it is in *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[c] Λέξων ἔρχομαι, *I begin to relate*. I had rather write, ἔρχομαι, *I come*: for ſo *Græcians* are wont to ſpeak. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it plainly written, λέξων ἔρχομαι, *I come to give a relation of*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning the Inſurrection againſt the Execrable Anatolius.

ONe *Anatolius* (a perſon at firſt [a] of the ordinary rank, and one of the Sedentary Mechanicks, but afterwards, in what manner I know not, he had thruſt himſelf into the Magiſtracy, and into other Offices;) lived in the City *Anticch:* where alſo he followed thoſe affairs which he then had in hand. On which account likewiſe it happened that he contracted an intimate familiarity with *Gregorius* the Prelate of that City: and made frequent viſits to him, [b] partly that he might confer with him, and partly to render his own power and authority greater by often converſing with him.

[a] Πολλῶν τε ὀπιδφείων. In the excellent *Florentine Manuſcript* I found it plainly written, τῆς πολλῶν τε καὶ ὀπιδφείων, *of the ordinary rank, and one of the Sedentary Mechanicks.* The ſame is the reading in *Nicephorus.* Further, 'tis ſtrange that three Tranſlators ſhould have been miſtaken in the rendition of one word. For *Johannes Langus* renders it thus: *Erat Theopoli Anatolius quidam, ex plebeis ille quidem & ignavis unus, There was at* Theopolis *one* Anatolius, *a perſon of the ordinary rank and one of the ſlothful. Muſculus* tranſlates it in this manner; *Unus ex multis illis qui vitam delicatè inſtituunt, One of thoſe many who lead a delicate life. Chriſtophorſon's* Verſion runs thus; *Anatolius vir quidam plebeius primùm & mollis.* Anatolius *a man at firſt a plebeian and effeminate,* or, *ſoft.* Which interpretation they ſeem to have drawn from *Suidas* and the *Author of the Etymologicon*; who expounded ὀπιδφεῶν in this manner, ἀργὸς καὶ γυναικώδης, *idle and effeminate.* But, this term ſignifies ſomething elſe here, as is concluded from the preceeding term. Wherefore I doubt not, but by this word *Evagrius* means the *Artifices Sellularii, Sedentary Mechanicks,* which the *Greeks* alſo term ἑδρεῖοις, for the ſame reaſon, to wit becauſe *they do their work ſitting.* So *Julius Pollux* book 7. chap. 1. and the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the word βάναυσος. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὰ μὲν καὶ πρός. I write, τὰ μὲν ὡς διαλεξάμενος, *partly that he might confer with him*; the word πρός-ματα muſt be expunged, which crept in here from the foregoing line. *Valeſ.*

This [*Anatolius*] was afterwards diſcovered to have ſacrificed [to the Gods;] and having on that account been called to Examination, was detected to be a moſt execrable wretch, a Conjurer, and a perſon involved in innumerable impieties. But he † corrupted the *Comes of the Eaſt* with Money; and wanted but little of gaining his diſmiſſion, together with his Accomplices; (For he had ſeveral others of the ſame Morals with himſelf, who had been apprehended at the ſame time that he was:) had not the populacy made an Inſurrection, and by raiſing a great diſturbance, ſpoiled that deſign. Moreover, they exclaimed againſt the Patriarch himſelf, and ſaid that he * was a party in that Conſult. Alſo, ſome turbulent and deſtructive *Dæmon* [c] had perſwaded ſome perſons, that he was ‖ preſent together with *Anatolius* at the [deteſtable] ſacrifices. For this reaſon *Gregorius* was reduced to the imminenteſt of dangers, moſt violent incurſions being made againſt him by the populacy. And this ſuſpicion was raiſed to ſuch an heighth, that the Emperour *Tiberius* himſelf became deſirous of knowing the truth from *Anatolius*'s own mouth. He gives order therefore, that *Anatolius* and his Accomplices ſhould forthwith be conveyed to the Imperial City. Which when *Anatolius* underſtood, he ran to an Image of the *Theotocos* hung up by a rope in the Priſon, and having folded his hands behind his back, ſhewed himſelf in the poſture of an humble Suppliant and Petitioner. But ſhe, abominating [the man,] and reproving [the Wretch] as impious and hateful to God, [d] turned [her face] quite backward; an horrid ſight, and worthy to be forever remembred: which thing having been ſeen, both by all the Priſoners, and alſo by thoſe who were entruſted with the cuſtody of *Anatolius* and his Accomplices; was declared to all perſons. Moreover, ſhe was ſeen by ſome of the Faithful, inciting them againſt that Peſt *Anatolius*, and ſaying that he had been injurious to her Son. But after he was brought to the Imperial City, and having been * expoſed to the acuteſt of Tortures, had not any thing in the leaſt to ſay againſt the Prelate [*Gregorius*;] he, together with his Aſſociates, became the Occaſioner of greater Tumults there, and [was the Author] of a popular Sedition in that City. For, when ſome of † them had received a ſentence of Baniſhment, but were not to be taken off by a capital puniſhment; the populacy, incenſed by a kind of Divine zeal, put all things into a diſturbance, by being exaſperated, and highly enraged. And having ſeized the perſons that had been condemned to Exile, they put them into a Boat, and burnt them alive; which ſentence the People pronounc'd againſt them. They likewiſe exclaimed againſt the Emperour, and againſt *Eutychius* their own Patriarch, as being betrayers of the Faith: And they were about to have murdered *Eutychius*, and thoſe perſons to whom the *Cognizance* of this Cauſe had been committed, going up and down to all places in queſt of them; had not providence, the preſerver of all things, delivered them out of their hands who ſought after them, and by degrees appeaſed the Rage of ſo numerous a multitude, in ſuch a manner, that no miſchievous Action was committed by their hands. Further, *Anatolius* himſelf in the firſt place was caſt to the wild Beaſts in the *Amphitheatre*, and his Body having been torn by them, was afterwards fixt to a Croſs. But neither in this manner found he an end of his puniſhment in this life. For the Wolves having drag'd his impure Body down from the Croſs, (a thing never before ſeen,) divided it for a prey amongſt themſelves. There was alſo a certain perſon amongſt us, who (before theſe things happened,) affirmed, that he ſaw in his ſleep, in what manner the Sentence againſt *Anatolius* and his Accomplices ſhould be * pronounced by the People. And an Illuſtrious [e] *Curator* of the Imperial Houſes, who was a vigorous defender of *Anatolius*, affirmed that he ſaw the *Theotocos*, who ſaid, how long would he defend *Anatolius*, who had caſt ſuch great contumelies, both on her ſelf, and on her Son. And in this manner were theſe affairs concluded.

† Or, *Bought off.*

* Or, *Was a partaker of that deſign.*

[c] Ἐνέπεισεν ἐνίους. Doubtleſs it muſt be made, ἐνέπεισεν, *had perſwaded* as the reading is in *Nicephorus.* *Valeſ.*

‖ Or, *Intermixt.*

[d] Ἐκ τέμπαλιν. Without doubt it muſt be written, εἰς τέμπαλιν μετεσχέφη, *turned* [*her face*] *quite backward.* And ſo *Nicephorus* read, who has expreſt this place of *Evagrius* thus, εἰς τέπδεν παντάπασιν ἀπεσχέφη, *turned her ſelf quite away from him.* Whence it appears, that *Nicephorus*, put a *Comma* before the word τέλειον, after the term διελέγχθσα: which punctation I do rather approve of. *Valeſ.* In *Robert Stephens's* Edition, this paſſage is worded and pointed thus; ἡ δὲ, μυσαχθεῖσα καὶ τὸν ἐναγῆ καὶ θεομισῆ διελέγχθσα τέλειον, ἐκ τέμπαλιν μετεσχέφη; *But ſhe, both abominating this impious perſon and perfectly reproving* [*the Wretch*] *hateful to God, turned backward.*

* Or, *Subjected.*

† Viz. *Anatolius's Accomplices.*

* *Given out,* or, *executed.*

[e] Τῶν βασιλικῶν θεσπότης; that is, *Curator of the Imperial Houſes.* For the Houſes of the Emperours, as well thoſe in the Imperial City, as them in the Suburbs, had their *Curatores*, who look'd after their Revenue. And this dignity was not the meaneſt, for the perſons who bore it had the Titles of *Moſt Glorious* and *Moſt Magnificent*, as I have remarked before at the *third chapter of this book.* They ſeem alſo to have had a Juriſdiction, as *Agathius* ſhews in *his Fifth Book*, ſpeaking concerning one *Anatolius* an *Ex-conſul*; ἄνδρες τῷ τε ἄλλῳ ὑπάτων ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένον, &c. *A perſon that had both been honoured with the Dignity of the Conſuls, and beſides had obtained an Office,* [*which was,*] *to take care of and to look after the Houſes and poſſeſſions*

ſions of the Emperour. Thoſe Officers are by the Romans *termed Curatores.* The term ἀρχὴν, *Office*, in this paſſage of *Agathias* (though *Vulcanius* has omitted it in his *Verſion*,) is in no wiſe ſuperfluous; but it imports an Office of a Magiſtrate, or a Juriſdiction. Beſides, that purple Ribband [or Garland,] and the Tables which the ſame *Anatolius* was wont to affix to the Houſes of private perſons, that he might challenge them for the Treaſury, (as *Agathias* ſubjoins in his following words,) do manifeſtly enough declare, that *Anatolius* had a Juriſdiction as *Curator* of the Imperial Houſes. 'Tis certain, the *Conſtitution* of the Emperour *Tiberius concerning the Divine Houſes*, doth plainly atteſt, that thoſe *Curatores* had Juriſdiction. For in that Conſtitution, *Tiberius* does make an expreſs eſtabliſhment, that an *Actor*, who ſhall prefer a Plaint [or, *Sue Proceſs*] againſt a *Cartularius* or a *Conductor* or a *Colonus* of an Imperial Houſe, concerning any matter belonging to an Houſe of the Emperour, may, if he will, come to an hearing before the *Moſt Glorious* and *Moſt Magnificent Curator*. But if he ſuſpects him, he may proſecute his Cauſe before any other Judge who ſhall have been put into Commiſſion by the Emperour. But the Emperour *Tiberius* in *that Law* prohibits the *Curatores* from fixing *Tables* or *Fiſcal Titles* on the Houſes of private perſons, and from Sealing them. For the *Curatores* were wont to ſell ſuch *Titles* as thoſe to the meaner ſort, and to exact ſomething of them for their Patronage and Protection, as *Tiberius* does *there* ſhew. Moreover, theſe Houſes, and the *Conductores* [*Hirers*] of them enjoyed many privileges and immunities, as may be ſeen in the *Theodoſian Code*, *Tit. de privilegiis domus Auguſtæ*, and in the *forementioned Conſtitution of* Tiberius. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning Mauricius's *Generalſhip, and concerning his Vertues.*

BUt, *Tiberius* being now, after the death of *Juſtinus*, encircled with the [Imperial] Crown, turns *Juſtinianus* out of Commiſſion, in regard he managed not [the War] againſt the *Barbarians* with the ſame fortunate ſucceſs as formerly. And [a] he Creates *Mauricius Magiſter of the Eaſtern Milice*, a perſon that derived his Deſcent and Name from the *ſenior Rome*; but from his immediate Parents he acknowledged himſelf a Native of [b] *Arabiſſus*, a City of *Cappadocia*. He was a perſonage of great prudence and perſpicacity, every way accurate and immoveable. As to his Diet and Morals, he was conſtant and moſt exact, a perfect Maſter over his appetite, making uſe of thoſe [proviſions] only that were neceſſary and eaſily procured; but [avoiding] all other things, † where with diſſolute and intemperate men are wont to pleaſe themſelves. He was not eaſie of Acceſs as to Conferences with * *the Many*, nor gave attention [promiſcuouſly to all perſons;] being ſenſible, that the firſt produced contempt, and the ſecond opened the way to flattery. He permitted very few Viſits to be made to himſelf, [c] nor thoſe except concerning affairs of conſequence. But to matters ſuperfluous he ſtopt his ears, not with wax, according to the Poet, but with reaſon rather: that ſo, reaſon might be the beſt key of his Ears, which ſhould opportunely both open and ſhut them in Diſcourſes. He had in ſuch a manner, ‖ clear'd himſelf of ignorance, the Mother of Raſhneſs; and of Sloth, which [d] dwelleth with her and is her [e] Comrade: that his being in danger was [to be aſcribed] to Wiſdom, and his ſlowneſs of Action, to ſecurity. For, Courage and Prudence rode on Opportunities as 'twere on an Horſe, and governed the Reins according to what the Utility [of the Republick] might order. And, the Remiſſneſs and * Intenſeneſs of his very Aſſaults were performed in a certain Meaſure, Order, and Proportion. But concerning this matter we ſhall ſpeak more accurately in the Sequel. For, what and how eminent a perſon he was, muſt be reſerved to his own Empire; which had made a more manifeſt diſcovery of this man, and, by having allowed him an uncontroulable power of doing any thing, has diſplaid his very inmoſt Receſſes. This *Mauricius* therefore having at the head of the *Roman* Army made an Expedition into the *Perſian* Territories, takes from the *Perſians* their Cities and moſt convenient Caſtles: and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſo great a Spoil, that the * Captives he had brought away [out of *Perſia*] [f] peopled whole

[a] Yea, *Tiberius*, whilſt *Juſtinus* as yet ſurvived, created *Mauricius Magiſter of the Oriental Milice*, after he had turned out *Juſtinian*; as *Theophylactus* atteſts, book 3. chap. 15. *Valeſ.*

[b] *Arabiſſus*, or *Arabiſſum*, was heretofore a Town of *Armenia Secunda*, as *Hierocles* informs us in his *Notitia of the Provinces of the Eaſtern Empire*. Indeed, in the *Firſt Conſtantinopolitan Synod*, a Biſhop of *Arabiſſus* in *Armenia the leſs* is mentioned. Moreover, *Philoſtorgius* aſcribes this Town to *Armenia the Leſs*, as may be ſeen in *Suidas*, in the word ἰωσήξιος. But afterwards it was attributed to *Cappadocia*, if we may believe *Evagrius*. I know not whether it be the ſame with *Arabiſſon*, whereof *Menander Protector* makes mention in his *Excerpta Legationum*, (*pag* 159 *of the Kings Edition*,) which Town was near *Theodoſiopolis*. Valeſ.

† Or, *Wherewith a diſſolute life is delighted.*

* Or, *The Vulgar.*

[c] Καὶ ταύτας ἐσπεδασμένας. *Muſculus renders this place thus*; *acceſſus adſe raros permittebat; eoſque elaboratos, he permitted very few Acceſſes to himſelf, and thoſe* [procured] *with a great deal of difficulty.* Nor has *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlated it better, in this manner; *Rarò adſe adeundi conceſſit poteſtatem, eamque non niſi vehementer oratus, largitus eſt; He rarely granted a power of acceſs to himſelf; and he beſtowed that, not without very earneſt intreaty.* Neither of theſe Tranſlatours have hit the ſenſe of this place. But the *Florentine Manuſcript* hath ſhown us the true reading of this paſſage. For, inſtead of ἐσπεδασμένας, it is there written ἐσπεδασμένων. I doubt not therefore but this whole place is thus to be read; τὰς μὲν ἐν ἐς αὐλὴν ἐσόδους σπανίας παρεῖχε, καὶ ταύτας ἐσπεδασμένων. περὶ τὰς δὲ ἀκοὰς τοῖς περιττοῖς ἀπέφραττεν. *He permitted very few Viſits*, &c. as we have rendred it. Further, in the *Florent. Manuſcript* theſe words are ſet in the Margin: εἰς ἃ λέγει περὶ μανρικίου θαυμαστὰ πλήρη καὶ ἐπαίνων ἄξια, *Thoſe things which he ſpeaks concerning* Mauricius *are full of admiration and worthy of praiſe.* There occurs another Elogie of *Mauricius*, elegant enough, in *Suidas* in the word μανρίκιος, taken out of *Menander Protector's Hiſtory*: to compare that with this here, would not be unuſeful. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τὴν ἀπωκισμένην. I am not of the ſame opinion with *Chriſtophorſon* and *Sir Henry Savil*, who at this place read ἐπωκισμένην. For there is no ſuch Greek word as ἐπωκισμένη, as I think. *Muſculus* alſo ſeems to have read in the ſame manner. For he renders it thus; *Inſcitiam verò matrem temeritatis, & ignaviam illius domeſticam ac ſociam ſic a ſe repellebat*, &c. *for he ſo drove from himſelf Ignorance the Mother of Raſhneſs, and Sloth her Domeſtick and Companion*, &c. in the ſame manner *Evagrius*, in the beginning of *this book*, hath ſpoken concerning *Juſtinus Junior*; θράσει δὲ καὶ δειλίᾳ ταῖς κακίαις κεκτήμενον, &c. *being poſſeſt with——Vices, Boldneſs and Sloth*: where (as it ſeems from this place) we ſhould read ταῖς συνδύοιν κακίαις. *with two Vices that were Comrades* or *Chamberfellows*. But if any one had rather read ἐπωκισμένην, as *Sir Henry Savil* does, then the paſſage is to be rendred thus; *Et inquilinam ejus, ac contubernalem ignaviam, And Sloth which dwelleth with her, and is her Comrade.* For, there is as much difference between the word ἀπωκισμένη and ἐπωκισμένη, as between ἄποικος and ἔποικος. Now, ἄποικος imports *Colonus*, but ἔποικος ſignifies *Inquilinus*; as *Suidas* informs us in the word ἔποικος. *They who were carried out of their own Country into any Colony, were termed* ἄποικοι *or Coloni.* But, *he who voluntarily left his own Country and removed into a Colony or into any other City*, was termed ἔποικος, or μέτοικος. *Chriſtophorſon* is miſtaken therefore, who hath rendred this place thus: *Inſcitiam autem Matrem Audaciæ, & Timiditatem quæ ei vicina ac finitima eſt, ſic ab ſe depulit, But he in ſuch a manner thruſt from himſelf ignorance the Mother of Boldneſs, and Timidity which is her Neighbour and Borderer.* Ἐπωκισμένη does not ſignifie *Finitimam a Borderer*, but *inquilinam*, as I have ſaid. And the Latine word *inquilina* does exactly agree with the Greek term. For 'tis called *inquilinus ab incolatu, from habitation or dwelling.* Beſides, the words σύνδυος does not ſignifie *Vicinum, a Neighbour*; (for that would be ἀσύνδυος;) but *Contubernalem, a Comrade or Chamberfellow*, who lives under the ſame Roof. But, after a more diligent inſpection into the Matter, I ſhould rather read at this place ἐπωκισμένην. *Valeſ.*

[e] Σύνδυον αὐτῇ. I think it muſt be αὐτῷ, underſtand, τῷ θράσει, *Raſhneſs.* The reaſon of which emendation I have given a little before. *Nicephorus* (book 18. chap. 8.) writing out this paſſage of *Evagrius*, has expreſt it thus; δειλίαν τὴν ἐπωκισμένην καὶ σύνδρομον αὐτῇ, *Sloth which dwelleth with her and is her Aſſeſſour*: which is the worſt way of all. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ἐξοικίσαι. In the *Florentine Manuſcript* I found it written ἐξοικῆσαι. *Nicephorus* has made uſe of the ſimple verb οἰκίσαι. I doubt not but *Evagrius* wrote ἐσοικίσαι. *Peopled. Evagrius* has uſed the ſame term in the *firſt* and *ſecond chapter of this book.* Valeſ.

‖ Or *Thruſt from himſelf.*

* Or *Vehemency.*

* Σαγηνευθέντα ἀχμαλώτα, *the enſnared Captives.*

Islands, Cities, and Countreys, which in process of time had been deserted; and land that before had been wholly untilled, was by them rendred fertile; and out of them were raised numerous Armies, which with great Courage and Valour waged wars against other [barbarous] Nations: [in fine,] every family was filled with those that might perform Servile Offices, in regard Slaves could be procured at a most cheap rate.

CHAP. XX.

How Mauricius *vanquished* Tamchosroes *and* Adaarmanes *Generals of the* Persians.

MOreover, He engaged with the Eminentest of the *Persian* Commanders, to wit, *Tamchosroes* and *Adaarmanes*, who had made an irruption [into the *Roman Pale*] with a Considerable Army. In what manner, when, and where this Action was performed, let others relate; or perhaps we will give a Narrative thereof in another work: for our present Subject promises an account of far different affairs. Nevertheless, [a] *Tamchosroes* fell in that Engagement, not by the Valour of the *Roman* Army, but by the piety only of their Commander in chief [*Mauricius*,] and by his Faith in God. *Moreover, *Adaarmanes* flies with all imaginable hast, having been severely worsted in that Fight, and lost many of his own Forces: and that, notwithstanding *Alamundarus*, who Commanded the † *Saracens*, had acted perfidiously, and refused to pass the River *Euphrates*, and to give assistance to *Mauricius* against those *Saracens* who were in the *Persian* Army. For the *Saracens* are not to be vanquished by others, because of the fleetness of their Horses: nor can they be taken, if at any time they be * stopt, and they prevent the Enemy in their Retreats. Notwithstanding also, [b] *Theodoricbus*, who was Commander of the *Scythian* Nations, stood not even the first Charge, but fled together with the Forces about him.

[a] Ὁ ταμοχρόης, *Tamoschroes.* It must doubtless be written ταμοχσρόης, *Tamchosroes.* For so *Evagrius* calls him a little before. *Menander Protector* mentions this Commander, in his *Excerpta Legationum*, and *Theophylactus* in his *Third Book.* The same *Theophylactus* relates also (book 3. chap. 18.) how he was killed in a Battel against *Mauricius.* And attests, that that was done after the death of the Emperour *Justinus*, at such times as *Tiberius* was promoted to be *Augustus.* In the *Tellerian Manuscript* it is written χοσρόις, *Chosrois.* Vales.

*Φεύγει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδααρμάνης καταφράτ⊙, &c. In *Robert Stephens* the reading here is, φεύγει δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδαραμάνης καταφρώτ. ἔν τῃ, &c.

† Or, *Barbarous* Scenitæ.

[b] *Theophylactus* has made mention of this Commander *Theodoricbus*, in his *third book*, chap. 17. He was by Nation a *Goth*, as may be concluded from his name. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXI.

† Or, *Declared Empire to* Mauricius.

Concerning those Signs which † *presignified* Mauricius's *being made Emperour.*

FUrther, here hapned Signs also shown from Heaven, which foretold, that *Mauricius* should be Emperour. For, as he offered incense late at night, within the Sanctuary of the Sacred House of the holy and most undefiled Virgin and *Theotocos Mary*, (which by the *Antiochians* is termed *Justinian*'s Church,) the Veil about the Sacred Table seemed to be all on fire; in so much that *Mauricius* was struck with Terrour and Amazement, and very much dreaded that sight. *Gregorius* Patriarch of that City, standing by *Mauricius*, told him, that that thing proceeded * from God, and portended the greatest and most eximious events to him. Christ our God appeared likewise to him [a] in the East, requesting of him that he would avenge him. Which [Vision] apparently delared that he should be Emperour. For, from whom else could [our Saviour] have requested such things, save from an Emperour; and from one who was so pious an Adorer of himself? Moreover, his Parents related to me several other memorable passages, and such as are worthy to be recorded, when I my self made enquiry of them concerning these matters. For his Father affirmed to me, that in his sleep he saw a vast Vine, which sprang out of his Bed at the very time of * his conception, and that a great many and those the fairest sort of Grapes appeared hanging on it. And his Mother declared, that [b] at the very time of her delivery, the Earth sent forth a strange and unusual sweet smell. Also, that she termed [c] *The Empusa* had often carried away the Infant, as if she would have devoured it: but was unable to do it any mischief. *Symeones*, likewise who kept his Station upon a Pillar near *Antioch*, a man of extraordinary prudence in the management of affairs, and one adorned with all the Divine Virtues, spoke and performed many things, which declared that *Mauricius* should be Emperour. Concerning which person we shall speak more opportunely in the following book of our History.

* Or, *From a certain Divine instinct.*

[a] That is when *Mauricius* was in the East. So *Nicephorus* expounds this place of *Evagrius*, in the *ninth chapter of his* 18th *book.* A little after, from the same *Nicephorus*, and from the *Tellerian* MS. I have mended it, ὑπερ γὸ ἐκδίκησιν ζητῶν, *and petitioned him in relation to a revenge*; whereas before it was one word, thus, ὑπερεκδίκησιν, &c. *Vales.*

* *Mauricius's.*

[b] Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῶ, &c. I am of the same mind with Sir *Henry Savil*, who hath noted in his Copy, that perhaps it should be written, καθ' αὐτὼ ἔφασκε τῶ ὠδῖνειν, &c. *declared, that at the very time of her delivery*, &c. And so the reading is in *Nicephorus.* In the *Tellerian Manuscript* I found it written, περὶς αὐτὼ τὴν ὠδῖνειν, *at her very delivery.* Vales.

[c] See, if you please, what I have remarked concerning *The Empusa*, at the *eighth book of* Sozomen's *History, chap.* 6. *Nicephorus*, who deservedly derides such Old-wives-fables as these, affirms (chap. 9. book 18.) that in his age this [She-devil] was called *Gillo.* Those termed *Strigæ* by the *Romans*, were like to those *Empusæ*; concerning these *Strigæ* see *Festus.* The *old Glosses*, *Striga*, λαιστρυγὼν γυνὴ φαρμακὶς, *Læstrygon, a Witch.* Concerning this *Gillo* or *Gello*, which heretofore was believed to snatch away Children, *Leo Allatius* has remarked much, in his *Letter to Paulus Zachias.* Vales.

CHAP. XXII.

Concerning the Proclaiming of Mauricius *and* Augusta.

FUrther, *Mauricius* is promoted to the Empire, at such time as *Tiberius* was drawing his last breath, and had delivered to him his Daughter *Augusta*, and the Empire instead of a portion, * He survived his being made Emperour but a very short time; but left an immortal Memory for the good Actions he performed. Nor, are they easily to be confined within the bounds of a Narrative. Moreover, *Tiberius* left an incomparable Inheritance to the Republick, to wit, his Proclaiming of *Mauricius* Emperour. To whom he distributed his Names also: for he styled *Mauricius*, *Tiberius*; and to *Augusta* [he gave the name of] *Constantina.* What was performed by them, the following book, divine strength affording me its assistance, shall set forth.

* Or, *He lived in the Empire but*, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

† Or, *Concerning a summary of*, &c.

† *A Computation of the Times from* Justinus Junior, *to* Mauricius.

MOreover, that the Times may be * distinguished with all imaginable accuracy, you are to know, that *Justinus Junior* reigned [a] by himself twelve years ten months and a half; [b] with *Tiberius* [his Colleague,] three years and eleven months. All which time put together, [make up] sixteen years nine months and an half. *Tiberius* reigned alone four years. So that, from *Romulus* until the proclaiming of *Mauricius Tiberius* Emperour, there are concluded to be....., as both the former, and present [description of] the years hath manifested.

* Or, *recounted.*

[a] This place gave occasion of a mistake to *Baronius*, who, in his *Ecclesiastick Annals*, following *Evagrius* as his Authour, attributes sixteen years and nine months Reign to *Justinus Junior*. But, the other *Chronologers* assign fewer years to *Justinus*. For, *Johannes Biclarensis* attributes but eleven years to him; *Cedrenus*, thirteen years and some few months. *The Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle* affirms, that he Reigned twelve years and eight months. Lastly, *Dionysius Petavius*, a most diligent Writer of Times, gives *Justinus* thirteen years of Empire, lacking one month. Which years he begins from the year of Christ 565, on the month *November*, in the *fourteenth Indiction*, whereon he judges, (with *Theophanes* and *Baronius*,) that *Justinian* died. To the opinion of which person I do most willingly subscribe. Indeed, that the first year of *Justinus Junior* was currant with the *fourteenth Indiction*, we are informed from the same *Justinus's First Novel* to *Julianus Præfect of the City*, which has this Subscription: *Data* 18. *Kalendas Octobres Chalcedon. Imp.* D. N. *Justino* P. P. *August. Anno Primo, Indictione quintâ decimâ, Dated on the eighteenth of the Calends of* October, *at* Chalcedon, *Emperour our Lord* Justinus, *Father of his Country, Augustus, on his first year, in the fifteenth Indiction.* For, the first year of *Justinus's* Empire began from the month *November*, as 'tis agreed amongst all writers. It must therefore necessarily have then been the *fourteenth Indiction*: in regard, on the month *September* of the year following, the *fifteenth Indiction* is reckoned. For, if *Justinus* had begun his Empire on the *fifteenth Indiction*, (as *Victor Tunonensis*, *Johannes Biclarensis*, and the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*, have left it recorded;) and in the month *November*; 'tis certain, the *first Indiction* would have begun in the month *September* of the year following. Further, of these twelve years and eleven months, (during which compleat space of time we affirm that *Justinus* Reigned,) he Reigned alone and without a Colleague eight years nine months and an half: with *Tiberius* the *Cæsar*, he Reigned four years and almost one month. *Vales.*

[b] *Tiberius Constantinus* was made *Cæsar* by *Justinus*, in the *eighth Indiction*, on the seventeenth day of the month *September*, as 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But he began his Empire in the *twelfth Indiction*, on the fifth day of the month *October*. Hence there are four years and twenty eight days of *Tiberius's Cæsarean power*. But, if we had rather follow *Theophylactus*, who writes, that *Tiberius* was made *Cæsar* by *Justinus* on the seventh day of *December*, on the *sixth Feria*; there will be three years and almost ten months, which is, from the year of Christ 574, to the year 578. Further, 'tis to be observed, that *Tiberius Constantinus*, after the death of *Justinus Junior*, reckoned the years of his own Empire from the beginning of his *Cæsarean power*, as we are informed by the Subscription of the same *Tiberius's Sacra Pragmatica*, *concerning the Confirmation of the Emperour* Justinus's *Constitution*; which runs thus: *Data tertio Idûs Augusti*, &c. *Dated on the third of the Ides of* August, *at* Constantinople, *on the eight year of the Emperour our Lord* Tiberius Constantinus Augustus, *and on the third year after his own Consulate, and on the first year of the most noble* Flavius Tiberius Mauricius the most happy *Cæsar*. Vales.

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Series *of History, which is preserved till our Times.*

* Or, *Preserved.*

BY God's assistance, the History of the Church is * handed down to us, digested into one body, by [the industry of the best] Writers. Till the times of *Constantine*, by *Eusebius Pamphilus*. From *Constantine's* Reign, to [the Empire of] *Theodosius Junior*, by *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, and *Socrates*: and [Lastly,] [a] by those Collections, we have made in this our present Work. The Ancient History, as well Sacred as Profane, is extant, continued in a *Series* by the Industrious. For *Moses*, who was the first that began to write an History, (as 'tis most evidently demonstrated by those who have made Collections in reference to these matters;) compiled a true and most exact account of affairs from the beginning of the world, according to the information he had from God himself, with whom he conversed in the Mount *Sinai*. Others who followed him, preparing a way for our Religion, have in the Sacred Volumes set forth what hapned in succeeding Ages. Moreover, *Josephus* wrote a large History, which is every way useful and profitable. Whatever occurrences, whether fabulous or real, have hapned amongst the *Greeks* and ancient *Barbarians*, whilst the *Greeks* waged Wars amongst themselves, or against the *Barbarians*; or whatever else has been transacted from such time as they had an account that men first existed; have been Recorded by [b] *Charax*, *Theopompus*, and *Ephorus*, and by innumerable other Writers. The Actions of the *Romans*, wherein is contained the History [almost] of the whole world, or whatever else hapned, whilst they were involved in Civil and intestine Broyls, or acted against others; have been set forth in writing by *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who began his History from those people termed the *Aborigines*, and continued it to *Pyrrhus* * King of the *Epirotes*. From that time, *Polybius* the *Megalopolite* hath brought down [his History] to the destruction of *Carthage*. All which *Apianus* has † with great prespicuity distinguished, and hath gathered together each Action into one Body, although they were performed at different times. In like manner, the Affairs transacted after the Times of those Historians I have mentioned, have been committed to writing by *Diodorus Siculus*, [who wrote] till [the Times of] *Julius Cæsar*; and by *Dion Cassius* who brought down his History to the Empire of *Antonius* born at *Emesa*. *Herodian* also, a Writer of the same Times, has given us a Record of Transactions till the death of *Maximus*. [c] *Nicostratus* the *Sophist* of *Trapezus* has compiled an History, wherein he sets forth an account of affairs from *Philippus* who succeeded *Gordianus* in the Empire, until *Odenathus* of *Palmyra*, and *Valerian's* disgraceful Expedition against the *Persians*. *Dexippus* also has written at large concerning the same matters, who begins from the [d] *Scythick* Wars, and ends at the Empire of *Claudius* successour to *Gallienus*. The same *Dexippus* hath compiled an History of the Actions of the *Carpi* and other Barbarous Nations, which they performed in their Wars within *Achaia*, *Thracia*, and *Ionia*. *Eusebius* begins from *Octavianus*, *Trajanus*, and *Marcus*, and has brought down his History as far as the death of *Carus*. Moreover, [e] *Arrianus* and *Asinius Quadratus* have written some things

[a] Καὶ ὃν ὁ παρὼν ἡμῖν ἐξέλεξε πόνος. Doubtless it must be written, ᾧ ὃν ὁ παρὼν, &c. *And* [*Lastly by those*, &c. For 'tis referred to the foregoing words διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν βίβλων; which the Translatours perceived not. *Vales.*

[b] Concerning *Charax Pergamenus* a Writer of Greek Histories, see what *Vossius* has written in *his book de Historicis Græcis.* Vales.

* Or, *The Epirote.*

† Or, *judiciously.*

[c] This seems to be the same person, who by *Vopiscus* in the *Life of Aurelianus*, is termed *Nicomachus*; he had written an History of those times, as *Vopiscus* attests there. This *Nicostratus* here was a different person from *Nicostratus* the *Sophist*, who flourish'd in the Empire of *Marcus*, as *Suidas* affirms, and also *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Chronicon*. Vales.

[d] Ἀπὸ μυθικῶν ἀξιῶ. In *my Annotations on the Excerpta Legationum out of Dexippus* I have long since remarked, that at this place the reading must be, ἀπὸ σκυθικῶν, *from the Scythick Wars*. For *Dexippus* wrote the σκυθικὰ, that is *the Wars which the* Romans *waged against the* Scythians, as *Photius* attests in his *Bibliotheca*. Vales.

[e] *Arrianus* wrote *the Parthica* and *Alanica*, in *which books* he related the Actions performed by the *Romans* against the *Parthians* and *Alans*. *Evagrius* therefore means *these books* here. *Vales.*

things

things concerning the ſame times. The Hiſtory of the following Times is given us by *Zoſimus*, until the Emperours *Honorius* and *Arcadius*. After which Emperours, Affairs have been Recorded by *Priſcus Rhetor*, and others. All theſe Tranſactions are excellently well reduced into an *Epitome* by [f] *Euſtathius Epiphanienſis*, in two Volumes; the firſt whereof [comprizes matters tranſacted] until the taking of *Troy*, and the ſecond, unto the twelfth year of *Anaſtaſius*'s Empire. From whence, until the times of *Juſtinian*, *Procopius* the *Rhetorician* hath Recorded affairs. The Hiſtory of thoſe Times next immediately following, until the flight of *Choſroes Junior* to the *Romans*, and his Reſtauration to his own Kingdom by *Mauricius*, (who made not any the leaſt delay at that affair, but gave [the Fugitive] a Royal Reception, and with the Expence of a vaſt ſum of money, and accompanied with great forces, conveyed him back into his own Kingdom, [g] with all poſſible expedition;) hath been written in a continued *Series* by *Agathias* the *Rhetorician*, and [h] *Johannes* my Fellow-Citizen and Kinſman; although as yet thy have not made their Hiſtories publick. Concerning which affairs, we our ſelves alſo, the Divine † Clemency giving us permiſſion, will in the Sequel give ſuch a Narrative as is accommodate and agreeable.

This is the *Euſtathius Syrus* whoſe Teſtimony our *Evagrius* has made frequent uſe of, in the foregoing books.

[f] Concerning this Author *Suidas* writes thus: Εὐσάθιος Ἐπιφανεὺς χρονικὸν ἐπίτομον τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰνείου μέχρις Ἀναστασίου βασιλέως ἐν τόμοις, *Euſtathius Epiphanienſis* [*wrote*] *a Chronological Compendium of affairs from Æneas till the Emperour* Anaſtaſius *in Tomes*. At my peril write, ἐν τόμοις ϛ, *in two Volumes*, or *Tomes*. I have *Evagrius*'s authority here, for this Emendation. *Valeſ.*

[g] Μάλιστα τάχους. I think it muſt be, μάλα τάχους, *with all poſſible expedition*; in order to the avoiding the ill ſounding of the words. *Val.*

† Or, *Benevolence.*

[h] This *Johannes* was an *Epiphanienſian*. For, whereas *Evagrius* calls him his own Fellow-Citizen, he muſt needs have been an *Epiphanienſian*, in regard *Epiphania* a City of *Syria*, was *Evagrius*'s native place. Wherefore *Voſſius* is miſtaken in his *book de Hiſtor. Græcis*, who thought that this *Johannes* was by birth an *Antiochian*. Valeſ.

The End of the Fifth Book of Evagrius's *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.*

THE

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF *EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS*,

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Marriage of Mauricius *and* Augusta.

MAURICIUS, After he had obtained the Empire, in the first place made provision for his Marriage. And, agreeable to the solemn usage of Emperors, he takes to Wife *Augusta*, who was also called *Constantina*. The pomp of those Nuptials was most magnificently performed, and Banquets and * Jolity [celebrated and observed] in every place of the City. At this Wedding were present *Piety* and *Imperial Dignity*, which [two] guarded [*Mauricius* and *Constantina*] in the gracefullest manner imaginable, and presented them with the richest Gifts. For, the † First || produced the Father and the Mother [of *Mauricius*,] (a thing never known to have hapned to any Emperor before,) who consecrated the Wedding with their Comely Gray-hairs and Venerable Wrincles; his Brethren also, eminent for their Shape, Stature, and Comelinesse, who adorned the Nuptial Pomp. The * Second [presented] a Robe interwoven with Gold, adorned with Purple and *Indian* Stones; Crowns also of the highest value, enrich'd with much Gold and the various brightnesses of Gems; all those personages likewise, which bore Offices in the Imperial Palace, and were enrolled in the *Militia*; who carried Nuptial Tapers in their Hands, were [a] most magnificently clad, to the end they might be known, and with Songs celebrated that Nuptial Solemnity. In so much that, never was there amongst men any thing more Splendid, or * Richer than that || Show. [b] *Demophilus*, writing concerning *Rome*, does indeed relate, that *Plutarchus Chæronensis* uttered a [c] wise saying, viz. *that for the sake of that one only* † *City, Virtue and Fortune had entered into a mutual League.* But I may say, that *Piety* and *Felicity* in such a like manner had come together in one *Mauricius*; for Piety had vanquished Felicity, and would in no wise permit her to make an escape. After this, *Mauricius* made it his Business to invest and adorn, not his Body only, but his mind also, with the Imperial Purple and Crown. For, of all the Emperors that were his Predecessors, he alone Reigned over himself. And being in reality made an Emperor, he expelled out of his own mind that † *Democratical* dominion of the Passions. And having Constituted an * *Aristocracy* within his own Mind, he shewed himself a living Image of Virtue, instructing his Subjects to an imitation of himself. All this is not spoken by me out of flattery. For, why should I utter these words with such a design, since † he is wholly ignorant of what I write? But, that what I have said is really so, will be made evident, both by those Gifts conferred on him by God, and also from the successful Accidents which have hapned at several times; all

* Ἀσέλγειαν, or, *voluptuousness.*

† Viz. *Piety.*

|| *Shewed*, or, *brought*

* Viz. *Imperial Dignity.*

[a] Μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε ἐσταλμένους. In *Nicephorus* (book 18 chap. 8.) the reading is, ἐστεμμένους *Crowned*; which I don't approve of. For 'twas not the custom amongst the Ancients, at least so far as I know, that those who were invited to weddings, should wear Crowns in like manner as did the Bridegrooms. Besides, the words next following do confute this reading. For *Evagrius* adds, that they were magnificently clothed for this reason, because they might more easily be distinguished, or known. But, that can have no relation to Crowns. For, they could not be known or distinguished by the Crowns which they wore. *Vales.*

* *More prosperous* or, *fortunate.*

|| Or, *Pomp.*

[b] Concerning this *Demophilus*, *Suidas* writes in *his Lexicon*; in transcribing of whom *Vossius* (in *his book de Historicis Græcis*,) was satisfied, and has added nothing further. But, in regard I have had an account of his Country, and way of writing; in favour to the Studious, I will here annex it. That *Damophilus* (or, *Demophilus*,) therefore here mentioned was a Native of *Bithynia*, who wrote several useful stories and passages out of the books of the Ancients, as *Julian* informs us in his *Misopog.* Δαμοφίλῳ τῷ βιθύνῳ πεποίηται συγγεγράμμενα τοιαῦτα, &c. *Such writings were composed by* Damophilus *the* Bithynian, *of which he made a Collection out of various Authors, and composed Relations that were pleasing both to the Younger and the Elder Student.* I am sure *Julian* at that place produces a certain passage, which that *Damophilus* had Collected out of *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here. *Vales.*

† *Popular*, or, *Plebeian.*

* Αριστοκρατείαν: the original import of this term is, *a government managed by many and those of the noblest Rank*: but 'tis taken metaphorically here, *for a Company of thoughts of the best sort.*

† *Mauricius.*

[c] Σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, *uttered a plain saying.* I had rather read, σοφῶς εἰπεῖν, *uttered a wise saying*; as *Christophorson* seems to have read. Further, the place of *Plutarch*, which *Evagrius* means here, is extant in his *book de Fortuna Romanorum*, not far from the beginning. *Vales.*

Which

which muſt * without controverſy be by us aſcribed to God.

* Or, *Confeſſedly.*

CHAP. II.

Concerning Alamundarus *the* Saracen, *and his Son* Naamanes.

BEſides all his other [Virtues,] this was the chiefeſt of his Care, that the blood of none of thoſe who had been guilty of High-Treaſon, ſhould in any wiſe be ſhed. Therefore, he did not put to death even *Alamundarus*, Chief of the *Saracens*, who had betrayed both the Republick and *Mauricius* himſelf, as I have * already related: but only puniſhed him with *Deportation* to an Iſland, together with his Wife and ſome of his Children, [ordering him] to dwell in *Sicily*. But *Naamanes* Son to this Man, (who had involved the State in innumerable miſchiefs, and by the aſſiſtance of thoſe *Barbarians* he had about him, had ruined and enſlaved both the *Phœnice*'s, and the *Paleſtine*'s, at ſuch time as [his Father] *Alamundarus* was ſeized;) although all [the Judges] were of opinion that he deſerved a capital puniſhment, was only detained by him under a * Cuſtody at large; and he inflicted no further puniſhment on him. He uſed the ſame [Clemency] towards innumerable other perſons, as ſhall be particularly related in due place.

* Book 5. Chap. 20.

* Or, *A free Cuſtody.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning Johannes *and* Philippicus Maſters of the Milice, *and the Actions done by them.*

FUrther, *Mauricius* in the firſt place ſent *Johannes*, (a Native of *Thracia*,) Commander of the Eaſtern Milice. Who having been worſted in ſome Engagments, and got the better in others, did nothing worthy of a Narrative. After him, [he ſent] *Philippicus*, who was related to him; for he had married one of *Mauricius*'s two Siſters. He entred the Enemies Country, ruined all things he met with, and poſſeſt himſelf of a vaſt quantity of Plunder. He likewiſe ſlew many [Inhabitants] of the City *Niſibis*, who were of Noble Birth and well deſcended, and of other Cities alſo which ſtood beyond the River *Tigris*. Moreover, he engaged with the *Perſians*: whereupon a great Fight hapned, in which fell ſeveral *Perſians* of the greateſt Note, and he took many * Priſoners; he likewiſe ſent away a † Body of *Perſians* unhurt, who had fled to a certain * Eminence conveniently enough ſituated, when 'twas in his power to have taken them; after they had made him a promiſe, to perſwade their own King, forthwith to diſpatch away [an Embaſſy] to treat about a Peace. He alſo behaved himſelf very well in relation to ſeveral other matters, during his command of the *Roman* Forces; for he freed the Army from all things that were ſuperfluous, and which opened a way to Luxury; and the Soldiers were by him reduced to Modeſty, tractableneſs, and obedience. But theſe matters muſt be left to thoſe who have written, or do now write, according as they may either receive information from Report, or are lead by opinion: whoſe Relation, in regard it either ſtumbles and is lamed by ignorance, or is ſoftned by Affection and Partiality, or [Laſtly] is blinded by * Hatred, does [uſually] wander from the Truth.

* Or, *Alive.*

† Or, *Troop.*

* Or, *Hill.*

* Or, *Antipathy.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning Priſcus's Maſterſhip of the Milice, *and what he ſuffered from the Army who raiſed a Mutiny againſt him.*

AFter this *Philippicus*, *Priſcus*, is preferred to the *Maſterſhip of the Milice*; a Perſon to whom acceſs was not eaſily obtained, and one who came not abroad but upon affairs † of conſequence. For, it was his Sentiment, that he could tranſact every thing better and with more eaſe, if for the moſt part he continued retired: as if the Soldiery, induced by fear this way rather, would yield a more ready obedience to his Commands. At the time therefore of his firſt arrival in the *Roman* Camp, his looks were ſupercilious and haughty, and his garb too gorgeous; when he [a] publiſhed ſome [Edicts] alſo, concerning the Soldiers * perſeverance in undergoing hardſhips in the Wars, in reference to their being compleatly Armed, and in relation to the *Annona* which they were to receive out of the publick Treaſury. They having had ſome intimation of theſe matters beforehand, at that time broke forth into an open rage; and by a joynt conſent made an Attack upon that place where *Priſcus*'s Tent was pitch'd, and in a barbarous manner made plunder of his magnificent Furniture, and of his richeſt and moſt valuable Treaſure. Moreover, they miſt but little of killing him; had he not mounted one of his [b] *Led-Horſes*, and made his eſcape to *Edeſſa*. To which City the Soldiers ſent a Detachment of their own Body, and laid Siege to it, demanding *Priſcus* to be Surrendered up to them.

† Or, *Neceſſary.*

[a] Περιΐδει τινά. Theſe words are to be underſtood concerning the Edicts publiſhed by *Priſcus*. For the word περιΐδειν ſhows that; which term has that import and ſignification I have mentioned. *Theophylactus* confirms our Expoſition, *book* 3. *chap.* 1. whom by all means conſult. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Patient Sufferance.*

[b] Τὸν ἐπ' ἵππου παρόχων ἵππων. *Muſculus* renders it, *equum Vehicularem, an Horſe belonging to the Carriages. Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it, *Vectarium, a Chariot-horſe.* Theſe Horſes the *Latines* termed *Veredos*, becauſe they conveyed the *Redæ*, as *Feſtus* tells us. *Evagrius* uſes this word again, at the *fifteenth chapter of this book.* Where ſee what I have obſerved at *note (a.)* Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

Concerning Germanus's *being forced againſt his will to undertake the Imperial dignity.*

BUT when the Inhabitants of *Edeſſa* refuſed to do that; they left *Priſcus* there, and by force lay hands upon *Germanus* Commander of the *Militia* [a] in *Phœnice Libanenſis*, whom they create their Leader, and, [b] as much as they were able to do it, their Emperor.

[a] Ἐν φοινίκῃ λιβανησίας. In *Nicephorus* (chap. 11. book 18.) the reading is, ἐν λιβανησίᾳ τῆς φοινίκης with a miſtake on the other hand. For, it muſt be written, ἐν φοινίκῃ λιβανησίᾳ. For, there were two *Phœnices* that were Provinces, the one termed *Libanenſis*, the other *Maritima*. Valeſ.

[b] Τόν γε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. I doubt not but it ſhould be written, τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. that is, *quantum in ipſis erat, as much as they were able to do it. Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation, who inſtead of the foreſaid words of *Evagrius*, hath ſubſtituted theſe; τό γε εἰς αὐτοῦ ἧκον, *as much as in them lay.* In the *Tellerian* MS. I found it plainly written, τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, &c. *Valeſ.*

But,

But, upon *Germanus*'s refusal of that, and their urging it with a greater degree of heat and fierceness, a contention was raised on both sides; he [striving] that he might not be compelled, and they [contending] to bring about [what they desired:] and when the Souldiers * threatned him with death, unless he would voluntarily undertake [that dignity they conferred on him;] and *Germanus* with a willing mind embraced death: at length, after they saw he could not be terrified, nor was to be abashed, they betook themselves to scourging him, and maimed the members of his body, supposing he would in no wise indure those Tortures: for they judged him not more hardy than Nature and his age would bear. Having therefore set about this matter, they made tryal of him with a kind of Reverence and Compassion, and in fine forced him, though unwilling, to consent, and to swear [in a set form of words,] that in future he would † continue faithful unto them. In this manner therefore they compelled him their Subject to become their Ruler, him whom they governed to turn their Governour, and him a Captive to be their Sovereign. Then they displaced all other Officers in the Army, the *Præfects* of the Troops, the *Tribunes*, the * *Centurions*, and *Decurions*; and put whom they pleased into their places, casting forth reproaches in publick upon the Empire. And, for the most part they behaved themselves towards the Provincials, with more of † Modesty indeed, than *Barbarians* usually do: but were far from being [c] Fellow-Souldiers and Servants of the State. For, they neither received the *Annonæ* by appointed Measures or weights, nor were they contented with the [d] *Mansions* or *Quarters* assigned them. But every one's Sentiment was his Law, and his will his set Measure.

* Or, Pretended they would kill him.

† Or, Preserve a fidelity to them.

* Or, Those who commanded an hundred, or ten.

† Or, Moderation.

c The Translatours understood not this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus: *Et erga Municipes quidem multò moderatius quàm Barbari faciebant; Ega socios verò belli, & Reipublicæ Ministros, admodùm alieno erant animo; And towards free-denizons* [or, *those of the same Country,*] *they behaved themselves with much more of Moderation than the* Barbarians *did; but towards their Companions of War, and Ministers of the State, they were of a mind quite different. Christophorson* has also rendred it in the same manner. But *Johannes Langus*, who turned into Latine *Nicephorus Evagrius's Compilator*, has expounded this place far better, thus; *Et mitiores quidem illi in vectigales*, &c; *and they were indeed more mild towards the people who paid Taxes and Tributes, than the* Barbarians *are wont to be. But they were very far from being Maintainers, or Defenders of the Republick or what ever else I may stile them. Nicephorus*, instead of these words συμμάχων δὲ ἢ πολίτειας δέλων *Fellow-Souldiers and Servants of the State*, had substituted these, στρατιωτῶν δὲ πολίτειας ἢ συμμάχων, ἢ πᾶς ἄν ἄλλως εἴποιμι, πολλάπασιν ἀλλοτρίως διέκειντο, *But they were very far from being Maintainers*, &c. Whence it appears, that *Nicephorus* understood not the meaning of these words of *Evagrius*, πολιτείας δέλων, *Servants of the State.* The *Militia* amongst the *Romans*, from the times of *Augustus*, was a kind of temporary servitude. Whence also the Souldiers were marked with brands on their skin, in manner of Servants, as *Vegetius* informs us. Moreover, the *Missio Militaris*, or, *Military discharge*, does plainly answer the *Manumission*, or, *making free of Servants. Suidas* (or rather a certain *old Writer* in *Suidas*,) in the word βεξεγάθ, tells us, that Souldiers were under Servitude, as long as they were in Pay. So also *Petrus Chrysologus* in his *fifteenth Sermon de Centurione*. Vales.

d Οὐ δὲ μόναις ταῖς ἐπενεμηθείσαις. I agree with *Musculus* and *Christophorson*, who have mended it thus, μονείαις. For *Musculus* renders it in this manner; *nec deputatis Mansionibus contenti erant, nor were they contented with the appointed Mansions.* As often as the *Roman* Army was about making a long march, an Edict was published long before, wherein all the Mansions, in which the Souldiers were to stay, were set forth; as *Lampridius* informs us, in *Alexander Severus: Itinerum dies publicè proponebantur*, &c; *The daies of the Marches were publickly set forth, in such a manner that an Edict was hung up two months before, wherein 'twas written: on such a day, at such an hour I shall go out of the City, and, if the Gods please, shall stay in the first Mansion. Then, at the Mansions in order, at the Fortified or standing Camps, then when the Annona is to be received, and that also, Till such time as we are arrived at the Borders of the* Barbarians. The Inns also, or Houses, wherein the Souldiers, either going to or returning from an Expedition, were to stay, were sent out by the *Mensores*, or *Quarter-masters*; as *Vegetius* informs us in *book 2. chap. 7*; and the Emperours likewise in the *Theodosian Code, Tit. de Metatis.* Vales.

CHAP. VI.

How the Emperour sent Philippicus *again, but the Army refused to receive him.*

IN Order to the Composure of these [disturbances,] the Emperour sends *Philippicus*. Whom the Souldiers not only received not; but if they suspected [a] any one to have an inclination towards him, he was in great danger of his life.

[a] Τινὰ ἐκείνῳ κεκλίκειν, *any one to be a friend to him.* The same likewise is the reading in *Nicephorus*; save that he, for perspicuity's sake, hath added these words ἢ γένει, ἢ διαδέσει *either by descent, or affection.* Yet *Musculus* and *Christophorson* have rendred it, *favere, to favour him*; though the word κεκλίκειν has not that signification. Therefore, I had rather read, κεκτίχειν, *to have an inclination towards him.* Vales.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning Gregorius [*Bishop*] *of* Antioch, *and the Calumny framed against him; and in what manner he evinced it to be false.*

WHilst affairs were in this posture, *Gregorius* Bishop of * *Antioch* makes his return from the Imperial City, having now been Conquerour in a certain Conflict, which I will here give a Narrative of. Whilst *Asterius* was *Comes* of the East, a difference had risen between him and *Gregorius*, wherein all the eminentest Citizens of † *Antioch* had betaken themselves to *Asterius*'s ‖ side. The Comonalty also and Artificers of the City sided with *Asterius*. For all of them affirmed, that they had received some injury or other from *Gregorius*. At length, even the Populacy were likewise permitted to cast reproaches upon the Bishop. [a] Both parties therefore, [as well the eminenter Citizens, as the Artificers,] agree in one and the same opinion with the Populacy; and both in the Streets, and in the Theater, exclaimed against the Patriarch in a reproachful manner: nor did the *Players* abstain from [loading him with] such contumelies. In the interim, *Asterius* is deprived of his Government, and *Johannes* undertakes it; who was ordered by the Emperour to make an enquiry into that disturbance. This *Johannes* was a person unfit to manage the most trivial affairs, much less [to compose] a matter of such consequence. Having therefore filled the City with Tumults and Disturbances and by a publication of his Edicts declared, that any one that would, might accuse the Patriarch; He receives

* Or, Theopolis.

† Or, That City.

‖ Or, Part.

[a] Ἄμφω τοιγαροῦν τῷ δήμῳ. *Christophorson* has explained this place thus: *Ambo igitur, & Optimates & Populares*, &c; *Both parties therefore, as well the Eminenter Citizens as the Ordinary sort, agreed in the same Opinion with the Commonalty.* But *Musculus* expunged these words, τῷ δήμῳ, as appears from his Version. For thus he renders it, *Utrique igitur in eandem sententiam conspirarunt, Both parties therefore agreed in the same Opinion*: that is, *as well the eminent Citizens as the Plebeians*; or rather, *as well the Citizens as the Artificers.* For so *Evagrius* has distinguished both Parties a little before. *Vales.*

a Libel againſt him, preſented by a certain perſon who was *Preſident of a money-Table*; wherein 'twas ſet forth, that *Gregorius* had had to do with his own Siſter, who was given in marriage to another man. He receives likewiſe [Accuſations] from other men of the ſame kidney, [b] which related to the peace and repoſe of the City [*Antioch*,] as if that had been frequently diſturbed by *Gregorius*. As to [the Crime he ſtood charged with for diſturbing] the Repoſe of the City, *Gregorius*'s anſwer was, that his defence was ready. But, in relation to other matters objected againſt him, he appealed to the Emperour and a Synod. [c] Having me therefore his Aſſeſſour, Councellour and Companion, he went to the Imperial [City, *Conſtantinople*,] in order to the making his defence againſt theſe [Accuſations.] And, the Patriarchs in all places, partly in perſon and partly by their Legates, having been preſent at the Examination hereof, as likewiſe the Sacred Senate, and many of the moſt pious *Metropolitans*; when the matter had been thorowly ſifted; at length, after many * Actions, *Gregorius* carried the Cauſe: in ſo much that, his Accuſer was ſcourged with *Nerves*, lead about the City, and puniſhed with Exile. From thence therefore *Gregorius* returns to his own See, at ſuch time as the *Roman* Army in the Eaſt was in a Mutiny; *Philippicus* then making his Reſidence about the Cities *Beræa* and *Chalcis*.

[b] Περὶ τῆς εὐεσηείας πόλεως. *Muſculus* renders it, *the abundance and plenty of the Annona*. *Langus* and *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlate it, *the peace and felicity*. The word εὐεσηεία ſignifies both, as *Suidas* atteſts. *Valeſ.*

[c] What is now a days uſually done amongſt us in Criminal Suits and Proſecutions, that Council ſhould by the Judges be aſſigned to the Party accuſed; the ſame was heretofore in uſe in Eccleſiaſtick Courts of Judicature alſo, as this place of *Evagrius* informs us.

* Or, *Conflicts.*

For *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, when he went to the Imperial City, to make his defence concerning his Accuſation of Inceſt before a Synod of Biſhops and before the Senatours, carried *Evagrius Scholaſticus* along with him, who might be his Councellour and Aſſeſſour, and might give him advice where there was need. For that is the import of the word παρεδρεύοντα at this place. Further, in this Relation of *Evagrius*'s, many things are obſervable. Firſt, his ſaying that *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, when accuſed of Inceſt by a Laick before a Secular Judge, appealed to the Emperour and a Synod. (Concerning an appeal to the Emperour, *the Letter of the* Roman *Council to Gratianus Auguſtus* is to be conſulted, which was firſt publiſhed by *Jacobus Syrmondus*.) Secondly, it is to be obſerved that *Evagrius* ſays, that *Gregorius*'s Cauſe was tried before the *Patriarchs* and *Metropolitans*, and before the *Senatours*. So in the *Chalcedon Synod*, after the Biſhops and Secular Judges were met together, the Cauſe of *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was diſcuſſed and determined. In which Synod the moſt glorious Judges and Senatours are always named before the Biſhops who were preſent at that Synod: in like manner as in this place of *Evagrius*, the *Senatours* are named before the *Metropolitans*; but they are mentioned after the *Patriarchs*. Valeſ.

CHAP. VIII.

That Antioch *ſuffered again by Earth-quakes.*

* *Gregorius*'s.

[a] This was the year of Chriſt 589. For the years of the *Antiochians* precede the Nativity of Chriſt eight and fourty years, as I have obſerved above, Now, that which *Evagrius* adds, (*viz.* that this Earthquake happened at *Antioch* Sixty one years after the former Earthquake which had afflicted *Antioch*,) agrees exactly with our accounts. For, that former Earthquake, in *Juſtinus*'s Reign, had hapned on the year of Chriſt 528. as I have remarked at the *Fourth Book of Evagrius*, *Chap.* 6. *note* (*b*) Further, from hence may be gathered the year of the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod*, which was convened in the Cauſe of *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*. This Synod *Baronius* places on the year of Chriſt 587. But, from *Evagrius*'s authority, I doubt not of its having been aſſembled two years after. For, whereas *this Synod* was celebrated four months after that Earthquake whereby *Antioch* was ſhaken, and whereas the Earthquake hapned on the Six hundred thirty ſeventh year of the *Antiochians*, as *Evagrius* atteſts; what I have affirmed is neceſſarily made out, *viz.* that the *Conſtantinopolitan Synod* was convened on the year of Chriſt 589. *Valeſ.*

FOur months after * his return, [a] on the Six hundred thirty ſeventh year of *Antioch*'s being ſtyled a Free City, Sixty one years after the former Earthquake, on the laſt day of the month *Hyperberetæus*, whereon I had married a young Virgin, and the whole City kept Holiday, and celebrated a publick Feſtivity, both as to Pomp, and alſo round my Marriage-Bed; † about the third hour of the night, hapned an Earthquake accompanied with a dreadful noiſe, which ſhook the whole City: it overturned very many Edifices, * and tore up their very foundations. In ſo much that all [the Buildings which ſtood] about the moſt holy Church were totally ruined, only the *Hemiſphere* thereof was preſerved, which *Ephræmius* had built of Timber fell'd in the *Daphnenſian* Grove, when it had ſuffered by an Earthquake in *Juſtinus*'s Empire. In the Earthquakes which hapned afterwards, the ſame *Hemiſphere* had been ſo bowed towards the Nothern-ſide, that [b] it had *Timber-Props* wherewith 'twas ſupported. Which Props having been thrown down by the violent concuſſion of the Earth, the *Hemiſphære* returned to the other ſide, and being directed by a certain rule as 'twere, was reſtored to its proper place. Moreover, there fell many Buildings of that [Region] termed the *Oſtracine*, the *Pſephium* alſo, of which we have made mention ‖ before, and all thoſe places called the [c] *Bryſia*, the Edifices likewiſe about the moſt venerable Church of the *Theotocos*, only its middle *Porticus* was miraculouſly preſerved. Further, all the [d] Towers in the *Campus* were ruined, but the reſt of the Building continued entire, excepting only the Battlements of the Walls. For ſome Stones of thoſe Battlements were * driven backward, but they fell not. Several other Churches ſuffered likewiſe, as did alſo the one of the publick Baths, to wit, [e] one of them which was divided according to the Several ſeaſons of the year.

† Ἀμφὶ τρίτην νύκτα.

* Or, *Made their very foundations boil.*

[b] Ἀνθ' ὧν εἰδυῖα ξύλα βαλεῖν. I think it muſt be written, λαβεῖν, *received*, or, *had*. Our Emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and by *Nicephorus*, who has worded this place of *Evagrius* thus: διὸ καὶ ἀναπείσαντα ἔχειν τὰ ξύλα, &c; that is, as *Langus* renders it, *eâque de causâ, tigna quæ id ſuſtinebant, habuerat, and on that account it had Props which bore it up*. The *Greeks* call theſe Props ἀνηρείδας, in one word, as *Heſychius* atteſts. Which term I lately found *Philo Mechanicus* to have made uſe of, *when I turned his books de Machinis into Latine*. In *French* we call them, *Des étais*. In *Latine* they are termed *Fulturas*, *Props*, or *Shoars*. Which term *Fultura* is made uſe of by *Livy*, in his *deſcription of the Siege of Ambracia*. Valeſ.

‖ *Book* 1. *Chap.* 18.

* Or, *Turned to the contrary ſide.*

[c] Τὰ καλούμενα βρυσία. In the *Tellerian Manuſcript*, and in *Nicephorus*, 'tis Φρυσία, *Bryſia*, which I rather approve of. Certain pleaſant and flouriſhing places ſeem to have been ſo termed, ἀπὸ τῦ βρύειν, which ſignifies, *florere*, *to flouriſh*; as *Suidas* atteſts, and the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the word Βρίσαι. Valeſ.

[d] Οἱ πύργοι τῦ πεδίου. The Tranſlatours, *Langus*, *Muſculus*, and *Chriſtophorſon*, underſtood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Verſions. For they have rendred it thus: *Omnes quoque turres in plano Conſtitutæ, diſjectæ ſunt*; *Alſo all the Towers, placed in the Plain, were thrown down*. I think πεδίον to be *the Campus*, which was without the Gates of the City *Antioch*, wherein the Souldiers were wont to be exerciſed. *Athanaſius* makes mention of this place, in a *Supplicatory addreſs*, which the *Arians* had preſented againſt him to the Emperour *Jovian* then reſiding at *Antioch*: πρώτη εὐλυχία ἣν ἐποιήσαντο ἀπερχομένυ τῦ βασιλέως εἰς κάμπον ἐν τῇ ῥωμανησίᾳ πύλῃ, that is, *the firſt Congreſs they had with the Emperour* [*was*] *in the Gate Romanenſis, when the Emperour went forth into the Campus*. Valeſ. See *Athanaſ. Works*, *Tom.* 2. *pag* 27. *Edit. Paris.* 1627.

[e] Ἑκάτερον τὸ πρὸς ταῖς ὥραις πρὸς ἡμερινὸν. *Nicephorus* adds ſome few words here, in this manner: πρὸς ταῖς ἐν διαίτῃ ὥραις, &c. The whole place is thus rendred by *Langus*: *Et utrumque publicum Lavacrum, ex pulcherrimo ſtatu ad eam quæ ex diametro eſt deformitatem, collapſum*; *And each publick Bath, faln from a moſt beautiful condition to that deformity which is Diametrically oppoſite*. Which rendition is by no means to be born with. Nor is *Muſculus*'s tranſlation much better, who renders it thus: *Et ex publicis Balneis alterum iiſdem*

iisdem horis dirutum est, And the one of the publick Baths is ruined in the very same hours. Christophorson has expounded this place thus: *Et utrumque publicum Balneum, quod duobus distinctis temporibus inservit, eadem oppressit Calamitas; And the same Calamity ruined each of the publick Baths, which served for two distinct times.* But my Sentiment is, that the meaning of these words is this. There were at *Antioch* two publick Baths, divided according to the Seasons of the year. The one a Summer Bath, the other a Winter-one. Of these Baths, says *Evagrius*, the one was ruined by that Earthquake. *Vales.*

An innumerable company of People perished also in this Earthquake; and, as some have made a [f] Conjecture from the publick *Annona*, this Calamity destroyed about Sixty thousand persons. But, the Bishop was beyond all expectation preserved, although the House wherein he sate fell, and no Person escaped, save only those who stood about him. Which Persons, when another shaking of the Earth had rent that place, [g] took [up the Bishop] on their shoulders, and let him down by a Rope, and so made their escape from danger. There happened another thing also, which was Salutary to the City, in regard our Compassionate God sharpned his Menaces with Lenity, and chastized the Sin [of the People] with the Rod of commiseration and mercy. For, no part of the City happened to be burnt, notwithstanding there was so vast a quantity of flame every where in the City, [which arose] from the Hearths, from the publick and private Candles, from Kitchins, Furnaces, and Baths, and from innumerable other places. Further, many Persons of great Note and Eminency perished in this Earthquake; amongst which number was *Asterius*. And the Emperour administred comfort to this Calamity of the City, by [a supply of] Money [out of his Exchequer.]

[f] Τῷ ἄστει συμφορᾶς. *Christophorson* has explained this place thus: *Et ut quidam conjecturam ex pane qui in totâ civitate consumi solet, sacunt, hæc lues Sexaginta hominum millia extinxit; And as some make a conjecture from the bread, which is wont to be spent in the whole City, this common destruction destroyed Sixty thousand persons.* But, I am not pleased with this Rendition. For 'tis my Sentiment, that the number of the dead could not be made out that way. Wherefore, I had rather explain this place thus. As at *Rome*, *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*, the *Annona* was distributed to the Citizens, out of the publick stock; so in my opinion, the practice was at *Antioch*. For *Antioch* was one of the four greatest Cities of the *Roman* Empire. From this bread therefore, which they were wont to distribute daily, 'twas easie to collect the number of the dead. Nevertheless, if any one had rather follow *Christophorson*'s Exposition, I shall not much resist him. Especially, in regard there is extant no evidence of any Ancient Writer, concerning the publick *Annona* of the City *Antioch*. Vales.

[g] Φορέσλιω ἀνελόμενοι. *Nicephorus* has added some few words here, in this manner, φορέσλιω σὺν τῷ σκίμποδι ἀνελόμενοι, *took up [the Bishop] together with his Bed, or, Couch, on their Shoulders.* I know not whether he added this by conjecture, or found it so written in his own Copy. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

That the Barbarians *taking Courage from the Defection of the Army from the Emperour, set upon them, and were worsted by* Germanus.

But the Army * persisted in their Defection: in so much that the *Barbarians* made an irruption into the *Roman* Territories, being fully perswaded that no Person would hinder them from doing such actions as are usually perpetrated by *Barbarians*. But, [a] *Germanus* marches out against them at the head of the *Roman* Army, and gave them such a total Rout and overthrow, that not so much as a Messenger was left remaining, to carry the *Persians* news of their Calamitous Defeat.

* Or, *Continued in the same posture they were in.*

[a] Concerning this Victory of *Germanus*'s, *Theophylactus* speaks briefly, as his usage is, in book 3. chap. 3. *Vales.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Emperour's Clemency towards the Mutineers.

Moreover, the Emperour rewarded the Army with Money. But, he recalled *Germanus* with some other Persons from thence, and brought them to Tryal. And though all of them were condemned to undergo a capital punishment, yet the Emperour would not permit them to suffer any thing of trouble or inconveniency; yea he bestowed honours and rewards upon them. Whilst these affairs proceeded in this manner, the *Abares* made two Excursions as far as that termed *the Long Wall*, [possest themselves of] *Singidunum*, *Anchialus*, and all *Achaia*, and took several other Cities and Castles, and reduced [the Persons they found there] to slavery, destroying all places with Fire and Sword; [no resistance being made against them,] in regard the greatest part of the *Roman* Army made their residence in the East. The Emperour therefore sends [a] *Andreas*, a personage of eminentest note amongst the Imperial * *Satellites*, who might perswade the Army to receive their former Leaders, and the rest [of their Commanders.]

* Or, *Guards.*

[a] *Theophylactus* seems to call this person *Aristobulus*, in his *third book* and *third Chapter*. He says also, that he was *Curator of the House of Antiochus*. Vales.

CHAP. XI.

That Gregorius [*Bishop*] *of* * Antioch *was sent to pacifie the Army.*

* Or, *Theopolis.*

But when the Soldiers would not endure so much as to hear this order, the management of that whole affair is † committed to *Gregorius*; not only because he was a Person fit to negotiate matters of the greatest importance, but also in regard the Army gave him a deserved deference, and paid him the highest respect and honour. For some of the Soldiers had had Money bestowed on them by him: and [he had supplied] others of them with Clothes, Provisions, and other Necessaries, [a] at such time as, when registred in the Muster-Roll, they had marched thorow his [Grounds]

† Or, *Cast upon.*

[a] This place is not a little difficult and obscure. *Musculus* renders it thus: *Quando ad Militiam conscripti ex Catalogo, per ipsum sunt admissi, when having been enrolled to the Militia by Catalogue, they were admitted by him. Christophorson*, translates it almost in the same manner; thus: *Alii vestitu, cibo, & aliis rebus adjuti tum cùm in album militum adscripti & per eum admissi fuerant; Others were assisted with Clothes, Provision, and other things, then when they were registred in the Muster-Roll, and had been admitted by him.* *Nicephorus* also seems to have followed the same sense, who has expressed this place of *Evagrius* thus: Ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσοι ἐπὶ καταλόγου στρατολογηθέντες ἦσαν, ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρήεσαν. Which words *Langus* renders thus: *tum autem quicunque delectu habito per sacramentum Militare in Catalogum adscripti erant, per ipsum id consecuti fuerant; then also whoever, when an Election was made, by the Military Oath had been registered in the Muster-Roll, had obtained that by his means.* But this rendition does not please me. For the *Roman Militia* was not at that time so desirable a thing, that there should be need of any persons favour and assistance for this matter to procure any one to be enrolled amongst the number of the Soldiers. Wherefore, I rather think that these words, ὅτε στρατολογηθέντες ἐπὶ καταλόγου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρήεσαν, are to be expounded thus, *Tunc cum Militaribus numeris adscripti, per ipsius agros transirent, at such time as, when registred amongst the Military Companies, they had passed, or marched through his Grounds.* *Evagrius* at this place sets forth the Munificence of *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had not only given entertainment to the Soldiers passing thorow his grounds, but had also bestowed on them Clothes, Provisions for eating, and Money. Indeed, *Justinian* uses the term παρεῖναι in this sense, in his 130th

Novel, concerning the paſſage of Soldiers; ὥσε καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατείαν ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ παντοίας ἀμέμπτως ἀποτρέφειν, *in ſo much that without making complaint* [or, *without fault*] *he nouriſhed thoſe of our Army in their paſſage in every Province*. In the *Tellerian Manuſcript* I found this place thus written; ὅτε στρατολογηθέντες ἐκ χαλκόγων δι' αὐτῆς παρήεσαν. Valeſ.

Having therefore ſent Meſſengers all about, he calls together thoſe who were accounted the principal Perſons of the Army, to a place termed [b] *Litarba*, diſtant from *Theopolis* about Three hundred Furlongs. To whom, after he was come amongſt them, notwithſtanding he lay on his Bed, he ſpake theſe words.

[b] Ἐν Λιτάρβοις. 'Tis a Village in the Territory of *Chalcis* a City of *Syria*, whereof the Emperour *Julian* makes mention in his 27th *Epiſtle*. Near this Village were the Winter-Quarters of King *Antiochus*, the remains whereof were viſible in his age, as *Julian* does there atteſt, in theſe words: μεχρὶ τῶν Λιτάρβων ἦλθον· ἔστι δὲ ἡ κώμη καλχίδος, καὶ ἐνέτυχον ὁδῷ λείψανα ἔχουσι χειμαδίων ἀνηκόντων Which place *Martinus* renders thus; *Ad Litarbos veni, quod oppidum eſt in Chalcide: & caſu incidi in viam quandam quæ reliquias adhuc Antiochenſium Hibernorum habebat, I came to* Litarbi, *which is a Town in* Chalcis: *and by chance I light upon a certain way which as yet had the remains of* Antiochian *Winter-Quarters*. But I tranſlate it thus; *Litarba adveni, qui vicus eſt in agro Chalcidico. Et viam offendi quæ reliquias habebat Hibernorum Regis Antiochi; I came to* Litarba, *which is a Village in the Territory of Chalcis. And I found a way which had the Remains of the Winter-Quarters of King* Antiochus. *Theophanes* mentions the ſame Village, in his *Chronicon*, pag. 151; where he ſays, that *Alamundarus* depopulated *Syria prima*, as far as the Borders of *Antioch*, and unto *Litarga*, and *Scaphara*. But in my judgment, it muſt be written thus in *Theophanes*, τῶν λεγομένων λιτάρβων καὶ σκαφάτων, κλημάτων, *thoſe poſſeſſions termed* Litarba *and* Scaphata. Which emendation is confirmed by his following words. For he adds, καὶ ἔκαυσε τὰ ἔξω τῆς καλχίδος, *and he burnt the places without* Chalcis. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Gregorius's Speech to the Army.

I *Was indeed of Opinion, (Ye Men truly* Romans, *as well by Name, as for Your Actions!) that You would have long ſince come to Me, both to* * *Confer with me about the preſent Juncture, and to take that Adviſe alſo, which My Benevolence towards You doth abundantly promiſe. Which* [*kindneſs of mine*] *has indubitably been confirmed by former Good Offices, at ſuch time as, by ſending You ſupplies of Neceſſaries, I Aſſwaged* [a] *Your* Naval Tumult, *and the Storm which aroſe from thence. But, in regard That has been neglected till now, (an inducement thereto having peradventure not happened from above,) both that the* Perſians, *vanquiſhed by Perſons without a Leader, might perfectly underſtand the Valour of* Romans; *and alſo, that Your ſincere kindneſs* [*towards the State,*] *having been accurately tried by opportunity, and atteſted by Actions themſelves, might every way receive confirmation: (For You have evidently demonſtrated, that although You have had Cauſe of Trouble and Offence againſt your Leaders given you, yet nothing is more of value to You than the State:) Come on therefore, Let us now conſider what is to be done. The Emperour invites you, and has promiſed an* * Amneſty *of all that is paſt, having received your Benevolence toward the State, and your fortitude in Battle, in* † *place of the Boughs and Olive-Branches of Suppliants; and having given you theſe ſecureſt pledges imaginable of his Pardon, in regard he ſays thus: if God hath given* ‖ *Victory to your wards the State,*] *and (your Offences being diſpelled,) your Courage has ſhined forth, which is a moſt certain argument of Pardon granted;*

* Or, Communicate.

[a] Τὸν ναύτικὸν ὑμῶν κλόνον. *Chriſtophorſon* dream'd I know not what here concerning a *Naval Fight* of the *Romans*. A *Naval Fight* had not been begun at that time by the *Romans*, but they had engaged with the *Perſians* in a *Land-Fight*. Our *Evagrius* therefore has made uſe of a Metaphor at this place; and compares the *Roman* Camp to a Ship: and the Mutiny they had raiſed, he compares to a Tempeſt. *Valeſ.*

* Oblivion.

† Or, Inſtead of a Supplication and Olive-Branches.

[b] *How ſhall not I follow the Divine Judgment?* The heart of a King is in the Hand of God, and he inclines it which way he pleaſes. *Obey me therefore, ye* Romans! *with all imaginable ſpeed. And let us not* * *loſe the preſent opportunity, nor fruſtrate it by letting it ſlip: for it hates to be taken after it has eſcaped, and, vex'd as 'twere becauſe it was* [c] *neglected, never ſuffers it ſelf to be taken twice. Be ye Heirs of your Anceſtours obedience, as you have been Inheritours of their Valour; that you may every way ſhow your ſelves* Romans, *and that no infamous brand may be fixt upon your name, or demonſtrate you to be a ſpurious Iſſue. Your Anceſtours, when under the Government of* Conſuls *and* Emperours, *by Obedience and Valour poſſeſt themſelves of the whole World.* Manlius Torquatus † *Crowned his own Son by beheading him; who though he had behaved himſelf valiantly, had notwithſtanding diſobeyed Command. For, by the prudent conduct of Commanders, and the Obedience of the Militia, great* ‖ *things are wont to be performed. But if the one of theſe two be* * *ſeparated from the other, it Halts, Staggers, and Stumbles; in regard theſe moſt excellent pair of Virtues are diſjoyned. Make no longer delays therefore: but* † *be perſwaded by Me, (the Sacerdotal Function does now mediate between the Emperour and his Army:) and give a demonſtration, that what you do is not* ‖ *Rebellion, but a juſt indignation* [*entertained*] *for ſome ſhort time againſt thoſe your Commanders by whom you had been injured. For if you will not flie* [*to the Emperour*] *with all imaginable ſpeed, I indeed ſhall have* * *done what is requiſite, both in diſcharge of that Benevolence I owe the State, and of my friendſhip alſo towards you: but I would have you conſider, what the* † Exits *of Tyrants are. For, in what manner will you terminate the preſent State of affairs? 'Tis altogether impoſſible that you ſhould continue together in a Body. For whence ſhall the fruits of the Earth be brought unto you, or thoſe conveniencies which the Sea affords the* * *Continent for a ſupply; unleſs you wage War with Chriſtians, and on the other hand be involved in Wars brought upon you by them, whereby you will commit and ſuffer the horrideſt Miſchiefs, Villainies, and Reproaches imaginable? And what will be the end hereof? Being diſperſed into all places, you will ſpend the reſidue of your lives. Revenge will forthwith overtake you, and not ſuffer any Pardon to be granted you in future. Give therefore your right hands, and let us conſider what is advantageous, both to Our ſelves and to the Government; in regard we have the Feſtival Days of the Salutary Paſſion, and of the moſt Holy Reſurrection of* Chriſt *our God, to give us aſſiſtance in that affair.*

[c] Πῶς οὐχ' ἕψομαι τῇ θείᾳ ἀνάγκῃ. At this place, there was this whole line wanting, κείσεται καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ ὁ, *judgment? The heart of a King is in the Hand of God*, &c. which I have ſupplied from the Incomparable *Florentine Manuſcript*. There ſeems to have been the ſame imperfection alſo in that Copy which *Nicephorus* made uſe of. For he would never have omitted that brave Sentence which *Mauricius* had made uſe of, *The heart of a King is in the hand of God*; had he found it in his own Copy. *Valeſ.*

[c] Παρώδυνε δύλητος. In the excellent *Florentine Manuſcript*, this whole place is read thus; καὶ ὥσπερ ἀγανακτῶν ὅτι γε παρώδυνε, δυσλήπτους ἔχει καταπαύσεις οὐκ ἀνέχεται. Incomparably well, provided we read δὺς λήπτους, in two words, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 18. chap. 15. and we have rendered it accordingly. Away therefore with *Chriſtophorſon*'s and Sir *Henry Savil*'s conjecture; who at this place have made it, εὐλήπτους, *eaſily taken*. Valeſ.

† Στεφανώσας ἀνεῖλεν; ſee the ſtory at large in *Livy* book 8. pag. 377. Edit. Paris

‖ Or, Goods.

* Or, Bereaved of

† Or, Obey me.

‖ Or, Tyranny.

* Expiated, or made ſatisfaction.

† Ends, or, concluſions.

* Or, Land.

CHAP. XIII.

That, after Gregorius's *Speech, the Soldiers changed their minds, and received their General* Philippicus *again.*

HAving uttered these words, and shed many Tears, by a certain Divine impulse as 'twere he altered all their minds in a moment. And they forthwith requested, that they might go out of the * Convention, and consult apart by themselves concerning what was to be done. Not long after which they returned, and surrendred themselves to [the arbitrement and will of] the Bishop. Who having nominated *Philippicus* to them, that they should request him for their Leader; their answer was, that as to that matter they and the whole Army were obliged by great Oaths. Whereto *Gregorius* made this return without any the least hesitancy or delay, that by divine permission he was a Priest, and had power to loose and bind upon Earth and in Heaven; and he put them in mind of the Divine † Oracle. When therefore they had acquiesced in this matter also, he appeased God with [a] Prayers and Supplications. And having distributed to them the immaculate Body [of Christ;] (For it was [b] a most solemn day, the *Second Feria*, which is near the Holy passion:) He entertained them all at a supper, in number about two thousand persons, ordering Beds, whereon they might eat, forthwith to be laid for them on the Grass; and on the morrow returned home. But, 'twas thought good that the Soldiers should meet together at what place they pleased. *Gregorius* therefore sends for *Philippicus*, who made his residence at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, [c] and was preparing for his journey to *Constantinople*. Further, he dispatcht away a *Relation* to the Emperour concerning these affairs, wherewith he likewise sent the Petition of the Army, in which they requested *Philippicus* might be their Commander. Wherefore, when *Philippicus* was arrived at *Antioch*, the Army met him there; and having taken out those persons who had been vouchsafed Divine Regeneration, to make an Address in their behalf, they fall prostrate before him. And when they had received his right hand, in confirmation of an * *Amnesty* of what was past, they made an † Expedition under his Command. In this manner proceeded these affairs.

* Or, *Assembly.*

† *Su Matt.* 16. 19.

[a] These Prayers and Supplications may be referred, either to the reconciliation of the penitents, and to the absolution from that Oath wherein the Soldiers had bound themselves; or else to the solemn Prayers, which *Gregorius* then celebrated before the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* of the *Roman* Army, to whom also he distributed the sacred Communion, as *Evagrius* attests. So indeed *Nicephorus* expounds this place: λιτὰς, says he, ἐχωσῶτο τὸ θεῖον· καὶ τῶν θείων πελέσας μυσταγωγίων, τῆς ἀχράντου σώματος ἅπασι μεταδίδωσι; *He appeased the Deity with Supplications. And having performed the divine Prayers, He imparted the immaculate Body to them all.* Vales.

[b] Ἡ πάνσεπτος ἡμέρα. In the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuscripts*, the word δευτέρα is added; that is, *the Second Feria* [or, *Monday*] of the *Great Week*, or *Passion Week*. I found the same Emendation also written in the margin of *The Vulcobian Copy*. Vales.

[c] Ἐπιζόμβιον τε καὶ τῶν βασιλέως. I assent to *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil*, who have put a point after these words. For 'tis wholly necessary. Moreover, before them, *Nicephorus* had distinguished this place thus. But the reading in *Nicephorus* is better, thus, πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως, *to the Emperour's City*, or, Constantinople. *Vales.*

* *Oblivion.* † Or, *Expedition with him.*

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the taking of Martyropolis.

[IN the interim,] one *Sittas* a [a] *Decanus* in *Martyropolis*, vext at an injury he had received from one of the Military Commanders there, betrays the City [to the Enemy,] observing the time when the Garrison [b] lodged in that City was marched out of it: and having brought in a *Persian* [c] *Cohort*, as if it had been a *Roman* one, he possest himself of that City, which was a * place of great consequence to the *Romans*. He kept most of the younger women within the City; but turned out all other persons, except some few servants. Immediately therefore *Philippicus* made his march thither, and having invested the City, besieged it, although he had none of those provisions necessary for a Siege. Nevertheless, he made use of what came next to hand in his Attacks, and having wrought some Mines, ruined one of the Towers: but was not able to make himself Master of the City, in regard the *Persians* sate up all Night, and * repaired what had been beaten down. When therefore the *Romans* had made frequent Attacks against the Wall, they were as often beat off. For, the Darts thrown upon them from an higher place, very seldom mist the Mark they were designed against; in so much that, they were more damnified, than they could do hurt to the Enemy within; and therefore brake up the Siege. And having marched off at some small distance, Encamped; but took particular care of this, that no other supplies of Forces should be † let in to those *Persians* Besieged. But by the order of *Mauricius*, *Gregorius* makes a journey to the Camp, and perswades them to return to the Siege. Nevertheless, they were unable to effect any thing more than what they had done before, in regard they were wholly destitute of warlike Engins commonly made use of in the Siege of Cities. On which account the Army was sent into their Winter-Quarters. But in the adjacent Castles, several Garrisons were left, that the *Persians* might not by stealth get into the City. And on the Summer following, when the *Roman* Army was got into a body, and the *Persians* had made an Expedition against the *Romans*, there hapned a great Fight about *Martyropolis*. In which Engagement *Philippicus* got the better, and many of the *Persians* fell, amongst whom was * slain one † valiant Prince; but no small number of *Persians* got into *Martyropolis*, which was the chief thing they designed to effect. From thence forward the *Romans* resolved not to lay Siege to that City: for it was impossible for them to take it by Force. But they built another City at seven furlongs distance [from *Martyropolis*,] upon mountainous and ‖ more inaccessible places; that from thence they

[a] Τῶν ἐν μαρτυροπόλει δεκάρχων.

In the *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuscripts* 'tis truer written, thus, δεκαδάρχων; as also *Vulcobius* and Sr *Henry Savil* had mended it in their Copies. *Nicephorus* (book 18. chap. 17.) has expounded this place of *Evagrius* thus; δεκάδος ἄρχων στρατιωτικῆς τάγματος καθεστηκώς, *having been made Commander of Ten Soldiers amongst the Military Forces.* These Officers were by the *Latines* termed *Decani*, not *Decuriones*, as *Musculus* and *Christophorson* do render it. *Vegetius* attests this book 2. chap. 8. speaking concerning the *Centuriones* or *Ordinarii*; *Erant*, says he, *Decani denis militibus præpositi qui nunc Caput Contubernii vocantur. The* Decani *were Commanders of ten Soldiers, which Officers are now called the head of a File.* Vales.

[b] Τῶν ἐνδημούντων αὐτῶν. Without doubt it must be αὐτῇ, *in that City.* For so the Rule of Grammar requires. *Vales.*

[c] Λόχον περσικὸν. *Four hundred armed Men*, as *Theophylactus* relates, book 3. chap. 5. *Vales.*

* Or, *Most commodious.*

* *Fortified*, or *secured.*

† Or, *Added.*

‖ Or, *Better fortified.*

they might infeſt it with Stratagems and * Excurſions. And theſe things [the *Romans*] performed during the Summer; but in the Winter the Army was diſmiſt.

* Or, *Contrary Attacks.*

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Comentiolus's Maſterſhip of the Milice, *and the taking* [*the Caſtle*] Ocbas.

AFter this, *Comentiolus*, by deſcent a *Thracian*, is ſent ſucceſſour [to *Philippicus*] in the *Maſterſhip of the Milice*. He Engaged the *Perſians* in a moſt couragious manner, and wanted but little of loſing his life, (having been beaten down together with his Horſe,) had not one of his Guards mounted him on [a] one of his *Led-Horſes*, and conveyed him out of the Fight. Nevertheleſs, [b] the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed and fled, having loſt all their Commanders; and made their eſcape to *Niſibis*. And being afraid to return to their own King; (For he had threatned them with death, unleſs they brought back their Commanders ſafe and unhurt:) they enter into a conſpiracy there againſt * *Hormiſda*, the Chief Authour whereof was *Varamus Maſter of the* Perſian *Milice*, who not long before had made his return together with the Forces about him, from an Engagement with the *Turks*. In the interim *Comentiolus* inveſted *Martyropolis*, and leaves the greater part of his Forces there: but he himſelf, together with ſome choice Soldiers which he had choſen out Man by Man, makes an Excurſion to [c] *Ocbas*, a Caſtle almoſt inexpugnable, ſituate over againſt *Martyropolis*, on the oppoſite Bank [of the River *Nymphius*,] and placed upon a ſteep and craggy Rock; from whence the whole City was eaſily to be ſeen. And having laid Siege thereto, and left nothing unattempted, and beaten down ſome part of the Wall with * *Catapults*, he broke in that way, and takes the Caſtle by force. Therefore, the *Perſians* in future wholly deſpaired of holding *Martyropolis*.

[a] Τινὶ τῶν παρόντων ἵππων. *Evagrius* has made uſe of this word above, at *chap.* 4. *of this book*; where, as alſo here, the Tranſlators render it *Vehicularem* and *Vectarium equum*. But *Nicephorus* (book 18 chap 18.) writing out this place of *Evagrius*, explains the term παρόντων thus; ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπουργουμένων ἵππων ἐπιβιβάσας, τῆς μάχης ἐξῆγε, that is, *having mounted him on one of the Horſes lead after him, carried him out of the Fight.* For generals when they went to an Engagement, were wont to lead with them ſeveral Horſes, that if that whereon they rode were by chance killed, they might mount another. *Valeſ.*

[b] Οἱ σωσθέντες Πέρσαι. In my judgment, I have reſtored this place very happily, thus; οἱ πέρσαι ἐκπεσόντες Πάδων, &c. *the* Perſians *were vanquiſhed and fled*, &c 'Tis certain, the word σωσθέντες *being preſerved*, is in no wiſe agreeable here. For, they that are preſerved or ſaved, flie no more. Nor could the *Perſians* be termed σωσθέντες, *preſerved*, or *ſaved*, till they were come to *Niſibis*. Therefore *Evagrius* adds, καὶ τῷ νίσιβιν διασῶναι, *made their eſcape to Niſibis*. Inſtead of the word Πάδων, *Nicephorus* has put μεθεππάδων, which is a more common word. *Valeſ.*

[c] Κατὰ τὸ ὄκβας. It ſeems to be the ſame which by *Theophylactus* is termed *Acbas*, a Caſtle very ſtrongly fortified. *Theophylactus* deſcribes the fight hereof, *book* 1. *chap.* 12. altogether in the ſame manner, wherein *Evagrius* deſcribes the ſight of the Caſtle *Ocbas*. Therefore, as well from the likeneſs of the name, as from the ſight, it appears, that *Ocbas* and *Acbas* were one and the ſame Caſtle; ſituate near the River *Nymphius* and the City *Martyropolis*. Our conjecture is fully confirmed by *Theophylactus*, in *book* 4. *chap.* 2. where that Caſtle *Ocbas*, which our *Evagrius* ſays was taken by *Comentiolus*, is by *Theophylactus* himſelf termed *Acbas*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Hormiſdes.*

* *Engines for Battery.*

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning the Murder of Hormiſda.

WHilſt theſe Actions were performed in this manner, the *Perſians* Murdered *Hormiſda*, who was the unjuſteſt of all Kings, not only becauſe he had oppreſſed his Subjects with exactions of Money, but alſo for [his inflicting on them] various ſorts of deaths.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Flight of Choſroes Junior *to* *us.

* Or, *The Romans.*

[a] THen, in his room they Conſtitute his Son *Choſroes* their King, againſt whom *Varamus* undertakes an Expedition together with thoſe Forces he had about him. *Choſroes* marches out to meet him accompanied with an Army not very numerous, and flies, becauſe he perceived his own Forces were engaged in a treacherous deſign againſt himſelf. And at length he arrives at *Circeſium*, having firſt called upon the God of the *Chriſtians*, (as he himſelf affirmed,) that his Horſe might go to that place, whither he ſhould be lead by * him. Being come † thither, together with his Wives, two Children newly born, and ſome *Perſian* Nobles who voluntarily followed him; from thence he diſpatches away an Embaſſy to the Emperour *Mauricius*. *Mauricius*, as in other affairs, ſo in this alſo conſulted for the beſt; and being convinc'd, by taking his meaſures even from this inſtance, of the inconſtancy and mutability of this life, and of the ſudden Turns ebbings and flowings ‖ of Humane affairs; readily admits of *Choſroes*'s humble addreſs, and inſtead of an Exile [entertains him as] his Gueſt, [b] and in place of a Fugitive makes him his Son; having

[a] Ἔσχατον μετ' ἐκείνων βασιλέα χοσρόην. From the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. we have made good this place thus, ἔσχατον δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον, &c. *Then, in his room they Conſtitute, &c* Further, *Choſroes* was made King of the *Perſians* in the year of *Chriſt* 592 as *Baronius* writes in *his Annals*. Which was the tenth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire, not the ſeventh, as *Baronius* relates. For the years of *Mauricius*'s Empire proceed almoſt in an equal pace with the years of the *Indiction*, as do likewiſe the years of *Juſtinus Junior*'s Empire. Wherefore, whereas on the year of *Chriſt* 592 it was the *tenth Indiction*, as *Baronius* himſelf atteſts, it muſt then alſo neceſſarily have been the tenth year of the ſame *Mauricius*'s Empire. Yet, the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* places the Inauguration of *Choſroes*, and his flight to the *Romans*, one year before this account. For thus he writes; *In the ninth Indiction, on the ninth year of* Mauricius's *Empire, on the ſeventh year after the Conſulate of the ſame* Mauricius Tiberius: τέτῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, &c. *On this year* Choſroes *Emperour of the* Perſians *came to the* Romans, *having had a Rebellion raiſed againſt him by* Baram [*or*, Varamus] *his kinſman; and by the aſſiſtance of the* Romans *he was reſtored to his own Kingdom.* But *Johannes Biclarienſis* in his *Chronicon*, relates this to have been done a year ſooner. For theſe are his words at the *Eighth year of the Emperour* Mauricius, *wherewith he cloſed his Chronicle. A vigeſimo ergo Conſtantini Imperatoris anno*, &c. *From the twentieth year therefore of the Emperour* Conſtantine, *at which time the* Arian *Hereſie took its beginning, until the eighth year of* Mauricius *Emperour of the* Romans, *there are two hundred ſixty ſix years. In theſe times therefore wherein the omnipotent God (the venom of poiſonous Hereſie being deſtroyed,) has reſtored Peace to his Church, the Emperour of the* Perſians *embraced the Faith of Chriſt, and made* [*or, confirmed*] *a Peace with the Emperour* Mauricius. Where, that is to be taken notice of, which *Biclarienſis* ſays, *viz.* that the King of *Perſia*, having thrown off the worſhip of Idols, came over to the Faith of Chriſt. Indeed *Theophylactus* atteſts the ſame, *book* 4. *chap.* 10. and *book* 5. *chap.* 2. Valeſ.

* That is, *God.*

† To *Circeſium.*

‖ Or, *Of the life of Men.*

[b] *Theophylactus* (book 5. chap. 3.) ſays *Choſdroes* was only termed Son by the Emperour *Mauricius*. But *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 224. affirms in expreſs words, that *Choſdroes* was a Son adopted by the Emperour *Mauricius*: τέτῳ τῷ ἔτει τεκνοποιηθεὶς μαυρικίῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς χοσρόην τ' βασιλέα περσῶν, &c. *On this year the Emperour* Mauricius *having adopted* Choſroes *the Emperour of the* Perſians, &c. *Valeſ.*

given

given him a Reception [whereat he was presented] with Imperial Gifts. By which [presents] not only the Emperour himself declared his own kindness to *Chosroes*, to whom he sent them in a manner befitting an Emperour; but the Empress also did the same towards *Chosroes*'s Wives, and the Emperour's Children to those of *Chosroes*.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Emperour sent Gregorius *and* Dometianus *to meet* Chosroes.

MOreover, he sent all his Imperial Guards, and the whole *Roman* Army together with their Commander in Chief, who were to follow *Chosroes* even whither he would. And, to show him greater honour, [he sent to him] *Dometianus* Bishop of *Melitina* his own kinsman, a person Prudent and Sagacious, most compleatly accomplish'd both for Action and Discourse, and every way fit for the management of affairs of the greatest consequence. He sent likewise *Gregorius*, who in all things struck *Chosroes* with amazement, by his discourses, with his presents, and with the advices he gave him, seasonable and accommodate to his affairs.

CHAP. XIX.

That Chosroes *recovered the Empire of the* Persians, *by that assistance given him by the* Romans.

FUrther, when *Chosroes* was come as far as *Hierapolis*, which is the *Metropolis* of the [Province] *Euphratensis*, he went back again, in regard *Mauricius* also look'd upon that as expedient, who contributed more to the [advantage of the] Suppliant, than to his own glory. Moreover, he pleasured *Chosroes* with a vast sum of money, a thing never recorded [to have been done] before. And when he had raised an Army of *Persians*, the whole charge whereof he paid out of his own Treasury, he sends *Chosroes* with a double Army, one of *Romans*, another of *Persians*, out of the confines of the *Roman* Empire; *Martyropolis* having before that been Surrendred to * him, together with *Sittas*. Which person was [a] Stoned by the *Martyropolites*, and afterwards crucified. *Daras* also was surrendred [to the *Romans*,] the *Persians* having been drawn out thence. After this, when *Varamus* had been vanquished in a single Engagement by the *Romans* only, and had ingloriously fled away alone, *Chosroes* was brought back to his own Palace.

*To *Mauricius*.

[a] *Theophylactus*, book 4. chap. 15. says, that *Sittas* was burnt to death by the Command of *Comentiolus* the *Magister Militiæ*. Vales.

CHAP. XX.

* Or, *was*. *That the holy Mother* Golanduch **lived in those Times.*

IN those times also lived the Martyr *Golanduch*, and was conversant amongst us. Which woman, after many conflicts, was crowned with Martyrdom, (the *Persian Magi* being her Tormentours,) and became a Worker of great Miracles. *Stephanus* the *Former*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, hath written her Life.

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning those Sacred Presents, which Chosroes *sent to the Holy Martyr* Sergius.

MOreover, *Chosroes* being repossest of his own Kingdom, sends to *Gregorius* a Cross, adorned with much Gold and precious Stones, in honour of the Victorious Martyr *Sergius*. Which [Cross] *Theodora* Wife to *Justinian* had Dedicated: but * *Chosroes* had made plunder of it, together with other Sacred Treasures and Gifts, as has † already been related by me. Further, the same *Chosroes* sent another Cross of Gold, whereon he set this Inscription in *Greek* Letters. *I* Chosroes *King of Kings, Son of* Hormisda, [*sent*] *this Cross, at such time as by the Diabolick Force and Malice of the most unlucky* Varamus *and the Horsemen with him, We betook Our Self to the Empire of the* Romans: *and in regard the Wretched* Zadespram *came* [a] *with an Army to* Nisibis, *in a treacherous manner to Sollicite the* Nisibene *Horse to* [b] *Revolt from and oppose Us; We also sent* [*a Body of*] *Horse with a Commander to* [*the Town*] Charchas. *And because we had heard, that the Venerable and Illustrious* Sergius *was a Giver of those things requested from him; in the first year of Our Reign, on the seventh day of the month* January, *We made a request by the* Genius *of the said Saint,* [*promising*] *that if Our Horsemen should kill* Zadespram, *or could take him alive, We would send a Cross of Gold set with Gems to his* * *Church, in honour of his Venerable Name. And on the ninth of the month* February, *they brought Us the head of* Zadespram. *Having therefore obtained our desire; that we might put every thing out of doubt, we have sent to the house of the Venerable* Saint Sergius, *this Cross made by Us in honour of his Venerable Name, together with that Cross sent to his house by* Justinian *Emperour of the* Romans, *which in the Times of War between the two Empires, was brought hither by* Chosroes *King of Kings Son of* Cavades, *our* † *Father, and was found amongst our Treasures. Gregorius* having with the consent of the Emperour *Mauricius* received these [Crosses,] with great pomp Dedicated them to, and deposited them in, the Sacred house of the Martyr. Not long after, the said *Chosroes* sent other persons also to the same Sacred Church, and on a Bason made of Gold, ordered this Inscription to be set in the Greek Tongue. *I* Chosroes *King of Kings, the Son of* Hormisda, [*have ordered*] *this inscription to be set upon this Bason, not that it might be seen by men, nor that by my words the Greatness of Your Venerable Name might be made known; but, on account of the truth of what is inscribed, and by reason of those many Favours and Benefits which I have received from You. For 'tis my happiness, that my Name is extant on Your Sacred Vessels. When I was at a place* [*called*] Beramaïs, *I requested of You (Holy Man!) that You would come to my assistance, and that* Sira *might conceive. And in regard* Sira *is a*

* He *was Grandfather to this* Chosroes.

† *Book* 4. *chap.* 28. *where see note* (*a*)

[a] Μετὰ στρατοῦ. In *Theophylactus Simocatta*, book 5. chap. 13. the reading is, διὰ τὸ ἐρχθῆς ἢ δυσυχῆ ζαδισπράτου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ, &c. *in regard the Wretched* Zadesprates *came out of the Army*, &c; which reading I like best. *Vales.*

[b] Καταῤῥάξαι. In *Theophylactus* the reading is, καταπαῤῥάξαι, *to disturb*. Vales.

* Or, House.

† Or, Grandfather. See book 4. chap. 18. *note* (*a*.)

Chriſtian, *and I a* ‖ Gentile, *Our Law allows Us not to have a* Chriſtian *Wife. On account therefore of my Benevolence towards You, I diſregarded this Law, and have had a kindneſs for this Woman above my other Wives, and do Love her every day more and more. Wherefore, I have taken a reſolution, at preſent to deſire of Your Goodneſs, (Holy Man!) that She might conceive. I have requeſted therefore, and ſolemnly vowed, that if* Sira *ſhall conceive, I will ſend the Croſs worn by her to Your Venerable houſe. And on this account, I and* Sira *have this deſign, that we will retain this Croſs in Memory of Your Name, Holy Man! And we have reſolved inſtead thereof (in regard its value exceeds not Four thouſand four hundred* [c] Miliareſian Staters,*) to tranſmit Five thouſand* Staters. *And from ſuch time as I conceived this Requeſt within* [d] *my ſelf, and entertained theſe thoughts, until we came to* [e] Roſumchoſrum, *ten days had not fully paſt. And Thou (Holy Man!) not that I deſerved it, but becauſe of Thine own goodneſs, appeared to me in a dream by night, and didſt affirm thrice to me, that* Sira *ſhould be with child. And in the ſame Viſion I anſwered Thee thrice, ſaying, 'tis well. And becauſe Thou art a Giver of what is requeſted of Thee, from that day* Sira *was not ſenſible of the Cuſtom of Women. But I might perhaps have doubted in relation to this matter, had I not given credit to thy words, (becauſe thou art an holy perſon, and a Granter of requeſts,) that* [Sira] *ſhould not in future be ſenſible of the Cuſtom of Women. From hence I underſtood the* * *Virtue of the Viſion, and the truth of what was predicted by thee. I have therefore forthwith tranſmitted the Croſs it ſelf, and its value, to your Venerable houſe, with order, that of its price one Baſon and one Cup be made, to be uſed at the holy Myſteries: moreover, that a Croſs be made, which is to be fixed upon the* † *Sacred Table, and a Cenſer; all of Gold: and Further,* [f] *an* Hunnic Veil *adorned with Gold. And,* [*our order is,*] *that the remaining* Miliareſians *of the price ſhall belong to thine holy houſe; that by thy* Genius *(Holy Man!) thou wouldeſt give aſſiſtance in all things to me and* Sira, *but eſpecially in relation to this Requeſt; and, that what hath hapned to us from thine interceſſion, by the mercy of thy Goodneſs may arrive at perfection, agreeable to the will of Me and* Sira. *To the end that I, and* Sira, *and all perſons in the world, may place our hope in thy power, and in future believe in Thee.* Theſe are the expreſſions [contained] in the Sacred Preſents [tranſmitted] by *Choſroes*, which diſagree in nothing from *Balaam*'s Prophecy; the compaſſionate God having wiſely diſpoſed [all things in ſuch a manner,] that the tongues of Gentiles ſhould [ſome times] utter ſalutary words.

‖ *Or,* Pagan.

[c] Στατήρων μιλιαρησίων. There were three ſorts of *Stater's*, (1) *Stater Atticus*; its value in our Coyn was Fifteen Shillings, (2) *Stater Aureus Macedonicus*; its value in our money is Eighteen Shillings four pence, (3) *Stater Daricus*, which 'tis probable is the money here meant, it was valued at Fifteen Shillings, our money. See more in Mr. *Brerewood de Ponderibus & Pretiis veterum Nummorum*, chap. 8. pag. 22.

[d] Ἑαυτῷ. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἐν ἑαυτῷ: but in *Theophylactus* the reading is ἐν ἐμαυτῷ, *within my ſelf*; which reading I do rather approve of. *Valeſ.*

[e] Τὸ ῥόσον χόρεον. In *Theophylactus* and *Nicephorus*, 'tis read in one word, ῥοσωχόρεων. So alſo I found it written in the *Tellerian Manuſcript*. Valeſ.

* *Or,* Power.

† *Or,* Pretious.

[f] Ἀμφίθυρον ἀνικὸν. The Tranſlatours underſtood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Verſion. For they both render it in this manner; *Et unicum utrinque apertum.* So alſo *Raderus* tranſlated it, who rendred *Theophylactus* into Latine, ſave only that he has made it *Hunnicum*, agreeable to the reading in the *Greek Text* of *Theophylactus*. But *Langus*, *Nicephorus's Tranſlatour*, has retained the Greek word, thus: & *Amphithyrum Hunnicum*. And by adding a *Scholion*, has explained this term thus: *Judicio meo carceres, ſive cancelli ſunt*, &c. *In my judgement, they are the Bars or Rails, either ſurrounding the more Sacred Table of the Altar, or keeping the people from it; in each part whereof there is a door, and a paſſage leading to it, of Hunnick Work.* But, by the favour of that Learned man, he has not hit the ſignification of this word. The *Greeks* termed *Veils* or *Curtains which hung before doors*, ἀμφίθυρα. So *Chryſoſtome* in his 84th *Homily on* St. *Matthew*, ſpeaking concerning *Zachæus*, who entertained our Lord at a Banquet: ὅτε ἔμελλεν εἰς αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι ὁ χριστὸς, πῶς αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησε ἐκεῖνος. ὁ γὰρ ἔδρεμε πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας, ἀμφίθυρα αὐτῶν καὶ καθέδρας, &c; [*Conſider,*] *when Chriſt was about to enter into his houſe, how he adorned it: for he ran not to his neighbours,* [*to borrow*] *their Curtains and Chairs*, &c. So, in the Churches of the *Chriſtians*, there were Curtains before the doors, as *Epiphanius* atteſts in *an Epiſtle which* Saint Jerome *has done into Latine*. And, that we may come nearer to the buſineſs, at the very Altar there were Curtains, wherewith the doors of the *Altar* or *Choire* were covered. And when the Prieſt was about to celebrate the Euchariſt, thoſe Curtains were wont to be drawn, that the people might behold the Myſteries a far off. This is atteſted by St. *Chryſoſtome*, in his *third Homily on the Epiſtle to the Epheſians*, in theſe words: ὅταν δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκφερομένης τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὸ χερουβικὸν τελουμένου, ὅταν ἀκούσῃς, λελυμένων πάντες κοινῶς, ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα, &c; *ſo alſo here, when the ſacrifice is offered, and Chriſt is ſacrificed, when you ſhall hear* [theſe words] *Let us all pray together, when you ſee the Curtains drawn, then think that heaven is opened from above*, &c. Where you ſee, that the word ἀμφίθυρα is taken for the Curtains which were placed at the doors of the Altar. There is alſo mention of theſe *Veils* or *Curtains*, in an *old paper of the Donation* of the *Cornutianenſian Church*, which was firſt publiſhed by *Johannes Suareſius*. *Et pro aræ ora vela Tramoſerica Alba auroclava* 2, *vela blattea auroclava paragaudata* 2, &c: and afterwards, *vela linea paragaudata perſicâ clavaturâ collomelina praſina* 2, *vela Linea paragaudata perſicâ clavaturâ leucorhodina duo*. And again afterwards. *Item ante Regias Baſilicæ vela linea plumata majora fiſſa numero tria. Item vela linea pura tria, ante conſiſtorium velum lineum purum unum. In pronao velum lineum purum unum; & intra Baſilicam pro porticibus vela linea roſulata ſex. Et ante ſecretarium vel curricula vela linea roſulata penſilia habentia arcus* 2. Which place I have tranſcribed entire, for this reaſon, that the ſtudious Reader may underſtand, how manifold the uſe of Curtains was heretofore in the Church; and that we might know, what was the *Hunnick veil* or *Curtain* in this place of *Evagrius*. For, as *this paper of Donation* informs us, that the *Perſian Curtains* were heretofore highly valued, ſo the *Hunnick Curtains* were alſo chiefly commended. Further, the *Perſian Curtains* are mentioned by *Ariſtophanes's Scholiaſt ad Ranas*: ἐξαπατῶμαί ταῖς σκηναῖς ταῖς περσικαῖς βύλοις, ἢ βλοδύεσις. For theſe Curtains were termed ἐπιλόδυεσ, *becauſe they were hung before doors*, as I have ſaid. *Gulielmus Bibliothecarius in the life of* Stephanus *Sextus* has this paſſage. *Contulit in eadem Baſilica Apoſtolorum cortinam lineam unam, velothyra ſerica tria in circuitu altaris.* Whence it appears, that ἐπιλόδυεσν and ἀμφίθυρον ſignifie the ſame thing. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXI.

Concerning Naamanes *the* Saracen.

AT the ſame time, *Naamanes* alſo, the Chief of a Tribe of thoſe *Saracens* that were Enemies, a *Pagan* ſo wicked and abominable, that with his own hand he ſacrificed men to his *Dæmons*, came to Holy Baptiſm; and having melted down a [Statue of] *Venus*, which was nothing elſe but a real Maſs of Gold, he diſtributed it amongſt the poor, and brought over all thoſe perſons about him to [the worſhip of] God. But *Gregorius*, after *Choſroes*'s Croſſes had been preſented, by the Emperour's order went a Circuit to the Solitudes of thoſe termed *The Limits*, wherein *Severus*'s Tenets [a] were highly prevalent; [in which places] he ſet forth the Eccleſiaſtick *Dogmata*, and brought over to the Church of God many Caſtles, Villages, Monaſteries, and whole Tribes.

[a] In the *Greek Text* of *Valeſius's Edition*, at this place we found theſe words wanting, κατεῤῥάτει, τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ πρεσβεύει δόγματα, *were highly prevalent*; [*in which places*] *he ſet forth the Eccleſiaſtick Dogmata*, or, *Opinions*: which we have inſerted from *Robert Stephens's Edition*. *Valeſius* has expreſt them in his *Latine Verſion*, and ſo have all the other Tranſlatours.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Death of Saint Symeon Junior *the* Stylite.

BUT in the interim, Saint *Symeones* fell sick of a distemper whereof he died; and, upon my giving *Gregorius* notice thereof, he made all the hast he could to him, to pay him his last Salutes. But *Gregorius* obtained not what he desired. Further, this *Symeones* for Virtue far excelled all persons of his own time; having from his tender years lead an austere Course of Life upon a Pillar: [a] in so much that his teeth were changed in that Station upon the Pillar. He went up upon a Column, on this account. Whilst he was yet very young, he wandred up and down over the Tops of the Mountain, * playing and leaping. And by chance hapned upon a wild Beast [termed] a *Libard*, about whose neck he cast his girdle, and with the rein of a bridle as 'twere, lead the Beast who † forgat his natural ferity, and brought him to his own Monastery. Which when *Symeones*'s Instructer, (a person who kept his Station upon a Pillar,) beheld, he asked the Boy what that was. *Symeones* made answer, that it was an *Ælurus*, which they usually term *a Cat*. From hence [his Instructer] conjectured how eminent a person *Symeones* would prove [in the Study of] Virtue, and therefore carried him up into a Pillar. In which Pillar, and in another that stood upon the very top of the Mountain, he spent Sixty eight years, being vouchsafed all manner of Grace; both as to the casting out of Devils, as to the curing every disease and all manner of languishing distempers, and in relation to the foreseeing things future as if they had been present. He foretold *Gregorius*, that he should not see him die; but [said,] that he was ignorant of what would happen after his own death. And when I my self was ‖ troubled with various thoughts at the loss of my children, and doubted within my own mind, why the same [troubles] befel not the *Pagans* who had many children; although I had not opened my mind to any person whatever, yet he wrote to me, to abstain from such thoughts as those, [b] in regard they were displeasing to God. Moreover, when the wife of * one of my *Amanuenses* had her milk stopt after her delivery, [by reason whereof] the Infant was in imminent danger; [the same *Symeones*] put his hand upon her husbands right hand, and ordered him to lay it upon the breasts of his wife: which when he had done, immediately the milk sprang out as 'twere from a fountain, in such a manner that it † wetted the garment of the woman. Further, a child having been left upon the Road in the dead of the night, through the forgetfulness of those who travelled with him, a Lyon laid it on his back, and brought it to [*Symeon's*] Monastery, and by *Symeones*'s order, those who ministred to him went out, and brought in the child, which had been ‖ preserved by the Lyon. The same person performed many other things * highly memorable, which require an eloquent tongue, much time, and a peculiar Treatise; [all which actions of his] are celebrated by the tongues of men. For, persons of almost all Nations of the Earth, not only *Romans*, but *Barbarians*, came frequently to him, and obtained their requests of him. Certain branches of a shrub which grew on that mountain, * were made use of by him in stead of all sorts of meat and drink.

[a] Ὡς καὶ τοὺ ὀδόντας ἀυτοὺ διήλλαξεν. *Nicephorus* has explained this place incomparably well, by inserting one word, thus; λόγος μὲν ἔχει τῶτον καὶ τοὺ πρώτους ὀδόντας διαλλάξαι ἐν τῇ στάσει τῆ χίονος. That is, as *Langus* renders it *perhibetur sane primos dentes in columnæ statione mutasse, 'tis indeed reported, that he changed his first teeth in his Station on the Pillar.* In the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian Manuscripts*, 'tis written τοὺ, not ἀυτοὺ. where the word ἀυτῆ is used instead of ἐκεῖ, *there*. Vales.

* Κωμίζων, *behaving himself like a child.*

† Or, *Forgat his Nature.*

‖ Or, *Distracted into.*

[b] Ὡς ἂν ἀρέσκον τῷ Θεῷ. The Rules of Grammar require, that we should write ἀρεσκόντων. For ἐκείναι τούτων precedes. *Vales.*

* Or, *One of those who wrote under me.*

† Or, *Filled.*

* Or, *Guarded.*

* Or, *Above mention.*

* Or, *Were to him.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the Death of Gregorius *Bishop of* Antioch, *and the Restauration of* Anastasius.

NOT long after [a] dyed *Gregorius* also, after he had been seized with a *Goutish* distemper, wherewith he was much troubled, and had drank a potion [made of the herb] termed [b] *Hermodactylus*, which was administred to him by a Physitian. He ended his life, at such time as *Gregorius* was Bishop of the *Elder Rome*, who had succeeded *Pelagius*; *Sinaita* on the year of Christ 594. But *Baronius* doubts at the same place, whether it ought not to be placed on the year following; especially in regard *Gregorius Magnus, in the Register of the Letters of the thirteenth Indiction*, congratulates *Anastasius*, because he had been restored to the See of *Antioch*. But the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*, (who lived almost in the same times with *Gregorius*,) places *Gregorius*'s death in the tenth year of the Empire of *Mauricius*, on the *tenth Indiction*; his words are these: ἰνδ. ι'. τότῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀνασῶσθ, &c; *In the tenth Indiction; on this year* Anastasius *Patriarch* of Antioch *returned to* Antioch, *after the death of* Gregorius *who had been Patriach, who had also before succeeded the same* Anastasius. Where you may note that *Anastasius* is called Patriarch even before his Restoration; because, having been deposed illegally and by force, he had always retained the title of *Patriarch*. 'Tis certain *Pope Gregorius*, in the *three Letters he wrote to him at the beginning of his Episcopate*, does always acknowledge *Anastasius* to be a Patriarch. But, he is never found to have accounted *Gregorius* (who had illegally taken possession of *Anastasius*'s Chair whilst he was yet alive,) amongst the number of Patriarchs. *Vales.*

[a] *Baronius* does indeed place the death of *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* and the Restauration of *Anastasius* at the same place, whether it ought not to be placed on the year following; especially in regard *Gregorius Magnus, in the Register of the Letters of the thirteenth Indiction*, congratulates *Anastasius*, because he had been restored to the See of *Antioch*. But the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*, (who lived almost in the same times with *Gregorius*,) places *Gregorius*'s death in the tenth year of the Empire of *Mauricius*, on the *tenth Indiction*; his words are these: ἰνδ. ι'. τότῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀνασῶσθ, &c; *In the tenth Indiction; on this year* Anastasius *Patriarch* of Antioch *returned to* Antioch, *after the death of* Gregorius *who had been Patriach, who had also before succeeded the same* Anastasius. Where you may note that *Anastasius* is called Patriarch even before his Restoration; because, having been deposed illegally and by force, he had always retained the title of *Patriarch*. 'Tis certain *Pope Gregorius*, in the *three Letters he wrote to him at the beginning of his Episcopate*, does always acknowledge *Anastasius* to be a Patriarch. But, he is never found to have accounted *Gregorius* (who had illegally taken possession of *Anastasius*'s Chair whilst he was yet alive,) amongst the number of Patriarchs. *Vales.*

[b] *Hermodactylus* was a plant unknown to the Ancients, 'Tis certain, neither *Dioscorides*, nor *Galen* have made any mention of it. But, the *Arabians* after *Serapion*, confounded it with *Colchicum* and *Ephemeron*. Whom our *Apothecaries* have followed, and in their Shops substitute *Colchicum* instead of *Hermodactylus*. But *Andreas Matthiolus* (in his *comments on the fourth book of* Dioscorides,) hath long since taken notice of this mistake; and after him others, who have written concerning plants. When *Matthiolus* published the *Former Edition* of his *Comments*, he himself did not then fully know what *Hermodactylus* was. But afterwards, when he had procured that plant from the *Illustrious personage Augerius Busbequius*, who had brought it him at his return from *an Embassy at Constantinople*; he gave us the Type or Cutt of that plant at pag. 1109 of his *Latter Edition*. The Roots of this plant represent the likeness of fingers, with the addition of nails also. Whence the plant had its name, For *Hermodactylus* signifies *the finger of Mercury*. Further, the root hereof was heretofore given to those that were troubled with the *Gout in the joynts or fingers*, at such time as the humours issued out: for, of it self, and by a decoction of it, it has a purgative quality, as *Paulus Ægineta* relates in his *seventh book*. But now a days *Hermodactylus* is given to those troubled with the *Gout in their feet*, not at that time when the humours issue forth, but rather when the disease is grown strong and come to its height. For, when Modern *Physitians* had found by the use of this medicine, that it was noxious in the approach or augmentation of the disease, they corrected the practice of the Ancient *Physicians* in this particular; as the *most famous and most Learned Tossanus de Fontaine Doctor of Physick and Regius Professor in the University of Paris* informed me, a person to whom I profess my self highly obliged, for his singular kindness towards me, and for his care and diligence in curing my distemper. *Vales.*

and

and whilst *Johannes* [presided over the Church of] * *Constantinople*, and *Eulogius* over that of *Alexandria*, (persons whom I have mentioned before;) and during *Anastasius*'s presidency over the *Antiochian* Church, [c] who had been restored to his own Chair [d] after three and twenty years. *Johannes*; [was then Bishop] of *Jerusalem*; who died soon after, and as yet no body has undertaken the Government of that Church. And here shall my History be closed, namely, [e] on the twelfth year of *Mauricius Tiberius*'s Government of the *Roman* Empire; the following [affairs of the Church] being left to be collected and written by such as are desirous [of employing themselves that way.] If any thing be either omitted, or not accurately set forth by us; let no person ascribe it to us as a fault; but let him consider with himself, that we have Collected into one Body * a dispersed and scattered History, and have made it our business [to consult] the advantage of men, in favour of whom we have † undertaken so many and such vast Labours. *Another Volume* has likewise been composed by us, which contains *Relations*, *Letters*, *Decrees*, *Orations*, *Disputations*, and *some other things*. The foresaid *Relations* contained in *that Volume* were all written in the Name of *Nicephorus* was meant by these words, but that *Anastasius* had been restored to his own See after *Gregorius*'s death. *Vales.*

* Or, *The Junior Rome.*

[c] Τῷ οἰκείῳ θρόνῳ δὶς δεκαετηρίδι.

From these words 'tis evidently concluded, that *Anastasius* was restored to the See of *Antioch* a little before *Gregorius*'s death. For *Evagrius* says, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* dyed, after *Anastasius* had been restored to his own Chair Yet, *Nicephorus* thought, that nothing else was meant

* Or, *A wandring History.*

† Or, *Sustained.*

[d] *Anastasius* had been deposed on the year of Christ 570, as I have observed above, in *my notes* on *book* 5. *chap.* 5. From this year to the tenth of *Mauricius*'s Empire, (whereon he was restored to his See, as the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us,) that is to the year of *Christ* 592, there are three and twenty years. *Vales.*

[e] From these words some one might perhaps conjecture that which *Baronius* has also supposed, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* dyed on the twelfth year of the Emperour *Mauricius*. For why should *Evagrius* say, that he had closed his History on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire, unless he had related some thing before, which had been done on the twelfth year of the same *Mauricius*? Notwithstanding, after a more diligent inspection into the thing, *Evagrius* seems not in my judgment, to have designed to mean that by these words. For *Evagrius* says, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* had ended his life, at such time as *Gregorius* Governed the *Roman*, and *Eulogius* the *Alexandrian* Church; and whilst *Johannes* presided over the Church at *Jerusalem*. Which *Johannes* having ended his life not long after, *Evagrius* saith no body was as yet put into his place. *Evagrius* therefore closed not his History with the death of *Gregorius*, in regard he relates, that after *Gregorius*'s death, *Johannes* Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed; and that after his death no person was yet put into his See, at that time when he wrote these things. Wherefore *Evagrius* by these words means only this, that he wrote these things on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire. *Vales.*

Gregorius Bishop of *Antioch*. By reason whereof we have obtained two dignities; [the one] from *Tiberius Constantinus*, [f] who invested us with the [Dignity] of *Quæstorius*, [the other] from *Mauricius Tiberius* who sent us the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture*, [g] on account of that [Oration] we had composed, at such time as (having wiped away the reproach of the Empire,) he brought into the light [his Son] [h] *Theodosius*, who gave a beginning of all manner of felicity, both to [*Mauricius*] himself, and to the State.

[f] Τῆ τῦ κοιαισωρεί̃ᾳ θεμελίῳ. I like not the Rendition of *Christophorson* and *Musculus*, who think that the honour of *the Quæsture* was conferred upon our *Evagrius* by *Tiberius*. But *Evagrius* does not say, that he had the dignity τῦ κοιαισωρ῀ of *Quæstor* given him but only τῦ κοιαισωρείυ of *Quæstorius*. Now, there is a great difference between *Quæstor* and *Quæstorius*. For he is *Quæstor*, *who bears the Office of Quæstor*. But, *Quæstorius* is he *who has already born that Office*. In regard therefore *Evagrius* says, that he had the honour *Ex-Quæstore* given him, he means that the *Codicills Ex-Quæstore* were conferred on him by the Emperour: althogether in the same manner, wherein (as he adds immediately,) the *Codicills Ex-Præfectis Prætorio* were bestowed on him by the Emperour *Mauricius*. Further, such persons as by their deserts had procured these *Codicills*, enjoyed all those privileges, which belonged to the *Honorati* who had born those dignities, to wit, of *the Quæsture* and of *the Præfecture*. But, in my opinion the reading at this place ought to be, τὸ τῦ κοιαισωρείυ (the term ἀξίωμα being understood,) *the* [*dignity*] *of Quæstorius*. Vales.

[g] Ἐφ' ᾧ σωσθεὶς ἀμβλ. Translatours understood not this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus; *unde ista composuimus, cum ille imperii ignominiam ablaturus, Theodosium in lucem produxit, whence we composed those things, when he, about to take away the ignominy of the Empire, brought* Theodosius *into the light*. *Christophorson* translates it in this manner: *Quo regnante eas Relationes composuimus; idque eo ipso tempore quo Theodosium in Lucem edidit, during whose Reign we composed those Relations; and that at that very time wherein he brought to light Theodosius*. *Christophorson* was of opinion, that the reading here ought to be, ἐφ' ᾧ. But this emendation is not to be endured. For *Evagrius* had not composed *that Work of Relations* during the Reign of *Mauricius*, but whilst *Tiberius Constantinus* was Emperour, as he himself affirms a little above. Therefore, I had rather retain the common reading here, by understanding the word ἀναφορᾶ *Relation*, or διαλέξει *Discourse*. For when the Emperour *Mauricius*'s Son *Theodosius* was born, *Evagrius* wrote an Oration to the Emperour *Mauricius*, wherein he congratulated with him on account of the Birth of his Son, and foretold the highest felicity both to *Mauricius* and the *Roman* State, because *Mauricius* had abolished the old Reproach of the *Roman* Empire, and had at length begotten a Male-child. For, none of the *Roman* Emperours, who had Reigned in the Eastern parts; even from the times of *Theodosius Junior*, had begotten Male-children. *Evagrius* therefore says, that on account of this Oration, he had been rewarded by *Mauricius* with the *Codicills* of a most ample *Præfecture*. Vales.

[h] The *most noble Theodosius* was born *in purple* on the *third year* of *Mauricius*'s Empire on the *twenty sixth* of the month *September*, and therefore on the *fourth Indiction*, which had begun from the *Calends* of the *September* of this year. The same *Theodosius* was afterwards Crowned *Augustus* by his Father *Mauricius*, in the *eighth Indiction*, on the *twenty sixth* of the month *March*, when he was four years and an half old, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, *pag.* 225. Vales.

Six Books of Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus Epiphaniensis *and* [*one*] *of the* Ex-Præfects.

THE END.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

CONSTANTINE,

IN FOUR BOOKS,

Written in GREEK, by *Euſebius Pamphilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*; done into ENGLISH from that Edition ſet forth by *Valeſius*, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIUS's Annotations on the ſaid LIFE, which are made ENGLISH, and ſet at their proper places in the Margin.

Here is alſo annext the Emperour CONSTANTINE's ORATION to the CONVENTION of the SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS's SPEECH Concerning the PRAISES of CONSTANTINE, Spoken at his TRICENNALIA.

The Second Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for *A.* and *J. Churchill*, in the Year 1709.

VALESIUS's Advertiſement to the READER.

IN My Annotations *on* Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, *I have remarked, that the* Titles *or* Contents of the Chapters, *which are prefixt before each Book, were compoſed by* Euſebius *himſelf. And this, in my judgment, I have proved by moſt evident Arguments. But, in theſe* Books concerning the Life of Conſtantine, *the matter is otherwiſe. For the* Contents of theſe Books *were not made by* Euſebius *himſelf, but by ſome other more modern Author. Now, I make this conjecture from hence, both becauſe the* Contents of theſe Chapters, *are for the moſt part uncooth, inſipid, and barbarous; and alſo in regard they always ſpeak of* Euſebius *in the third Perſon; whereas, in the* Contents of the Chapters of his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, Euſebius *always names himſelf in the firſt perſon. Beſides, the diſtinctions of the Chapters are two thick, and occur too often; and one* Letter *and* Conſtitution *of the Emperor, is divided, and torn aſunder as 'twere, into many Chapters. Which thing is wont often to beget a loathing and nauſeouſneſs in the Reader. I forbear mentioning the barbarous words and terms, which occur frequently in* theſe Contents. *For, in them you diverſe times meet with* παλάτιον, κόμιτες, νοτάριον, *and* ἀνυπόυς. *All which conſiderations make me of this opinion, that I ſhould believe any one elſe, rather than* Euſebius, *to have been the* Author of theſe Contents. *Nevertheleſs, whoever the perſon was, he was ancient, and lived not at any great diſtance from the Age of* Our Euſebius. *And this is chiefly Collected from the* Contents of the Fourth Book; *wherein you may read ſome paſſages, which could not have been known, but by a Writer Contemporary with thoſe times, of which ſort is that concerning* Marianus *the* Tribune, *and* Notary, *in the* Contents of Chapter 44. Book 4. *the name of which Notary we might at this day have been ignorant of, had not* that Author of the Contents, *and after him* Sozomen, *given us information thereof. I have ſometimes conjectured, that* Acacius, *(he, who ſucceeded Our* Euſebius *in the Chair of the Church of* Cæſarea, *in regard he publiſh'd theſe Books of his* Maſter *after his Death,) Compoſed theſe Contents. But, this is but a meer conjecture, which any one that will, may follow. Laſtly, the Reader is to be Advertiſed, that in all our* Manuſcript Copies, *the Titles of theſe Chapters are written without the* * Numeral Notes. *And in* The Old Sheets belonging to the King's Library, *they occur præfixt before each Book. But in the* Fuketian Manuſcript, *they are not only ſet before each Book; but are alſo added to every Chapter, in the Body of each Book.*

* That is, *Without ſetting forth what Chapter it is,* viz. *the* 20th, 30th, &c.

THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS [a] CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE[b].

[a] Εἰς τὸν βίον τῦ μακαρίυ κωνσταντίνυ. So *Græcians* are wont to inſcribe their Books written concerning any one's Life: *Philoſtratus* gave *his Books concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* this Title, φιλοσόφυ εἰς τὸν ἀπολλωνίυ τῦ τυανέως βίον λόγοι ἡ *Philoſtratus's eight Books concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus.* So alſo *Marcus Antoninus* entitled the Books concerning his own Life, ἃ εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ', *twelve Books of* [*Remarks*] *upon himſelf.* 'Tis further to be noted, that although *theſe Books* have this Title, *concerning the Life of the Emperor Conſtantine*, yet all things are not contained therein, which were performed by that Emperor, but thoſe matters only are deſcribed, which relate to true piety, and the Glory of the Chriſtian Religion. Whereof *Euſebius* gives an Expreſs advertiſement in the beginning of this book, chap. 11. *Valeſ.*

[b] At this place *Robert Stephens* has added theſe words λόγοι πέντε, *five Books*; what Copies he followed, I know not. For theſe words occurr not, either in the *King's Copy*, or in the *Old Sheets*. Neither are theſe words to be found in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. 'Tis certain, this Work concerning the Life of the Emperor *Conſtantine* conſiſts only of four Books; which is alſo atteſted by *Photius*. But, becauſe *Euſebius* had added three ſmall Pieces, to wit, *the Emperor* Conſtantine's *Oration to the Convention of the Saints, the deſcription of the Church at* Jeruſalem *together with the Sacred Preſents their Dedicated by* Conſtantine, and *a Panegyrick ſpoken at* Conſtantine's *Tricennalia*; hence it came to paſs, that *this Appendix* was by ſome taken for a *Fifth Book*. Indeed the *Index of the Chapters* which is prefixt before *Conſtantine's Oration to the Saints*, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* has this Title, κεφάλαια τῦ πέμπτυ λόγυ, *the Chapters of the Fifth Book*. But in the *King's Copy*, the *Indices* of the Chapters are omitted, and this Title is written at the ſide, though in a more modern hand, ἀρχὴ τῦ ἐ βιβλίυ *the beginning of the Fifth Book*. Valeſ.

The Preface.

Concerning the Death of Conſtantine.

ALL Mankind have not long ſince celebrated the recurring periods of our great Emperor's compleated * *Vicennalia* and *Tricennalia*, with Feſtivities and publick Banquets. We our ſelves alſo, [a] by a *Panegyrick* ſpoken in his *Vicennalia*, have lately venerated the ſame Glorious Conqueror environed with a Synod of God's Sacred Miniſters. Moreover, [b] we have platted him Crowns of *Tricennalian Orations*, wherewith we lately encircled his Sacred Head within his own Imperial Palace.

* Δεκάδων δευτέρων τε καὶ τρίτων, *Second and Third Decade of years.* 'Twas uſual with Emperors to celebrate ſolemn Feaſts and Paſtimes for joy they were arrived at the 10th, 20th, 30th, *year of their Reign*; the Feaſts for their *tenth year* were termed *Decennalia*; thoſe for their 20th, *Vicennalia*; and them for their 30th, *Tricennalia.*

[a] Εἰκοσαετηρικοῖς ὕμνοις, *with Vicennalian Hymns. This Oration* ſpoken by *Euſebius* in *Conſtantine's Vicennalia* is not now extant. We can only affirm this of it, that it was ſpoken in the *Nicene Synod*, in the preſence of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, as *Euſebius* atteſts in the following words: but he tells us this very thing much more plainly in book 3. chap. 11. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τειχοτριετηρικὸς αὐτῷ λόγων πλέξαντες στέφανος, *we have platted him Tricennalian Crowns of Orations.* He means *the Tricennalian Oration concerning the praiſes of* Conſtantine, which *Euſebius* had annexed at the cloſe of his *Books concerning the Life of* Conſtantine, as he himſelf atteſts book 4. chap. 46. Nevertheleſs, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript this Oration* is prefixt before *Euſebius's Books of the Life of the Emperor Conſtantine.* Which is very right indeed, if we reſpect the time wherein *this Oration* was ſpoken; but 'tis Contrary to the opinion of the *Writer himſelf*, who ordered *that Oration* to be placed at the cloſe of theſe Books. *Valeſ.*

But now * I am doubtful and at a ſtand, deſirous indeed to utter ſomething according to the uſual manner, but ignorant which way to turn my ſelf, and amazed at this only miracle of a new and ſurprizing † ſpectacle. For, which way ſoever I look with a fixt and ſteady Eye, whether to the Eaſt or Weſt, upon the whole Earth or to Heaven it ſelf, I behold the Bleſſed [Emperor] preſent || every where and in all places, [c] converſing with *Imperial Majeſty* her ſelf. And I ſee his Sons, like ſome new Luminaries, filling the whole Earth with their Father's Rays, and [I behold] himſelf as yet living in Power and Authority, and managing the whole affairs of the world better and more potently than before; in regard he is diffuſed and enlarged by the ſucceſſion of his Sons. Who before had * been inveſted with the *Cæſarian Dignity:* but having now clothed themſelves with *their whole Father*, on account of their eximious † Vertue and Religion are proclaimed *Supream Sovereigns*, *Auguſti*, *Adorable*, being illuſtrated with [all] their Fathers Ornaments.

* Or, *Our Oration is*, &c. See chap. 2. note (c.)

† *Aſpect*, or, *Sight.*

|| Πάντη καὶ παντα χῆ.

[c] αὐτῇ συνόντα βασιλέα θεωρεῖ. Sr *Henry Savil hath noted at the margin of his Copy*, that perhaps the reading ſhould be ἑαυτῷ underſtand τῷ λόγῳ, *with our Oration it ſelf.* The ſame thing came alſo into my mind, before I had procured Sir *Henry Savil's Copy.* 'Tis the ſame with what *Euſebius* ſays in the following chapter, αὐτοῖς θ' ἡμῖν συνόντα, θαυμασιώτατα; *and converſt with us our ſelves, in a moſt admirable manner.* But after a more diligent inſpection into the thing, I am now of another opinion. Nor do I doubt but *Euſebius* wrote thus, αὐτῇ συνόντα βασιλέα *accompanied*, or *converſing with Imperial Majeſty her Self:* which is a moſt elegant expreſſion. For he makes *Imperial Majeſty* a kind of Goddeſs as 'twere, whoſe inſeparable Companion, he ſays, *Conſtantine* was after his death: in regard he converſed above with God the ſupreameſt of Kings; but reigned on Earth in his Sons. Queſtionleſs, whoſoever, ſhall read the following words with attention, will never doubt of this Emendation. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Partook of the honour of Cæſars.*

† Or, *Vertue of Religion.*

CHAP. II.

The Preface yet.

AND when I behold him (who a little before was ſeen [a] in a Mortal Body, and [b] converſt with our ſelves,) in a moſt admirable manner enjoying the ſame Imperial Palaces, Honours, and Commendations, even after the end of this Life, when Nature rejects as Foreign whatever is ſuperfluous; I am ſtricken with an incredible Amazement. But now, when with an acuteneſs of Mind I reach up to the very Arches of Heaven it ſelf, and there Contemplate his thrice happy Soul converſing with God, wholly diveſted of its Mortal and Terreſtrial Garment, and beautified with a moſt * Splendid *Stole* of Light: and when I perceive it not any more involved in the ſhort periods of Time, within theſe † fading Habitations; but honoured with an ever flouriſhing Diadem, and [endowed] † with an endleſs life and a bleſſed immortality: [c] I am dumb, and wholly deprived of the uſe of my Tongue and Reaſon. And being unable to utter one word, but paſſing ſentence my ſelf upon mine own weakneſs, and decreeing ſilence againſt my ſelf, I give place to one more potent, who may declare his * praiſes in a manner correſpondent to his deſerts; to him namely, who being † Immortal and *God the Word*, is only able to confirm and ratifie his own expreſſions.

[a] Καὶ ἢ ἐν σώματι δὲ θνητῷ. The reading in the *Old Sheets* is truer, thus, χῆ ἢ ἐν σώματι δὲ θνητῷ; and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript*, the four former words are wanting, and there is a blank ſpace left, capable of one or two words only. *Valeſ.*

[b] Αὐτοῖς θ' ἡμῖν συνόντα θαυμασιώτατα. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* this place is written thus αὐτοῖς θ' ἡμῖν ..... ἐνδοξότατα, &c. But I had rather retain the ordinary reading, only I would alter the punctation. For, I am of opinion, that a *Comma* is not to be placed after the word θαυμασιώτατα *in a moſt admirable manner*, (as *Muſculus* and *Chriſtophorſon* have done) but after the word συνόντα, thus, *converſt with us our ſelves*, as we have pointed it. For *Euſebius* ſays this was the greateſt Miracle and θαυμασιώτατον *moſt admirable*; that although *Conſtantine* was dead, yet he had the ſame Honours and Obedience paid him as when alive. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Reſplendent.*

† Or, *Reſidencies of Mortals.*

† Or, *With an Immortality of an endleſs*, &c.

[c] Ἀχανὴς ἔσηκεν οἷα χῆ ὁ λόγος. From the *Fuketian Manuſcript* and Sr. *Henry Savil's Copy* I have mended this place thus, ἀχανὴς ἔσηκεν οἷα χῆ ἄλογος. Λογος ἄλογος is an elegant expreſſion, as perſons skillful in the Greek Tongue do very well know. Further, whereas all theſe expreſſions in this and the foregoing chapter, are ſpoken by *Euſebius*, in the *third Perſon*, concerning his *Speech* or *Oration*, we choſe rather to change the perſon, and put it in the *firſt*, becauſe the propriety of the Latine Tongue ſeemed wholly to require that. *Valeſ.* For the ſame reaſon here given by *Valeſius* in relation to the *Latine Tongue*, we have likewiſe altered the perſon in our *Engliſh Verſion.*

* Or, *The dignity of his equal praiſes.*

† Or, *The Immortal God and The Word.*

CHAP. III.

Concerning God who honoured the Pious Emperors and deſtroyed the Tyrants.

FOR whereas he has predicted, that they who glorifie and honour him, ſhall by him be * compenſated with reciprocal Gifts and Rewards; but, that thoſe who have † profeſt themſelves his Enemies and Adverſaries, ſhall procure to themſelves a deſtruction of their Souls; long ſince [even from this Life] he hath aſcertained || the Truth of theſe his own words and promiſes. For he hath evidently ſet before our Eyes the deteſtable * *Exits* of Impious and God-oppoſing Tyrants; but hath demonſtrated not only the Life of his Servant, but his death alſo to be deſirable and worthy of the higheſt commendations: [a] in ſo much that, even † this deſerves a commemoration, and is egregiouſly worthy not of Mortal but immortal Sepulchral Monuments. The || wit of men hath indeed found out a comfort and preſervative againſt a Mortal and frail End, and by Conſecrations of Statutes, as 'twere by immortal honours, have thought good to Reverence the Memories of their Anceſtors. And ſome have framed Repreſentations of Men with the ſhadowed Colours of [b] *Encauſtick Painting*; others, with the Sculptures of inanimate matter;

* Or, *Subjected to.*

† *Made*, or, *conſtituted.*

|| Or, *The true promiſes of theſe his words.*

* *Concluſions of Life.*

† *His Death.*

|| Or, *The Nature of Mortals.*

[a] Καὶ τῶτον τε σηλῶν. I am not pleaſed with the reading in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* and in *Gruter's Copy*, which reading I found ſet at the margin in *Moræus's Copy* alſo; it is this, χῆ τῶτόν γε, &c. By a tranſpoſition of one particle I mend the place thus, ὡς ἀξιομνημόνευτον χῆ τῶτον, σηλῶν τε ἐ θνητῶν *in ſo much that*, &c. as we have rendred it. And I dare lay any wager, that *Euſebius* wrote ſo. Further, σῆλαι imports here *Titles* or *Sepulchral Monuments*, as I have at large remarked on *Euſebius's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.* *Valeſ.*

[b] Κηρωτῇ γραφῆς. He means *Paint of Encauſtum* or *Ceruſs*, which was made *by wax melted in the fire.* This was the moſt ancient ſort of Painting, as *Pliny* tells us, *book* 35. *chap* 11. *Ceris Pingere ac picturam inurere quis primus excogitaverit, non conſtat; 'tis not known who firſt found out Painting with wax and burning the Paint.* The ſame *Pliny* reckons up three ſorts of this Painting; to wit, *with wax, with the Ceſtrun* [*a kind of Piercer to bore with*] *in Ivory*, and *with the Pencil in wooden Tables: Encauſto pingendi duo fuiſſe antiquitùs genera conſtat, cera, & in ebore ceſtro, donec claſſes pingi cœpere. Hoc tertium acceſſit, reſolutis igni ceris penecillo utendi.* By which words 'tis very obſcure what *Pliny* means, in regard he ſays, that the firſt ſort of Painting with *Encauſtum* was with wax. For 'tis not to be underſtood, that there was no wax in the other ſorts of *Encauſtick*

Encauſtick Painting. The meaning therefore is this, that that firſt ſort of *Encauſtick Painting* was performed with Wax only, no other Inſtrument beſides Wax being made uſe of to Paint. *Procopius* (in his *firſt book de Ædificiis Juſtiniani,*) ſpeaking concerning the Roof of a Church, deſcribes this ſort of Painting thus; ἐναβρύνεται ὃ ταῖς γραφαῖς ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, ἐκ τοῦ κηροῦ ἐντακέντι τε καὶ διαχυθέντι, *the whole Roof was adorned with Paintings, not with Wax made liquid* [or *burnt,*] *and diffuſed.* 'Tis apparent, that by theſe words *Procopius* means κηρόχυτον γραφήν, *Encauſtick Painting.* 'Tis certain, κηρόχυτος γραφὴ occurs in *John Chryſoſtome* alſo, as 'tis recorded in the *Second Nicene Council, pag.* 542. And in *Pope Gregory's Letter to Germanus Biſhop of Conſtantinople, at page* 535. *of the ſame Nicene Council*; where *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* renders it, *imaginem cerâ perfuſam, a Picture beſmeared with Wax.* The ſame term occurs hereafter in our *Euſebius*, at *book* 3. *chap.* 3. and in the *Hiſtory of Nicephorus Patriarch of Conſtantinople*, about the end. Concerning this Painting *Apuleius* ſpeaks, *in defenſione ſuâ*, in theſe words: *Enim verò quod luto fictum, vel ære infuſum, vel lapide inciſum, vel cerâ inuſtum, vel pigmento illitum.* And *Nazarius* in *the Panegyrick he ſpoke to Conſtantine*, ſpeaking concerning his Images thrown down by *Maxentius*, writes thus; *Aboleri hic vultus non poteſt: univerſorum pectoribus infixus eſt, nec commendatione ceræ aut pigmentorum fucis renitet: ſed deſiderio effloreſcit animorum. Paulinus* likewiſe, in his *eighth Epiſtle to Sulpicius Severus*; at which place ſee *Fronto Ducæus's notes.* There is alſo an eminent paſſage of *Boethius's* concerning this matter, in his *Preface to his Books of Arithmetick* which he Dedicated to *Symmachus* the *Patricius.* *At Picturæ, manibus tabulæ commiſſæ fabrorum; ceræ ruſticâ obſervatione decerptæ; colorum fuci mercatorum ſolertia perquiſiti; Lintea operoſis elaborata textrinis, multiplicem materiam præſtant.* For ſo that place is to be corrected from an *old Manuſcript* of *Thuanus's Library.* Laſtly, *Anaſtaſius* in his *Sermon de Sabbato*, which is recorded in the *Seventh Synod*, τῆς εἰκόνος ὃ μὲν ἕτερον ἦσαν, ἢ ξύλον καὶ χρώματα κηρῷ μεμιγμένα καὶ κεκραμένα, *the Image being nothing elſe but wood, and colours mixt and tempered with Wax.* Valeſ.

otherſome have cut deep Letters on wooden or ſtone Tablets, wherewith they have [c] taken occaſion of conſigning to Eternal Memory the Virtues of thoſe whom they honour. But all theſe things were mortal, and conſumed by length of time; in regard they expreſt the proportions of mortal bodies, not the * *Idea*'s of an immortal † mind. However, theſe things ſeemed to content thoſe perſons, who, after the concluſion of this mortal life, had conceived in their minds an hope of no other thing that was good. But God, God [I ſay] the Common Saviour of all things, who hath treaſured up with himſelf greater Goods than Man can have a conception of, for the Lovers of Piety; gives as a foregoing pledge even in this life, the Firſt fruits of future Rewards, and in a manner repreſents and confirms immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The ancient Oracles of the Prophets, which are committed to writing, do plainly foretel theſe things. The Lives of perſons dear to God, who heretofore have ſhined with all manner of Virtues, whoſe [Lives] are as yet celebrated by poſterity, do give atteſtation hereto. The ſame is clearly evinced to be true by the Teſtimony of this our preſent Age, wherein *Conſtantine*, the only perſon of all thoſe who ever yet Governed the *Roman* Empire, having been made the friend of God the ſupream King, is propoſed to all Men as a powerful and illuſtrious inſtance of a Religious life.

[c] Μνήμας ὑπέβαλον ἀιωνίοις. I think it ſhould be written, ἐπέλαβον, *have taken occaſion*: and ſo the reading is in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library.* Sir *Henry Savil* had likewiſe remarked at the Margin of his Copy, that in his judgment the reading was to be thus. But in *Moræus's Copy* at the Margin 'tis mended thus, ὑπέλαλον; with which reading I am beſt pleaſed, *Valeſ.*

* *Forms*, or, *figures.* † Or, *Soul.*

CHAP. IV.

That God honoured Conſtantine.

LAſtly, God himſelf, whom *Conſtantine* worſhipped, confirmed this with effectual ſuffrages, [a] by affording him his favourable and benigne preſence and aſſiſtance, at the beginning, procedure, and end of his Reign: which perſon God propoſed to mankind as an † *Exemplar* for their information in relation to the divine worſhip. Indeed, of all the Emperours, whom we ever yet heard of, he was the only one, whom God, by thoſe Bleſſings of all ſorts which he conferred on him, demonſtrated to be the greateſt Luminary and Loudeſt Proclaimer of ſteady Piety and true Religion.

† *Pattern*, or, *Inſtance.*

[a] Αὐτῷ λειτουργίας. I read αὐτοῦ λειτουργίας. And a little after, inſtead of διδασκαλίαν, it muſt be written, εἰς διδασκαλίαν, *for their information.* Valeſ.

CHAP. V.

That he Reigned upwards of Thirty years, and lived above Sixty.

*HE honoured the Time of his Reign with three compleated periods of Ten Years, and [a] ſomething more; but he circumſcribed the whole Life he lead amongſt Men, with a ſpace of time double as much. Further, becauſe † He would propoſe him as the portraicture of his own Monarchical power, [b] He made him the Conquerour of the whole *Tyrannick Brood*, and the Deſtroyer of the * Impious Giants: who, [inſtigated] by a deſperation and madneſs of mind, took up Arms of Impiety againſt God himſelf the ſupream King. But having made their appearance [c] even during a ſhorter time than is required to ſpeak, they were extinguiſhed. But God, who is one and the ſole God, when he had fortified his Servant, one oppoſed to many, with divine Armour [d], and by his means had cleared the World of the multitude of impious Perſons, conſtituted him the Teacher of his own Worſhip to all Nations: who in the [e] hearing of all Men atteſted with a loud voice, that he acknowleged the True God, but abominated the Errour of falſe Deities.

* *God.* † *God.* * Or, *God-oppoſing.*

[a] Καὶ σχεδόν τι λῶον. A new and unuſual expreſſion; λῶον inſtead of that which others would term πλέον. *Euſebius* ſays, that *Conſtantine* reigned thirty compleat years, and ſomething more. Which is true. For, beſides thirty years, he reigned almoſt ten months. Further, at the beginning of this period, the reading muſt be, χρόνον μὴν βασιλείας, *the time of his Reign*; not as the common reading is, χρόνων. *Valeſ.*

[b] Νοητὴν ἀπέδειξε. Write νικητὴν ἀπέδειξε, *He made him the Conquerour*; as I found it mended in the Margin of the *Moræan Copy*, which reading *Chriſtophorſon* has followed. The ſame reading occurs in the *old Sheets*, in the *Savilian*, and in the *Fuketian Manuſcripts.* Valeſ.

[c] Ὅσον εἰπεῖν. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it *prope dixerim, I had almoſt ſaid*; as if it had been written ὡς εἰπεῖν. I doubt not but *Euſebius* meant another thing. For, being deſirous to ſhow how ſhort a time the Tyrants flouriſhed, he ſays they were viſible a ſhorter time than is required to ſpeak. 'Tis the ſame which *Græcians* term λόγου δεῖπνον, *in the twinkling of an eye*; a ſort of *Hyperbole* familiar with *Græcians.* Valeſ.

[d] Παναοπλίᾳ παντελείᾳ. The one of theſe words is redundant, and therefore we have left it out in our Verſion. The former of them ſeems to me to be a *Scholion*! in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*, the latter is wanting. A little after, inſtead of δι' ὧτινος ἐνίκων, &c. the reading muſt be δι' ὧτινος, &c. *by his means*, &c. as 'tis in the *Kings Sheets*, and *in the Savilian* and *Fuketian Manuſcripts.* Further, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis ἐνίκων. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ταῖς πάντων ἀρεταῖς, *in the virtues of all.* It muſt be made ἀκοαῖς, *in the hearing*, &c. which *Chriſtophorſon* perceived not. In the *old Sheets* 'tis over written ἀκοαῖς in the ſame hand. Alſo, Inſtead of μαρτυρόμενον, I write μαρτυρόμενον, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuſcript.* Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

That he was the Servant of God and a Vanquisher of Nations.

AND, like a faithful and good Servant, he practised and asserted this; openly styling himself a Servant, and owning himself a worshipper of the supream King. But God rewarded him forthwith, by making him Lord and Master, and the only Conquerour of all the Emperours that ever were, always, invincible and insuperable: [a] and [he advanced him to be] so great an Emperour on account of his Victories and Trophies, as no one is ever recorded to have been in former ages: so happy and dear to God; so pious and every way fortunate, that with all facility imaginable he reduced more Nations to a Subjection under himself, than the former [Emperours had vanquished;] and continued possest of his Empire, free from disturbance and disquietude, to the very moment of his Expiration.

[a] Νικῶνλα ξυταίοις. I read, νικῶν τε ξυταίοις βασιλέα τοσοῦτον, *and* [*He advanced him to be*] *so great an Emperour* &c. In the *Kings Sheets* this place is supplied at the Margin in this manner, εἰσαεὶ νικῶνλα, ξυταίοις τε τοῖς κατ' ἐχθρῶν διὰ παντὸς φαιδρυνόμενον, *always vanquishing, and continually made joyful with Trophies against his enemies.* The *Fuket. Manuscript* has no variation, only adds a conjunction in this manner, καὶ εἰσαεὶ νικῶνλα, *and always vanquishing.* Vales.

CHAP. VII.

[Constantine] *compared with* Cyrus *King of the* Persians, *and with* Alexander *the* Macedonian.

ANcient History relates *Cyrus* [King] of the *Persians* to have been more renowned and glorious, than all [the Princes] that ever were. [a] But, the conclusion of his life, 'tis said, was in no wise fortunate, but reproachful rather, and ignominious; in regard he was slain by a Woman.

[a] Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα τέλος δ' ἐχρῆν μακρᾷ. Learned Men have attempted to restore this place several ways, as 'tis apparent from their Emendations, which are set at the Margin of the *Geneva Edition*, and written in the *Moræan Copy*. For some have conjectured it should be written thus; ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα, τέλος δὲ χρὴ σκοπεῖν μακαείᾳ, φασὶν αὐτὸν, &c. others have mended it thus; ἀλλὰ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ βίου εἶχε μὴ ταῦτα κοσμοῦντα. τέλος γὰρ οὐχ ὡς ἐχρῆν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μακρὸν, ἀμφῶν οὐδ' ἄξιον φασὶν αὐτὸν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ, &c. Which reading *Christophorson* has followed, as appears from his Rendition. But in the *Moræan Copy* this place is mended something otherwise, in this manner: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτα εἶχε κοσμοῦνλα, τέλος οὐχ ὡς..... οὐδ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν, ἀμφῶν οὐδ' ἄξιον αὐτὸν φάσκει..... κέκτηται. αἰσχρὸν δὲ, &c. From which imperfections any one would conjecture that this is a reading of some Manuscript Copy. The latter imperfection is easily supplied, in this manner, αὐτὸν φασὶν ἐκτήσασθαι. But in regard all these readings abound with faults, nor can any thing that is good be extracted out of them, I had rather expunge these words. Indeed, if these words be razed out, the Sense is most plain, thus, ἀλλὰ φασὶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄξιον, &c. which I have followed in my Version. The same was done before us, by *Johannes Portesius*, who first rendred *these books of* Eusebius *concerning the Life of* Constantine *into Latine*. In the *Kings Sheets*, after those words τέλος δ' ἐχρῆν μακρᾷ, at the Margin these words are added, εἰς σκοπεῖν The *Fuketian Manuscript* represents this place in the same manner with the Copy of *Moræus* and *Turnebus*. Vales.

The *Greeks* tell us, that *Alexander* [King] of the *Macedonians* vanquished * innumerable Nations: but before he had perfectly arrived at Man's estate, he ended his life by an untimely death, and was taken off by † Debauchery and Drunkenness. He finished the whole course of his Life within the space of two and thirty years; [b] not much more than a third part of which years determined the time of his Reign.

* Or, *Infinite sorts of all manner of Nations.*

† Or, *Riotous banquetting.*

[b] Οὐ πλέον. I think it must be ὃ πλέον, *not much more* which reading *Portesius* has followed. But *Christophorson* rendred it so, as if the read. ing were ἢ μικρῷ πλέον, or *something more.* 'Tis certain, *Alexander the Great* Reigned twelve years and above, which makes up something more than the third part of two and thirty years, if we go to an accurate computation. But Oratours, whose business it is to amplifie things, don't usually speak so exactly. Therefore *Eusebius* says well, ὃ πλέον, *not much more.* Vales.

[c] Ἀνθέσης αὐτῆς ἥβης. Every body sees it should be αὐτῷ τῆς ἥβης, *the flower of his Age*, as 'tis also remarked in *Moræus's Copy*. In the *old sheets* the reading is αὐτῆ; but in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis αὐτῷ. Further, a little after this it must be τῆς δεσποτῶν ἐκδύσεως not ἐκδύσῳ. And at the close of the chapter I read, ὅτι τοιούτοις ἀνυμνεῖται κακοῖς, *is extolled for such mischiefs as these*; although the *Manuscript Copies* vary not. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* I found it written, μοῖραν τινα παρασπῶντος, which is truer than ἀφισπῶντος, as 'tis in the common Editions. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

That he subdued almost the whole World.

BUT Our Emperour began to Reign from that year of his Age, whereon the *Macedonian* ended his life: and he lived twice as long as *Alexander* did; but trebled the length of his Reign. Further, having * cultivated his Army with the mild and modest Precepts of Piety, he march'd into *Britannia*, and to those who dwell in the very Ocean which is diffused far and wide [a] at the setting of the Sun. He likewise subdued all *Scythia*, [which lies] under the North it self, and is divided into innumerable Nations of *Barbarians*, differing both in name and manners. Moreover, having extended his Empire to the utmost confines of the South, to the *Blemmyæ* namely and *Æthiopians*; he look'd upon a dominion over them who dwell at the rising Sun, not to be foreign and inconvenient. In fine, [b] having with the brightest rays of Piety enlightned all mortals inhabiting within the circumference of the whole Element of the

* Or, *Fortified.*

[a] Τῷ καλαδύοντα ἥλιον. In the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*, 'tis written in two words, τῷ χαλαδύοντα ἥλιον, righter without question.

So he expresses himself hereafter, at chap. 41. In the *King's Copy* the reading also is βρεττανῶν, righter than in the common Editions, where 'tis Ϭρετανῶν. Nor is it otherwise in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. But on the contrary, a little after this, where the common Editions make it *Blemmyæ*, the same *Fuketian Manuscript* has it *Blemyæ*; not ill, as I have remarqued at *Amm. Marcellinus*, *pag.* 13. Vales.

[b] Τῶν περικύκλῳ. It must be written thus; τῇ κύκλῳ περιοίκων τῆς παντὸς τῆς γῆς στοιχείου, τῷ εἴῳ, φασὶ ευσεβείας ἀκτῖσιν ἐκλάμπων. *Portesius* referred these words, τῇ κύκλῳ περιοίκων, &c. to the *Indians*: for he has rendred it thus; *Indos extremos usque terræ undique circumjectos.* But I don't suppose this to be *Eusebius's* meaning. For the *Old Geographers* never affirmed that the *Indians* inhabited round the Circuit of the World. The *Spaniards* indeed, in the memory of our Grandfathers, have named a part of the Earth newly known to them and found out, *West-India*: but they did this according to their own arbitrement. Therefore, in this place of our *Eusebius*, I think it must be written τῇ τε κύκλῳ περιοίκων, &c. or rather, no alteration to be made. For the meaning is, that *Constantine* Preached Christ every where to all Men, from South to North, and from West to East. *Vales.*

Earth,

Earth, even to the utmost bounds of the * Continent, that is, as far as the Ocean. *Indians*, and the Nations inhabiting round on every side; he brought all the *Reguli*, *Ethnarchæ* and *Satrapæ* of the Barbarous Nations under a subjection to himself; all which gave him voluntary and joyful Salutes, sent him Embassies and [d] Presents, and put an high value upon his knowledge and friendship. So that, each person within his own Province paid him honour, partly by Pictures, and partly with Statues publickly dedicated to him: and *Constantine*, the only person of the Emperours, was known and famous over the whole World. Even as far as these Nations therefore he Proclaimed his own God by his Imperial Acclamations, with all the freedom and liberty Imaginable.

* Or, *Whole World.*

[c] Σαλεύοντες καὶ βαρβάρων. Many faults are made in these books by the transposition of words, as we have formerly shown. At this place such a fault occurs. Write therefore, καὶ σατεράπας, &c. *Vales.*

[d] Τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτῶν δώροις. In the *old Sheets* this place is thus supplied at the Margin, τοῖς τε παρ' αὐτῶν ξενίοις τε καὶ δώροις, &c. *and sent him Embassies and Presents and Gifts* And a little after this, in the *same Sheets*, the reading is, παρ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσι καταφανέστατον γνωρίζεσθαι, Constantine *was known amongst them all.* Vales.

CHAP. IX.

That [he was] the Son of a Pious Emperour, and left his Empire to his Sons who were Emperours.

[a] *The Kings Copy* begins a Chapter at these words, which we have readily followed. The *Fuketian Manuscript* also, which usually prefixes the Titles or Contents before each Chapter, begins the Chapter from these words. And I found the same division in the *old Sheets of the King's Library.* Vales.

NOr [a] performed he this by words only, and was * disappointed in the thing it self: but, proceeding on in all manner of Virtue, he † abounded with the various fruits of Piety; ‖ obliging his Friends with Magnificent Benefactions; Governing by the Laws of Clemency; and making his Empire easie and desirable to all his Subjects. Till at length, after long periods of years, that God whom he worshipped, Crowned him (when wearied out by various Conflicts and Exercises,) with the Divine Rewards of an Immortality, and from a mortal Kingdom translated him to an endless life, which he hath treasured up with himself for holy Souls; after * he had raised him up † three Children, who might succeed him in his Empire. In this manner therefore, the ‖ Imperial Dignity descended to him from his Father; and by the Law of Nature is reserved for his Children, and for their descendants; and, like some paternal Inheritance, shall henceforward be for ever propagated and prolonged. And indeed God himself, who hath exalted this most blessed Emperour (as yet * conversant amongst us,) to divine Honours, and hath adorned his Death with singular advantages [proceeding] from himself, can only be a fit Writer of his Life; in regard he has [b] Recorded his Glorious Actions and Conflicts on Celestial Tables and Monuments.

* Or, *Defrauded.*
† Or, *Was adorned.*
‖ *Enslaving.*

* *God.*
† Or, *An effigie of three children.*
‖ Or, *To one of the Empire.*
* Viz *In his Sons*; see chap. 1.

[b] Κατορθωμάτων ἄθλους. The word ἀναθεὶς, *recorded*, is wanting, which I found written at the Margin of the *Marcan Copy*. But in the *Kings Sheets*, after the word ἄθλους *Conflicts*, these words are added in the Margin, εἰς μακρὰς ἐξακοσίων αἰῶνας, *inscribing them to lasting Ages*. Which words, whether added by conjecture, or taken out of some other Copy, seem to me in no wise to be rejected. The *Fuketian Copy* has the word ἀνατιθεὶς. Vales.

CHAP. X.

That this History is necessary, and advantageous to the Souls and Minds [of Men.]

BUt, though I am convinc'd of the difficulty of saying any thing * befitting the Blessedness of so great a Person, and, that to be silent is safe and without danger: nevertheless [I count it] necessary to Consecrate to eternal Memory the Portraicture of a most pious [Emperour,] drawn [in the Colours of] words, in imitation of † mortal Paint; to the end I may [a] clear my self of the imputation of sloth and negligence. For, [b] I should be ashamed of my self, should I not confer the utmost of my abilities, though they are slender and mean, on him who with a transcendency of piety honoured God. Further, 'tis my Sentiment, that this work will prove both advantageous to the life of Man, and necessary to my self also; wherein are contained the Actions of a Great-minded Emperour, which are highly acceptable to God the Supream King. For, how can it be otherwise than disgraceful, that the Memory of a *Nero*, and of some other Impious and Atheistical Tyrants far worse than he, should not have wanted indefatigable Writers, who have adorned their Subjects, which were ill Actions, with a politeness and elegancy of Stile, and made them up into voluminous Histories: but, that we should be silent, for whom God himself hath vouchsafed to procure such an Emperour as no [c] Age hath seen, and to whom he has allowed a liberty of coming into his presence, to his knowledge, and converse?

* Or, *Worthy of.*
† Or, *A mortal Picture.*
[a] Ἀφωπωμένος. In the *Kings, Salvilian* and *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis written ἀφοσιωμένος But this expression seems to be a *Solœcisme*. For he ought to have said ἀφοσιωμένῳ, if he would have spoken correctly. In the *old Sheets* the reading is ἀφωσιωμένε and νῳ is written over it.

[b] Αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ ἂν ἐμαυτὸν The word ἐμαυτὸν seems to be transposed, and must be placed lower, in this manner; αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ ἄν, εἰ μὴ τὰ κατ' τὴν ἐμαυτῆς δύναμιν, &c. *For I should be ashamed, should I not confer the utmost of mine own abilities*, &c. A little after this, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, τῷ ὑπερβολὴν εὐλαβείας θεὸν τετιμηκότι, or, if you had rather have it so, τῷ δι' ὑπερβολὴν, *on him who with a Transcendency*, &c. In the *old Sheets of the Kings Library*, this place is thus supplied in the margin, τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ ὑπερβολὴν εὐλαβείας Θεὸν, τετιμηκότι, *on him who hath honoured us all, in respect of his Transcendency of piety towards God.* Which reading I approve of highly. *Vales.*

[c] Οὐχ ἰσόρησεν αἰών. In the *Kings Copy* the reading is, ἔχ ἰσόρησε χρόνος, *no time hath seen.* Vales.

CHAP. XI.

That he will at present relate only the Pious Actions of Constantine.

[a] WHerefore, * 'tis certainly incumbent on us, rather than on any other person, to give a full Narrative of all the good things we have heard, to those whose minds, by an example of good works, are raised to a Love and desire of God. Now, [b] those Authors (who have put into writing the lives of Men in no wise grave and sober, and [have Recorded] Affairs wholly unuseful for the improvement of manners, either out of favour or hatred to some persons, or else to make a show of their own Learning;) † with a magnifick furniture of words have, otherwise than was fitting,

[a] The *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*, and the *King's Sheets* begin the *Eleventh chapter* at these words. *Vales.*

* Or, *If to any other persons, it certainly belongs to us.*

[b] He means those Writers who had Recorded the Affairs of *Nero* and other Tyrants; concerning whom he had spoken a little before. *Christophorson* therefore renders it well, *Nam illi*, &c. *For those*, &c. But, *Portesius* translates it, *Nam alii quidem*, &c *For others*, &c. which is insufferable. *Vales.*

† Or, *With a pride of elegant words.*

ting, enlarged the Relations of most reproachful Villainies, and thereby have rendred themselves the Teachers of vile Actions, and such as deserved to be buried in perpetual oblivion and darkness, to those who by Gods favour and impulse have had no hand in mischief. But, our Style, though it is weak and altogether unfit * for the greatness and significancy of what we are to set forth, seems nevertheless to be polish'd and illustrated even by the bare [c] Relation of good Actions. Nor, is the commemoration of Works acceptable to God, unuseful, but it affords a very advantageous * Lesson to those who shall have a mind rightly fitted and prepared. [Not to mention] therefore very many of this Thrice blessed person's [d] Imperial Actions, his Battles and Military Engagements, his deeds of Valour, Victories, and Trophies [raised] against his Enemies, and what ever Triumphs he Lead; moreover, the Constitutions made by him, conducive to the utility of every person; the Laws also he composed for the profit and advantage † of his Subjects and the Government; in fine, many other of his Labours and Imperial Conflicts, which are kept in memory by all persons; [all these particulars, I say] I think fit to omit; in regard the Scope and Design of the Work under my hand admonishes me to declare and write those matters only which bear a reference to a Pious and Blessed course of life. Further, whereas even these particulars are almost infinite, out of those matters which have come to my knowledge I will choose such passages only as are most suteable and seasonable, and worthiest of being consigned to the Memory of Posterity, and will give a Narrative of them with all possible brevity. In regard the time it self doth henceforward allow us this Liberty, that we may extol this Thrice-blessed Emperour with all manner of Commendatory Expressions. For, a power of doing this was not permitted before now, because it has been advised, that [e] we should not pronounce any Person blessed before his Death, by reason of the uncertain Turns and Changes of Life. Wherefore, I call God to be my Assistant, and his Celestial Word to cooperate with, and inspire me: and, [taking my beginning] from this Emperour's tender Years, I will enter upon my Relation in this manner.

* Or, *For the greatness of the Emphasis of what*, &c.

[c] Ἐπαγγελία The other reading, which I found in the *old Sheets* pleases me better, namely ἀπαγγελία, *Relation.* And so the reading is in the *Fuketian and Savilian Manuscripts.* Vales.

* Or, *Reading.*

[d] Βασιλικὰ δηγήματα. In the *old Sheets* 'twas *interlined* στρατηγήματα, *Stratagems*, which I like not. For *Eusebius* does here oppose *Constantine's* βασιλικὰ δηγήματα, *Imperial Actions*, τοῖς θεοφιλέσι δηγήμασι, *to his works that were pious and acceptable to God* And he says, that he does designedly omit his *Imperial Actions*: which he divides into two sorts, namely, his warlike ones, and those of peace. But, he proposes to himself to set forth only those Actions of his, which bear a relation to Religion. Further, in the *Kings Sheets*, after those words, *and whatever Triumphs he lead*, these are added in the Margin, τάτε κατ' εἰρήνην αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ τῶν κοινῶν διόρθωσιν, πρὸς τε συμφέρον, &c. *Moreover, the constitutions made by him, in the times of peace, for the regulation of the publick, and conducive*, &c. which words seem to me to be of good note. *Vales.*

† Or, *Of the Government of his Subjects.*

[e] He means that passage which occurs at *Ecclesiasticus* 11. 28. *Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children.* Vales.

CHAP. XII.

That Constantine, *like* Moses, *was educated in the House of Tyrants.*

[a] ANcient History relates, that a Cruel Brood of Tyrants did heretofore oppress the People of the *Hebrews:* but, that God, shewing himself propitious to the oppressed, made provision, that the Prophet *Moses*, who at that time was but an Infant, should be educated in the very Houses and Bosoms of the Tyrants, and should be instructed in all the wisdom amongst them. But afterwards, when in process of time he arrived at Man's Estate, and Divine Justice, the usual Defender of the injured, had taken a resolution to prosecute the Oppressors: then this Prophet of God departed out of the Tyrants Houses, and exhibited himself a Minister of the Divine Will. He † abominated, as well in reality as words, the Tyrants by whom he had been educated: but those, who in very deed were his own Brethren and Relatives, he declared to be his Friends and Familiars. After this, God constituted him the Leader of that whole Nation, and freed the *Hebrews* indeed from that Servitude [they were oppress't with] by their Enemies; but by his means was revenged on that Tyrannick Brood, by inflicting on them punishments sent from Heaven. This Ancient Story [I say,] which hath been delivered to many Persons under the notion of a Fable, has filled the ears of all Mortals. But now, the same God, who is also our God, hath granted us a power of viewing with our own eyes such Miracles as far surpass all Fables; which manner of Sight is accounted by those who of late have beheld it, to be truer than all sorts of Report or Hear-say. For the Tyrants in our Age, resolving upon waging a War against the supream God, have sorely oppressed his Church. But *Constantine*, a Person that not long after became the Tyrant-slayer, whilst he was a Child, youthful, and beautified with the Juvenile Down upon his Chin, was in the midst of them, like that Servant of God [*Moses*,] and made his Residence within the very Houses of the Tyrants. Nevertheless, though very young, he communicated not with the impious in the same Morals and way of living. For, [b] at that very Age, a good disposition [improved] by the Divine Spirit, incited him to a Life that was pious and highly acceptable to God. Moreover, a studious Emulation of his Father added strength thereto, and invited the Son to an imitation of Virtues and good Actions. For, he had for his Father *Constantius*, (whose Memory 'tis fit we should at this opportunity give a Resurrection to,) the Noblest of the Emperours in our Age. [c] Concerning whom 'tis necessary to relate some passages briefly, which bear a reference to the commendation of his Son.

[a] Ἡ παλαιὰ, &c. the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts* write it without an Article, παλαιὰ κατέχει φήμη, *Ancient History relates*; and so it is in the *old Sheets:* which savours more of *Eusebius's* Style. A little after I read δεινὰ ῥᾳθυμῶν, not δεινὰ τε ῥᾳθυμῶν. Sir *Henry Savil* has done well to set this Note at the beginning of this Chapter, *Huc usque proœmium, Thus far the Preface.* Vales.

† Or, *Estranged himself from.*

[b] *Christophorson* and *Protesius* have rendred these words, ἐξ ἐκείνου, as if τοῦ πρὸ were to be understood; thus, *from that sort of life.* But my Sentiment is, that ἐξ ἐκείνου has the same import with *jam tum, even then, ab eo Tempore, from that very time.* And so *Musculus* renders it. *Vales.*

[c] Αὖ περὶ. Doubtless it must be written, ἃ περὶ, which has the same import with περὶ ἅ, *concerning whom.* And so the reading is in the *Kings Sheets* and in the *Savilian Manuscript.* In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis ἃ περ, which is no ill reading. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Concerning his Father Conſtantius, *who refuſed to perſecute the* Chriſtians, *in ſuch manner as* Diocleſianus, Maximianus *and* Maxentius *did.*

* Or, *Whilſt four perſons partook of the Imperial Power over the* Romans. † *Conſtantius.*

*WHilſt the *Roman* Empire was Governed by Four *Auguſti*, † He was the only perſon who embraced a courſe of Life different from his Colleagues, and entred into a friendſhip with the ſupream God. For they, by a Siege as 'twere, ruined the Churches of God, and demoliſhed them to the ground, and utterly deſtroyed the Oratories to their very foundations. But he kept his hands undefiled and clean from their nefarious impiety, nor would he in any wiſe render himſelf like to them. They defiled the Provinces Subject to them with the inteſtine Murders of men and women who were worſhippers of God. He preſerved his own mind from being polluted with [a] ſuch deteſtable wickedneſs. They, by a confuſion of the miſchiefs of a [b] deteſtable Idolatry, in the firſt place enſlaved themſelves, and then all their Subjects, in the frauds and errours of moſt impious *Dæmons*. He being the Author and Preſerver of a moſt profound Peace * within the Limits of his own Empire, permitted his Subjects to proſecute their Worſhip and Service to God without any the leaſt trouble or moleſtation. [Laſtly,] they impoſed the heavieſt ſorts of exactions upon all men, and thereby made Life comfortleſs to them, and far more unpleaſant than [any ſort of] Death. But *Conſtantius* was the only perſon, who rendred his Government inoffenſive, calm, and eaſie to his Subjects, and gave them an aſſiſtance from himſelf in nothing inferiour to a paternal care and ſollicitude. Further, becauſe innumerable other Vertues of this perſon are celebrated amongſt all men, I will only commemorate one or two of his brave Actions, from which a conjecture may be made of thoſe that are left unmentioned, and ſo paſs to the propoſed ſcope and deſign of my Writing.

* Or, *To thoſe Governed by him.*

[a] Ὁ δὲ τῶν μύσας ἀμείνων. I think the reading ſhould be, ὁ δὲ τότε τῶν μύσας. The *Donatiſts* uſed almoſt the very ſame Words, in the *Supplicatory Libel* which they preſented to the Emperour *Conſtantine*: a Copy whereof is recorded by *Optatus* in his *firſt book Rogamus te Conſtantine Imp. quoniam degenere juſto es; cujus pater inter Cæteros Imperatores perſecutionem non exercuit: & ab hoc ſcelere immunis eſt Gallia.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἐκθέσιμας φανάς. The term φρενθένσεις is wanting, or ſome other ſuch like word. Nor is the conjecture of that Learned man to be omitted, which I found written at the margin of the *Moræan Copy*; to wit, that in his judgment the reading ought to be, διὰ τὰς τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας ἐκθέσιμους φωνάς. But *Turnebus* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it ἐκθέσιμοις φωναῖς, as hath likewiſe Sir *Henry Savil*. In the *Kings Sheets*, over the word φωνὰς 'tis mended σφᾶς: which emendation I prefer before the reſt. I write thus therefore, καὶ οἱ μὲν συχνοὶ κακῶν εἰδωλολατρείας ἐκθέσιμα, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, &c; and have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the reading is ἐκθέσιμοις φωναῖς. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIV.

How Conſtantius *Father* [*to* Conſtantine] *being reproach'd with poverty by* Diocleſian, *filled his Treaſuries, and afterwards reſtored the money to* [*the owners thereof*] *who had brought it in.*

WHen a great Report was ſpread abroad concerning this Emperour, that he was mild and calm, that he was a moſt excellent perſonage, that he was a ſuperlative lover of God, and that, by reaſon of his tranſcendent clemency and indulgence towards his Subjects, he had hoarded up no money in his Treaſuries: that * Emperour who then filled the higheſt Station in the Empire, ſent to him, and blamed his negligence in managing the publick affairs: and he reproach'd him with poverty, alledging this as an argument in confirmation of what he ſaid, that he was poſſeſt of nothing laid up in his Treaſuries. But *Conſtantius* entreated thoſe perſons who came to him from the Emperour, to ſtay ſome little time with him: then he call'd together thoſe men that were poſſeſt of the greateſt quantity of riches, who lived within all thoſe Provinces under his Empire, and ſignified to them, that he wanted money, and that this was a fit opportunity wherein every one of them ought voluntarily to give a demonſtration of their kindneſs and benevolence towards their Emperour. When they heard that, [a] as if they had long ſince made this their deſire, that an occaſion might be offered them of ſhewing him their readineſs of affection, ['tis ſaid,] that with all imaginable haſte and diligence they filled his Treaſuries with Gold, Silver, and other Riches; contending earneſtly amongſt themſelves, that in giving they might out-vie one another: and this they performed with countenances full of joy and pleaſantneſs. When this was done, *Conſtantius* gave order, that thoſe perſons ſent from the [b] *Senior Auguſtus* ſhould be Eye-witneſſes of his Treaſures. Then [c] he commanded them [at their return] to give atteſtation to what they had ſeen; [and added,] that at preſent he had drawn together this Treaſure and taken it into his own cuſtody; but, that it had long before been kept for him by the owners of the money, depoſited as 'twere with ſuch [d] Guards as are uſually appointed to have the cuſtody of Treaſure. The Meſſengers were ſurprized with the ſtrangeneſs of this thing: but Report ſays, that the moſt Benign Emperour, after their departure, ſent for the owners of the money; and having highly commended them for their obedience and good affection towards him, ordered them to take back all their money, and return home. This is one Act of the forementioned Emperour's,

* He means *Diocleſian.*

[a] Ὥσπερ εὐχὴν ταύτην ἐκ μακροῦ δεδώκεσι. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this place; for he has rendred δεδώκεσι, *ſtatuentes, reſolving.* εὐχὴν δέδωκα has the ſame import with *vota ſuſcipere, to pray*, or, *deſire earneſtly.* Which term *Euſebius* uſes in another place, as ſhall be noted hereafter. *Porteſius* therefore has rendred this place righter, in this manner: *His auditis, acſi de illâ ipsâ re vota jamdiu ſuſcepiſſent ut id eveniret, quò ſe probare poſſent*, &c. Further, after the word προθυμίαν, *readineſs of affection*, the verb φασὶν, *it's ſaid*, muſt be inſerted. *Valeſ.*

[b] Παρ' αὐτῆς βασιλέως. I reade σφᾶς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, as I found it mended in the Copies of *Moræus*, *Turnebus*, Sir *Henry Savil*, and *Fuketius*. Further, I have rendred μεγάλου βασιλέως *the Senior Auguſtus*. For ſo *Diocleſian* is called in the *Old Panegyricks* and in *Inſcriptions*. Valeſ.

[c] Τῶν μαρτυρίαν προσέταξε. In the *Kings Sheets* theſe words are added in the margin; προσέταξεν διακονήσασθαι τῷ πενίαν αὐτῷ καταμεμφαμένῳ. ὑπιδέντας τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ μὴ ἀπὸ γοῦν μὴ δ' ἐξ ἀδίκου πλεονεξίας εἰ) θησαυρισμένα. Which words ſome Learned men hath added by conjecture, as 'tis ſufficiently apparent. I think there is only one word wanting here, παρέχειν, *to give*. I word it thus therefore, εἶθ' ὧν ὄφει παρέλαβον, παρέχειν τῶν μαρτυρίαν προσέταξε, *Then he commanded*, &c. Which ſort of expreſſion is uſual with *Euſebius*. Valeſ.

[d] Οἷα δ' ὑπασπισταῖς παραθηκοφύλαξι. At the margin of *Moræus's Copy* 'tis mended thus, οἷον δὴ πιστοῖς. But this emendation is needleſs. For, amongſt the Ancients, money was depoſited in Temples, on account of ſecuring it, and there kept by Guards or Watches of Souldiers, as *Juvenal's Old Scholiaſt* remarks and *Lipſius* in his *book de Magnitudine Romanâ*. To theſe Souldiers therefore *Euſebius* alludes. By the term ὑπασπισταῖς, the *Palatini* may alſo be meant here, who guarded the ſacred Treaſury. In the *Kings Sheets*, 'tis over written in the ſame hand, ὑπὸ πιστῆς, *by Faithful*; which diſpleaſes not. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis οἷα δὴ πιστοῖς. *Valeſ.*

which

which gives a demonstration of his Humanity and good Nature. This other Action of his [which follows,] contains an evident Testimony of [e] his piety towards God.

[e] Τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσίας Doubtless the reading must be ὁσίας, *piety*, as I found it mended in the margin of *Turnebus's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Persecution [raised] by the other [Emperours.]

BY the Command of the Emperours, the Governours of Provinces in all places persecuted the worshippers of God. And such as were the first of all the pious Martyrs, came out of the very Imperial Palaces themselves, underwent Conflicts in defence of their Religion, and with all imaginable alacrity endured Fire, Sword, the Depths of the Sea, and all sorts of death whatever. In so much that, within a very short space of time, the [a] Imperial Palaces in all places were emptied of God's Worshippers. From whence chiefly it came to pass, that the Authors of this wickedness remained deprived of the divine inspection and assistance. For whilst they persecuted the Worshippers of God, by the same means they banished those supplications usually put up for themselves.

[a] Τὰ παντα χῆ βασίλεια. The Adverb παντα χῆ not without reason troubled both the Translatours, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But they ought to have considered, that *Palatium, a Palace*, is taken in a twofold sense. For, sometimes it imports *the Court of a Prince*. In which sense there were at that time only Four Palaces, to wit answerable to the number of the Emperours. But sometimes *every House wherein an Emperour does usually dwell, is termed a Palace*. And in this sense there were very many Palaces in the *Roman* Empire. For there was scarce a City which had not a Palace. Such Palaces, or Imperial Houses, as these, were under the dispose of certain Officers, who were termed *Curæ Palatiorum*; concerning whom there is mention in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. *Eusebius* therefore means these Palaces. I am of opinion that the *Publick* or *Royal Villæ* are likewise meant, which the *Cæsariani* look'd after. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVI.

How Constantius *Father* [*to* Constantine,] *pretending himself a worshipper of Idols, turned out those who were willing to offer Sacrifice; but retained within his own Palace such as chose to profess themselves* Christians.

* Or, *Only into* Constantius *entred a wisdom of thought.*

* ONly *Constantius* entred upon a [a] Prudent and Pious Course. And the thing he performed was wonderful to be heard, but much more admirable as to its performance. For, having given all the [b] *Palatines* that belonged to his Court, even as far as the Judges that were invested with the supreamest powers,

[a] After this word, in the *King's Sheets*, the term Εὐσεβὴς, *Pious*, is elegantly added in the margin, thus, σοφία τις εὐσεβὴς ὑπεισῆει λογισμῷ. *Vales.*

[b] Τοῖς χῶ ὑπ' αὐτῶ βασιλικοῖς. I reade ὑπ' αὐτῷ, as 'tis in the *Fuketian*, and in *Moræus's Copy*. That is *to all the Palatines who bore Office under him, and also to the Judges themselves who were placed in power*. *Power* is a term properly attributed to the *Greater Judges*, of which sort were the *Præfecti Prætorio*. So *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter; and *Socrates*, book 2. chap. 16; where he speaks concerning *Philippus Præfectus Prætorio*. Moreover, in the *Gesta purgationis Cæciliani*, *Agesilaus Official* to the *Proconsul Ælian* says thus, *Potestas tua*, &c. *Your power*, &c. See what I have remarked above at book 5. chap. 1. of *Eusebius Eccles. History* note (*e.*) *Vales.*

a free Liberty of Choice; he proposed this Condition to them, that if they would Sacrifice to *Dæmons*, they might stay at Court with him, and enjoy their usual Places and Honours; but if they would not do that, they should be excluded from access to him, thrust out, and removed from his knowledge and familiarity. After [His Courtiers] therefore had been hereupon divided into two parties, and some had betaken themselves to this, others to that side, and the Sentiment and purpose of every one of them was laid open: then this admirable Prince discovered his own design, which hitherto he had concealed, and condemned their timidity and self-love: and to these he gave a kind Reception, on account of their Conscience devoted to God: but then he pronounced those, in regard they were betrayers of God, to be unworthy of their Prince's favour. [c] For how [said he] will it be possible they should preserve a fidelity towards their Emperour, who have been detected of perfidiousness towards God? Wherefore he made an Establishment by a Law, that such persons should be removed far from the Imperial Houses. But he declared openly, that those men who by the Testimony of Truth it self were manifested to be * acceptable to God, would render themselves like-minded towards their Emperour, and therefore he made them the *Protectours of his Body*, and the Guards of his Empire: and affirmed, that such persons as these ought to be made use of and accounted [d] as the chiefest and nearest of friends, and most intimate Relatives; and that they were far more highly to be esteemed than hoards of the most valuable Riches and Treasures.

* Or, *Worthy of.*

[c] In the *King's Copy*, at the side of these words, is set such a mark as this, ωρ. we have taken notice of such a mark as this some where before: but that Letter which is set before the ϱ, is not open on the top here, but closed on all sides. Whence I am rather induced to believe, that this mark is φ and ϱ, and that it signifies φρόντισον, that is, *attend, consider*. For this mark is added at places which have something of difficulty. For instance, the newness of this expression, πῶς χὸ ἂν φυλάξαι, may put the Reader to a stand here, unless he knows that these words, δυνατὸν ἦν, are to be understood. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐν πρώτοις χῆ. In the *King's Copy* the reading is ἐν πρώτοις τε ἀναγκαίοις, &c. *amongst the chiefest and nearest*, &c. Those words χρῆναι δὲῖν, *ought to be made use of*, are a redundancy of expression frequent with *Eusebius*: for so he has expresst himself in his *books of History*, as I well remember. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the same [Constantius's] *Love and affection towards* Christ.

[a] WHat manner of person the Father of *Constantine* is recorded to have been, we have in short manifested. Now, what a Conclusion of Life befel him, who had demonstrated himself such a person towards God, and how great a difference was shown between him and his Colleagues in the Empire, by that God whom he honoured, any one will easily discern, who with attention shall apply his mind to consider † the thing it self. For, after he had for a long time given illustrious and approved instances of his Royal Vertue, by [avowing] [b] one only supream God, and by condemning * their Impiety who pay a worship to more Gods than one, and had on all sides fortified his

[a] We have made a division of a new chapter here, from the Authority of the *Kings Manuscript*; whereto agrees the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *old Sheets*. Vales.

† Or, *The Nature of affairs.*

[b] Μόνον μὲν θεὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμολογῶν, ac-

* Or, *The Polytheism of the Atheists.*

his own houſe with the prayers of holy men; [c] he compleated the remainder of his Life without any thing of Trouble or diſquietude: being made Maſter of that [d] Felicity, which, as 'tis ſaid, conſiſts in this, *neither to be moleſted by others, nor to give others trouble.* After this manner therefore [he rendred] the whole time of his Reign even, undiſturbed, and pacate; and conſecrated his whole Family, his wife namely, and children, and all his ſervants, to one God the ſupream King. In ſo much that, that Company which converſed together within the walls of his Palace, differed in nothing from a Church of God. Amongſt whom were Miniſters of God alſo, who performed uninterrupted Acts of worſhip to the Deity, in behalf of the Emperour's ſafety; [e] when as commonly amongſt the reſt, not ſo much as the bare name of thoſe ſort of men that were Religious, was permitted to be mentioned.

knowledging, or ſome ſuch like word is wanting. In the *Kings Sheets*, after theſe words, μόνον μὲν θεὸν; ὁπηγὺς *confeſſing*, or, *avowing*, is added in the margin. *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil* add εἰδὼς *knowing*, after the words ἐπὶ πάντων.

But, that reading which I have produced out of the *Kings Sheets*, is better. For the term ὁπηγὺς is elegantly oppoſed to that which follows immediately, to wit, κατεγνωκὼς, *condemning*. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis written εἰδὼς. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τῆς ζωῆς διαπρέψαι Sir *Henry Savil* has noted at the margin of *his Copy*, that perhaps the Verb λέγε῀ται 'tis ſaid is to be added. But, that emendation is far better, which I found written in the *Kings Sheets*, at the margin; it is this, εὐσαλῆ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀπράγμονα τῆς ζωῆς διεξήνυσε βίον, which reading we have expreſt in our Verſion. The reading in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* is, εὐσαλῆ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀπράγμονα τῷ ζῷῳ διαπρέψαι. *Valeſ.*

[d] He alludes to that ſaying of *Epicurus* concerning God, τὸ μακάριον, ὅτε πράγματα ἔχει αὐτὸ, ὅτε ἄλλῳ παρέχει; as *Nemeſius* relates it, chap. 44; *Cicero*, in his *firſt book de Naturâ Deorum*; and *Laertius*, pag. 795. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ὅτε μὴ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς. In the *Kings Sheets*, the laſt word is undermarked with points, and λοιποῖς is written over, which I like better. Further, in the *ſame Sheets*, before theſe words, theſe are added in the margin, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ καὶ μόνῳ τῷδε συνεπελείτο, *and theſe* [*Acts of worſhip*] *were performed with him only.* They that will, may follow this conjecture of the Learned Antiquary. To me theſe words ſeem not neceſſary. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

That after the Reſignation of Diocleſian *and* Maximian, Conſtantius *was the firſt* Auguſtus, *and was adorned with a Numerous Iſſue.*

FUrther, in recompence of theſe things, a reward from God attended him not long after; in ſo much that he obtained the firſt and chiefeſt place of the * Empire. For thoſe † *Auguſti* who were *His Seniours*, by what means I know not, diveſted themſelves of their Imperial Dignity: which ſudden Change befel them [a] on the firſt year after the * demoliſhment of the Churches; from whence forward, only *Conſtantius* was declared the firſt and † Chiefeſt *Auguſtus*. Who at firſt was adorned with the Diadem of the *Cæſars* [together with * *Galerius*,] and had obtained precedency: but after [he had given] an Egregious † *Speecimen* of his own worth in that dignity of *Cæſar*, he was inveſted with the higheſt honour amongſt the *Romans*, and was ſtyled the *Firſt Auguſtus* of thoſe [b] Four afterwards proclaimed. Moreover, he was the only perſon that excelled all the other Emperours in a numerous iſſue, being ſurrounded with a great Quire of Children, as well Males as Females. Laſtly, after he had attained to a mature old Age, and, being ready to pay * the Common debt of Nature, was at the point of making his departure out of his life: then did God again demonſtrate himſelf to him the performer of wonderful Works, and by his providence took care, that *Conſtantine* the eldeſt of his Sons ſhould be preſent with him at his Death, in order to his taking poſſeſſion of the Empire.

* Or, *Imperial power.*

† Viz. *Diocleſian*, and *Maximian.*

* Or, *Siege.*

† Or, *Adorable.*

[a] This place is highly remarkable. For, from it this concluſion may be made, that the Perſecution began on *Diocleſian's* eighth, and *Maximian's* ſeventh Conſulate; and not on the foregoing year, as *Baronius* will have it. Concerning which matter I mave ſpent many words in *my notes on Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſtory*; ſee book 8. chap. 2. note (c.) For, whereas *Euſebius* affirms, that the Emperours *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* diveſted themſelves of their purple on the year after the Perſecution was begun; and whereas 'tis manifeſt, that they did that on the year of Chriſt 304; what I have ſaid does neceſſarily follow, to wit, that *Diocleſian's* Perſecution was begun on the year of Chriſt 303. *Valeſ.*

* See *Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* book 9. chap. 9. note (i;) and *the Excerpta of that unknown Authour publiſhed by Valeſius* at the cloſe of his *Amm. Marcellinus* pag. 471.

* Or, *The debt to common Nature.*

† *Proof*, or, *tryal.*

[b] Sir *Henry Savil* has noted at the margin of his *Copy*, that theſe four were, *Galerius Maximianus, Severus*, and *Maximinus*, but the fourth *Maxentius*. As to the three former, I aſſent to Sir *Henry Savil*. But, I do affirm, that the fourth was not *Maxentius*, but *Conſtantius* himſelf. For *Maxentius* ſeized not the Empire, till after *Conſtantius's* death. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIX.

Concerning his Son Conſtantine, *who when a young man, came into* Paleſtine *together with* Diocleſian.

FOr he convers'd with the Emperours [who were his Father's] Colleagues; and made his Reſidence amongſt them, agreeable to that ancient Prophet of the Lord *Moſes*, as we have already ſaid. [a] And having newly paſt over his years of childhood, and arrived at thoſe of his youth, he was vouchſafed the higheſt honour and eſteem amongſt the foreſaid Emperours. At which Age of his we Our Selves ſaw him, when he paſt through the Province of *Paleſtine*, in Company with the *Senior Auguſtus*. At whoſe right hand he ſtood, and appeared a moſt excellent and glorious perſon to thoſe who were deſirous of ſeeing him, and ſuch a one as even then gave indications of an Imperial height of mind. For as to the beautiful ſhape of his body, and his tallneſs of Stature, there was no other perſon that might be compared to him. Moreover, he ſo far excelled his equals in ſtrength and courage, that he was a terrour to them. But he was far more illuſtrious and eminent for the Vertues of his mind, than for his bodily endowments and accompliſhments. And in the firſt place he beautified his mind with modeſty; after that, with Polite Literature; and as well an innate prudence, as a wiſdom infuſed from above, [b] adorned him in a moſt tranſcendent manner.

[a] Ἤδη ἄχει καὶ παιδὸς. I think the reading ſhould be, ἤδη δὲ ἄρτι ἐκ παιδὸς, &c; which we have expreſt in our Verſion. Indeed, in *Moræus's Copy* the particle δὲ is written at the margin. *Turnebus*, at the margin of his Copy, had mended it, καὶ ἀπὸ παιδὸς. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the reading is, ἤδη δ' ἄχει καὶ παιδὸς. *Valeſ.*

[b] Διαφερόντως ἐκπρέπων. I read ἐκπρέπων, *adorned*, as *Euſebius* does uſually ſpeak. And ſo 'tis mended in the *old Sheets*, at the margin. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis written thus, θεοσδότῳ σοφίᾳ διαφερόντως ἐμπρέπων. *Valeſ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The departure of Conſtantine *to his Father, becauſe of* Diocleſian's *treacherous deſigns [againſt him.]*

FUrther, when the then Emperours perceived, that the Young man was Couragious, ſtrong, and Great, and * endewed with an height and vigour of mind, they were wounded with [a] fear and envy. They watch'd therefore in expectation of a fit opportunity, wherein, agreeable to their deſire, they might involve him in ignominy and diſgrace. Which the young man being ſenſible of, (for the treacherous deſigns which had been once and twice framed againſt him, by the conſent and appointment of God were diſcovered;) He opened a way to his own ſafety by flying; and herein likewiſe he * imitated the great Prophet *Moſes*. Further, God gave him his aſſiſtance in all things, and by his Divine providence diſpoſed affairs in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould be preſent with his Father, [b] in order to his ſucceeding him [in the Empire.] and *Galerius* ſtudied not only to diſgrace *Conſtantine*, but to deſtroy him utterly. See the *Excerpta de Geſtis Conſtantini*, which are publiſhed at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*, and what we have remarked there. I was indeed of opinion formerly, that thoſe Greek words which are written at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, were not taken out of any Manuſcript Copy, but were made from *Chriſtophorſon's* Latine Verſion. But after I had procured the *Fuketian Manuſcript* I evidently perceived, that thoſe readings were taken out of Manuſcript Copies. 'Tis certain, the *Fuketian Manuſcript* has this place written in this manner; φθόνῳ καὶ φόβῳ ἐβάλλοντο· ἐνεῦθεν καὶ περιέφαδαί τι μώμῳ αὐτῷ ἐυλόμενοι ἐφυλάττοντο, καιρὸν ἔυθετον ἀναμένοντες· ὁ δὴ, &c; which reading we have expreſt in our Verſion. So I found it written alſo in the Copies of *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil*. But this reading, though confirmed by the authority of Manuſcript Copies, nevertheleſs ſeems not genuine to me; both for that reaſon I have produced above, and on account alſo of the inelegancy of the words. *Valeſ.*

[a] 'Τοῖς θ' ἅμα καὶ συγκαλέσασι σωτάξαμενος. *Chriſtophorſon* rendred this place thus, *in medio filiorum & filiarum ſe ſtatuens, placing himſelf in the midſt of his Sons and Daughters.* *Porteſius* has tranſlated it in this manner, *Simul Liberis ex commentario diſtribuit Hæreditatem, And alſo diſtributed his Inheritance to his children out of a Commentary*, or *Book of Notes.* Neither of theſe tranſlatours have hit the ſenſe of this word. *Euſebius* uſes the ſame term at book 3. chap. 21; at which place we will at large declare what σωτάξασθαι means, as alſo the import of σωταχτικὸς λόγος. Sir *Henry Savil* has expounded this word excellently well at the margin of his Copy, thus, *Valedicens, taking leave*, or, *bidding farewel.* And ſo *Athanaſius* expreſſes himſelf in the Life of St. *Antonius*, about the end, σωταξάμενος τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔξω μοναχοῖς, *having taken leave of thoſe Monks in the mountain without.* Valeſ.

[b] Τῷ τὴν ἡλικίαν παράσχῃ. I write τῷ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, &c. So *Euſebius* has expreſt himſelf above, at chapter 18. ſpeaking concerning *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, οἱ μὲν δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ προάγοντες. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Filled.*

[a] After theſe words an *Aſterisk* ought to be placed. For there are ſome words wanting, which *Chriſtophorſon* hath not rightly ſupplied. For the Emperours *Diocleſian* and *Galerius*

* Or, *Preſerved the imitation of*, &c.

CHAP. XXI.

The Death of Conſtantius, *who left his Son* Conſtantine *Emperour.*

WHen therefore he had avoided theſe * Treacherous contrivances, he made all imaginable haſt to his Father, into whoſe preſence he came, after a long ſpace of time. At that inſtant of his arrival, his Father was at the very point of dying. When therefore *Conſtantius* beheld his Son preſent with him, whom he did not in the leaſt expect, he leapt from his Bed, and caſt his arms about him; and affirming that the only Grief which troubled him now ready to conclude his life, to wit, the abſence of his Son, was wholly removed out of his mind, he put up a prayer of thanks to God; and ſaid, that now he accounted Death to be better for him than Immortality. Further, when he had diſpoſed of his affairs in a manner agreeable to his own mind, and [a] had taken leave of his Sons and Daughters, who like a Quire ſurrounded him on every ſide: He ended his life in his Palace, lying on his Royal Bed, after he had ſurrendred the * Adminiſtration of his Empire, agreeable to the Law of Nature, into the hands of [b] his eldeſt Son.

* Or, *Engines of Treachery.*

* Or, *His allotment of the Empire.*

CHAP. XXII.

*How * after the Death of* Conſtantius, *the Army † ſaluted* Conſtantine Auguſtus.

* Or, *When* Conſtantius *had been carried out to Burial.*

† Or, *Styled.*

NOr did the State continue deprived of an Emperour. But *Conſtantine* was adorned with his Fathers Purple; and proceeding forth of his Father's * Houſe, gave all men a demonſtration, that, by a reſurrection as 'twere, the Father continued as yet to Reign in him his Son. Then he lead out his Father's Funeral, accompanied with the Friends of his Father [a], ſome of whom went before, others followed; and with all the ſplendour imaginable celebrated the Obſequies of that Pious Prince. All perſons honoured the Thrice-bleſſed Emperour with Acclamations and Praiſes, and agreed in an unanimous conſent, that the ſucceſſion of the Son in the Empire was a Reſurrection of the dead Father. And forthwith, even at the firſt word, they * Saluted the young Prince Emperour and *Auguſtus*, with fortunate Acclamations. Which expreſſions uttered in praiſe of the Son, were an ornament indeed to the dead Emperour; but they loudly proclaimed the Son Bleſſed, who was declared the Succeſſour to ſo great a Father. Moreover, all the Provinces ſubject to his Empire, were filled with gladneſs and a joy that was inexpreſſible, becauſe they had not, during the ſmalleſt moment of time, been deprived of the aſſiſtance of an Imperial † Providence and inſpection. Thus in the Emperour *Conſtantius*, God gave a demonſtration to all perſons of our Age, that ſuch as this is the concluſion of a Pious and Religious life and converſation.

* Or, *Houſes.*

[a] After this clauſe, in the *King's Sheets* theſe words are added in the margin; ἢ πατέρα πρὸ πεμπτῶν τε πλήθει μυρίων, στρατιωτῶν τε δορυφορίᾳ, *brought forth his Father; and with an infinite multitude of people, and a Guard of Souldiers.* Which words (though Sir *Henry Savil* and *Chriſtophorſon* found them in their Copies, nevertheleſs) ſeem to me very little neceſſary. Yet they occurr in the *Fuketian Manuſcript.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Styled.*

† Or, *Decree.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

A brief Rehearsal of the Death of the Tyrants.

BUT what the * *Exits* of those other persons were, who by an open War as 'twere made attacks against the Churches of God, I judge in no wise fit to insert into this present Narrative, nor to defile the Memories of the Good by † annexing a mention of the mischievous. Indeed, the ‖ matters themselves are sufficient to repress and keep within the bounds of duty those persons, who by their own eyes and ears have received an account of that [whole Scene of Calamities] which befel each of them.

* Or, *Conclusions of life.*

† Or, *a composition of the contrary.*

‖ Or, *Experience of the works.*

CHAP. XXIV.

That Constantine *obtained the Empire by the will of God.*

IN this manner, the supream God himself, who is the Governour of the whole World * by his own arbitrement designed and constituted *Constantine*, begotten of such a Father, Prince and Emperor: in so much that, whereas the rest [of the Emperors] obtained this honour by the approbation and votes of others, he was the only person, of whose [a] promotion no Mortal might boast.

* Or, *By himself.*

[a] Πεσοαγωγὴν, *accession.* It ought as I think, to be made προσαγωγὴν, that is, *promotion, or* προκοπὴν, *advancement.* And thus *Turnebus* hath mended it at the margin of his *Copy*, as I afterwards found. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXV.

The Victories of Constantine *over the* Barbarians *and* Britanni.

WHEN therefore he was firmly settled in the Empire, in the first place he began to make provision * for those parts of the Empire which had been transferred to him from his Father, and with much humanity and tenderness [a] visited all those Provinces that had heretofore been under his Father's Administration. And, having reduced all those barbarous Nations, (whose habitations were about the River *Rhine* and the *Western Ocean*, who had taken the boldness to raise Commotions,) to an obedience to his own Government; from being intractable, he brought them over to a mild and more civilized Temper. But he was satisfied in repressing others, whom like Savage Beasts he frighted from the confines of his Empire; to wit, those whose minds he perceived were incurable, and despaired of bringing them to a peaceable and quiet course of Life. When [b] these things had been performed according to his own mind, he set before his Eyes the other parts of the World; then he made a [c] Voyage over to the *British Nations*, situate within the Ocean it self. Whom when he had subdued, he look'd towards other parts of the World, that he might apply remedies to those [Nations] who wanted his Assistance.

* Or, *For his Father's allotment.*

[a] Ἐπισκοπῶν ἔθνη. So *Eusebius* is wont to term the Provinces of the *Romans*, as might easily be proved from many places. *Eusebius* says therefore, that *Constantine*, as soon as his Empire was settled, took a progress round all those Provinces that had been under the Empire of his Father. Which *Christophorson* understood not. *Vales.*

[b] Ταῦτα κατὰ λόγον ἐκεῖνο. At this place κατὰ λόγον seems to have the same import with κατὰ νοῦν, *according to his own mind.* Which *Portesius* perceived also. But *Christophorson* has rendred this place, and the whole chapter, very unhappily. *Vales.*

[c] Concerning this Voyage of *Constantine* into *Britain*, none of the Ancients have written any thing. Therefore, the memory of this matter we owe to *Eusebius* only; who at this place does not obscurely intimate the time also; to wit, a little before *Constantine* undertook his Expedition against *Maxentius*. Wherefore, this Voyage of *Constantine's* into *Britain* hapned on *Maximianus's eighth Consulate*, in the year of Christ 311, as *Sigonius* has rightly remarked in his *Second Book de Occidentali Imperio.* But Sr. *Henry Savil* thought *Eusebius* was mistaken here: For this is his remark at this place; *Eusebius ignorasse videtur*, &c. Eusebius *seems to have been ignorant, that the Father of* Constantine *dyed at* York *in* Britain. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

How he took a Resolution of freeing Rome [*from the Tyranny*] *of* Maxentius.

AFter this he took into his Consideration the whole * World, as 'twere some vast Body; and perceiving that the Head of the whole Earth, the † Chief City of the *Roman* Empire, was oppressed with a Tyrannick servitude; in the first place he gave place to [a] them to free it, who had obtained the other portions of the *Roman* Empire; in regard they were his Seniors in time. Now when none of them could give it assistance; but those who had resolved upon making tryal, [b] had perished by an ignominious death; he profest his Life would be uncomfortable, if he should neglect the Imperial City when so sorely afflicted, and therefore made preparations to suppress the Tyranny.

* Or, *Element of the world.*

† Or, *Imperial.*

[a] He means *Galerius Maximianus*, and *Maximinus.* For those he terms τοὺς κρείττονας πρεσβύτας, *his Seniors in time*, that is, *Senior Emperors.* For although *Maximinus* was scarce declared *Augustus* as yet, nevertheless, because he had been made *Cæsar* some years before *Constantine*, therefore he may be accounted amongst the Emperors that were Seniors to *Constantine.* Vales.

[b] Ἀισχρὸν ὑπέμειναν τέλος. A twofold sense may be brought of these words. For you may either render them with *Portesius* and *Christophorson, fœdum rei eventum nacti sunt, had procured a shameful event of the affair*; or else, as I have translated them, *turpi exitu perierunt, had perished by an ignominious death.* The former has relation to *Galerius Maximianus.* The latter interpretation is to be understood of *Severus Cæsar*: who being sent by *Galerius* with an Army against *Maxentius*, when he would have made preparations to lay Siege to *Rome*, he was deserted by his own Forces, (whom *Maxentius* had brought off to his own side by the hope of rewards,) and fled to *Ravenna*: in which City he was besieged by *Maxentius*; and being soon imposed upon by the fraud and perjuries of *Maximianus Herculius*, and carried to *Rome* in the habit of a Captive he was quickly after killed; as 'tis related in the *Gesta Constantini.* See the *following chapter*, where *Eusebius* relates this matter more at large. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVII.

That [Constantine] *weighing in his mind the deaths of those who had worshipped Idols, chose rather the* [*profession of*] Christianity.

BUT having well considered with himself, that he wanted some better assistance than his Military Forces, because of the evil Arts and Magick Impostures studiously followed by the Tyrant; he sought for a God to be his Assistant; and accounted his furniture of Arms

† Or, *In the second place.*

and Military Companies † as secondary helps only; but [perswaded himself,] that the assistance of a Diety was invincible and inexpugnable. He began therefore to consider with himself, what God he should take to be his assistant. Which whilst he sollicitously inquired into, * these thoughts arose in his mind: that of those many who had arrived at the Empire before him, they that had placed their hopes in a multitude of Gods, and had worshipped them [a] with Sacrifices and consecrated Gifts, at first had been deluded by Prophecies made to please and flatter them, and by Oracles which promised them all things that were prosperous and fortunate; but had at length found an unlucky and disastrous end: nor was any of their Gods ready at hand with them, to † free them from that destruction inflicted on them by Heaven. That his Father was the only person, who had taken a course contrary [to those former Emperors;] and had condemned their error; who throughout his whole life had heretofore worshipped one supream God, whom he had found to be the Saviour and Keeper of his Empire, and the Bestower of all good. When he had weighed these things with himself, and well considered, that those who had put their confidence in a multitude of Gods, had likewise fallen into a multitude of destructions; in so much that not, the least footstep either of their Stock, * Issue, † Kindred, Name, or Memory was left remaining amongst Men: but [on the contrary,] that the God of his Father had given many and those effectual demonstrations of his own power to his Father. And when he had further considered, that those who before had led out their forces against the Tyrant, because they had made their Expedition with a multitude of Gods, had undergon a disgraceful end. For the one of them had retreated ignominiously with all his Forces, without effecting any thing. And the other was killed in the midst of his Army, and so became [b] a cheap and easy sacrifice of death. Having, I say, mustered up all these thoughts within his own mind, and considered them well, he judged it the highest pitch of † madness to trifle about [the worship of] those Gods which are nothing, and, after so clear a conviction, still to run on in blind error: but his Sentiment was, that he ought only to worship the God of his Father.

[a] In the *King's Sheets* the word λοιβαῖς *Libations*, is added here. *Vales.*

* Or, *This thought.*

† Or, *Give them warning of.*

* Or, *Nature.*

† Or, *Root.*

[b] παρεργον ἐγνώσετο θανατω. 'Tis very hard to tell what *Eusebius* means by this expression. *Christopherson* renders it thus; *Tanquam supervacanea mortis accessio factus est, was made as 'twere the superfluous accession of death.* And *Portesius*, before him, had rendred it *fati accessionem, the accession*, or, *vantage of Fate.* But I understand not, why *Severus* should be stiled *the vantage of death*, when he only of all his Army perished. I had therefore rather render παρεργον, *vilem victimam, a cheap and easie Sacrifice.* For *vile persons* are rightly termed θανάτῳ παρεργον. Also *what ever happens without Labour and amidst sport as 'twere*, is rightly termed παρεργον. So the death of *Severus Cæsar* may rightly be stiled παρεργον, in regard he was taken, and slain so easily, as if he had had no Soldiers about him. And perhaps it should be written παρεργον ἐγνώσετο πολέμῳ. Indeed, *Gelasius Cyzicenus*'s words (book 1. chap. 3.) are these; ἤλθε δὲ καὶ τῷ κράτει τῶν ὅπλων τὰ αὐτόθι βάρβαρα φῦλα, παρέργῳ τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὸ ἔργον συγχρησάμενα; where the Translator has rendred it *the Accession of the War*, which I like not. I had rather translate it in *Gelasius* thus, *his velut belli præludiis ad bellum ipsum usus, having used these preludes of war as 'twere in order to the war it self.* So also *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter at book 2. chap. 52. Further, at this place there is a figure which *Græcians* term ὕστερον πρότερον. For the overthrow of *Severus Cæsar* preceded that ignominious flight of *Galerius.* Vales.

* Or, *Folly.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

*That whilst he was praying to God, He shewed him a Vision; to wit, a Cross of Light in the * Heavens, (it being then mid-day,) and an Inscription thereon, which admonished him, that by* That he should Conquer.

* Or, Heaven.

HE called upon this God therefore in his prayers, entreating and beseeching him, that who ever he was, he would manifest himself to him, and reach out his right hand [to his assistance] in his present affairs. Whilst the Emperor was putting up these Prayers and earnest Supplications, a most wonderful sign sent from God appeared. Which [sign,] had any other person given a Relation of it, would not easily have been [a] received as true. But since the † Victorous Emperor himself told it to us who write this History, a long while after, namely at such time as we were vouchsafed his knowledge and converse; and confirmed his Relation with an ‖ oath; who will hereafter doubt of giving credit to his Narrative? Especially, when the succeeding * Times gave an evident attestation to this Relation. [b] About the Meridian hours of the Sun when the day was declining, he said he saw with his own Eyes the Trophy of the Cross in the † Heavens, placed over the Sun, made up of Light, and an Inscription annexed to it containing these words, BY THIS CONQUER. And, that at the sight thereof, an amazement seized both him and all his Military Forces, which followed him as he was making a Journey some whither, and were spectators of the Miracle.

[a] Ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, *demonstrated.* I think the reading should be ἀποδέδεχθαι, *received*, or, *admitted as true*; and so *Nicephorus* seems to have read, book 7. chap. 29. So also I found it written in the *King's Sheets.* In the *Fuk.* and *Savilian Manuscripts*, the reading is ἀποδεδεῖχθαι, *approved*, or, *entertained.* Vales.

† Or, *Victor Augustus.*

‖ Or, *Oaths.*

* Or, *Time.*

† Or, *Heaven.*

[b] Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης. *Nicephorus* (book 7. chap. 29.) has expounded this place thus; ἅτε γὰρ μεσημβρίαν ὀλεύοντι σωάμα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιᾷ, τὸ ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς κλίνοντος, *For being about noon on the march with his Army about him, the Sun verging towards the West, &c.* So also *Portesius* has rendred *Eusebius*'s words: *Sub meridiem* (says he) *inclinante jam die, about noon, the day now declining.* But perhaps the whole clause is to be continued in one breath, and the words of *Eusebius* to be construed in this manner, τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ὥρας, *when the day was now verging towards noon.* Which interpretation is favoured by *Zonaras*, who giving an account of this Vision in the *Gesta of Constantine*, says it appeared μεσούσης ἡμέρας, *at mid-day.* Indeed, in the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*, there is no *Comma* after the word ὥρας, but only after the word ἀποκλινούσης a *Comma* is set. And yet in *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 2.) who wrote out these words of *Eusebius*, after the word ὥρας, is set a *Comma.* Therefore *Christophorson* at both places renders it thus *circiter meridiem, die jam in pomeridianum tempus aliquantulum inclinante, about noon, the day now declining somewhat towards the afternoon.* Which to me seems foolish, For ἀποκλίνουσα ἡμέρα cannot be said, but when the day declines towards the Evening, that is, after the ninth hour of the day, as *Nicephorus* rightly took it. But how can that agree with the preceding words ἀμφὶ τὰς μεσημβρινὰς, &c? For 'tis the same as if you should say, *about noon towards the evening.* Some one will perhaps say, that by these last words ἀποκλινούσης ἡμέρας *Eusebius* would mean, that that Vision was shown to *Constantine* a little after noon. For the Sun going from the *Meridian Point*, afterwards by degrees verges into the West. But if *Eusebius* thought so, what need was there of so many words? For he might have expresst himself with more brevity, thus μεσούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, *it being now mid-day.* Besides, *Eusebius* has said it in the plural number, ἀμφὶ τὰς μεσημβρινὰς ὥρας, that it might appear, that he meant not the sixth hour, but that whole space of hours which is ascribed to noon, to wit from the fifth hour to the ninth. Wherefore, I am induced to be of this opinion, that that Vision was presented to *Constantine* about the ninth hour of the day, whilst he was making a journey in company with his Army. And this is plainly confirmed by the following words. For *Eusebius* adds that *Constantine* being amazed after the Vision, whilst he was musing of many things within his own mind, night came on. Whence it appears, that that Vision appeared to *Constantine* and his Soldiers not

not long before night. In the *Eleventh Book of the Hiſtoria Miſcellanea* where this paſſage of *Euſebius* is produced, this rendition of it occurrs, *circa meridiem, declinante jam ſole, about noon, the Sun now declining.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXIX.

That God's Chriſt appeared to him in his ſleep, and ordered him to make uſe of a Standard *made in the form of a Croſs, in his Wars.*

MOreover, he began to doubt with himſelf, as he ſaid, what the meaning of this Apparition ſhould be. But whilſt he was revolving it in his mind, and very intent in his thoughts upon it, on a ſudden night came on. At which time [as he ſaid,] the Chriſt of God appeared to him when aſleep, with that ſign which had been ſhown him in the Heavens; and ordered him to get a Standard made in imitation of that he had ſeen in the Heaven which he ſhould uſe as a ſalutary defence in his Engagements with his Enemies.

CHAP XXX.

The making of that Standard *framed in the faſhion of a Croſs.*

AS ſoon as it was day he aroſe, and declared the whole ſecret to his friends. Then he called together the Workers in Gold and pretious Stones, in the midſt of whom he himſelf ſate, and by diſcourſe gave them a deſcription of that * Standard, and ordered them to expreſs its likeneſs in Gold and precious Stones. Which [Standard] we our ſelves alſo [a] hapned ſometime to have a ſight of.

* Or, *Sign.*

[a] Ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ παρελαβεῖν. The verb σωέβη *hapned* is to be added, which I found written at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*. In the *King's Sheets* this place is ſupplied at the margin in this manner; αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, Θεῷ χ) τοῦτο χαρισαμένῳ, ἠξίωσε, *the Emperor himſelf, God having beſtowed that alſo, vouchſafed* [*us a ſight of it.*] And ſo Sr *Henry Savil* and *Chriſtophorſon* read. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* this place is written thus, ὃ δὴ χ) ἡμᾶς ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτὲ σωέβη παρελαβεῖν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c. as above. But, the one of theſe expreſſions is ſuperfluous. For either the verb σωέβη muſt be expunged; or elſe thoſe words αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, &c. muſt be left out. Unleſs you will read as Sr *Henry Savil* did, αὐτὸς χ) βασιλεὺς, &c. *For the Emperor himſelf, God having beſtowed that alſo, vouchſafed us a ſight of it.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXI.

A deſcription of the Standard made in faſhion of a Croſs, which the Romans *do now term The* Labarum.

IT was made in this form. A very long Spear overlaid with Gold, [a] had a piece like a Sail-yard laid overthwart it, framed in faſhion of a Croſs. Above, on the very top of the Spear, was fixt a Crown, made up of precious Stones and Gold. In this Crown was the Symbol of the Salutary Appellation, to wit, two Letters repreſenting the name of Chriſt, [which they] denoted by the firſt Characters, the letter *Rho* being cut thorow in its middle part. Which two letters the Emperor was wont to wear in his Helmet, though [he embraced that uſage] in the times which ſucceeded theſe matters. Further, from the Croſs-piece fixed athwart the Spear, was hung a kind of a * Flag, to wit, a purple cloth, covered with a variety of pretious Stones joyned one with another, which dazled mens eyes with the Rays of their Light; and being [b] interwoven with much Gold, preſented thoſe that viewed it with an inexpreſſible kind of Beauty. This Flag, hung at the Croſs-piece, [c] had a length exactly equal to its breadth. But, the upright Staff of the Spear, [d] from its loweſt part was extended to a very great length, and in its upper part, under the Trophy of the Croſs, at the very top of the [e] Flag embroidered with a variety of colours, it bore a Golden Picture of the Pious Emperor, as far as his breaſt, and [a repreſentation] likewiſe of his children. This ſalutary Standard the Emperor always made uſe of as a defence againſt the oppoſed Forces of all Enemies whatever; and he gave order, that other Standards made like to this ſhould be carried at the head of all his Armies.

* Or, *Sail.*

[a] Κέρας εἶχεν. *Langus, Portesius,* and *Chriſtophorſon* have rendred it *Cornu, a Horn*; whereas they ought to have tranſlated it *antennam*, i. e. *a croſs piece like that whereto a Sail is fixed*, or, *the Sailyard.* Valeſ.

[b] Καδυφασμένῳ χρυσῷ. Sr *Henry Savil* in his Copy has mended it καδυφασμένον, *interwoven.* Indeed, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* I found it written καδυφασμένων; and a little after, the ſame Copy and *Turnebus* read παρεῖχε, not παρέχον. Valeſ.

[c] Σύμμετρον μήκους τε χ) πλάτους. By theſe words *Euſebius* ſhews, that that *Flag* or *Sail* was ſquare. For an equal meaſure of length and breadth, does neceſſarily make a ſquare figure. Indeed, in the *old Coyns* of *Conſtantine* and the following Princes, this Flag is to be ſeen in that figure I have mentioned. *Chriſtophorſon* therefore has rendred this place ill, in this manner. *Iſtud igitur velamen ad cornu affixum, longitudinis latudiniſque crucis menſuram penitus exæquavit.* Valeſ.

[d] The meaning is, that that Spear from its *baſis* to the *Antenna*, or *Croſs-piece* fixed athwart it, was far longer, than from the *Antenna*, to its very top. And this alſo may be diſcerned in the Coyns. This place may likewiſe have another meaning, *viz.* that that Spear was of a very great length from its bottom to the top. *Valeſ.*

[e] Τῷ διαγεγραφοντος ὑφάσματος. It muſt be written τοῦ διαγεγραφέντος, that is *Painted* or *Embroidered with a variety of Colours.* For, that purple Flag which hung at the *Antenna*, was adorned with Gold and various ſorts of Stones. But, I can't imagine what *Chriſtophorſon* meant who has rendred theſe words of *Euſebius* in this manner, *ad texturæ diſcurrentis fimbrias*: unleſs he read διατέχοντος inſtead of διαγεγραφοντος. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXII.

That Conſtantine *becoming a* Catechumen, *read the Sacred Scriptures.*

BUT theſe things [were done] a little afterwards. But being then amazed at that wonderful Viſion, after he had taken a reſolution of worſhipping [a] no other God but him whom he had ſeen, he ſent for [b] thoſe perſons that were skilled in the Myſteries of His Doctrine; and enquired of them what that God was, and * what the Viſion of that Sign meant.

[a] Οὐδέτερον. It muſt be written in two words, οὐδὲ ἕτερον, or οὐδένα ἕτερον, *no other.* Sr *Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it οὐδ' ἕτερον θεὸν: the *Fuketian Manuſcript* has it οὐδέτερον θεόν. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὰς τῶν αὐτῷ λόγων μύσας. At this place *Euſebius* ſeems to have made uſe of μύσας inſtead of μυσαγωγὸς. For there is no doubt but he means the Biſhops: becauſe a little after he adds theſe words, χ) δὴ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερεῖς παρέδρους αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος, &c. *and having made thoſe Prelates of God his Aſſeſſors*, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *What was the meaning of that Sign of the Viſion which appeared.*

They affirmed that he was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: but that that ſign which had been ſhown him, was the Symbol of immortality, and the Trophy of that Victory, which he, when heretofore converſant on the earth, had obtained over Death. They likewiſe taught him the cauſes of his Advent, and expounded to him the accurate account of his [c] Incarnation. He gave them attention, being deſirous of information in thoſe matters. But he was taken up with an admiration of that appearance of God which had been exhibited to his ſight. And when he had compared that Celeſtial Viſion with the interpretation given of it by the diſcourſes of the Biſhops, he was ſtrengthened in mind; and became fully perſwaded, that the knowledge of theſe matters was delivered to him by the miniſtration of God himſelf. From thence forward he reſolved to apply himſelf to the reading of the Divine Books; and having made thoſe Prelates of God his Aſſeſſors, was of opinion, that that God whom he had ſeen, was to be worſhipped with all imaginable obſervancy. After this, being fortified with good hopes placed in Him, he undertook to extinguiſh * the fire of Tyrannick Fury.

[c] Τῆς κατ' ἀνθρώπους οἰκονομίας. What the import of οἰκονομία is in the writings of the holy Fathers, we have ſufficiently noted at *book* 1. *chap.* 1. *of Euſebius's Eccleſ. Hiſtory.* For, whatever Chriſt as man performed in the fleſh, in order to the ſalvation of Men, that is comprehended in the term οἰκονομία. Therefore *Chriſtophorſon*'s rendition of this Place is not good, who has turned it thus, *Chriſti inter homines œconomiam; the œconomie of Chriſt among Men.* Nor does κατ' ἀνθρώπους ſignifie *amongſt Men*, but rather *agreeable to men*, that is, *in an humane manner and faſhion.* So *Gregorius Nyſſenus in his Epiſtle to* Euſtathia *and* Ambroſia; ἀλλ' εἰ ὡσαύτως ἔχων, καὶ πρὸ τῆς κατ' ἀνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ, καὶ μὴ ἦν. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *The Menace of Tyrannick fire.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Adulteries committed by Maxentius *at* Rome.

FOR he who by Tyranny had poſſeſt himſelf of the Imperial City, was arrived at that height of impiety and wickedneſs, that no audacious fact, no filthy and impure practiſes were omitted by him. [a] For he parted the Wives, from their Husbands, to whom they had been legally married; and having debauch'd them, in a moſt diſhonourable manner ſent them back to their Husbands. Nor did he in this wiſe inſult over and abuſe obſcure Perſons, and thoſe of mean quality, but even ſuch as filled the eminenteſt places in the *Roman* Senate. But although he vitiated almoſt infinite numbers of free Women in a moſt ſhameful manner, yet could he in no wiſe ſatiate the immoderate and intemperate [Luſt of] his own mind. But, after he began [to ſollicite] *Chriſtian* Women, [b] He could by no arts of his own bring it about, [that he might enjoy their Embraces.]

[a] Διαζεύξ-ας γέ τοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. The place is imperfect, as 'tis evident; with *Chriſtophorſon* we have perfected it from the *fourteenth chapter of the eighth Book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory.* In the *Kings Sheets* this place is ſupplied at the margin in this manner; τὰς κατὰ νόμον γαμετὰς, ἀυτοῖς ἐνυβρίζων διαφθόρως, &c. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis written thus, διαζεύγνυς γέ τοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς γυναῖκας, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, &c. *Moreover, having parted Wives from their Husbands, he ſent them back to their Husbands.* Valeſ.

[b] Καὶ ἀχέθ' ὅτως τε ἦν. The firſt word muſt be expunged. But the following words are maimed and corrupted, which 'tis hard to make good without the Aſſiſtance of the Manuſcript Copies. Yet it may be read in this manner, ἀχέθ' ὅτως τε ἦν ἐυπετὲιν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀστελγήμασιν ἔκνοεῖν, *he was unable to find out a ſatiety or ſatisfaction for his own Luſts.* A little after this, the reading in the *Fuketian and* Sr *Henry Savil's Copy* is, δῆλον γὸ τῶ, &c. *For they choſe ſooner*, &c. Valeſ.

For they choſe ſooner to expoſe their lives [c] to death, than ſuffer their Bodies to be vitiated by him.

[c] Τὴν ψυχὴν θανατῶσαι. It muſt, as I think be written θανάτῳ, *to death.* For ſo *our Euſebius* expreſſes himſelf in book 8. chap. 14. where he treats concerning the wickedneſs of *Maximinus*; αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ φθορᾶν ἑλκόμεναι, θᾶττον τῷ ψυχῷ θανάτῳ, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδεδώκασιν, *others, haled away to be raviſhed, were more ready to part with their lives, than yield up their Bodies to be defiled.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How the Præfect's *Wife, that ſhe might preſerve her Chaſtity, laid violent Hands on her ſelf.*

ONE of theſe Women, Wife of a Perſonage of the *Senatorian Order* in that City, who bore the *Præfecture*, when ſhe underſtood that thoſe [Guards,] which the Tyrant made uſe of as his Miniſters in ſuch wickedneſſes, were ſtanding before her Houſe, (this Woman was a *Chriſtian*;) and knew, that her Husband, out of fear, had given them order to take her, and carry her away [to the Tyrant;] having requeſted that a ſhort ſpace of time might be allowed her, wherein ſhe might adorn her Body in her uſual dreſs, ſhe went into her Chamber. And being left alone, ſhe ſheathed a Sword in her own Breaſt. And expiring immediately hereupon, ſhe left her dead Body indeed to thoſe that came to conduct her [to the Tyrant.] But, by this act of hers, which reſounds far more than any voice, ſhe has manifeſted to all men that now are and ſhall be in future Ages, that Chaſtity [a Vertue] ſo famous amongſt *Chriſtians*, is the only thing that is invincible, and which cannot be deſtroyed. Thus this Woman behaved her ſelf.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Slaughter of the People of Rome *by* Maxentius.

ALL Perſons therefore, both the Commonalty and the Magiſtracy, as well the Honourable as the Obſcure, ſtood in great fear of him, [when they beheld] him audaciouſly perpetrating ſuch impieties as theſe; and were ſorely afflicted with his intolerable Tyranny. And although they were quiet, and patiently bore the auſtere ſervitude [they were oppreſt with;] yet none could ſo avoid the Bloody Cruelty of the Tyrant. For, one time, upon a very trivial pretence, he expoſed the People of *Rome* to the ſlaughter of his own Guards. And ſo, innumerable multitudes of the *Roman* people (not *Scythians*, nor *Barbarians*, but his own Citizens,) were killed with Spears and all manner of Weapons, in the midſt of the City. Moreover, 'tis impoſſible to enumerate how many ſlaughters were committed of thoſe that were Senators, to the end a ſeizure might be made of each Perſons Eſtate; infinite numbers of them being put to death at ſeveral times, for various Crimes framed [againſt them.]

CHAP. XXXVI.

Maxentius's Magick Arts *againſt* Conſtantine; *and the ſcarcity of Proviſions at* Rome.

AT length, as the Complement of his Impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [exerciſe] the deluſions of *Magick Arts*: ſometimes ripping up Women great with Child; otherwhiles ſearching into the Bowels of new-born Infants: He alſo † killed Lyons, and performed ſome other Horrid Rites, to call forth the *Dæmons*, and repel the approaching War. For he hoped, that by theſe performances he ſhould obtain Victory. Whilſt he Tyrannized therefore in this manner at *Rome*, 'tis impoſſible to relate what miſchievous facts he perpetrated, and [how miſerably] he enſlaved his Subjects: in ſo much that, they were reduced to ſuch extream penury and want of neceſſary ſuſtenance, * as ('tis recorded by thoſe of our times,) never happened at *Rome*, nor any where elſe.

† Or, *Sacrificed.*

* Or, *As thoſe of our age do record never to have happened at* Rome, *or any where elſe.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

The overthrow of Maxentius's *Armies in* Italy.

BUT *Conſtantine*, moved with compaſſion at all theſe [calamities of the *Romans*,] furniſhed himſelf with all manner of Military proviſions againſt the Tyranny. And when he had procured the ſupream God to be his Patron, and invoked His [Son] Chriſt to be his Saviour and Aſſiſtant; and had ſet up the Victorious Trophy, to wit, the ſalutary Standard, before his Soldiers and Guards, he began his march with his whole Army, that by his intervention he might reſtore to the *Romans* the Liberties they had received from their Anceſtors. Now *Maxentius*, confiding more in his Magick * Impoſtures, than in the Love and Affection of his Subjects, durſt not ſo much as ſtir out of the City Gates; but with a multitude of Soldiers, and with innumerable Bodies of Men laid in Ambuſhes, had fortified every place, Region, and City, which were under the preſſures of his Tyranny. But the Emperour [*Conſtantine*] depended upon Divine aſſiſtance, and having attacked the Tyrant's firſt, ſecond, and third Body, and with eaſe routed them all at the very firſt charge, he opened himſelf a paſſage into the greateſt part of the Country of *Italy*.

* Or, *Devices.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Maxentius's *Death on the Bridge of the River* Tiber.

AND he had now made his approaches very near to *Rome* it ſelf. But leaſt he ſhould be conſtrained to aſſault all the *Romans* for the Tyrant's ſake only, God himſelf drew the Tyrant (as it were with Cords) a great way out of the Gates: and effectually confirmed the truth of thoſe Miracles ([a] Recorded in the everlaſting Monuments of the Sacred Scriptures, which though they are accounted fabulous by many Perſons, and are not credited, are nevertheleſs believed by the Faithful;) he had wrote in times paſt againſt the wicked, to all in general, Believers as well as Infidels, who with their own eyes ſaw this Miracle we are about to relate. For, as heretofore in the days of *Moſes* and the old religious Nation of the *Jews*, God caſt the Chariots of *Pharaoh* and his Army into the Sea, and drowned his Choſen Captains in the Red-Sea: after the ſame manner *Maxentius* with the Soldiers and Guards that were about him, were caſt into the deep like a ſtone; at ſuch time as, having been put to flight by that Divine power which gave aſſiſtance to *Conſtantine*'s Arms, he would have paſt the River that was in the way before him. Over which he having laid a Bridge of Boats well faſtned together, had thereby framed an Engine of deſtruction againſt himſelf, being in hopes that the [Emperour] beloved by God might have been caught in this ſnare: but the God whom he worſhipped was preſent with, and gave him his aſſiſtance. But the wretched *Maxentius*, [b] deprived of his aid, framed theſe ſecret machines againſt himſelf. On which account theſe words may be pertinently ſpoken of him; wherefore, * *He hath graven and digged up a pit, and is fallen himſelf into the deſtruction that he hath made. His travel ſhall come upon his own head, and his wickedneſs ſhall fall on his own pate.* Thus therefore, by God's aſſent, the Machines framed upon the Bridge of Boats, and the *Ambuſcade* placed in them [being disjoined] at a time in no wiſe expected, the paſſage began to ſink, and the Boats together with the Men in them deſcended on a ſudden to the bottom [of the River.] And in the firſt place the Wretch Himſelf, then the *Protectors* and Guards that were about him, as the Divine Oracles have predicted, ſank down like Lead into the deep Waters. So that [*Conſtantine*'s Soldiers] who by Divine aſſiſtance then obtained the Victory, in ſuch ſort as the *Iſraelites* heretofore did who were lead by that eminent ſervant of the Lord *Moſes*, might deſervedly have ſung and repeated (though not in words exactly the ſame, yet in reality) [ſome of] thoſe expreſſions which they heretofore did againſt that impious Tyrant [*Pharaoh*,] in this manner: * *We will ſing unto the Lord, for he hath been magnificently glorified. The Horſe and his Rider hath he thrown into the Sea.* [My] *helper and defender is become my ſalvation.* And again, *who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongſt the Gods? Thou haſt been glorified in the Saints, admirable in glories, doing wonders.*

[a] In *Robert Stephens's Edition* there was a whole line wanting here, which we have ſupplied from the *Fuketian*, *Savilian*, and *Turnebian Copies*. But 'twas eaſie to have made up this defect, without Manuſcript Copies, from book 9. chap. 9. of *Euſebius's Eccleſ. Hiſtory*. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὁ ὃ ἀνὰ. In *Moræus's* Copy the laſt word is expunged, as ſuperfluous. But I am afraid that ſome words are wanting here. Sir *Henry Savil*, at the Margin of his Copy, notes that 'tis to be made good thus, τῆς τότε βοηθείας *of his aid*, or ſome ſuch like expreſſion. In the Copy of *Hadrian Turnebus* 'tis mended in this manner, ὁ δὲ ἄνους, *But that madman*; but this emendation is written in a more modern hand, to wit, the hand of *Odo Turnebus*: For *Hadrianus* had expunged the word ἀνὰ as ſuperfluous. *Valeſ.*

* Pſal. 7. 16, 17.

* Exod. 15. 1, 2, 11.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Constantine's *Entry into* Rome.

AFter *Constantine*, who at that time imitated that Great servant of God *Moses*, had in reality sung these and other such like Hymns as these, in praise of God the Governour of all things, and the Authour of Victory; he made his entry into the Imperial City in Triumph. And immediately all Persons, as well those of the *Senatorian* as them of the *Equestrian Order* in that City, being freed from the confinement of a Prison as 'twere, together with the whole *Roman* Populace, received him with a joy in their * Countenances that proceeded from their very Souls, with acclamations and a gladness insatiable. And the Men, together with the Women, Children, and infinite numbers of Servants, stiled him a Redeemer, a Saviour, and a Benefactour, with Voices that could not be silenced. But he, possest of a Piety towards God naturally implanted in him, was neither swelled with pride at these Shouts, nor elevated at these commendations. But being sensible of that assistance which God had given him, he forthwith rendred a Thanksgiving to the Authour of his Victory.

* Or, *Eyes.*

CHAP. XL.

Concerning the Statue of Constantine *which held a Cross; and concerning its Inscription.*

AND with a Loud Voice and by Inscriptions He made known to all Men the Salutary Standard by erecting this Great Trophy against his Enemies in the midst of the Imperial City, [b] and plainly Engraving this Salutary Standard, which is the preservative of the *Roman* Government and of the Empire of the whole World, with indelible Characters. He issued out therefore an immediate order, that an high Spear made in the form of a Cross, should be placed under the hand of his own likeness expresst in a Statue set up in the most publick and frequented place of the City *Rome*, and that this very inscription in the Latine Tongue should be cut upon it: [thus Englished;]

[a] Γραφὴ τε μεγάλη, *with a great Picture.* In *Eusebius's Panegyrick on Constantine's Tricennalia*, the reading is φωνῇ τε μεγάλῃ *and with a Loud Voice*; which in my judgment is to be preferred. Further, at these words I began a new chapter, following the Authority of the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*; to which agree the *old Sheets*. Vales.

[b] Διαῤῥήδην ὃ. The reading is truer in the *Panegyrick*, διαῤῥήδην τε, *and by plainly Engraving*, &c. A little after this, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts* add a word in this manner, φυλακτήριον ἀποδείξας, *which he hath demonstrated to be the preservative*, &c. Vales.

BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN WHICH IS THE ‖ COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT. AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANCIENT SPLENDOUR AND DIGNITY.

‖ Or, *True Cognizance of Valour.*

CHAP. XLI.

The rejoycings over the Provinces, and Constantine's *Acts of Grace.*

THE Pious Emperour having in this manner adorned himself with the Confession of the Victorious Cross, with all imaginable freedom of Speech made known the Son of God to the *Romans*. And all Persons inhabiting the City, as well the Senate as the People, in regard they had been eased of a bitter and Tyrannick Government, seemed in their own judgments to enjoy purer Rays of light, and to * enter upon a certain new life as 'twere. All those Nations also which are bounded with the Western Ocean, freed from those mischiefs wherewith they had been before oppressed, celebrated Festivals with the greatest cheerfulness, and continued to applaud [*Constantine*, and give him the Titles of] *Victour*, *Pious*, and *The Common Benefactour*. And with one voice and one mouth, all Persons acknowledged he was a Common Good * bestowed on Men by God's favour and benignity. Moreover, the Emperour's ‖ Letters were fix'd up in all places, which allowed an enjoyment of their own Estates to those who had had their Goods taken from them, and recalled to their own Houses such as had undergone an unjust Exile. And those Persons were freed from Bonds, all manner of danger, and fear, who by a Tyrannick Cruelty had lain under these sufferings.

* Or, *Partake of a Regeneration of a fresh and new life.*

* Or, *Shown to.*

‖ Or, *Edict was.*

CHAP. XLII.

The Honours conferred on the Bishops, and the Building of the Churches.

MOreover, the Emperour personally invited God's Ministers to himself, and vouchsafed them the highest [a] Veneration and Honour; to whom he gave a kind and courteous Reception, as well by deeds as words, in regard they were Persons consecrated to his God. There were admitted therefore to his own Table, Men who as to their outward [b] Garb indeed and Dress seemed despicable, but they were not accounted such by him: For he was not for viewing the outside of a Man, which is visible to the eyes, [c] but was pleased to look upon God himself.

[a] Θεραπείας ὡς διὰ τιμῆς. I think it must be made, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς, *Veneration and honour.* *Turnebus* in the margin of his *Copy* had mended it, θεραπείας καὶ τιμῆς, &c. and so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. In the *King's Sheets* the adverb ὡς is blotted out, and in its place αὐτοὺς *them* is written above. *Vales.*

[b] Τῇ τῶν σχήματι ὀφθῆναι πεπολῇ. At this place σχῆμα signifies not the *countenance* and *form*, as *Christophorson* thought, but the *Garb* and *Dress*. Wherefore I have expresst both in my Rendition; which I afterwards found had been done by *Portesius* also. The Garb and Dress of Prelates was at that time very mean, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests in his 27th Book, where he speaks concerning *Damasus* and *Ursinus*. *Gregory Nazianzen* also, in the *Funeral Oration he wrote concerning the praises of Basilius*, says that he, whilst he was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, was clad in a mean Cloak, which he terms ῥάκος. *Vales.*

[c] Τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει. In the *King's Sheets* this place is supplied in the Margin, in this manner, τὸν δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τιμώμενον ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει θεὸν, *but was pleased to behold God honoured in each person.* But the reading is shorter in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts* thus, τὸν ὃ θεὸν ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει αὐτὸν, *but was pleased*, or, *thought good to look upon God himself.* Vales.

And

And these Persons he carried along with him, which way so ever he made a journey; being fully perswaded, that that God whom they worshipped, would [d] for this very reason be propitious to him. Moreover, he gave very * large and plentiful † Benefactions to the Churches of God out of his own Treasury; partly enlarging the Oratories, and raising them to an height; and partly adorning the august || *Sacraria* of the Churches with many consecrated Gifts.

[d] Καὶ τούτῳ. I had rather write κ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ, that is, *for this Reason.* Vales.

* Or, *Rich.*

† Or, *Assistances.*

|| Or, *Chapels*, or, *Vestries of the Church.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Concerning Constantine's *Beneficence towards the Poor.*

[a] HE likewise made various distributions of Money to the indigent. Besides, he shewed himself humane and beneficent even to [b] Extraneous Persons who made their addresses to him. And to those Wretches and Abjects, who beg'd in the *Forum*, he [gave] not only Money, and necessary food; but provided them decent garments also to cover their Bodies. But, on those, who had heretofore lived well, and by a change of * Fortune had afterwards faln into great Calamities, he bestowed larger and more plentiful allowances. And with a mind truly Royal, conferred on such Persons as these, magnificent Benefactions; to some of whom he gave possessions of Lands; and honoured others of them with various dignities. He took a care, nothing inferiour to that of a Father, of those fal'n into the calamities of † *Orphancy*: and relieved the destitute and forlorn condition of Widows, by cherishing them with his own patronage and protection. Moreover, he match'd young Virgins made Orphans by the loss of their Parents, to rich Men and such as were known to himself. And this he did, when he had before-hand bestowed on the Virgins [c] marrying, whatever it was fitting they should bring to such Persons as took them to Wife. [In fine,] [d] as the Sun, when it rises upon the earth, does liberally impart the Rays of its Light to all Men: in the very same manner *Constantine*, going out of his Imperial Palace early in the Morning, || and rising as 'twere together with that celestial Luminary, imparted the Rays of Light of his own [e] Beneficence to all those who approach'd his presence. Nor did ever any Person come near to him, who gained not something of good: neither were they ever frustrated of their good hope, who had expected to receive assistance from him.

[a] In the *King's* and *Fuketian* MSS. and in the *old Sheets*, the Chapter begins at these words. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν. He means *the Heathens*, who were ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας *without the Church* And this is confirmed from the following Chapter, where his words are these; Κοινῶς μὲν ἦν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἥμερος τοιοῦτος. ἐξαίρετον δ' ἦν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, *such was his behaviour towards all persons in general. But his, &c.* The like expression we meet with in Book 2. at the close of the 21, and beginning of the 22 Chapters. *Vales.*

[c] Ταῖς γαμουμέναις. *Christophorson* renders it ill, *nuptas, married*: for, not those that are *married*, but them who are *marrying* bring a Portion to their Husbands The same *Christophorson* has committed the like mistake, in rendring the word τελευτῶντας *dead*, as we have noted at *Euseb. Eccles. Hist.* Book 10. Chap. 8. Note (c.) *Vales.*

|| Ὥσπερ συνανατέλλων τῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνον φωστῆρι; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *ac cum cœlesti solis Jubare quodammodo exoriens, and rising in a manner with a celestial beam of the Sun.*

[d] In the *King's Manuscript*, at the side of these words, this mark is set, ως. which mark seems to me to denote, ὡραίως λόγως *seu* τόπως, *an elegant expression*, or, *place.* Vales.

[e] Καλοκἀγαθίας. *Eusebius* uses this term to signifie *benignity* or *beneficence.* So he has also used this word in the *tenth book of his Hist.* Vales.

CHAP. XLIV.

How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

SUch was his behaviour towards all Persons in general. But his care of the Church of God was signal and eminent: [For] when some Persons in several Provinces differed one with another; like some Common Bishop constituted by God, he convened Synods of God's Ministers: Nor disdained he to be present and sit with them in the midst of their Congress; but made himself an Associate in reference to the matters inquired into, and ministred to all Persons those things which have relation to the peace of God. Further, he sate in the midst of them, as one amongst many; and would send off his *Protectours*, his Armed Men, and all the Guards of his Body; but he was covered with the fear of God, and surrounded with the dearest affection of his [a] Faithful friends. And when he perceived any Persons inclinable to acquiesce in an opinion that was sounder and better, and disposed to a quiet and agreeing temper of Mind; he approved highly of such Men, and shewed himself extraordinarily pleased at the unanimous consent of all. But he had an aversion for those that were opinionative and not to be perswaded.

[a] Πιστῶν ἑταίρων. At this place *Eusebius* does not term them faithful, who were true-hearted and well-affected towards the Emperour, as the Translators thought: but he styles the *Christians* so. For *Constantine*, in regard he was a most Religious Emperour, when ever he was present at the Councils of Bishops, was wont to send off all his Guards, and took with him only those of his Courtiers, who had been instructed in the mysteries of the *Christian* Faith. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLV.

In what manner he bore with the * *Mad-men.*

MOreover, he patiently bore with some Persons who were exasperated [a] against him; commanding such Men in expressions that were sedate and mild, to behave themselves with prudence and modesty, and not to raise Seditions. Some of these People, revering his admonitions, desisted [from being obstinate and perverse.] But he let alone others of them, who were incurable in reference to their being brought to a soundness of mind, and committed them to God; having at no time designed any thing of severity against any one of them. Hence it happened, (as 'tis probable,) that [b] those who had raised a Sedition in the Region of the *Africans*, proceeded to such an height of wickedness, that they attempted some audacious facts; [c] the Devil (as 'tis likely,) envying that plenty of the present blessings, and inciting those Men to absurd practices, that he might incense the mind of the Emperour against them.

* That is, The *Donatists.*

[a] Κατ' αὐτοῦ τεραχωμένους, *exasperated against them.* Doubtless it must be written κατ' αὐτῶν *against him*, as the reading is in the *Kings* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*: which emendation I found written also in *Moræus's Copy.* In the *old Sheets* likewise 'tis mended in the same hand. *Vales.*

[b] He means the *Donatists*, of whose boldness and insolence many passages occur in *Optatus* and *Augustinus.* Concerning the beginning and progress of which Schism throughout *Africa*, we have made many remarks not taken notice of by others, and have designedly placed them *at the close of these notes.* Vales. See *Valesius's notes on Eusebius*, pag. 289, &c.

[c] In the *Kings Sheets*, this place is thus supplied in the Margin, πονηρῷ τινὸς ὡς ἔοικε δαίμονος, *some wicked devil (as 'tis likely;)* which is more elegant. *Vales.*

But he reapt no advantage by his envy; in regard the Emperour accounted what was done to be [a] ridiculous, and affirmed that he acknowledged it the incitation of the Devil. For [he ſaid] that thoſe were not the actions of ſober Perſons, but of ſuch as were either altogether Mad-Men, or ſtimulated by the wickedeſt of Devils: which ſort of People ought to be pitied, rather than puniſh'd. [For it would not be ſuch an height of juſtice to be incited] [e] againſt the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a tranſcendency of Humanity to compaſſionate their condition.

[a] *Euſebius* makes uſe of too ſoft a term. For thoſe things which were then done by the *Donatiſts* in *Africa*, were ſuch, as not to deſerve laughter, but animadverſion rather. For, both the ſanctity of Religion, and the authority likewiſe of the Emperour himſelf, were moſt inſolently trampled on by thoſe Perſons. But perhaps *Euſebius* at this place meant only thoſe matters which had a reference to the contempt of the Imperial Majeſty. For *Conſtantine* could diſſemble thoſe things, and might think them worthy of laughter, rather than trouble of mind. But he was reſolved moſt ſeverely to revenge what thoſe *Donatiſts* did againſt God and the obſervancy of the Catholick Law, and on that deſign determined to paſs over into *Africk*, as he himſelf writes in his *Letter* to *Celſus Vicar* of *Africa*. Valeſ.

[e] Πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἀφρονόντων. Before theſe words is to be ſet an *Aſterisk*. For ſome words are wanting, which in my judgment may be ſupplied in this manner: ἃ χῆ τοσοῦτον δικαιοσύνης ὑπερβολὴ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἐρεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τῆς τῶν, &c. which we have expreſt in our Verſion. *Chriſtophorſon* and Sir *Henry Savil* made good this place otherwiſe. In the *Kings Sheets* this place is thus made up in the Margin; αὐτὸν ὃ χῆ μηδένα τρόπον ζημιοῦν πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἀφρονόντων μανίας, *But, that he would in no wiſe inflict puniſhment on the fury of Mad-Men.* But the words immediately following do reject this conjecture. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* this place is written thus; ὅσον χῆ τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβολὴ φιλανθρωπίας τοσοῦτο τὸ κολάζειν, ἀνδρῶν ἀφρονόντων ἀνοίας ἂν εἴη, χὴ ἃ φρονόντων ὀρθῶς. The ſame alſo is the reading in *Turnebus*'s, and Sir *Henry Savil*'s *Copy*. But this reading ſeems to me to have iſſued from the conjecture of the Tranſcriber. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLVI.

His Victories over the Barbarians.

THus the Emperour in all his Actions worſhipped God the Inſpector of all things, and [a] with an indefatigable ſollicitude made proviſion for his Churches. But God rewarded him, and ſubdued almoſt all Barbarous Nations under his feet; in ſo much that he erected Trophies in all places againſt his Enemies. He proclaimed him Conquerour amongſt all Men; and rendred him formidable to his Enemies and adverſaries; although naturally he was no ſuch Man; [b] but rather the mildeſt, meekeſt, and moſt compaſſionate perſonage of all Mortals what ever.

[a] Ἄτρωστον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτῷ προνοίαν, *made an invulnerable proviſion for his Churches.* Although this term ἄτρωστον may befitly made out concerning *Conſtantine*, whoſe mind could never be exulcerated and provok'd by the madneſs of the *Donatiſts* and other Hereticks of the ſame ſtamp; yet at this place I had rather write ἄτρυτον. For, in my judgment, it cannot well be ſaid, ἄτρωστον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ προνοίαν, *he made an invulnerable Proviſion.* But on the contrary, the term ἄτρυτον will be uſed moſt elegantly: that is, *he made indefatigable Proviſion*, &c. So in book 2. chap. 14. ἄϋπνον ἐποιεῖτο τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῶν προνοίας, *he exerciſed a ſleepleſs or watchful care over the publick.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἡμερώτατόν τε. It muſt be written ἡμερώτατον δὲ, *but rather the mildeſt*; as 'tis in the *King*'s and *Fuk. Manuſcripts.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Death of Maximin *and others, whoſe Plots* Conſtantine *diſcovered, God making them known to him.*

IN the interim that he was doing theſe things, the [a] ſecond of thoſe two Perſons who had reſigned the Empire, framed a deſign to cut off *Conſtantine*; and being diſcovered, ended his life by a moſt ignominious death. And [b] this was the firſt Perſon, whoſe Pictures, Statues, and what ever other Monuments are uſually erected in honour of the Emperours, were defaced and thrown down in all parts of the World, in regard he was an impious and wicked wretch. After this Man, other Perſons alſo related to him, who were contriving ſecret Plots [againſt *Conſtantine*,] were detected; God himſelf in a moſt miraculous manner being the diſcoverer of all their deſigns to his Servant, by Viſions. For he frequently vouchſafed him his own preſence, the Divine Likeneſs appearing to him in a moſt wonderful manner, and ſuggeſting to him all manner of foreknowledge in relation to future affairs. Indeed, the Miracles [ſhown him] by Divine Grace, are inexpreſſible; nor is it poſſible for a Narrative to comprehend, what great bleſſings God himſelf vouchſafed to afford his Servant. With which he was ſurrounded, and ſpent the reſidue of his life in Repoſe and Safety; highly pleaſed at the benevolence and good affection of his Subjects; rejoycing becauſe he ſaw all thoſe under his Government leading peaceable and chearful lives; but above all, extraordinarily delighted with the ſplendour and flouriſhing condition of God's Churches.

[a] He means *Maximianus Herculius*. For he had obtained the 2d place in the Empire; and when he had fram'd Plots againſt *Conſtantine*, being detected, he ended his life with an Halter. Beſides, the following words, wherein *Euſebius* tells us his Pictures and Statues were thrown down and defaced, do evidently ſhew, that *Maximianus Herculius* is meant here. Which if true, *Euſebius* hath committed a moſt foul miſtake here, in relating *Herculius*'s death after the Victory over *Maxentius*: when as 'tis certain, that *Maximianus Herculius* ended his life two years before the defeat and deſtruction of *Maxentius*, on the year of Chriſt 310. But who can believe, that *Euſebius*, who was contemporary with theſe times, could have been guilty of ſo great a miſtake? Beſides, the Title of this chapter gives us the name, not of *Maximianus*, but of *Maximinus*. Therefore, I am eaſily induced to believe, that this place is corrupted, and that it ought to be mended thus, πρῶ εἰς βασιλείαν προχειρισθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν τῷ ἀρχὴν ἀποθεμένων ὁ δεύτερος, *the ſecond of thoſe perſons that were choſen into the Empire by thoſe who had reſigned the Government*: that ſo, *Maximinus* may be meant here, who together with *Severus* was made *Cæſar* by *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, at ſuch time as they reſigned their Purple, as *Idatius* writes in his *Faſti*. And thus the order of the times will proceed right in *Euſebius*. For *Maximinus* ended his life after the overthrow of *Maxentius*, and by a moſt ignominious ſort of death too, as *Euſebius* relates, *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 9. chap. 10. *Valeſ.*

[b] Πρὸ ὃ τούτου. I read πρῶτος ὃ τούτου, *this was the firſt perſon*; from book 8. chap. 13. of his *Eccleſ. Hiſtory*; where this whole place occurs almoſt in the ſame words. Further, what *Euſebius* ſays happened firſt of all to *Maximianus Herculius*, that his Pictures and Statues ſhould in all places be thrown down, ought not to ſeem ſtrange to any one. For we muſt underſtand this in the ſame manner, as where he tells us that *Conſtantius Chlorus* was the firſt Emperour that was deified. He means he was the firſt of thoſe Emperours which he had ſeen. But if any one had rather underſtand theſe words concerning *Maximinus*, he has *Euſebius* to defend his Opinion, who in the laſt chapter of his *nineth book* atteſts in expreſs words, that all *Maximin's* Statues and Pictures were broken after his death. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Celebration of Conſtantine's Decennalia.

WHilſt he was in this condition, the Tenth year of his Empire was compleated. On which account he celebrated publick and ſolemn Feſtivals, and put up Thankſgivings, like ſome pure ſacrifices without fire and ſmoak, to God the ſupream King. With which [Holy Exerciſes] he was highly delighted; but [he was not ſo well pleaſed] with the account brought him by thoſe Meſſengers, from whom he received advice, concerning the Ruine of the Provinces in the *Eaſt*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

In what manner Licinius *afflicted the Eaſt.*

[a] At theſe words a chapter is begun in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*, and in the *old Sheets*. Valeſ.

FOr, [a] a certain Savage Beaſt, he was told, had beſet both the Church of God there, and the reſt of the Provincials alſo; the moſt impure Devil, enraged with emulation as 'twere, ſtriving to do the quite contrary to thoſe things performed by the pious Emperour. In ſo much that, the *Roman* Empire, divided into two parts, ſeemed to all men to be like the night and the day. For, a darkneſs involved the Inhabitants of the Eaſt: but a moſt bright day enlightned thoſe who dwelt in the * Weſtern parts. Whoſe enjoyment of thoſe innumerable Bleſſings procured them by God, was an intolerable ſpectacle to the Envy of the Devil that hater of good: nor did the Tyrant, who oppreſſed the other part of the world, think that fit to be born with. Who ſeeing the affairs of his Empire ſucceeding proſperouſly, and being vouchſafed an affinity by marriage to ſo great an Emperour as *Conſtantine* was, relinquiſhed the imitation of that pious Prince, and ſtrove to embrace the inſtructions and wicked Morals of the Impious. And he made it his buſineſs, rather to follow their advices, whoſe calamitous end he had been an eye-witneſs of, than [b] to continue in a friendſhip and amity with him that was his Better.

* Or, *Other part.*

[b] This place muſt be made up from *chapter* 8 book 10. *of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory*; whence alſo the following chapter is to be mended. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. L.

In what manner Licinius *attempted to frame Treacheries againſt* Conſtantine.

HE raiſes therefore an * irreconcileable War againſt his Benefactour; without calling to mind the Laws of friendſhip; not conſidering his Oaths, his affinity, or the Leagues [that were between them.] For, the moſt Benigne [*Conſtantine*,] that he might give him the ſureſt evidence of his ſincere Benevolence and affection, made him partaker of his own paternal Lineage, and of that Imperial bloud he drew from his Anceſtours, by matching his Siſter to him; and permitted him to enjoy the Colleague-ſhip of the whole *Roman* Empire. But *Licinius*'s thoughts were contrary hereto, being taken up in contriving Machinations and ill-deſigns againſt his Better; inventing various ſorts of * Treacheries ſucceſſively, that with miſchiefs he might reward his Benefactour. And at the beginning he pretended friendſhip, and performed all things with deceit and fraud; hoping that his audacious deſigns might be kept concealed. But God diſcovered thoſe Treacheries of his, hatch'd in darkneſs, to his Servant [*Conſtantine.*] Whereupon *Licinius*, becauſe detected in his firſt attempts, betook himſelf to ſecond frauds; ſometimes pretending friendſhip; at others, procuring himſelf belief [by the Religion] of Oaths and Leagues: then on a ſudden he would violate what he had agreed to; and again, would crave pardon by an Embaſſie; after which he would render himſelf infamous by Lyes. But at length he proclaimed open War; and, inſtigated by a deſperate madneſs of mind, took a reſolution in future to bear Arms againſt God himſelf, of whom he well knew the Emperour [*Conſtantine*] was a Worſhipper.

* Or, *Traiterous.*

* Or, *Menaces.*

CHAP. LI.

Licinius's *Treacheries againſt the Biſhops, and his prohibitions of Synods.*

AND in the firſt place, with great cloſeneſs and ſubtlety he made ſtrict inquiry into thoſe Miniſters of God that lived under his Dominions, who had never committed any Crime againſt his Government; by hunting out Various Calumnies againſt them. And when he could not furniſh himſelf with any the leaſt offence of theirs, nor had [any pretext] wherewith he might blame theſe men; he iſſued forth a Law, whereby he commanded, that the Biſhops ſhould in no wiſe * confer one with another in any place whatever, nor ſhould it be Lawful for any one of them to go into the Church of his neighbour; nor to convene Synods, nor Councils; or to conſult about matters that were uſeful and advantageous. Now, this gave him an occaſion of vexing and diſquieting us. For, if thoſe of our Religion trangreſt that Law of his, they were obliged to undergo puniſhment; but, if they paid an obedience to this his Order, of neceſſity they muſt enervate the Laws of the Church. For, 'tis impoſſible that the more momentous † Controverſies ſhould by any other means be compoſed and rectified, than by Synods. And thus this [Tyrant] highly odious to God, becauſe he ſtudied in all things to contradict the pious Emperour, iſſued out ſuch Orders as theſe [in reference to us *Chriſtians.*] For *Conſtantine* called together God's Prieſts, in [a] honour to thoſe conſecrated perſons, and for the promoting of mutual Peace and Concord. But *Licinius*, attempting to abrogate whatever was well conſtituted, endeavoured to ‖ diſturb the harmonious agreement [of the Churches.]

* Or, *Hold communication.*

† *Matters of conſideration*, or, *debates.*

‖ *Diſſipate*, or, *tear in ſunder.*

[a] Τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἱερωμένον τιμῇ. *Turnebus* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it, τῇ πρὸς τῶν ἱερωμένων τιμῇ. And this reading I found in *Moræus's Copy* alſo. But I had rather write, πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἱερωμένων τιμῇ, *in honour to thoſe conſecrated perſons.* For *Euſebius* gives reaſons, why the Emperour *Conſtantine* would ever and anon convene Synods of Biſhops. The firſt reaſon, ſays he, was, that he might give honour to Gods Prieſts when aſſembled together. Secondly, that he might eſtabliſh Peace and Concord amongſt them. 'Tis certain, *Euſebius* does uſually term *The Prieſts* τοὺς ἱερωμένους, as it frequently occurrs in *theſe books.* But if, with *Turnebus*, we would rather read πρὸς τὸ ἱερωμένον, then it muſt be made τῆς τιμῆς, that the diſcourſe may agree with what follows; and τὸ ἱερωμένον muſt be taken *for Religion it ſelf*; which is more uncouth. For I had rather expreſs it thus, τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἱερὸν νόμον τιμῇ, *in honour to the ſacred Law. Valeſ.*

CHAP. LII.

The Baniſhments and Proſcriptions of the Chriſtians.

AND becauſe *Conſtantine*, who was God's friend, vouchſafed the ſervants of God admiſſion into his Imperial Palaces; the Enemy

of God *Licinius*, whose Sentiments were quite contrary hereto, [a] drove all God's Worshippers, who lived under his Dominions, from his Imperial Palaces; and sent into Banishment those persons in his Court that were faithfullest and best-affected to him. And such persons as for their former brave actions had received from him honour and dignities, them he ordered to serve others, and to perform servile Offices. And when he had seized upon the Goods of every one of them, as if they had been some unhop'd-for Gain; at last he threatned [to punish] those with death, who assumed to themselves the salutary name [of *Christians.*] [b] Further, whereas he himself possest a mind that was incontinent and lustful, and committed infinite Adulteries, and the most infamous Acts of obscenity; [c] it was his Sentiment that no man could be chast and continent; * and thus, from his own distemper he past an ill judgement upon the Nature of mankind in general.

[a] *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, at the fourteenth year of *Constantine*, says thus; *Licinius drives the Christians from his own Palace. Orosius* says the same in book 7. but in a disturbed order of affairs and times, in regard he relates that before the *Cibalensian War*, which War hapned on the *eighth year of Constantine's* Empire. For there were two Civil Wars between *Constantine* and *Licinius*. The first War, wherein *Licinius* was vanquished at *Cibalis* in *Pannonia*, hapned on the year of Christ 314. The reasons of which War are Recorded by no other Writer, that I know of, but the *Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, which I have long since published at the end of *Amm. Marcellinus*; see pag. 473. But the latter War was that, wherein *Licinius* was routed near *Hadrianople*, and at length compelled to a surrender of himself on the year of Christ 324. *Eusebius* has made no mention of the former War; for this reason perhaps, because *Licinius* as yet had not raised Persecution against the *Christians*. For *Licinius* undertook to persecute the *Christians* long after that first War, to wit on the fourteenth year of *Constantine's* Empire, as 'tis Recorded in *Scaliger's* and *Miræus's Edition of Eusebius's Chronicon*, that is on the year of *Christ* 320. The same year occurrs in *Cedrenus's Chronicon*. But *Baronius* relates, that *Licinius* raised Persecution against the *Christians* on the year of Christ 316. But in *Baronius's Annals*, the History of both the Wars against *Licinius* is very much confused, and must be amended, partly from *Idatius's Fasti*, and partly from the *Gesta Constantini* heretofore published by me. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 7.) attests in expres words, that *Licinius* undertook to persecute the *Christians* after the *Cibalensian War*. Vales.

[b] From these words a new Chapter ought to have been begun. For these words belong to *Licinius's second Law*. Farther, the expression εἰς ἐκκλήμψιον, which occurrs in the Contents of *Chap.* 53, seems to be faulty, and put instead of εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, *in the Church*. And yet 'tis strange, that both in the *King's Manuscript*, and in the *old Sheets*, the reading is constantly, εἰς ἐκκλήμψιον σωάσεσθ. Although in the *old Sheets* 'tis mended in the same hand, εἰς ἐκκλησίας μὴ σωάσεσθ. But in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis excellently written thus, εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνδρῶσιν ἅμα μὴ σωάσεσθ, *should not meet in the Churches together with the men.* Vales

[c] Or, *He despaired of finding the Ornament of Chastity amongst men* *Valesius* thinks it should be written and pointed thus, τῆς τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπεγίνωσε φύσεως, ἐλεγχῷ κακῷ χρώμενος; *He despaired of the nature of men, making use of an ill argument.*

* Or, *He Himself making use of himself as the Brand and Reproach of Nature.*

CHAP. LIII.

[Licinius's] *Edict, that Women should not meet in the Churches together with the Men.*

WHerefore, he made a second Law, wherein he gave Command, that the men should not be present at prayers [in the Church] of God together with the women: nor should womenkind frequent the Venerable Schools of Virtue: Lastly, that the Bishops should not deliver the Divine Precepts of Religion to women; but, that women should be made choice of, to be the Teachers of women. But whereas these things seemed Ridiculous to all persons, he invented another device for the subversion of the Churches. For, he ordered, that the solemn Assemblies of the people should be held without the Gates, in the open fields; affirming, that the fresh air without the Gates was far more commodious for crouds, than the Oratories situate within the City.

CHAP. LIV.

That he Cashiered from the Militia *those who refused to Sacrifice; and forbad, that such as were shut up in Prisons should have any nourishment given them.*

BUT when he perceived they would not obey him even in this; in future [he went to work] *bare-fac'd* [as we say,] and gave order, that the [a] *Civil Milice* should be removed from their attendance upon the * *Præsidial Office*, unless they were willing to sacrifice to *Dæmons*. [b] The *Offices* therefore of Magistrates throughout every Province, were emptied of pious and religious persons. And he himself, who made this Law, was deprived of the prayers of holy men, which he had bereaved himself of. What need we, [c] besides these things, make mention, in what manner he gave order, that no person should shew compassion to those afflicted in Prisons, by ministring food to them; nor, that any one should take commiseration of such as perished with Famine in their Bonds: (that is, that not so much as one good man should exist;) nor, that those who by nature it self are drawn to a compassion of their neighbours, should do any thing of good? Indeed, this was clearly the most impudent and unjustest of Laws, and far out-did the utmost ferity of Nature. To which Law there was a penalty also annext, that they who shewed compassion, should suffer the same Inflictions with those to whom they shewed it; and that such as performed Offices of Humanity, should be lyable to punishment.

[a] See what I have noted at *chap.* 8. book 10. of *Eusebius's Eccles. History*; whence these passages are transcribed almost word for word. *Vales.*

[b] Τῶν χρὴ πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀξιωμάτων εἰς τάξεις. So the words are to be construed; which *Christophorson* perceived not. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, after the word τάξεις is placed a *Comma*. Τάξεις or τάγματα are *Offices of Magistrates*. For each Magistrate had *his Office* or *Attendants*. *This Office was a certain Body of Officials or Souldiers, who attended on the Judges*, as may be seen in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*. *These Offices* the *Greeks* termed τάξεις, as I have long since remarked at the 26th book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, *pag.* 318 *of my notes*. The *Old Glosses* therefore are right, in explaining τάξις ἄρχοντος, *officium, apparitio*. So *John Chrysostome* in his *first Homily on the Epistle to the Corinthians*; οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τοὺς παῖδας, ὅταν παίζοντες τάξιν ποιῶσι καὶ στρατιώτας, &c. *Don't you see children, how when at play they make a company of Apparitours or Attendants, and Officials*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Τῶν ἐκτὸς μνημονεύειν.- *Johannes Morinus*, a Learned person who has rendred *these Books into French*, thought that by τῶν ἐκτὸς here, *the Gentiles* or *Heathens* were meant; as if *Eusebius* had said, *What need we make mention of the Heathens.* See *chap.* 43. *note* (*b.*) But *Christophorson* renders τ' ἐκτὸς *præterea, besides*; as if it 'twere the same with τούτων ἐκτὸς, in which manner *Eusebius* expresses himself at chap. 43. *Vales.* *Valesius* renders it in the same manner with *Christophorson*.

CHAP. LV.

Concerning Licinius's *Improbity and Avarice.*

SUch were *Licinius's* Constitutions. But, what need we reckon up his Innovations concerning Marriages? Or his new Laws in relation

tion to such as are ending their lives? Whereby he presumptuously abrogated the ancient, good, and wisely established *Roman* Laws, and instead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane [Ordinances.] Besides, he found out a thousand sorts of Exactions towards his Subjects. On which account, he invented * *New Surveys* of Lands, that he might compute a small field to be greater in measure, because of his insatiable desire after unequal Exactions. For this reason, he enrolled in his *Censual Tables* the names of countrymen who were not alive, but had been dead long before; procuring to himself from hence a filthy and ignominious gain. For his sordidness had no measure; nor was his unsatiableness to be circumscribed by any Limit. Wherefore, when he had filled all his Treasuries with Gold, Silver, and immense quantities of Riches, he sighed and lamented his Poverty; his mind being disquieted with the disease of † *Tantalus*. [Why should I mention] what punishments of Exile he inflicted on Innocent persons? What proscriptions of Goods? What Imprisonments of men well-descended and of eminent quality; whose young wives he delivered to some impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? How many married women, virgins, and young maids he himself attempted to force, though his Body was now rendred decrepit by age? 'Tis needless to enlarge upon these things, in regard the exorbitancy of his last Actions hath evinced his former to be trivial and in a manner nothing.

* Or, *Remeasurings.*

† The punishment allotted him was, as we are told, to starve in the midst of plenty.

CHAP. LVI.

That at length he undertook the raising a Persecution [*against the* Christians.]

IN fine, he proceeded to that height of madness, that he armed himself against the Churches; and sets upon the Bishops, whom he accounted to be his chiefest Adversaries; and look'd upon them as Enemies, who were friends to the Pious and Great Emperour. On which account he sharpned his fury most especially against them, having forsaken [a] the way of sober and right reason. Nor did he take into consideration the memory of them, who had Persecuted the *Christians* before him, nor of those, whose Destroyer and Punisher he himself had been appointed, because of the height of those impieties at which they had arrived. Neither [did he reflect upon] what he had been an eye-witness of; then, when with his own eyes he beheld the [b] chief Author of [our] mischiefs, whosoever he was, smitten with a scourge sent from Heaven.

[a] Τῆ σώφρονι. After these words, an Asterisk is to be placed. For there is an imperfection; which nevertheless may be made up from book 10. chap 8. in this manner; τῆ σώφρονι ἐπεραπεῖς λογισμῷ, *declining from the way of sober reason.* In the *Fuk. Turneb.* and *Savil.* Copies, the reading is τῇ σώφρονι παρεγνεσμω'ι. *Vales.*

[b] He means *Galerius Maximianus*, who was the first Author and Ringleader of the *Christians* Persecution, as *Eusebius* relates in *book* 8. *of his Eccles. History. Cedrenus* writes, that on the eighteenth year of *Diocletian*, *Maximianus* had raised a Persecution against the *Christians*, by the perswasion of one *Theotecnus* an Impostour. Who having forged *Acts of Pilate* stuft with impiety against Christ, *Galerius* made an establishment by an Edict, that Masters should give them to their Scholars to be learned by heart. But any one may perceive, that *Cedrenus* is out here, who attributes that to *Galerius Maximianus*, which was performed long after by *Maximinus*. This is an usual mistake amongst the *Greeks*, to confound *Maximianus* with *Maximinus*. Vales.

CHAP. LVII.

That Maximianus *having been afflicted with a* Fistulous Ulcer that bred worms, *wrote* [*a Law*] *in favour of the* Christians.

FOr, whereas he had begun a Siege of the Churches, and was the first that had defil'd his own soul with the bloud of just and religious persons; a punishment sent from God seized him: which, having made its beginning in his very flesh, proceeded even to his soul. For on a sudden an Impostume arose upon him about the midst of the privy parts of his Body; after that *a Fistula in ano*: and both these diseases spread incurably, and did eat into his inmost bowels. From them bred an unspeakable multitude of worms, and a most * noysom stench proceeded therefrom. For, the whole mass of flesh upon his body, by reason of that abundance of food he devoured, was grown to an immense fatness: which being then putrified, became ('tis said) an intolerable and most horrid spectacle to those that approach'd him. Whilst therefore he was strugling under these many and great afflictions, at length, though late, he began to be sensible of the Villanies he had audaciously committed against the Church. After which, having made his confession to God, he stops the Persecution against the *Christians*; and by Laws and Imperial Edicts orders that their Churches should with all expedition be built: and commanded that the *Christians* themselves should perform their usual Solemnities, and make Supplications [to God] for him.

* Or, *Deadly.*

CHAP. LVIII.

That Maximinus *being a Persecutor of the* Christians, *fled away in a servile habit and hid himself.*

SUch was the punishment, which the Beginner of the Persecution underwent. But this [*Licinius*,] concerning whom we now speak, who had been an eye-witness of these things, and by experience had had an accurate knowledge thereof; nevertheless, on a sudden forgat all; neither did he call to mind the punishment inflicted on the Former, [a] nor the revenging judgment [divine justice executed] on the Latter. Who, because he strove with the greatest earnestness imaginable, to out-do the Former in a Combat of mischiefs as 'twere, gloried in his invention of new punishments against us. For he was not satisfied with Fire, Sword, and the * *Fastnings with Nails*; nor with the wild-beast and depth of the Sea. But besides all these, he himself contrived a certain new sort of punishment, and by a Law gave order, that those members, whereby we perceive the light, should be destroyed. Immediately therefore, vast numbers, not only of men, but of children and women also, having had the Sights of their right eyes, and the Junctures of their feet rendred useless, partly by Iron, and partly by † *Cauteries*, were thrust into the Mines, there to be afflicted with daily Labour. On which account, the just judgment

[a] Οὔτε τῷ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ πρωτὸν δίκην. The *Præposition* must be expunged. Further, this person termed *the Latter* is *Maximinus* Tyrant of the East. *Vales.*

* Περονήσεις.

† Or, *Searing-Irons.*

ment of God not long after ſeized this perſon alſo; at ſuch time as, putting his truſt in *Dæmons*, whom he thought to be Gods, and confiding in innumerable *Myriads* of Armed men, he began an Engagement. For, being at that time deprived of the divine †aſſiſtance, he deveſted himſelf of the Imperial Habit, which in no wiſe became him; and having in a cowardly and moſt unmanly manner ſhrowded himſelf in the common crowd, * purchaſed his own ſafety by flight: after this, he abſconded in the Fields and Country Villages [cloathed] in a ſervile habit, and ſuppoſed he might have kept himſelf concealed. But he could not thus avoid the great Eye † of Providence which inſpects all things. For when he hoped his life was now in ſafety, being ſtruck with God's fiery dart, he fell proſtrate on the ground; and his whole body was in ſuch a manner conſumed by a blow given him from Heaven, that the entire * ſhew of its Priſtine beauty vaniſhed; and only his parch'd bones, turned into a perfect Skeleton, like ſome Ghoſt, were left remaining to him.

†Or, *Hope.*

* Or, *Invented,*

† Or, *Of univerſal providence.*

* Or, *Figure.*

CHAP. LIX.

That Maximine, *blinded by* [*the acuteneſs of*] *his Diſeaſe,* * *iſſued out a Law in favour of the* Chriſtians.

* Or, *Wrote.*

FUrther, when this Diſeaſe, wherewith God had afflicted him, was arrived at a greater degree of acuteneſs and vehemency, * his eyes leap'd out; and falling from their proper place, left him blind: thus, by a moſt juſt ſentence he underwent the ſame puniſhments, which he had been the firſt Inventer of againſt God's Martyrs. Breathing nevertheleſs ſtill after theſe ſo calamitous miſeries, at length, though late, he alſo made an open confeſſion to the God of the *Chriſtians*, and declared his own oppoſitions of the Deity. He likewiſe compoſed a Retractation, in ſuch manner as the former perſon had done, and by Laws and Edicts in writing confeſt his own errour in reference to thoſe whom he thought to be Gods; atteſting, that by experience it ſelf he had found, the *Chriſtians* God to be the only true God. Notwithſtanding *Licinius* knew all this, not by the information he received from others, but from the very facts themſelves; yet wrapping up his mind within ſome thick darkneſs as 'twere, he †reſolved upon a performance of the very ſame things they had done.

* See *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* book 9. chap. 10. note (*a.*)

† Or, *Adhered to,* or, *cloſed with thoſe very Actions,* or, *perſons.*

THE

THE SECOND BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

Licinius's *Clandeſtine Perſecution, and his Murder of the Biſhops at* Amaſia [*a City*] *of* Pontus.

IN this manner the fore mentioned [*Licinius*] plunged himſelf into the Pit of the * impious. And, imitating their example to his own deſtruction, whoſe ruins by reaſon of their Impiety he had beheld with his own Eyes, he re-kindled the Perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, like ſome raging fire long ſince extinguiſhed; and blew up the flame of Impiety to a greater fierceneſs than his predeceſſors had done. Moreover, (like ſome outragious Wild-beaſt, or crooked Serpent rolled together about himſelf,) breathing forth Rage and Hoſtile Menaces againſt God, he durſt not as yet commence an open War againſt the Churches of God within his own Dominions, becauſe of his Fear of *Conſtantine:* but concealing the venome of his Malice, he contrived ſecret Plots and thoſe in ſome particular Places only, againſt the Biſhops; and † by Calumnies framed by his Governours of Provinces, deſtroyed the eminenteſt and moſt approved amongſt them. And the manner of murdering them was new, ſuch as never was known before. [a] Indeed, the Facts perpetrated at *Amaſia* [a City] of *Pontus*, far exceeded the moſt ſuperlative Cruelty.

* Or, *Rebels againſt God.*

† Or, *By the treachery of his Governors in each Province*

[a] Ταῦτ' ἂν. It muſt be made πάντων, from book 10. chap. 8. of his *Eccleſ Hiſtory*; where theſe paſſages occurr almoſt word for word. Further, 'tis ſtrange that *Euſebius* ſhould have made no mention, either in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, or in *theſe books*, of *Baſileus* Biſhop of the *Amaſeni*: which Prelate nevertheleſs, as all the Greek Writers do agree, was ſlain by *Licinius*'s order. But *Philoſtorgius*, in the *firſt book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, writes in expreſs words, that *Baſileus* Biſhop of *Amaſea* in *Pontus*, was preſent at the *Nicæne Council*. Further, the *Nicæne Council*, as 'tis manifeſt amongſt all Men was convened the year after *Licinius*'s depoſition. Beſides, *Athanaſius* in his *firſt Oration againſt the Arians*,)where he makes mention of the eminent Biſhops who were either preſent with him at the *Nicæne Council*, or had approved of his opinion;) together with others, names *Baſileus* Biſhop of *Pontus*. Nor does he ſtyle him Martyr, although he there terms *Hoſius* Confeſſor. The *Acts alſo of Baſileus*, which are extant in *Metaphraſtes*, ſeem to me fooliſh and fabulous. And moſt of the paſſages which occurr at the beginning of them, are word for word taken out of *Euſebius*. But, that little Story concerning the Virgin *Glaphyra* was, in my judgment framed by ſome idle People. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

The Demoliſhments of the Churches, and Butcheries of the Biſhops.

WHere ſome of the Churches, after that former * Demoliſhment of them, were thrown down to the Ground from their vaſt Height; others were ſhut up by the Governours in their ſeveral diſtricts, leaſt any one of thoſe Perſons who uſually frequented them, ſhould meet there, or leaſt they [a] might render

* Or, *Siege.*

[a] Ἀποδῶσι λειτουργίας. In the *Fuk. Manuſcript*, and in Sr *Henry Savil's Copy*, 'tis written ἀποδιδῶσιν; in book 10. chap. 8. of his *Eccleſ. Hiſtory* 'tis ἀποδιδῶ. *Valeſ.*

a due worship to God. For that Person who issued out these orders, was of opinion, that Prayers were not made there for him, being induced to entertain such thoughts as these from a consciousness of his own impieties. But he had perswaded himself, that all we did was in behalf of *Constantine*, and to render God propitious [to him.] Now, those [Presidents] who were his flatterers and soothed him up, being fully perswaded they should do what would be grateful to the impious [Tyrant;] subjected the eminentest Prelates of the Churches to capital punishments. Therefore, harmless and innocent Persons were haled away, and without any the least cause punished as if they had been Murderers. But some of them underwent a new sort of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces: and after this barbarous spectacle far more horrid than any Tragical representation, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for Fishes. After this therefore, Persons that were worshippers of God began to flye again, in such manner as they had done a little before. And the Fields and Solitudes were again become the Receptacles of God's Servants. When the Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained thoughts of raising a general Persecution against the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle which might in future have hindred him from effecting it, had not [God] the defender of his own [servants,] (that he might prevent what would have ensued,) caused his Servant *Constantine* to appear like some great Light in darkness and in a most obscure Night, and led him by the hand as 'twere into these parts.

CHAP. III.

In what manner Constantine *was moved in behalf of the* Christians, *when* [Licinius] *made preparations to persecute them.*

*Constantine. †Or, *Account*. ‖Or, *Defence*.

*WHO perceiving, that the † complaint he had received of the foresaid proceedings was not any longer to be endured, musters up a soberness and prudence of mind; and having mix'd an austerity of disposition with his own innate clemency, hastned to the ‖ assistance of the oppressed; judging, that that ought to be accounted a pious and holy Action, when by the taking off of one Person, the greatest part of mankind is preserved. For [thus he thought with himself,] if he should make use of [a] much clemency, and should shew compassion to him who deserved no pity, it would not advantage him in the least, for he would in no wise desist from his practise of mischiefs, but would rather increase his Rage and Fury against his Subjects: nor could there be any hopes of safety in future remaining to those persons who had been afflicted by him. The Emperour having considered these things with himself, without any dilatoriness resolved to stretch forth a salutary right hand to those who had faln into the bittrest of calamities. He made therefore a * vast provision of Military Forces; and his whole Army, as well Troops of Horse as Companies of Foot, were drawn together. But before them all were carried † the *Insignia* of his confidence in God, to wit, the foremention Standard.

[a] Πολλῆ. In book 10. chap. 9. whence this passage is transcribed, instead of πολλῆ, the reading is μόνῃ, *clemency only*; which seems truer. I had also rather write αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ; unless the *Dative case* may be taken for the *Ablative put absolute*. Vales.

* Or, *usual*. † Or, *The signs or Marks of his good hope in God by the*, &c.

CHAP. IV.

That Constantine *made provision for the War with Prayers; but* Licinius, *with Divinations and Prophecies.*

AND well knowing, that, if ever before, he now stood in need of Prayers, he carried God's * Prelates along with him: it being his Sentiment, that these Persons [a] like some good Guards of his Soul, ought to be always present and conversant with him. Whereupon, when he that Headed the Tyranny was informed, that *Constantine* obtained Victories over his Enemies by no other means than by God's assistance; and, that the foresaid Persons were always present and conversant with him; also, that the Symbol of the Salutary passion went before himself and his whole Army: he judged these things to be deservedly ridiculous; and at the same time mock'd *Constantine*, and reviled him with opprobrious expressions. [b] But he himself got the Diviners and Soothsayers of the *Egyptians* about him, the Sorcerers and Impostors, the Sacrificers and Prophets of such as he look'd upon as Gods. And when he had with sacrifices appeased those [c] whom he thought to be Gods, he enquired of them, what manner of end he was like to have of the War. They made answer with one consent, that [d] without controversie he would be the Conquerour of his Enemies, [e] and should get the better in the War; the Oracles every where promising him this in long

* Or, *Priests*. [a] Ὥσπερ πνας ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς φύλακας. He alludes to the word σωματοφύλακας, *Guards of his Body*. As therefore the Emperors had always some Soldiers with them to guard their bodies; so *Constantine* would have some Bishops, who were the guards of his Soul as 'twere, always present with him. Further, after the Verb ἐπείγετο must be placed a point, from the *King's* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*; which *Christophorson* perceived not. But, in the *Fuketian*, *Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies*, 'tis truer written ἐπήγετο, *he carried along with him*. A little after, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, πυθόμενον κωνσταντῖνον τὰς κατ' ἐχθρῶν νίκας μὴ ἄλλως, ἢ τῷ θεῷ συμπεσπόνου πεί-ζεσθαι, *was informed, that Constantine*, &c. which is truer in my judgment, *Vales.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* is, πυθόμενον κωνσταντίνῳ τὰς κατ' ἐχθρῶν νίκας μὴ δ' ἄλλως ἢ τῷ, &c.

[b] Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ θεοπρόπους. It must be αὐτὸς δὲ, *But he himself*. Although *our Manuscript Copies* have no alteration here; save that instead of θεοπρόπους, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis θεοπρόπεις; but in the *old sheets*, θεοπρεπεῖς. Vales.

[c] Οὓς δεῖν ἔσεσθαι θεούς. It must, I think, be, ὃς δεῖ, or, rather in one word, ὃς δεήσοιτο, *whom he thought*, &c. *Vales.*

[d] Ἀδειλήπτως. In the *Kings Manuscript* 'tis ἀνδηλήπτως. I write ἀδηλήτως, that is, *without controversie*. In the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis ἀναμφιβόλως, *without contradiction*. Vales.

[e] It must, as it seems, be written, καὶ πολέμου κρατῆσαι πρεσβεύσαντα συμφώνως αὐτῷ ταῦτα μαντείαις τε ἐπῶν καλλιεπείαις καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ χρησμείων προφερομένων. So this whole place is to be restored. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis thus written, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κρατῆσαι συμφώνως εἶπεν μαντείαις ἐπῶν καλλιεπείας καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ χρησμείων τοῦτο προφερομένων: which is the best reading, and we have therefore followed it in our Version. *Vales.*

and

and elegant Verses. Moreover, [f] the Interpreters of Dreams predicted, that success was portended to him by the flying of Birds; and the † *Aruspices* affirmed the like was signified by the motion of Entrails. Elevated therefore by the fallacious promises of these Persons with great confidence he proceeded forth [g] to the Camp, and made preparations for an Engagement.

[f] Ὀνειροπόλοι δὲ. After these words, these following διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀρνίθων πτήσεως σημαίνεσθαι, αὐτῷ τὰ αἴσια πρᾶξαι. καὶ δῦται, are wanting in the *King's Manuscript*, and are added in the margin in a very modern hand. If I may have leave to conjecture, I think it should be written thus, ὀνειροπόλοι δὲ καὶ δῦται τὰ ὅμοια, &c. *The Interpreters of Dreams* and *Aruspices* [or, *Sacrificers*] *affirmed the like was*, &c. *Turnebus* in his *Copy* had mended it οἰωνοπόλοι *the Augures*. In the *Fuketian* and *Savil Copies* 'tis written ὀνειροπόλοι δὲ διὰ τῆς, &c. *Moreover the Interpreters of Dreams predicted*, &c. *Vales.*

† Or, *Sacrificers.*

[g] Τᾶις παρεμβολαῖς. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* this place is written thus; σὺν πολλῷ θράσει προῆει. τὰς παρεμβολὰς ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν, ᾠθιστάπλων. *He proceeded forth with great confidence; pitching his Camp as well as 'twas possible.* Which reading and punctation displeases not; τὰς παρεμβολὰς παρεκτάπλειν signifies *castrametari, to pitch a Camp*, or *lodge an Army*. Vales.

CHAP. V.

What Licinius *spake concerning the Idols and concerning* Christ, *whilst he was sacrificing in a Grove.*

BUT when he was about beginning * a fight, he called together the choicest of his *Protectors* that were about Him, and those of his Friends for whom he had an higher value, into a certain place which by them was accounted sacred. It was a well-watered and shady Grove; but in it were erected various Statues, carv'd out of Stone, of those whom he thought to be Gods. To whom after he had [a] lighted Tapers, and offered the usual Sacrifices; 'Tis reported, that he made this Speech [to those that stood by him.]

* Or, *The War.*

[a] It was the usage of the Heathens to light Tapers before the Statues of their Gods, as may be observed from the 22 book of *Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 226. *of Valesius's Edition.*

Friends and [b] *Fellow Souldiers! These whom we Honour, whose Adoration hath been handed down to us from our Remotest Ancestors, are our Country Gods. But he who leads the Army opposed against us, having violated the Usages and Institutions of his Fore-fathers, has made choice of their impious Opinion who believe no God; and hath erroneously embraced a certain strange God* [procured] *from I know not whence: And with his most filthy sign* [c] *disgraces his own Army. In whom having put his confidence, He comes forth and takes up Arms not so much against us, as against those very Gods whom he hath abused. This present* * *day therefore will evidently shew, which of Us two have erred in Opinion, and will give a Judgment concerning those Gods who are worshipped by us, and of them* [honoured] *by the other side. For, either it will declare us Conquerors, and so most justly demonstrate our Gods to be the Saviours and true Assistants. Or else, if this one God of* Constantine's *who comes from I know not whence, shall get the better of our Gods, which are many, and at* [d] *present do exceed in number; no body in future will be in doubt, which God he ought to worship; but will betake himself to the more powerful God, and attribute to him the Rewards of Victory. And, if this strange God, who is* [e] *now a Ridicule to us, shall appear to be the Victor, it will behove us also to acknowledge and adore him, and to bid a long farewell to those, to whom we light Tapers in vain. But, if our Gods shall get the better, which no person can entertain a doubt of; after the Victory obtained in this Place, we will proceed to bring a War upon those impious contemners of the Gods.*

[b] Καὶ σύμμαχοι. A term improperly used by *Eusebius*, instead of συστρατιῶται. *Vales.*

[c] Κατισχύει. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis κατισχύει; and a little after, the reading there is, ὀφθῆται τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡμᾶς, πολυωφελέστερον δὲ, &c. *He comes forth now against us; but much rather takes up Arms against those very Gods*, &c. Which reading is truer, if I mistake not. *Vales.*

* Or, *Time.*

[d] Καὶ τέως τῷ πλήθει πλεονεκτέντων. *Christophorson* omitted the word τέως *at present*; in which term lies the whole force of the Sentence. For *Licinius* shews, that his Gods exceed in number *at present*; but in a short time will be superior in force and power. *Johannes Portesius*, otherwise a silly Translator, has not omitted the rendition of this word. For he translates it thus, *Numero quidem adhuc potiores, as yet do exceed in number.* A little before, I read ἑνὸς τοῦ, *this one God*; as *Turnebus* has mended it at the margin of *his Copy*. Vales.

These are the words *Licinius* spake a little before the Engagement, to those Persons who stood round him. Which very Speech of his was not long after imparted to [f] us who have been called to this History, by those who had been Ear-witnesses of his very Expressions. After therefore he had made this Speech, he commanded his Forces to begin the Fight.

[e] Καὶ νῦν γελώμενον. 'Tis the same as if he should have said, ὁ χθὲς καὶ πρώην γελώμενος, *who is of yesterday or the day before.* The impious *Licinius* derides *Constantine's* God, because he was a strange and new God. For amongst the Gods, some were accounted *patrii, Gods of the Country*, others *peregrini, strange Gods.* The *dii patrii* were commended for the ancientness of their worship. But *the peregrini* were new Gods, in regard they were lately procured or chosen. *Cicero's* words in his 2d *book De Legibus*, are these: *Novos verò deos, & in his colendis nocturnas previgilationes, sic Aristophanes facetissimus poeta veteris comœdiæ vexat, ut apud eum Sabazius & alii quidam dii peregrini judicati è civitate ejiciantur; But the new Gods, and the watchings all night long in the worship of them have in such a manner been disquieted by* Aristophanes *the pleasantest Poet of Old Comedie, that* Sabazius *and some other Gods having by him been judged strange, are ejected out of the City.* The passage of *Aristophanes*, which *Cicero* means, was extant in his *Comedie Lemnii*, as *Suidas* informs us in ᾧ νῦν θερμοὶ βωμοί. There was indeed at *Athens* a vast multitude of new and strange Gods, whom they termed ξένους or ξενικοὺς θεούς. *Apollophanes* the Poet had put together their Names and Series *in his Cretensibus*, as *Hesychius* attests in θεοὶ ξενικοί. *Menander Rhetor* or rather *Alexander in methodo generis demonstrativi pag.* 1612, observes; that *some Gods were termed ancienter, others more modern,* οἱ μὲν πάλαι πότεροι, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι λέγονται τῶν θεῶν. But *Portesius* and *Christophorson* who has followed him, have rendred this place ill; their mistake arose from hence, because they perceived not, that the Adverb νῦν does sometimes signifie the same with *nuper, lately*, as I have noted at book 4. *of the Ecclesiastical History chap.* 8. *note* (*d.*) These remarks I had made here formerly, having followed the *Geneva Edition*, and afterwards I understood, that in *Robert Stephen's Edition* and in the *Manuscript Copies* the reading was, καὶ νῦν γελώμενον, *who is now a Ridicule to us.* Which reading the Translators have followed, and therefore are in no wise to be blamed. *Vales.*

[f] Τοῦτο κεκλημένοις τῷ γεγραφῆν, *to us who have been called to this History.* In *Moræus* at the margin 'tis mended ποιημένοις *who compose*; in which manner *Eusebius* expresses himself at chap. 8. A little before, in the same *Copy of Moræus* 'tis well mended μακρὰ χαίρειν τούτοις εἰπόντας *and to bid a long farwell to those*: [In *Robert Stephens* 'tis μακρὰ χαίρει ἔτως, &c.] In the *Fuketian Manuscripts* I found it written, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο κεκλημένοις τῷ γεγραφῆν, *to us who have been called to this History*; which reading is right. *Vales.*

CHAP. VI.

The Apparitions seen in the Cities under Licinius's *Government, of* Constantine's *Soldiers pursuing the Forces of* Licinius.

WHilst these things were doing, a most wonderful Apparition ('tis said) was seen in the Cities subject to the Tyrant. For, they thought they saw various Companies of *Constantine's* Soldiers, passing at noon day thorow the Cities, as if they had obtained the Victory. And these things were seen, when in reality no Body appeared; but the Divine and Superior power, by that Vision shown to the Eyes of Men, foreshewed that which was ready to happen. Further, after the Armies had made ready to engage, he that had broken the League of Friendship, began the Fight first. Then *Constantine* having called upon God the Supream

Saviour, and given this Signal to the Army about him; got the better in the [a] first Engagement. Not long after, he was Superior in a [b] second Fight, and obtained a far greater Victory; in regard the Salutary Trophy was carried before his Army.

[a] The first Battle between *Constantine* and *Licinius* was in *Pannonia*, at *Cibalæ*; which *Zosimus* describes excellently well in his *Second Book*, as also *The Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, pag. 473. This fight hapned when *Volusianus* the second time and *Annianus* were Consuls; on *the eighth of the Ides of October*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Fasti*. To whom agrees *Sigonius* in *his third Book de Occidentali Imperio*. In *Eusebius's Chronicon* the *Cibalensian Battel* is ill placed on the seventh year of *Constantine*, in regard that Action hapned on the eighth Year of his Empire. Yea, if you compute the matter exactly, it was now the ninth year of *Constantine's* Empire. For, his ninth year began on the eighth of the *Calends of August*, *Volusianus* the second time and *Annianus* being Consuls. *Aurelius Victor* writes thus concerning the Wars between *Licinius* and *Constantine*. *Ita potestas orbis Romani duobus quæsita. Qui quamvis per Flavii Sororem nuptam Licinio connexi inter se erant, ob diversos mores tamen anxiè triennium congruere quivêre*, &c. *Thus the power of the* Roman *world was gotten by two. Who though by* Flavius's *Sister married to* Licinius *they had been joyned together, yet because of their different dispositions, for three years space they could ill agree*, &c. Which passage does manifestly confirm *Idatius's Fasti*: Otherwise from the opinion of the *Eusebian Chronicon* it ought to be said, *Biennium, for two years space*. A passage in *Eutropius's Tenth Book* must also be corrected, which is commonly Printed thus. *Ac primo eum in Pannonia, Secundò ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instruentem, repentinus oppressit*, &c. Doubtless, the word *Secundò* must be expunged, which was added by some unskilful Transcriber. For, first, *Constantine's* first Battel against *Licinius* was at *Cibalæ*, as we have shown above. Then, it would be ridiculous to say, that the first Battel was in *Pannonia*, the Second at *Cibalæ*; in regard *Cibalæ* is a City of *Pannonia*. Moreover, *Peanius* who rendred *Eutropius* into Greek, acknowledges not that word *Secundò*, as appears from his *Rendition*. Yet *Orosius* (as also the *Author of the Historia Miscella.*) hath followed the vulgar reading in *Eutropius*. For his words are these; *Constantinus Licinium Sororis suæ virum in Pannoniâ primùm vicit, deinde apud Cibalas oppressit*. Vales.

[b] This second Fight of *Constantine* against *Licinius*, hapned in *Thracia* as *Zosimus* informs us. But *Zosimus* mentions not the very place: but the *Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini* pag. 474. says 'twas fought in the *Campus Mardiensis*: which place is equally unknown to us. Further, this Battel hapned on the same year with that at *Cibalæ*, as 'tis concluded from the Relation of *Zosimus*, and *of that unknown Author*. Which may also be demonstrated by this argument. After this Battel a Peace being made up between *Constantine* and *Licinius*, on the year following *Constantine* and *Licinius* were made Consuls; and in the *West* that year is inscribed, *Constantine the fourth and Licinius the fourth time Consuls*; but in the *Eastern parts Licinius's* name is set first, in this manner, *Licinius Augustus the Fourth and* Constantine *the fourth time being Coss.* as it occurs in the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*. Vales.

CHAP. VII.

That in the Battels, where ever the Standard, made in the form of Cross, was, there a Victory was obtained.

INdeed, where ever that [Standard] appeared, happened a Rout of the Enemies, and a pursuit [was made] by those who had gotten the better. Which when the Emperor perceived, in what ever place he saw any party of his Army prest hard upon, thither he ordered the Salutary Trophy to be carried, as some most efficacious * *Amulet* to procure a Victory. After the doing whereof, a Victory followed immediately; in regard Strength and Courage was by a Divine Act of Providence infused into those who fought.

* Or, *Remedy*, or *help*.

CHAP. VIII.

That Fifty Persons were made choice of, to carry the Cross.

WHerefore, out of the *Protectors* that were about him, he made choice of such Persons as excelled for strength of Body, courage of Mind, and exemplarines of Piety; on whom he imposed only this of Duty, that they should take an assiduous care of this Standard. [a] These Persons were in number no less than Fifty: on whom nothing else was incumbent, but to surround, defend, and guard the Standard; which each of them by turns carried on his Shoulders. These things the Emperor himself related to us who compose this History, whilst he was in Peace and Repose, a long time after [the Transaction] of these Affairs; and to his Relation he added a matter highly worthy to be recorded.

[a] These Guards to whose care *Constantine* committed the *Labarum* in Battels, *Gretserus* (book 2. *de Cruce*, chap. 40.) says are the same with those who in the *Theodosian Code* are termed the *Præpositi Laborum*, that is, τῶν λαβάρων. For the *Greeks* termed it λάβαρον, *because it was an assistance to the Labouring Companies*, as *Sozomen* attests. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

That one of the Cross-bearers who fled, was killed, but he that by Faith stood his Ground, was preserved.

FOR he said that a dismal Noise and sudden Disturbance having one time put the Army into a Consternation during the very heat of an Engagement, he who bore the Standard on his Shoulders, was in an agony by reason of his Fear; whereupon he deliver'd the Standard to another, to the end he might make his escape out of the Fight. That other Person had no sooner taken it, [a] but he who slipt away, being got without the protection of the Standard, was stuck into the Belly by a Dart cast at him, and was deprived of his Life. Thus this Man underwent the Punishment of his cowardice and infidelity, and lay dead upon the Spot. But the Salutary Trophy became the preservative of his Life who bore it. In so much that, though Darts were frequently cast at him who bore the Standard, yet he was preserved unhurt: but the Spear of the [Salutary] Trophy received the Darts. And this was a thing which far surpassed every Miracle, [to see] in what manner the Enemies Darts fell upon the smallest circumference of the Spear, whereon they were fixt and stuck fast; but the Standard-bearer was preserved from Death: yea, none of those employed in this Office did ever receive a wound. This is not our Relation, but the Emperor's own, who amongst other Matters declared this also to us. Who, when by the Power of God he had obtained the former Victories, afterwards marched forward, and moved his Army in a Military order.

[a] Ὁ δ' ὑπεκδὰς. The *Fuk. Manuscript* has opened to us the true writing of this place; wherein the reading is ὁ δ' ὑπεκδὰς. For I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ὑπεκδὰς, *he who slipt away*. Vales.

CHAP. X.

Various Fights, and the Victories of Conſtantine.

BUT the *Van* [a] of the adverſe party, not able to † ſtand his firſt Attack, caſt away their Arms with both their hands, and fell proſtrate at the Emperour's feet. He * ſaved them all, being one that was highly pleaſed with the preſervation of Men. But others of them, who continued in Arms, prepared themſelves for an Engagement. To whom when the Emperour had propoſed overtures, and had [b] treated them with expreſſions of kindneſs and friendſhip; perceiving they were not to be perſwaded, he ſent his Army againſt them. They turned their backs immediately, and betook themſelves to flight. And ſome of them, taken in the purſuit, were ſlain by the Law of || Arms: but others ran one againſt another, and ſo were cut off by their own ſwords.

[a] Τῆς ἐναντίας ὁρμὴν. The words are tranſpoſed, and are thus to be reſtored, τὴν τῆς ἐναντίας ὁρμὴν οἱ δ', &c. as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*; and ſo we have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Endure.*

* Or, *Received 'em all ſafe.*

|| Or, *War.*

[b] Πρὸς φιλικὰς κλήσεις. I think it muſt be written, φιλικαῖς προσκλήσεις προσῳκείωτο, that is, *blandis & amicis verbis eos compellans, treating them with kind and friendly words.* Further, what *Euſebius* relates in this chapter, ſeems to belong to the firſt Battle in the field of *Cybalæ*, whereof I have ſpoken before. And this is confirmed by what follows. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XI.

Licinius's *Flight, and Inchantments.*

AFter this, when their Prince ſaw himſelf deprived of an aſſiſtance [a] from his ſervants, and that the vaſt numbers as well of Soldiers as Auxiliaries which he had gotten together, were vaniſhed; and was experimentally convinced that the hope he had placed in thoſe whom he thought to be Gods, was vain; he forthwith betook himſelf to a moſt inglorious flight. And in this manner he made his eſcape, and * ſecured himſelf from danger; becauſe the moſt pious Emperour ordered his own Men not to make a cloſe purſuit after him, to the end by flying he might obtain ſafety. For 'twas his hope, that *Licinius*, made ſenſible of the unhappy poſture of his own affairs, might at length deſiſt from his mad boldneſs, and would change his opinion for thoughts that were ſound and better. Theſe were *Conſtantine*'s thoughts, ſuggeſted to him from that tranſcendency of Humanity wherewith he was endowed; and he took a reſolution patiently to bear injuries, and to give Him pardon who deſerved it not. But ſo far was *Licinius* from abſtaining from his priſtine improbity; that he heap'd miſchiefs upon miſchiefs, and attempted more nefarious and audacious Facts. Moreover, he betook himſelf again to the evil Arts and practiſes of Conjurers, and was more inſolently emboldened. But, that ſaying might have † fitly been applied to him, which was ſpoken of that old Tyrant, to wit, *God had hardned his heart.*

[a] Παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων. *Euſebius* uſes the term οἰκέτας in a new ſenſe, to ſignifie *Soldiers*. Indeed, the *Militia* was a kind of Temporary ſervitude Which *Suidas* tells us alſo, in the word βετερᾶνος. Hence 'tis, that the *Tyrones* were marked, like Servants, with certain marks in their skin. The *Miſſio* likewiſe, or *Military-diſcharge* anſwers the *Manumiſſion* or *making free* of Servants With good reaſon therefore *Euſebius* terms the *Roman* Soldiers οἰκέτας. But if any one be diſpleaſed herewith he may eaſily make it τῶν οἰκείων *his own Men.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Was in ſafety.*

† Or, *In like manner.*

CHAP. XII.

In what manner Conſtantine, *praying in a Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.*

LIcinius having therefore involved himſelf in ſuch [impieties] as theſe, was thruſt headlong into the pit of deſtruction. But the Emperour, when he ſaw there was a neceſſity of a [a] ſecond Battle, diligently † applied himſelf to [the worſhip of] his Saviour. And pitch'd a [b] Tabernacle of the Croſs without [his Camp,] and at a good diſtance from it: where he || lived chaſtly and purely, and poured forth his Prayers to God; agreeable to the practiſe of that old Prophet of God; concerning whom the divine Oracles give this atteſtation, that * *He pitch'd the Tabernacle without the Camp.* Some few Perſons, of whoſe Faith, Piety and [c] Benevolence he had the moſt aſſured proofs, were continually preſent with him. And this he was always wont to do, as often as he was about to begin a fight. For he was ſlow; becauſe he would be ſecure: and 'twas his conſtant uſage to act all things by the advice of God. Further, when with great earneſtneſs he made Supplications to his God, he was always, vouchſafed the Divine preſence. After which, moved as 'twere by a more Divine inſpiration, he was wont to leap out of the Tabernacle, and would forthwith give order for the immediate march of his Army; and that without delay, yea even in that very hour, they ſhould draw their Swords. His Men would fall on pell-mell, and cut down all before them without any diſtinction of age; till ſuch time as (having gotten a Victory [d] within a very ſhort ſpace,) they had erected Victorious Trophies againſt their Enemies.

[a] Hence it appears, that what I have noted at the *tenth chapter* is true; *viz.* that *Euſebius* ſpeaks there concerning the former Battle, which was fought at *Cybalæ*. Valeſ.

† Or, *Dedicated his leaſure to his Saviour.*

[b] Concerning this Tabernacle which *Conſtantine* carried about with him in his expeditions, *Sozomen* writes in book 1. chap. 8. *Valeſ.*

|| Or, *Made uſe of a chaſt and pure diet.*

* *Exod.* 33. 7.

[c] Εὐνοίᾳ, perhaps it ſhould be εἰλικρινείᾳ *ſincerity.* Valeſ.

[d] Εἰς ὥρας ἀκαρεῖ ῥοπῆ. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis ἐς ὥρας. I write ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀκαρεῖ ῥοπῇ, *within a very ſhort moment of an hour*; ſo I found it mended in *Moræus's Copy*, and in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. A little before, inſtead of ἐς' ἂν, I read εἰς ὅτ' ἂν, *till ſuch time as*; in which manner *Euſebius* does uſually expreſs himſelf. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIII.

His Humanity towards the Soldiers that were taken Priſoners.

IN this manner was the Emperour long before wont, both to behave himſelf, and to order his Army, before they engaged in a Battle: for he always preferred God before his own Life; and ſtudied to perform all things by his advices; and uſed all imaginable caution to prevent the ſlaughter of many Men. On which account, he conſulted the ſafety of the Enemies no leſs, than

that of his own Soldiers. Wherefore, he admoniſhed his own Men, when they had been Victors in a Battle, to ſhew compaſſion to the vanquiſhed: and, that being Men themſelves, they ought not to forget the ſame Nature which they were of. But if at any time he perceived, that the minds of his Soldiers were greedy of ſlaughter, he repreſſed them by a Largeſs of Gold; giving order, that whoever took one of the Enemy alive, * ſhould have a certain weight of Gold beſtowed on him. And this inticement for the preſervation of Mens lives, was found out by the Emperours prudence. Inſomuch that, very many even of the Barbarians themſelves were ſaved, the Emperour's Gold being the Ranſom of their Lives.

* Or, *Should be honoured with*, &c.

CHAP. XIV.

Again concerning his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

THeſe, and infinite other ſuch like actions as theſe, the Emperour was wont at other times frequently to perform. But at that preſent, before he joyned Battle, he retired alone into the Tabernacle, where, as his uſage was, he was earneſt in Prayers to God; abſtaining from all manner of divertiſement, and delicious food; and * macerating himſelf with faſtings, and † bodily auſterities. And in this manner he appeaſed God with Supplications and Prayers, that he might have him for his benign and propitious Aſſiſtant, and might perform thoſe things which God had ſuggeſted to his mind. Moreover, ‖ his care in behalf of the Republick was watchful and diligent; and he poured forth Prayers, not more for the ſafety of his own Forces, than for that of his Enemies.

* Or, *Afflicting*
† Or, *Vexation of body.*
‖ *Conſtantine's.*

CHAP. XV.

Licinius's * *diſſembled Friendſhip, and his Worſhip of Idols.*

* Or, *Deceit in relation to friendſhips.*

BUT becauſe *Licinius* (who had fled a little before,) practiſed diſſimulation, and entreated, that an amicable League might be again renewed; [the Emperour] ſuppoſing a Peace would be of uſe [to the Government,] and advantageous to Mankind in general, vouchſafed to grant him even this, upon certain [a] Terms and Conditions. *Licinius* ſpeciouſly pretended a ready compliance with the Terms offered him, and with Oaths confirmed his * adherence thereto. But he ſecretly got together another † Army of Men, and reſolved to renew the War, and begin a Fight. He alſo called in the *Barbarians* to be his Auxiliaries; and went up and down in queſt of other Gods, becauſe he had been deceived by the former. He did not in the leaſt remember, what he himſelf had ſaid a little before, in his Speech concerning the Gods. Nor would he acknowledge that God who had been *Conſtantine*'s Defender: but in a moſt Ridiculous manner began to enquire out for himſelf, more and thoſe newer Gods.

[a] The conditions of Peace were theſe, that *Licinius* ſhould continue poſſeſt of the Eaſt, *Aſia, Thracia, Mœſia* and *Scythia Minor*; but that *Dardania, Macedonia, Achaia, Pannonia, Mœtia,* and *Dacia* ſhould be added to the Dominions of *Conſtantine*: this Information we have from *Zoſimus, Sozomen,* and the *Author of the Excerpta de Geſtis Conſtantini.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Faith.*
† Or, *Proviſion of Forces.*

CHAP. XVI.

In what manner Licinius *Commanded his Soldiers, not to make an Attack againſt the* [*Standard of the*] *Croſs.*

AFter this, knowing for certain, that there was a certain divine and ſecret power in the Salutary Trophy, by which power (he underſtood) *Conſtantine*'s Army obtained Victory; he warned his Soldiers, that they ſhould by no means engage againſt it, nor by chance or [a] raſhly caſt their eyes upon it. For, that Standard (he ſaid,) was of a force incredible, and an Enemy and Adverſary to him in particular: wherefore they were to uſe great Caution, not to begin a Fight againſt it. Having given out theſe Orders, he prepared for an Engagement with * Him, who by reaſon of his † innate Clemency made delays, and deferred that Ruine which hung over him. The ‖ *Licinians*, placing their confidence in a Multitude of Gods, marched forth with vaſt numbers of Forces, carrying before them, as their defence, Images of dead Perſons, and inanimate Statues. But *Conſtantine*, ſurrounded with the * Armour of Piety, againſt the multitude of his Enemies oppoſed the Salutary and Vivifick Standard of the Croſs, as ſome affrightning ſpectacle and potent preſervative againſt miſchief. And at firſt he † made *an Alt*; in which interim he forbore the uſe of his Arms, that he might not begin the Fight firſt; which thing he did, on account of the League he had made.

[a] Ἀπεικοτέπτως. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is ἀπὸ ἐλεπτῶς, *incircumſpectly*, or *inconſiderately*; in which manner 'tis mended in *Turnebus*'s Copy at the Margin. And ſo the Reading is in the *Fuketian Manuſcript.* Valeſ.

* *Conſtantine.*
† Or, *Humanity.*
‖ Or, *Licinius's Army.*
* Or, *Coat of Mail.*
† Or, *Stop'd.*

CHAP. XVII.

Conſtantine's *Victory.*

BUT when he ſaw the Enemy perſiſting in an obſtinacy of mind, and perceived that they drew their Swords; moved with indignation, [a] with one Shout and in a moment he Routed all the Forces of the Enemy, and obtained a Victory at the ſame time, both over his Enemies, and over the *Dæmons.*

[a] Βοῇ τε μιᾷ ῥοπῇ. I think it ſhould be, βοῇ τε μιᾷ ϗ ῥοπῇ, *with one Shout and in a moment.* And ſo 'tis in the *Fuketian* and *Savil.* Copies. Further, this ſignal Victory of *Conſtantine*'s happened in *Criſpus*'s and *Conſtantine*'s third Conſulate, on the fifth of the *Nones* of *July*, near *Hadrianople*, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti.* But *Baronius* places this *Hadrianopolitan Battle* on the year of Chriſt 318, whereon *Licinius the fifth time*, and *Criſpus* were Conſuls. Whoſe opinion we overthrow by theſe arguments and Teſtimonies of the beſt Writers. The firſt is *Idatius*, who in his *Faſti* writes thus; *Criſpo* III. *& Conſtantino* III. *Coſſ.* &c. Criſpus *and* Conſtantine *being Conſuls the third time, the* Hadrianopolitan *Battle* [happened] *on the fifth of the* Nones *of* July, *and the* Chalcedonenſian *Battle on the fourteenth of the Calends of* October. The ſame words occurr in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but they are erroneouſly aſcribed to the year following, when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were Conſuls. With *Idatius* agrees *Aurelius Victor*, who writes thus concerning the Fights between *Conſtantine* and *Licinius*: *Quo ſanè variis prœliis pulſo*, &c. *Who having indeed been beaten in many Battles; in regard it would have ſeemed dangerous wholly to cruſh him; on account of Affinity; the Children of them both being received into a Colleague ſhip, and elected to the Empire of* Cæſars; Criſpus *and* Conſtantinus *begotten by* Flavius: Licinianus *by* Licinius. *Which* [*Colleague ſhip*] *was ſcarce laſting, nor proved it happy to thoſe who were aſſumed into it, being publiſhed in that ſame month on a day defiled with an Eclipſe of the Sun. Therefore*

fore ſix years after, the Peace being brok', Licinius, Routed amongſt the Thracians, went to Chalcedon. *Criſpus, Licinianus,* and *Conſtantinus* had been created *Cæſars* in the Conſulate of *Gallicanus* and *Baſſus*, on the *Calends* of *March*, (as *Idatius* relates in his *Faſti*, and the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*,) that is, on the year of Chriſt 317. On the year following there happened a darkneſs in the day time, at the ninth hour, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Faſti*. Wherefore *Aurelius Victor* is miſtaken, who places the promotion of the *Cæſars* on the ſame year whereon the Eclipſe of the Sun happened. For, there happened indeed an Eclipſe of the Sun on the year of Chriſt 318. But *Criſpus* (together with *Licinianus* and *Conſtantius*,) had been made *Cæſar* on the year of our Lords Nativity 317. Yet, *Aurelius Victor* does rightly compute the intervals of the times. For, from the Eclipſe of the Sun, which happened on the year of Chriſt 318, to the *Hadrianopolitan Battle* there are full ſix years. Hereto agrees *Cedrenus*, who on the nineteenth year of *Conſtantine's* Empire, ſays, that *Conſtantine* undertook an Expedition againſt *Licinius*. For *Conſtantine's* nineteenth year falls on *Criſpus's* and *Conſtantine's* third Conſulate, which was the year of Chriſt 324. *Sigonius* differs not much from this account, who aſſigns the *Hadrianopolitan Fight* to the year of Chriſt 323, when *Severus* and *Rufinus* were Conſuls. There is mention of the ſame *Hadrianopolitan Fight in Leg.* 1. *Cod. Theod. de Veteranis*, where *Conſtantine* ſays thus. *Veteranis qui ex die quintâ nonarum Juliarum*, &c. *To the Veteranes, who from the fifth day of the* Nones *of* July, *when the firſt Victory in* Thracia *ſhined upon the whole world, and who afterwards deſerved a Miſſion* [or, *Diſcharge*] *at our Nicomedia, we have indulged certain privileges by an Edict*, &c. For the *Hadrianopolitan* Battle was fought *on the fifth day of the* Nones *of* July, as *Idatius* has recorded in his *Faſti*, and the *Author of the* Alexandrian *Chronicle*. But the ſubſcription of this Law is faulty. For, 'tis ſaid to be publiſhed, *Licinius* the fifth time and *Criſpus* being Conſuls, that is, on the year of Chriſt 318. Which gave occaſion of miſtake to *Baronius*. But, who ſees not that it ſhould be written, *Paulinus and Julianus being Coſſ.*? For when they were Conſuls, *Conſtantine* came to *Nicomedia*, after *Licinius* was Routed and totally vanquiſhed. But, when *Licinius the fifth time, and Criſpus were Conſuls, Nicomedia* obeyed *Licinius*, and was the ſeat of his Empire. When they were Conſuls therefore *Conſtantine* could not indulge a *Miſſion and Privileges* to his own *Veteranes*, in the City *Nicomedia*, in regard that City was in no wiſe ſubject to his Government. Whereas therefore in *that Law Conſtantine* does term it *Our Nicomedia*, we muſt of neceſſity ſay, that *that Law* was dated in the Conſulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVIII.

Licinius's *Death, and the Triumphs celebrated over him.*

*Licinius. THen he inflicted on that * Enemy of God, and on thoſe about him, a condign puniſhment; to which he adjudged them by the Law of War. What Perſons ſoever therefore had been his Adviſers to a War againſt God, were lead away, together with the Tyrant himſelf, and underwent a deſerved puniſhment. And they, who [a] a little before had been puft up with a vain hope, did in reality embrace the God of *Conſtantine*, and profeſt that at length they acknowledged him to be the true and only God.

[a] Μικρὸν ὕστερον I write, μικρῷ πρότερον, *a little before*. Unleſs we ſhould ſay, that the words are tranſpoſed, which frequently occurrs in *theſe Books*. And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have mended this place; μικρὸν ὕστερον, ἔρρωτο τὸν κωνσταντίνου θεὸν οἷός ἦν παρελάμβανον, *a little after, did in reality diſcern the God of* Conſtantine, *what a God he was*; which reading is very good. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* and in the *old Sheets*, from thoſe words, *But when he ſaw*, to theſe, *only God*; 'tis but one chapter, not two, as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIX.

The publick Rejoycings and Feſtivities.

*Or, Taken away. MOreover, when the Impious were quite * deſtroyed, the Rays of the Sun in future appeared bright and pure, [the cloud as 'twere] of Tyrannick power [being diſperſed.] And all parts of the World which paid obedience to the *Roman* Empire became conjoyned; thoſe Provinces in the Eaſt were united to them in the Weſt; and the whole Body of the Empire was adorned with * one univerſal Monarch, as with one Head; the Dominion and Authority of one Perſon † comprehending all Men whatever. And the bright Rays of the Light of Piety beſtowed joyful days on them, who before ſate in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death. Nor did there remain any remembrance of the paſt Evils; in regard all Perſons every where adorned the Conqueror with praiſes, and profeſt they acknowledged the only God his preſerver. Thus, Our Emperour, embelliſh'd with all the vertues of Religion, *Conſtantinus Victor* (for he procured himſelf this [a] moſt agreeable and proper Surname and Title, on account of thoſe Victories granted him by God over all his Enemies and Oppoſers:) received the Eaſt; and reduced under a Subjection to himſelf the entire *Roman* Empire, conjoyned as heretofore it had been. He was the firſt [Emperour] who publiſh'd to all Men the Dominion of one God: and he himſelf, poſſeſt of the ſole Dominion over the *Roman* World, governed the whole Body of Mankind. All fear of thoſe miſchiefs wherewith all Men had been heretofore oppreſt, was now taken away. And they who in times paſt had been dejected and ſorrowful, then look'd one upon another with ſmiling countenances and chearful eyes. In Dances alſo and Songs they firſt of all glorified God the King of Kings, ([b] for thus they were inſtructed to do;) and in the next place *The Victor Auguſtus*, and his moſt Modeſt and Pious Sons *The Cæſars*, with * uninterrupted Acclamations. There was an oblivion of paſt Afflictions, no remembrance of impiety; but an enjoyment of the preſent † Bleſſings, and an expectation of more in future.

* Or, One *Government of the whole.*

† Or, *Arriving at.*

[a] Κυριότητα τῶν ἐπωνυμίαν. In *Moræus's Copy* and the *King's Sheets* 'tis mended κυριωτάτην. But I had rather write κυριωτάτῳ ἐπωνυμίᾳ, *this moſt agreeable and proper Surname. Conſtantine* uſed the *Prænomen* of *Victor*, as 'tis apparent from *his Conſtitutions and Letters*. In the *Geſta purgationis Cæciliani*, ſome of his Letters have this Inſcription, *Victor Conſtantinus Maximus Auguſtus*. *Euſebius* ſays therefore, that this was his proper name as 'twere. For the *Greeks* term a *proper name* κύριον ὄνομα. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the reading is, τῷ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ κυριώτατα ἐπωνυμίαν ἐυρεῖν. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὅντα δὴ τοῦτον ἐδίδασκον. Make it ὅπ δὴ τοῦτο ἐδιδάσκοντο *for thus they were inſtructed*, from the cloſe of the *Tenth Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, where all theſe paſſages occurr almoſt in the ſame words. A little after, write παῖδάς τε αὐτῶ κοσμιωτάτους, and *his moſt modeſt Sons* as 'tis in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuſcripts*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* the reading is παῖδα, *Son*.

CHAP. XX.

How Conſtantine *made Laws in favour of the Confeſſours.*

MOreover, the Emperour's Conſtitutions full of Clemency, were then * publiſhed amongſt us alſo, as they had been before amongſt thoſe who inhabited the other part of the World: and Laws, breathing forth Piety towards God, gave various promiſes of all manner of Goods; in regard they beſtowed [a] on the Provincials

* Or, *Opened.*

[a] In the *Alexandrian Chronicle* theſe words occurr concerning *Conſtantine's* Liberality and Indulgence towards the Provincials; *on the twentieth year of his Empire,* ἧς τεχνιτῶν καὶ συωλεκτῶν τὰ ὀπτάσματα ἀφεῖλεν, *he took off the Burthens of Artificers and Collators* (that is, *thoſe of the Provincials who paid Tribute.*) Valeſ.

throughout each Province, what was useful and of advantage to them; and assigned to the Churches of God those things that were congruous and convenient. And first of all, * they recalled home those Persons, who, because they would not sacrifice to Idols, had been banished by the Governours of Provinces, and compelled to remove out of their own Country. Then, they freed from publick Functions, those who for the same reason had been [b] adjudged to the *Curiæ:* and ordered, that such as had been deprived of their Goods, should have them restored to them again. Besides, they who during the time of Persecution, [having been strengthened] by God, had given a signal proof of their fortitude and constancy of mind; and were either condemned to the Mines, there to be tortured with daily Labour; or adjudged to a *Deportation* into the Islands; or had been forced [c] to a slavery in the *Publick Works*; these Persons, freed on a sudden from all these disquietudes and troubles, enjoyed their Liberty. Further, such as, by reason of their egregious resoluteness in retaining their Religion, had been despoiled of the honour of the *Militia*, were recalled from this ignominy by the Emperour's Munificence: who gave them [d] a free Liberty of choice, either of recovering their proper Offices, and of flourishing in their Pristine dignities; or, if they were in love with a quiet and retired Life, of continuing in future exempt from the troubles of all publick Functions. Lastly, whatever Persons in order to their being reproach'd and disgrac'd, had been condemned to a slavery in the [e] *Gynæcia*, them [the Emperour] set at Liberty as well as the rest.

* *The Laws.*

[b] Τὰς βουλ∆ηείοις ἐπικεδέν-τας. *Christophorson* understood not this place; but *Portesius* has rendred it not unhappily, in this manner; *Quieâdem de causâ translati erant ad Curias, who for the same reason had been removed to the Curiæ.* Valesius. *The Curiæ were the Offices of Corporations*, the bearing whereof was generally very chargeable and burthensome; the Persons who bore these Offices were termed *Curiales.*

[c] Δημοσίοις ἔργοις δουλεύειν. *Christophorson* renders this place ill, thus, *ad publica imperii opera obeunda vi compulsi, by force compelled to undergo the publick Works of the Empire. Eusebius* terms *the Mines, publick Bake-houses, Work-houses wherein they Wove*, and *Gynæcia*; δημόσια ἔργα: to *which works* who ever had been condemned by a sentence of the Judge, lost their Liberty. For this was termed a servitude of punishment. Now, 'twas usual to condemn the *Christians* to such works as these, because of their confession of Christ's name. And, as to the *Mines*, the matter is notorious. But, of a condemnation to the *publick Bake-house*, we have an instance in the *Acts of the Passion of Pope Marcellus.* Valesius.

[d] Ἐπ' ἐξουσίας. Two words seem to have grown into one, which are, thus to be disjoined, ἐπ' ἐξουσίας. A little after, where the reading is, τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολαμβάνειν, *of recovering their Houses*; I think it must be, τὰς οἰκείας τάξεις ἀπολαμβάνειν, *of recovering their proper Offices.* For they had not been despoiled of their Houses, but of their Employments in the *Militia.* Valesius.

[e] Γυναικείοις δ' ἔργοις. Concerning the *Gynæcia* there is frequent mention, as well in both the *Codes*, as in the *Notitia of the* Roman *Empire.* See *Brissonius's Lexicon.* Further, Persons condemned to the *Gynæcia*, were cloathed in a short Coat made of Linen, which was a servile habit. We learn this from the *Passion of* Romanus *the Martyr, which is published by* Mombritius, and occurrs in the *Muscidacensian Copy.* *Eadem vero die Maximianus jussit*, &c. *But on the same day* Maximianus *commanded, that the Christians who were in the Palace should be ungirt.* Maximianus *therefore took notice to himself of many passing by, whilst they were loosing their Girdles: and he saw* Isitius *of Blessed Memory; and being in a rage, called him to him, and strip'd him of the garments wherewith he was clothed, and clothed him* in a Linen-short-coat, *and put him into the* Gynæcium *to the Wool-Workers, in order to his reproach.* Further, the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this place written thus, ἐφ' ὕβρει καὶ ἀτιμίᾳ δουλεύειν κελεύσας ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνδραπόδοις, which is the truer reading no doubt, and we have followed it in our Version. *Valesius.* The *Gynæcium* or *Gynaiceium* (says *Brissonius* in his *Work de Verbo. Significat. book 7. fol.* 254, *Edit. Paris.* 1596.) signifies *the Weaving-House appointed for making the Garments of the Emperour.* The Emperours had Slaves of both Sexes employed in their *Gynæcia.* They had likewise Weaving-Houses for *Linen Garments*, termed λινύφια *Linyphia*, which we find mentioned in *Chap.* 34. *of this Second* Book.

CHAP. XXI.

How [he made Laws] concerning the Martyrs, and concerning the Estates of the Churches.

AND these were the Establishments which the Emperour made in written Laws, concerning such Persons as had undergone those sufferings. But in relation to their goods, a most full and ample provision was made by a Law of the Emperour's. For he commanded, that the Goods and Estates of God's holy Martyrs, who had ended their lives in their Confession, should be enjoyed by their neareſt Relatives. But, if no Relation of their's could be found, then the Churches were to have their Estates. And, the [Imperial] Letter of Indulgence ordered, that the Goods which had been heretofore transferred to others, out of the Treasury, either by a Sale, or by donation; and which remained still in the Treasury, should be returned back to their Owners. Such were the favours which the Emperour's benignity conferred upon the Church of God, by his Laws transmitted into all the Provinces.

CHAP. XXII.

In what manner he refreshed and cherish'd the People also.

[a] BUT, his Imperial Munificence bestowed more, and far greater Favours than these, upon the People that were strangers to our Religion, and upon all the Provinces. Wherefore, all the Inhabitants of our [*Eastern Countries,*] [b] who having before this received an account of what had been done in the other part of the *Roman* Empire, had stiled them happy because they were possest of such Blessings; and who fervently prayed, that they themselves might at length enjoy the like: beholding these things with their own eyes, * doubted not of terming themselves blessed now; and confest, that some new Miracle, and such a one as no Age under the Rays of the Sun had ever beheld before, so great and gracious an Emperour [namely,] had † appeared to mankind. And these were their Sentiments.

[a] Δήμοις τε τοῖς ἐκτὸς. It must be, δήμοις δὲ, *But*, &c. and from these words the twenty second chapter is to be begun, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and the *Old Sheets.* Valesius.

[b] Ὅσα τὸ πρὶν. I mend it, ὅσοι τὸ πρὶν, *who having before this*: which *Christophorson* saw not. I write also, πυθανόμενοι τὰ ἐν ἑτέρῳ, *received an account of what*, &c. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Thought good to style.*

† Or, *Shined upon.*

CHAP. XXIII.

That he publickly Proclaimed God the Author of Good; and concerning the Copies of his Laws.

BUT, when the Emperour, by the power of God his Saviour, had reduced all places under a Subjection to himself, he himself made known to all Men that God who had bestowed these Blessings upon him: and attested, that He

* God. * He, not himself, was to be accounted the Author of his Victories. And this he declared by his Letters, written as well in the *Latine* as *Greek* Tongue, and sent throughout every Province. Further, the [a] powerfulness of his Language will easily be perceived by him, who shall apply himself to the perusal of his Letters. They were two: the one directed to *the Churches of God*; the other, *to the people in every City that were Strangers to our Religion.* [b] Which Latter, in regard 'tis accommodate to our present Subject, I think fit to insert here; both, that the Copy of his Letter may be recorded in the Monuments of History, and consigned to posterity; and also, that the truth of our Relation may receive confirmation. It was transcribed from an Authentick Copy of the Imperial Law, which is in our Custody. A subscription whereto in the Emperour's own * hand, does, like some Seal, † assert the verity of our Narrative.

[a] *Eusebius* praises the Emperour *Constantine*'s Eloquence. For that is the meaning of these words. But *Christophorson* seems to have read τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ λόγῳ τιμῇ ἀληθείαν, *the truth of our discourse*. It must also be written μάθοις δ' ἄν, as *Turnebus* has mended it at the side of his *Copy*; and the same is the reading in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts*. Besides, from these words the 24th *Chapter* is begun, both in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and in the *Old Sheets*. Vales.

* Or, *Right hand.*

† Or, *Record the evidence of the confirmation of our discourse.*

[b] Ὁ δὴ τῇ παρούσῃ. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis ἃ τῇ παρούσῃ, which reading the *Geneva-men* have taken notice of, as occurring in some Copies. But, this way of writing is not to be born with. For φερόμενον in the singular number follows. Besides, *Eusebius* produces but one Constitution of *Constantine*'s here; to wit, that which had been sent by *Constantine* to the *Provincials*. He does indeed attest, that two Laws had been issued forth together in favour of the *Christians*; the one *to the Catholick Church*, the other *to the Provincials*. But he annexes the Copy but of one of them, namely of that which had been sent to the *Provincials of Palestine*. The other, sent *to the Churches*, is omitted by *Eusebius*, either because it had been drawn according to the same Copy with *that to the Provincials*; or for some other reason. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Constantine's Law concerning Piety towards God, and concerning the *Christian Religion.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS,

[a] To the Provincials of Palestine.

[a] Ἐπαρχιώταις παλαισινοῖς. In the *Medicæan Manuscript* I found it written, ἐπαρχιώταις παλαισινοῖς, *to the Palestinian Provincials*. Further, from these words I began the 24th *Chapter*, following the authority of the *Kings* and *Fuketian Manuscripts*. Vales.

[a] Distinction, or, diversity.

[b] Πόθεν ἀνείρησα. From the *Medicæan Manuscript* make it ἃ πᾶσιν, &c. And such a, &c. And a little after, from the same Manuscript it must be read τὰ χειστιανισμῶ θρησκείαν, *worship of Christianity*; and the same is the reading in the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Manuscript*. Vales. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis χειστιανισμῶ θρησκείαν.

[c] καταφρονητικῶς ἔχοντας. The *Medicæan Manuscript* has it καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν θέλοντας, *desirous of contemning it*; which reading seems to me much truer. *Vales.*

AMongst those whose Sentiments concerning the Deity are right and prudent, it has long since been made apparent by a manifest * Evidence, [b] and such as is sufficient for to remove all scruple whatever; how great a difference there hath been between an accurate observancy in reference to the most venerable Worship of Christianity, and those who are its Opposers [c] and desirous of contemning it. But now, by far evidenter Actions and more illustrious Exploits, as well the absurdity of the doubt hath been demonstrated, as also how great the power of the Supream God is. In as much as, to those who faithfully revere the venerable Law, and dare not violate any of its precepts, a plenty of * Blessings is presented, and an incomparable strength with good hopes to effect what they have attempted. But, to them who have embraced an impious Opinion, [d] even the Events were correspondent to the designs. For, who ever obtained any thing of good, that would not acknowledge God to be the Author of Goods, and refused to pay Him a due Worship? [e] Indeed, the things themselves give confirmatitn to what we affirm.

* Or, *Goods.*

[d] Καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα. The reading in the *Medicæan Manuscript* is far truer. For thus it runs, ἀκόλουθα καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἦν· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγαθῆς τύχοι τινὸς, &c. *even the Events*, &c. And after the word *Worship* it has a point, which is the mark of an interrogation. *Vales.*

[e] Πίστιν τῷ. The reading in the *Medicæan Manuscript* is far more elegant, thus, πίστιν δὲ τῷ ῥηθέντι, *Indeed, the things*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXV.

An Example from ancient Times.

IF therefore any one does in his thoughts run over the [a] former Times derived down as far as these days of ours, and in his mind contemplates the Affairs heretofore transacted; he will find all those, who laid Justice and Probity as the foundation of their Actions, both to have brought their attempts to an happy issue, and (as from some root of sweetness) to have likewise gathered the pleasantest fruit. But [he will perceive] them, who have audaciously attempted unjust Facts; (and have either [broken out] into a foolish madness against God himself; or have entertained not one good thought [b] towards mankind; but have inflicted Exiles, Infamies, * Proscriptions, Slaughters, and many other such like [punishments;] and who never repented at any time, nor recalled their minds to a better Temper:) to have received rewards of the like nature. And these things do happen [c] not ill and unseemly, nor contrary to reason.

[a] Ἄνωθεν γὰρ εἰς δεῦρο. The particle γὰρ is wanting in the *Medicæan Manuscript* nor is it very necessary. Presently, where the reading is τὰς προτερον γενομένας, *heretofore transacted* the same *Manuscript* has it, τὰς πώποτε γενομένας, *at any time transacted.* Also, instead of ἐπιχειρήσεως πέρας *the Issue of their attempt*: 'tis written, τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις πέρας, *their attempts to an*——*issue*; in which manner I found it written in the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Manuscript*. Vales.

* Or, *Publications of Goods.*

[b] This place is imperfect, and ought thus to be restored from the *Medicæan Manuscript*; καὶ ἢ πρὸς τὸ χρεῖττον ἀνοήτως ἐκμανέντας, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος λογισμὸν ὅσιον μηδένα λαβόντας, &c; which reading we have exprest in our Rendition. *Vales.*

[c] Οὐκ ἀπεικότως. In the *Medicæan Manuscript* 'tis written, οὐκ ἂν ἀπεικότως, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπὸ λόγου συμβαίνοι. In the *King's Manuscript* also 'tis συμβαίνοι. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning the Persecuted, and the Persecutors.

[a] FOR, what ever persons proceed to Action with a just [purpose of] mind, and have the fear of God continually in their thoughts, preserving their Faith towards Him firm and unshaken; and who do not prefer present fears and dangers before the hopes of those future things: although they may have had experience of some Troubles and afflictions for a time, yet they have not born what befel them with heaviness, because they believe, that greater Rewards are treasured

[a] At these words I began the 26th *Chap.* from the *Fuk. Manuscript*, and the *King's Sheets*. Vales.

treasured up for them. But, by how much more pressing the Calamities were, wherewith they have been tryed; by so much more shining was the Glory they obtained. [b] But, such as have either dishonourably contemned what is just; or not acknowledged God themselves, and have dared to inflict on those who faithfully * worship Him, Contumelies and the cruelest of punishments; and who have not judged themselves wretched, because they have [c] punished [men] upon such Pretexts as these; nor [accounted the persons thus punish'd] happy and blessed, who amidst so great sufferings have preserved their Piety towards God inviolate: Many of these mens Armies have been ruined, and many routed. In fine, their whole Military Forces have ended in a total Overthrow.

[b] Ὅσοι δὲ τὸ δίκαιον ἐτίμως. The reading in the Medicæan Manuscript is truer, thus, ὅστις δὲ τὸ δίκαιον ἀτίμως παρεῖδον ἢ τὸ χρεῖττον ἠγνόησε, But such as have either dishonourably, &c. 'Tis much like what he had said above, at chap. 25, where see note (b) Vales.

* Or, Follow.

[c] Ἐκόλαζον. In the Medicæan Manuscript the reading is κολάζοιντο, which is truer if I mistake not. A little after, the same Copy has it, εἰς ἀισχίστην ἔληξεν ἦτταν, have ended in a most reproachful Overthrow. Vales.

CHAP. XXVII.

That Persecution hath been the Occasion of Mischief to those who waged War.

* Or, Heavy.

FRom such [impieties] as these, * Bloudy Wars have risen, and dismal devastations. Hence [hath been occasioned] a want of necessaries for daily use, and multitude of [a] impendent Mischiefs. Hence, the Authors of so great Impiety, fallen under the pressures of the extreamest calamities, have either perished by an [b] unhappy death; or, leading a most reproachful Life, have acknowledged that more afflictive than Death it self; and have received punishments in a manner equal to their unjust Actions. For, each of them hath met with Mischiefs so much the more Calamitous, with how much more of vehemency he had through madness resolved to assault (as he hoped,) and put a force upon the Divine Law. In so much that, they were not only disquieted with the Troubles of this present Life, but most acutely tortured with a fear and expectation of the Infernal punishments.

[a] Ἐπηρτημένων κακῶν. In the Medicæan Manuscript is ἐπηρτημένων δεινῶν, impendent Miseries. And a little before, in the same Copy, the reading is, ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἀναφύονται, &c. From such [impieties] as these, bloudy Wars arise. Vales.

[b] Πανώλεθρον. The Medicæan Copy adds a word, in this manner, θάνατον πανώλεθρον ἐδυσύχησαν perished by an unhappy death. A little after, in the same Manuscript the reading is, πᾶσιν γὰρ ἔκασθ' εὕρεθ' ὁ συμφορῶν, For, each of them hath found, or met with, &c. which doubtless is truer. Vales.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That God chose Constantine to be the Minister of Blessings.

[a] Τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis τὰ ἀθρώπεια. And a little after, of God, [b] He must always be meant, who really

θεραπείας σωτηρίου πολλῆς, a great salutary Cure; without the Conjunction. Vales.

FUrther, when so great and sore an impiety had seized [a] Mankind; and the Republick, as 'twere by the rage of some Pestilential distemper, was infected with the imminentest of dangers, and therefore wanted a Cure that was salutary and great; what solace, what Remedy did God find out to free us from these evils? (Now, when I speak of God, [b] He must always be meant, who really is the only God, and is possest of a perpetual power in every Age. [c] Nor will it in any wise be arrogancy for him, who acknowledges the Benefits [received] from God, to speak magnificently.) [d] God himself hath required and determined to make use of our assistance as fit in order to [the Completion of] his own will. Who having begun from that British Ocean, and those parts where, by a determined Necessity, the Sun is ordered to set; and having [e] by a certain divine power expelled and dissipated [f] all those mischiefs which had possest [the world;] both, that Mankind, instructed by my Ministery, might be recalled to an observancy of the most Venerable Law; and also, that the most Blessed Father might be increased and progagated, by God Himself being the Leader:

[b] Ἐννοητέον. In the Medicæan Copy, the simple term occurrs instead of the compounded, thus, νοητέον; which has less of roughness. A little after, the reading in the same Copy is, ὃ μόνον τε καὶ ὡς ὄντως ἐστί. Vales.

[c] Πάντως δὲ κόμπος ἂν εἴη. The reading in the Medicæan Manuscript is truer, πάντως δὲ ὁ κόμπος τῷ πεὲ τοῦ, &c. Nor will it in anywise, &c. which emendation Sozomen confirms book 1. chap. 8. where he has epitomized this Law of Constantine. Vales.

[d] Τὴν γὰρ ἐμὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, For God Himself hath required, &c. In the Medicæan Copy the particle γὰρ is wanting, which to me seems altogether superfluous. Vales.

[e] Κρείττονί τινι δυνάμει, by a certain divine power. The two last words are wanting in the Medicæan Copy, and the term κρείττονι is referred to the word ἀνάγκη which went before; in this manner, by a divine necessity, the Sun is ordered to set; and having expelled, &c. Vales.

[f] Τὰ κατέχοντα πάντα δεινά. After these words, the Fuketian, Turnebian and Savil. Copies add these two, ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, hath wholly taken away. And so Christophorson read, as 'tis apparent from his Version, which at this place is very intricate. But I am of opinion, that those words [ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς βρεττανοῖς ἐκείνης θαλάσσης ἀρξάμενος, &c. Who, having begun from that British Ocean, &c.] are spoken concerning Constantine himself, and not concerning God, as Musculus and Christophorson thought. Wherefore, there is no need of those words ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, which occurr not, either in the Medicæan or King's Copy, or in the Old Sheets: especially, in regard it follows in the next chapter, μέχει νῦν τῶν ἑῴων πρόειμι, I am come as far as the Eastern parts. Vales.

CHAP. XXIX.

Constantine's Pious Expressions towards God; and his praise of the Confessours.

(FOR I could never have been ingrateful in reference to the Benefit wherewith I am obliged; in regard I firmly believe [b] this most excellent Ministery to have been conferred on Me as a Gift of the highest value;) at length I am come as far as the Eastern Parts. Which [Countries,] because they * groan under heavier Calamities, call for a greater Cure from us. Further, I do most firmly believe, that My whole Soul, all that I breath, and what ever dwells within the inmost receſſes of my mind, is entirely owing from Me to the supream God. I know accurately well indeed, that they who have rightly pursued † an hope of Celestial things, and have [c] peculiarly and firmly placed this Queen in the divine ‖ dwellings; do in no wise stand in need of the Benevolence of men: in regard they enjoy

[a] Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγνώμων. In the Medicæan Copy the reading is, οὐδέ ποτε γὰρ ἂν γνώμων; right, if you make it ἀγνώμων; For I could never have been ungrateful. Further, these words from for I could, to highest value, must be understood as spoken by a Parenthesis. In the Fuketian and Turnebian Copies the reading is οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἀγνώμων. Vales.

* Or, groan under heavier Calamities, call for a greater Cure from us. Further, Are seized with.

† Or, The Celestial hope.

‖ Or, Places.

[b] Τῷ θείῳ. In the Medicæan Copy this whole place is written far truer, thus, ταύτῃ θείᾳ διανοίᾳ, τοῦτο κεχαρισμένο ἐμαυτῷ δῶρον πεπεύσας, μέχει νῦν τῶν ἑῴων πρόειμι, &c. in regard I firmly believe this most excellent, &c. as we have rendred it. Further, with these words the whole period is concluded, which begins from those of the preceeding chapter, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς βρεττανοῖς. who having begun from that British, &c. which the Translatours perceived not. Nor could I my self even have found it out, without the assistance of the Medicæan Copy.

[c] Ἐξαίρετόν τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς. The Medicæan Manuscript has it written, ἐξαίρετόν τε καὶ βασιλίδα ἀσφαλῶς, and have peculiarly and firmly placed this Queen. The Emperour Constantine terms the hope of the Sons of God, a Queen, because it excells all humane things. Vales.

so

[a] Ὅσῳπερ ἀσφαλῶς ἀνῃρῆσθαι. Before I had gotten the *Medicæan Copy*, I perceived the reading was to be, ὅσῳπερ σφᾶς ἀνῃρῆσθαι, *by how much farther they have removed and separated themselves from*, &c; which conjecture the *Medicæan Manuscript* hath plainly confirmed. In which also the reading is, τοσούτῳ τε *so much the greater*; but γ is overwritten, thus, τοσούτῳ γε. *Vales.*

[e] Εἰς λαμπρότερόν τι. In the *Medicæan Copy* I found it written, εἰς λαμπρότερον καὶ μακαριώτερον σχῆμα τῆς δόξαν, &c. *to a more resplendent and more blessed Scheme or Figure.* Vales.

so much the Greater Honour, [a] *by how much farther they have removed and separated themselves from* * *the vices and impieties of Mortality. Nevertheless, I account it as belonging to Me, at the greatest distance now to remove, from persons void of all fault and reprehension, those necessities imposed on them for a time, and those misbecoming tortures. Otherwise, it would be most absurd, that these mens fortitude and stability of mind, should have been made apparent under their Reign, who were desirous of persecuting them, on account of their Worship of God: but, that under a servant of God [swaying the Imperial scepter,] their Glory should not have been raised* [e] *to an higher degree of Resplendency and Blessedness.*

* Or, *Terrene defects.*

CHAP. XXX.

A Law setting [men] free from Banishment, from *The Curia*, and from Proscription of Goods.

LET all those therefore, whether they be such as have changed their Country for a strange Soil; because they would not * *betray their Honour and Faith towards God, to which with their whole souls they had consecrated themselves, at what time soever each of them have been condemned by the cruel* [a] *Sentences of the Judges: or, whether they be such as have been enrolled within the Catalogues of the* Curiales, *when as before they did not fill up their Number: be now restored both* [b] *to their paternal Estates, and to their wonted leasure, and return thanks to God the Deliverer of all. Also, whoever have been deprived of their Goods, and,* [c] *stricken with a* * *Mulct of their whole substance, have hitherto led a most miserable and sad life; let them likewise be restored to their Pristine habitations,* [d] *Families, and Goods; and may they with gladness enjoy the Beneficence of God.*

* Or, *Contemn.*

* Or, *Loss.*

[a] Γνώμαις δικαστῶν. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis γνώσεσι; and a little after, the reading is συγκατηρίθμησαν καταλόγοις, *have been enrolled together within*, &c. In the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Copy* 'tis συνηρίθμησαν, *have been enrolled within.* Vales. The same with this last is the reading in *Robert Stephens*.

[b] Χωρίοις τοῖς πατρίοις. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is righter, thus, χωρίοις τε πατρῴοις ἀποκαταστάντες, *he now restored both to their*, &c. In the *King's Copy* the reading is also ἀποκαταστάντες: in *Robert Stephens* 'tis ἀποκαταστήσαντες. Further, *Eusebius* here calls *their paternal Lands or Estates*, πατρῶα χωρία. For those that were lyable or bound to serve in the *Curiæ*, (into which the richest persons were wont to be enrolled;) their Farms or Lands were enslaved to the *Curiæ*; [that is, were burthened with such Services and Offices as belonged to the Courts of Corporations.] Therefore, although they withdrew themselves by flight, it availed them nothing, in regard *The Curia* seized their Farms. *Constantine* therefore appoints by *this Constitution*, that those who had been bound to *the Curiæ* on account of the *Christian* Faith, (provided their paternal Farms, which the *Curia* had made seizure of, were not of a *Curial original*;) should recover those their paternal Farms. Wherefore *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, thus, *Patriis sidibus, to their Fathers seats.* *Turnebus* in his *Copy* hath mended it, ἀποκαταστάντες In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written ἀποκαταστήσαντες ἑαυτούς; as 'tis also in Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*, and in *Christophorson*. Vales.

[c] Καταπονηθέντες, *oppressi.* In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is καταπεπληγότες, *stricken*, which pleases me better. For, 'tis a *Civil-Law Term.* So, *feriri mulctâ, to be stricken or smitten with a mulct*, occurrs frequently in the Constitutions of the Emperours. *Vales.*

[d] Γενέσεσι, *Generations.* In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis φύσεσι, *Families.* And a little after, the reading there is χαίρειν τε ἀπολαύοιεν, *and may they with gladness enjoy.* Vales. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis χαίροντες ἀπολαύσουσιν, *and they shall with gladness enjoy.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Those in Islands likewise.

MOreover, we Command, that what ever persons are detained in Islands [a] *against their wills, shall enjoy [the benefit of] this provision* [b]: *to the end that they, who hitherto have been inclosed, both within the impassable Craggs of Mountains, and within the surrounding Sea, being freed from their sad and inhumane Solitude, should restore themselves to their dearest Relatives, and fulfil their wishes and desires. And, that such as for a long time have lived a miserable and necessitous Life in a most* [c] *detestable filthiness, having obtained their return as some prey given to them, and being in future freed from Cares,* [d] *should without fear live with us. For, for any one to live in fear under us, who both boast and believe our selves to be the servants of God, would not only be a very absurd thing to be heard, but also much more to be believed. For our* * *usage is such, that we would correct the faults of others.*

* *Nature* or, *disposition.*

[a] Not without reason he has added the words ἐ βιαιομένοις, *against their wills*; because of the Monks, who lived a solitary life in Islands. *Vales.*

[b] Ὅπως οἱ μέχρι νῦν The *Medicæan Manuscript* gives us a different reading, in this manner ὅπως μόλις ποτὲ ὁρῶν †, &c. *to the end that they who at any time have with some difficulty been incloſed*, &c. And a little after, ἀνῆκεν ἀποδοῦναι, *may restore themselves.* Also, ὅτι πενιχρὸν, *that such as for*, &c; not, ὅτι † πενιχρὸν, *And, that such*, &c. Vales.

[c] Ἀποτροπαίᾳ ῥύπῳ, *detestable filthiness.* In the *Medicæan Copy* I found it written περιτροπαίᾳ ῥύπῳ. Which perhaps is truer. The import whereof is *cum invidioso quodam squalore, with an hated nastiness.* Vales.

[d] Μὴ μετὰ φόβου σὺν ἡμῖν βιῶναι. This place is written far otherwise in the *Medicæan Copy*. For, that *Manuscript* hath a full point after these words καὶ τῆ φροντίδων εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπηλλαγμένοι, *and being in future freed from cares.* Then, it words the following passage thus; μετὰ φόβου γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι, οἳ Θεοῦ θεράποντες εἶναι ἀνεχόμεθά † καὶ πιστεύομεν. καὶ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἐλθεῖν μόνον εἰπεῖν τ' ἀλογωτάτων, ἂν μή τι γε μὴν ἢ μοχθηρίας, ἢ τὰς περὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δημοσίοις ὑπηρεσίας πλησεῖν. That his; *For, to live with fear under Us, who both boast and believe we are the servants of God; would be a most absurd thing even barely to be heard; much more, that any one should undergoe either the four Labours [at the Mines,] or the services in the publick works.* Which reading, in my sentiment, is purer, and more plain than the common one. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXII.

Also, Those who have been * condemned to the Mines and Publick Works.

* Or, *Disgrac'd in the*, &c.

ALso, what ever persons have been condemned either to work in the sore Labours of the Mines, or to undergo the Services in the Publick Works: Let such men exchange their continual Toils for a [a] *sweet leisure, and in future lead a more easie life agreeable to their own minds, and conclude* * *the Troubles of their immoderate Labours with a pleasing rest.* [b] *And although some of them may have* † *lost their common Liberty and may have been so unfortunate as to have been marked with infamy; nevertheless, let them with a becoming joy recover their Pristine dignity separated from them by some long voyage as it were, and hasten to return into their own Countries.*

* Or, *The immoderate Troubles of their Labours.*

† Or, *Faln from.*

[a] Τὴν γλυκεῖαν σχολήν. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis γλυκείαν. In the *Fuketian* 'tis γλυκίω. *Vales.*

[b] Εἰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it, εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς; which is far truer. *Turnebus* in his *Copy* had mended it, καὶ εἰ τῆς κοινῆς; but the reading of the *Medicæan Manuscript* is truer, which is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Confessours who have been employed in the *Militia*.

FUrther, to those who have heretofore been * adorned [a] with Military dignities, and have lost them upon this cruel and unjust pretence, to wit, because professing the knowledge of God, [b] they preferred that before the dignity they were possest of; it shall be * free to choose, whether they will embrace the Military Employes, and continue in the same figure they were in; [c] or live in freedom with an honourable discharge. For it will be fit and agreeable to reason, that he who hath demonstrated such a greatness of mind and Constancy in undergoing † torments inflicted on him, should, according to his own choice, enjoy either Repose, or Honour.

* Or, *Approved in.*

[a] Ἐπισεφανωμένοις ἀξίαις. The *Medicæan Copy* has it ἐν στρατηγικαῖς, &c; *in Military dignities*: and a little after, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπανθῆ, *upon this cruel*, &c. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Eligible according to their will.*

† Or, *Dangers.*

[b] Περὶτιμῶσαν. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, περιμότερον ἧς εἶχον ἀξίας ἦγον, ἔστω πρὸς βέλτιν, *they accounted that more valuable than the dignity they had; let it be according to their will. Valesius.*

[c] Ἐλευθείαν ἄγειν. From the *Medicæan Copy* it must be written ἐλευθέραν ἄγειν σχολὴν, *lead a free Leisure.* Which reading *Sozomen* confirms book 1. chap. 8. where he has epitomized this Law of *Constantine.* In the *Fuketian Manuscript* I found it written, ἐντίμως ἐλευθερίαν ἄγειν, *live in freedom honourably.* But the *Medicæan Copy* has it written, ἔντιμον ἐλευθέραν ἄγειν σχολὴν, *lead an honourable free Leisure.* Valesius.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The setting at Liberty those free persons in the *Gynæcea*, or them delivered over to Slavery.

ALso, whatever persons, by force deprived of their Nobility, have from the Judges received some such like sentence as this, that being thrust into the * Gynæcea or Linyphia, they have endured [b] Cruel and miserable Labour, or were accounted Servants of the Treasury, their Pristine splendour of Birth [c] being of no advantage to them: Let such men (rejoycing both at the honours they formerly enjoyed, and at the † privilege of their Liberty,) recovir their usual dignities, and in future live in all manner of gladness. And let him ([d] who has changed his Liberty for Slavery, by an unjust and inhumane madness of the [e] Seller, and hath often [f] lamented his unusual servile offices, perceiving himself on a sudden as 'twere made a servant from being a free man;) receive his former freedom according to this our command, and restore himself to his Parents, and undergo those Labours that befit a Freeman; having cast out of his memory those misbecoming servilities, [g] which he had before Laboured under.

[a] Καὶ μὴν ὅσοι. The *Medicæan Copy* has it καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅσοι, *moreover, whatever persons*, &c. *Valesius.*

* See chap. 20. *note (e.)*

[b] Ἀπανθῆ καθλιον. In the *Medicæan Copy* I found it written λύδη καὶ; from which, though a corrupt word, I presently smelt out the true and genuine reading of this place. I write therefore ἀύδη καὶ ἄθλιον, *an unusual and miserable Labour.* For, such servilities in the *Gynæcea* and *Weaving Houses* were unusual to free men. The *same Copy* has πόνον, not κόπον. *Valesius.*

† Or, *Goods.*

[c] Οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐπαρκεσάσης. The reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, thus, ἀδὲν αὐτοῖς, &c. *being of no advantage to them.* And a little after, from the *same Copy* I write χαλοῖς ἐνδοξαινόμενοι, *rejoycing — at*, &c. *Valesius.*

[d] Καὶ ὁ δυλείαν τῆς ἐλευθερίας. The *Medicæan Copy* adds a word, in this manner, καὶ ὁ δυλείαν μὴ ἐλευθερίας, &c. which is truer, if I mistake not. For the Emperour distinguishes two sorts of men: some of which, being nobly born, were enslaved to the *Gynæcea*, or made servants of the *Fiscal Farms*, which was a nobler servitude: others of them, whose extraction was meaner, were sold to private men. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, καὶ ὁ δυλεία τῶ ἐλευθερείαν ἀλλαξάμενος. *Valesius.*

[e] Πολίτου ἀπαραίτου. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis written δίπτου ἀπαραίτου. He means the boldness and immanity of the Judge, who had despoiled a free man of his Liberty, on account of his confession of the true God. In the *Kings Sheets* I found it written πωλίτου; the *Fuketian Copy* has it πωλητῦ. *Valesius.*

[f] Ἀποδυρόμενον, *lamenting*: in the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is truer, thus, ἀποδυρόμενος, *hath —— lamented.* Valesius.

[g] Ἃς πρότερον ἐμόχθησεν. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis more elegantly expresst, ἃς προεμόχθησεν; and a little before, ἐκκαλύψαν τῆς μνήμης, *having cast out of his memory.* And the same is the reading in the *Kings Sheets* and *Fuketian Copy.* Further, from these words 'tis sufficiently apparent, that what I have said is true, *viz.* that in this latter place *Constantine* speaks of the viler and meaner sort of people, who had been sold by the sentence of the Judge. For, concerning the former sort who were eminent for the splendour of their Birth, *Constantine* says that they may now recover their Pristine dignity. But he sends away these latter to the Services and Labours usually undergone by Freemen. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the succession in inheriting the Goods of Martyrs and Confessours, and of such persons as had been banished, and of them whose Goods had been brought into the Treasury.

BUT, we must not omit mentioning those Estates, [a] whereof several persons have been deprived upon various pretences. Wherefore, if any persons, undergoing the eximious and divine Combat of Martyrdom with a fearlessness and confidence of mind, have been deprived of their Goods; [b] or, if any men, made Confessours, have procured themselves the * hope of Eternal Goods; also, whatever persons (forc'd to remove out of their Country, because by betraying their Faith they would not yield to the Persecutors;) have in like manner been deprived of their Goods: Lastly, [c] if any persons, though not condemned by a Capital sentence, have

[a] Δι' ἃς ἕκαστοι. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it, ὧν ἕκαστοι μὴ διαφόρως ἐστερήθησαν περιφάσεις, *whereof several*, &c. And a little after, ἢ ἀ-εισὸν τι χὴ δεῖον ὑπο-

* Or, *Eternal hope.*

σάντες ἀγῶνα; which we have rendred accordingly. Neither do these words δι' ἃς occurr in the *King's Sheets.* Further, I found the beginning of this period variously written in the *old Copies.* For in the *Medicæan Manuscript* 'tis read thus, παρεασεον ὃ δὲ τὸ ἧς ἀσιῶν, &c. In the *King's Sheets*, παρεατέον ὃ δὲ τὸ, &c. *Turnebus* in his Copy had mended it, παρετέον. In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written, παρεατέον ὃ δὲ τὸ ἧς ἀσιῶν ὧν ἕκαστοι, &c. The *King's Copy* has also παρεατέον. Wherefore, I doubt not but this is the true reading, and do wonder why *Robert Stephens* changed it. *Valesius.*

[b] Καὶ ὁμολογήσαι καταξάντες. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, εἴ τέ τινες ὁμολογηταὶ καταξάντες, *or, if any men*; which, I doubt not, is truer. For, whereas he had before spoken of the Martyrs, he now speaks of the Confessours. A little after, from the *same Copy*, write thus, καὶ ἀναξαδέντες ὅτι μὴ τοῖς δικάσιν ἔξαν παειδόντες τὴν πίστιν, ἧς ὄντων ἐστέργοντο, &c. (*forc'd ——, because by contemning the Faith they would not yield to the Persecutors;*) *have —— been deprived of their Goods*; &c. *Valesius.*

[c] *Christophorson* omitted this Clause, because it seemed nothing else but a superfluous repetition of what went before. But, in regard these words occurr in the *Medicæan Copy* also, they are not rashly to be expunged. For, after the Emperour had spoken concerning the Martyrs, concerning the Confessours, and concerning the Exiles, who for fear of a Capital sentence pronounc'd against them, had left their Country, he now treats of those, who though they had not been condemned by a Capital sentence, had nevertheless been despoiled of their Goods. For these were not in the number of Martyrs, or Confessours; in regard they had not been brought to a Tryal. Nor, had they been Exiles; but staying in their own Country, had by force been deprived of their possessions. 'Tis certain, in the Title or Contents of this Chapter, four sorts of persons are reckoned up. But *Christophorson* omitted the *fourth sort.* Nevertheless, in the following chapter, the Emperour recounts three sorts of persons only, these last being wholly omitted. *Valesius.*

nevertheless

nevertheleſs had the hard Fortune to ſuffer a loſs of their Goods: Our Order is, that the Inheritances of all theſe Perſons ſhall be given to their neareſt Relations. Further, [a] *whereas the Laws* [d] *in expreſs words command, that the nearer of the kindred* [*ſhall receive the Inheritance,*] *'tis eaſie to know, to whom the Inheritances belong.* [e] *And moreover, 'tis agreeable to reaſon, that they ſhould come to the Succeſſion,* [f] *who would have been nearer of kin, if thoſe Perſons had ended their Lives by their own and a natural Death.*

[a] Διαφθαρέντων δὲ τούτων τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἀγχιστέως τοῦ κληρονομεῖν. In the ſucceſſions of perſons inteſtate, the Law calls the neareſt of the *Agnati* [or, *Kindred by the Male Line*] to the Inheritance, if their own Heirs be wanting, as *Gaius* informs us in his *Inſtitutions Titulo decimo ſexto*. Hence, the *Agnati* are by the Law termed *Legitimi Hæredes, Lawful Heirs*, becauſe the Law caſts the Inheritance upon theſe only. For, the *Cognati* [*Kindred by the Female Line*] could not be Heirs by the *Civil Law*, but were called to the Inheritance by the *Jus Prætorium* only, as Lawyers inform us. Further, amongſt the *Cognati*, he that was neareſt took the Inheritance, in the ſame manner as amongſt the *Agnati*. But there is a difficulty in this place, who ought to be meant by the word ἀγχιστέων *of the Kindred*, whether the *Agnati*, or *Cognati*. 'Tis certain, if by the term *Laws* we underſtand the *Laws of the Twelve Tables*, it will be neceſſary that the *Agnati* ſhould be meant. *Sozomen* words it thus, τοῖς ἐγγυτέρω γένους *to thoſe nearer of Kin*. Valeſ.

[c] Καὶ ὅτι. In the *King's Copy* the reading is καὶ ἔτι *and moreover*; which reading I have followed in my Verſion. At firſt it had been written in that *Copy*, ὅτι *becauſe*; and afterwards, in a more modern hand, it was mended, ἔτι *moreover*. Valeſ.

[f] Οἵπερ ἦσαν καὶ οἰκειότεροι, καὶ ἀνύποπτα χρησαμένων ἐκείνων τῷ τέλει. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, ὅπερ ἦσαν οἰκειότεροι. The meaning of this Place is very obſcure. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it thus; *Et quod ratione etiam oportet eos ſuccedere, qui ſint domeſticâ conſuetudine conjunctiores, conſtat: præſertim cùm illi ipſi Martyres, non criminis ullius convicti, ſed ſuâ inducti voluntate, mortem oppetiverint*; *i. e. And that in reaſon they ought to ſucceed, who are nearer by a domeſtick acquaintance, 'tis manifeſt: eſpecially, in regard thoſe very Martyrs, not convicted of any crime, but induced by their own will, underwent death.* But, there are many things to be found fault with in this Rendition. For firſt, αὐτόματον τέλος *a voluntary death or end*, cannot be ſpoken in reference to the Martyrs. Secondly, the diſcourſe here is not concerning the Martyrs alone, but concerning the Confeſſors alſo, and thoſe that had fled their Country, who had dyed by their own Death. Therefore, 'tis better to render it here, *ſuâ & naturali morte, by their own and a natural Death.* For ſo *Græcians* are wont to expreſs themſelves, and particularly our *Euſebius*, if I miſtake not. Laſtly, he has rendred the term οἰκειότεροι very ill in theſe words *domeſticâ conſuetudine conjunctiores, nearer by a domeſtick acquaintance*; whereas the import of that term is *Perſons nearer related*. I render therefore this whole place thus, *Rationi conſentaneum eſt, ut hi ad ſucceſſionem veniant, qui propinquiores erant futuri, ſi illi ſuâ morte obiiſſent, 'tis agreeable to reaſon*, &c. Our Rendition is confirmed, both by what I have ſaid above, and alſo from what the Emperor ſays, ὅπερ ἦσαν οἰκειότεροι, *who would have been the nearer of Kin*, not εἰσὶν *who are*. Now, by the next words, *viz. thoſe Perſons*, he means *the Martyrs*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That the Church is to be Heir to thoſe who have no Relations; and that the Legacies given by them ſhall remain firm.

BUT, *if none of the Kindred be left, who, agreeable to reaſon, may be Heir to any of the forementioned Perſons, to wit, of the Martyrs, or of the Confeſſors, or of thoſe who have removed out of their Country on ſuch an Occaſion as this; we decree, that the Church in every of thoſe places ſhall always ſucceed in the Inheritance.*

[a] Οὐκ ἔσαι πάντως. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it οὐκ ἔσαι δὲ πάντως. it τῶν ὁμολογητῶν, as it is in chap. 35. Valeſ.

* Or, *Grievous.*

† *The Church.*

[a] *Nor will this in any wiſe be* * *uneaſie to the defunct, if they ſhall happen to have* † *Her their Heir, on whoſe account they have undergone all imaginable Labours.* [b] *Moreover, 'tis neceſſary to annex this alſo; that, if any of the aforeſaid Perſons have bequeathed any thing of their Goods to ſuch as they had a mind* [*to give them,*] *the* * *property thereof, as 'tis reaſonable, ſhall remain firm and certain to them.*

A little before, the reading in the *ſame Copy* of *the Confeſſors* (truer than ὁμολογησάντων.) Alſo, μήτε τῶν μετοίκων μήτοι, τῶν, &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Dominion.*

[b] Προσεῖναι δὲ χρὴ καὶ τόδε. I had rather write προσκεῖσθαι *to annex*, as *Turnebus* and *Sr Henry Savil* have mended it. And ſo 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. A little after, the reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is, ὡς εἴ τῶν προειρημένων τινες, *that, if any of the foreſaid Perſons*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVII.

That thoſe who poſſeſs ſuch Places, and Gardens, and Houſes, ſhall reſtore them; but without the * *Mean-profits.*

* Or, *Fruits.*

FUrther, *that no* † *ambiguity may appear in this our Precept,* [a] *but that every one may with readineſs underſtand what the Law is; let all Perſons know, that if they are poſſeſt, either of a Ground, or of an Houſe, or of a Garden, or of any thing elſe of the forementioned Perſons Eſtates, it will be good and advantageous to themſelves, both to confeſs it, and to reſtore it with all imaginable celerity.* [b] *And although it may be moſt manifeſtly apparent, that ſome Perſons have received great Profits from thoſe* [*Eſtates,*] *by an unjuſt Poſſeſſion; yet we judge a* ‖ *demand of thoſe Fruits to be in no wiſe juſt:*

† Or, *Miſtake.* Ἀλλ' ἕτοιμον τό. From the *Medicæan Copy* make it, ἀλλ' ἕτοιμον ἦ τό, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

‖ Or, *Exaction.*

[b] Διὸ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is, εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα φανεῖεν ἐξ ἀυτῶν τινὲς, *And although*, &c. And a little after the *ſame Copy* has it, κερπωσάμενοι, καὶ γέγενται τούτων τῶν ἀπαίτησιν, *have received——profits——; yet we judge a demand*, &c. incomparably well, as I think. For this is the ſecond member of the period. The laſt member of the period is ὅμως γε μὴν &c; *Nevertheleſs*, &c: which in the common Editions is ill divided, and removed to the *following Chapter*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

In what manner *Supplicatory Libels* ought to be preſented in reference to theſe Perſons.

NEvertheleſs, let ſuch Men of themſelves ingenuouſly acknowledge what profits they have gathered, and whence, and let them ſupplicate for a Pardon of their Offence to be granted them from Us; both, that their former Avarice [a] *may be cured by ſuch an emendation; and alſo, that the Supream God, receiving this Satisfaction in place of ſome Repentance as 'twere, may be rendred propitious* [*and remit*] *their Offences. But, they who have been conſtituted Owners of ſuch Eſtates, (if ſuch Men either deſerve, or can have this Title given them,) alledging this in defence of themſelves, will peradventure ſay, that it was impoſſible they ſhould abſtain* [*from thoſe things*] *then, when a manifold Spectacle of all manner of Miſchiefs was ſet before their Eyes;* [b] *when Men were cruel-*

[a] Λυθεῖη, *may be diſſolved.* The reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, ἰαθῇ, *may be cured.* Valeſ.

[b] Καθ' ὃν ὑπῆρχον ἀπολλύμενα. In the *Medicæan Copy* this place is written far otherwiſe, in this manner; ὡμῶς ἀπελαυνόμενοι. ἀφειδῶς ἀπολλύμενοι. ἀμελῶς ἐῤῥιμμένοι. δημεύσεις ἦσαν ἀδὲν αἰτίων συχναί. δικάζεις ἀκόρεστοι. τῶν ὄντων, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. Which reading, as every one ſees, is far truer. For thoſe words καθ' ὃν ὑπῆρχον are altogether ſuperfluous. A little after, in the *ſame Copy* the reading is, εἰ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις διεμφέζοιντο λόγοις τινὲς, &c: *But, if any Men do inſiſt upon ſuch diſcourſes as theſe*, &c. So 'tis alſo in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Drivenaway.* † Or, *Persecutions insatiable.* ᶜ Νουθετήσεσιν, *admonitions.* I corrected this place by the help of the *Medicæan Copy*, in which 'tis plainly written, προαιρέσεσιν, *intentions*, or, *purposes.* Valef. ‖ Or, *To receive.*

ly * *ejected*; *incompassionately destroyed*; *carelessly cast forth*; *when Proscriptions of innocent Persons were frequent*; *the* † *fury of Persecutors insatiable*; *and sales of Goods* [*every where visible.*] *But, if any Men do insist upon such discourses as these, and do persist in their insatiable* ᶜ *purposes and intentions*; *they shall be sensible, that such a practise will not be suffered with an impunity to themselves*; *especially, in regard on this account chiefly we give our Help and Ministery to the supream God.* ᵈ *Whatever things therefore a destructive necessity hath heretofore forced* ‖ *to be received, 'tis now dangerous to keep. And besides, 'tis necessary to lessen Lusts not to be satiated, partly by considerations, and partly by Examples.*

ᵈ Ὅσα γὲν πρότερον. The *Medicæan Copy* has it, ὡς ἃ πρότερον, &c. *So that, what things a destructive*, &c. and a little after, ἐπισφαλὲς ὑπάρχειν, *it will now be dangerous*, &c. Which I rather approve of. For this period is to be joyned with the foregoing one. Presently, where the reading is ἄλλως τε δὲ, 'tis righter in the *Medicæan Copy*, where the last particle is wanting. *Valef.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

That the *Exchequer* shall restore to the Churches, Grounds, and Gardens, and Houses.

ª Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ταμεῖον. In the *Medicæan Copy* the particle γὰρ is wanting; and a little after, in the *same Copy* the reading is, οὐδὲ ἀνταφέγξαθ. *Valef.* ᵇ Τολμῶσαν I write τολμῆσαν, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Which the *Medicæan Manuscript* confirms, wherein the reading is ἐτόλμησαν. In the same Copy, after the word *Churches*, is added λείπει, that is, *some words are wanting*. Valef.

ª NOR *shall the* Exchequer, *if it be possest of any of those things forementioned, be permitted firmly to retain them. But, as 'twere not* ᵇ *daring to utter any thing of Obloquie against the sacred Churches, those things which for a long time it hath unjustly detained, them it shall at length justly restore to the Churches. All things therefore whatever, which* ᶜ *may rightly appear to appertain to the Churches*; *whether they be Houses* [*enjoyed as*] *a Possession*; *or certain Fields and Gardens*; *or whatever else they be*, (*no right belonging* ᵈ *to the Dominion being diminished, but all things continuing firm and entire*;) *We order to be restored.*

ᶜ Ὀρθῶς ἀναφανεὶν. The reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, thus, ὀρθῶς ἂν φανεὶν, *may rightly appear*. Valef.

ᵈ Εἰς τιὼ δὲ τιὼ πολιτείαν. The emendation of this place is due to the *Medicæan Copy*, where we found it plainly written εἰς τιὼ δεσποτείαν, *to the dominion*; excellently well. For the Emperors will is, that all Places and Farms, which had been taken away from the *Christians*, should truly and sincerely be restored to them together with their rights. In such a manner that, if service was owing to any Farm or Field, to wit, a drove way, passage, or high way, it should be restored to the *Christians* with the same right in no part diminished. Therefore, if any one had mortgaged a Farm taken from a *Christian*, or had let it out by Lease to be planted and improved, or by a sale of it had encumbred it with any burthen or service; all these things are by *Constantine's* Edict rescinded. A little after, where the reading is ἀνδίκαιος περιπίπτομεν, from the *same Copy* we have mended it thus, ἀποκαδίκαιος, *to be restored*. Yet, the *Fuketian*, *Turnebian*, and *Savilian Copies* have ἐξίκαιος *to be yielded up*; which is no ill reading. *Valef.*

CHAP. XL.

The * *Martyria* and *Cæmiteries* † are ordered to be yielded up to the Churches.

* *Places where the Reliques of any Martyr are.* † In the *Greek* 'tis *we order.*

ª Καὶ μὴν χὴ In *Mauss's Copy* 'tis mended, ναὶ μὴν χὴ; which pleases me better. *Valef.*

ª MOreover, *who doubts but those Places, which have been honoured with the Bodies of the Martyrs, and are the Monuments of their glorious departure, do belong to the Churches? Yea rather, who would not even command that? In as much as, there can be no Gift more valuable, nor can there be any other Labour pleasanter, and* ᵇ *which has in it more of advantage, than that, by the impulse of the divine* ᶜ *Spirit, a diligent care be taken about these matters*; *to the end that those Places, which with wicked pretexts have been taken away by unjust and* ᵈ *most flagitious Men, being justly yielded up, may be restored again to* [*Gods's*] *sacred Churches.*

ᵇ After these words in the Greek, in the *Medicæan Manuscript* follow these, ἕτερον ἂν γένοιτο, *can there be any other*; which words are wanting in the ordinary Editions. *Valef.*

ᶜ Πνεύματος, *Spirit.* In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis νεύματος, τὴν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ποιεῖσθαι σπουδὴν, *will, a diligent care be taken about such matters as these.* Also in the *Fuk. Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies* the reading is ποιεῖσθαι. *Valef.* In *Robert Stephens*, 'tis ποιεῖν, *to take a diligent*, &c.

ᵈ Μοχθηροτάτων. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis πονηροτάτων, *most wicked*. *Valef.*

CHAP. XLI.

That such as have bought things belonging to the Church, or have received them as a gift, must restore them.

ª From these words I began a new chapter: I also put the Title before it, which was wanting in the *Geneva-Edition*, and in *that of Robert Stephens printed at Paris.* Which defect we made up from the *Fuketian Manuscript* and the *King's Sheets*. Valef.

ª BUT, *because it appertains to an entire and absolute* * *Providence, that they should not be past over in silence, who* ᵇ *either by a right of Emption have bought any thing of the* Exchequer, *or by a Title of donation have possest themselves of any thing as granted to them, having* ᶜ *in vain* ᵈ *extended their insatiable desires to such Goods: Let all such Persons known, that although they have attempted to alienate Our Clemency from themselves, by reason of their most notorious audaciousness in making such purchases*; *nevertheless, that our Benignity shall not be wanting to them, so far as 'tis possible and becoming. But let it suffice thus far to have treated concerning these matters.*

* Or, *Provision.*

ᵇ Ἢ ὠνῇ δικαίᾳ. The *Medicæan Copy* opened to us the true writing of this place; wherein the reading is ἢ ὠνῆς δικαίων. I write, ἢ ὠνῆς δικαίῳ, *either by a right of Emption.* Indeed, to style this Emption just, is contrary to the mind of *Constantine*, who terms these purchases unjust and nefarious presumptions. *Valef.*

ᶜ Μάτην χὴ ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. I had conjectured long since, that the particle χὴ was to be expunged: which conjecture of ours the *Medicæan Copy* does plainly confirm. The Emperor speaks concerning those Men, who had petitioned that these places might be given them by the Emperors. Which *Christophorson* perceived not. Presently in the *same Copy* the reading is γνωσκέτωσαν ὡς τοιῦτοι, &c. a truer than in the ordinary Editions, ὅσοι τοιοῦτοι. In the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis ὅσοι τοίνυν τοιοῦτοι, which is the worst reading of all. *Valef.*

ᵈ Ἐκτείνοντες. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἐκτεινάντες. *Valef.*

CHAP. XLII.

An Earnest Exhortation to worship God.

ª Ἐπειδὴ γὲν. In the *Medicæan Copy* 'tis ἐπειδὴ δὲ. *Valef.*

ª FUrther, *whereas it hath been* ᵇ *made apparent by most evident and most perspicuous demonstrations*; *partly by the power and might of*

ᵇ Ἐξεφάνη ἢ ἀρετή. If I mistake not, the reading in the *Medicæan Copy* is truer, thus, ἐξεφάνη ἀρετῇ τε τοῦ, &c. and we have pointed and rendred it accordingly. It should, I think, also be τῷ παντοδυνάμει Θεοῦ, *of the omnipotent God.* Valef.

the

the Omnipotent God, [c] and partly by the Exhortations and Assistances which He desires should frequently be given by Me; that that calamitous grief and disquietude, which had heretofore seized the whole Complex of humane Affairs, hath now been banished from all places under the Sun: all of you in general, and each Person in particular, by most accurate * inspection do perceive, what and how great that [d] Power, what that Grace is, which hath wholly extinguished and destroyed the Seed (as I may so say) of the [e] most flagitious and wickedest Men; but hath recalled the gladness of the Good, and abundantly diffused it throughout all Regions: and which hath permitted all imaginable Liberty to all Persons, that they should again both pay a meet worship to the divine Law it self with the highest Veneration, and also in a befitting manner revere those who have consecrated themselves to the service of that Law. Who having risen up out of [f] a most profound darkness as 'twere, and received a clear knowledge of [g] Affairs, [h] will in future exhibite a due observancy, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in our Eastern Parts.

* Or, Meditation.

[c] Παρεγενέσην δ' ἄμα. In the Medicean Copy the reading is ἡ παρουσίαν ἅμα. Also δι' ἐν is wanting in that Copy and likewise ἤδη γεγένηται. All which words were added by those who understood not this Oration. The whole place therefore is to be rendred thus. *Porro cùm certissimus ac evidentissimis*, &c. *Further, whereas it hath*, &c. There is nothing clearer than this reading, nothing more certain. Instead of ὑφ' ἐμοῦ *for me*, it must in my judgment be ὑπ' ἐμοῦ or παρ' ἐμοῦ, *by me*, or *from me*. For *Constantine* means his own Ministery or service, which he lent God in the effecting of these things. Concerning which matter he does, not without reason, boast in the beginning of this Edict. *Vales.*

[d] Ἡ ἐξουσία. In the *Medicæan Copy* the *Article* is wanting; and after these words, are added these, τὴν χάριν, *what that Grace is.* which words cannot be wanting without a great detriment to the whole Sentence. For, the term ἐξουσία imports that which he has above termed ἀρετὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the power of God*: but χάρις signifies *the Benefit conferred upon Men by the Assistance and Ministery of* Constantine. *Vales.*

[e] Ἡ τῶν μὴ μοχθηροτάτων. In the *Medicæan Manuscript*, 'tis ἢ τῶν μὴ πονηροτάτων καὶ μοχθηροτάτων, *of the most flagitious and wickedest.* Further, it must be made ἢ; as 'tis in the *King's Copy* in the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and in the *Old Sheets.* Vales.

[f] Σκότους βαθέως. In the *Medicæan Copy* the reading is βαθυτάτου *most profound.* Vales.

[g] Γεγραμμάτων. The *Medicæan Manuscript* has it πεγσμάτων *of Affairs.* I found the same reading in the *King's Copy*, in the *Old Sheets*, and in the *Fuketian Copy.* Away therefore with *Robert Stephens's* Emendation. *Vales.* In *Stephens* 'tis γεγραμμάτων *of Letters.*

[h] In the *Medicæan Copy* the close of *this Edict* runs thus; διεγράφην τε τὸν θεοσέβειαν τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶν σύμφωνον ἐπιδείξονται. θεσπεσίῳ τε ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσιν. i. e. *Will in future exhibit a due observancy, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in Our Eastern Parts.* And this is the Subscription, which (as *Eusebius* attests, *Chap.* 23.) was put to this Edict in *Constantine's* own hand. For the Emperors were wont, in their own hand to add to the Edicts they sent out, *proponatur, let it be published*; and to give that in Command to the *Præfecti Prætorio*, as it appears from the *Novels of Valentinianus* and *Majorianus.* Indeed, even this one word ἡμετέροις *Our*, is a sufficient indication, that this Subscription was added in *Constantine's* own hand. For 'tis the Emperor himself that speaks, and who calls the Eastern Parts *His own.* For so the Emperors were wont to express themselves, then especially, when they spoke of any Province lately reduced under their Government. So *Constantine* in *his Letter to Elasius*, and in *that to Probianus Proconsul of Africk*, says *Africam Nostram Our Africa*; and in the *first Law Cod. Theod. de Veteranis, apud Nicomediam nostram, at our Nicomedia.* So in the *only Law Cod. Theod. de his qui sanguinolentos*, &c. *Imperator Constantinus Italis suis, Emperor* Constantine *to his* Italians. Lastly, *Constantius Cæsar* in *his Letter to* Eumenius, which Letter *Eumenius* records in his *Oration pro scholis*; *Merentur Galli nostri*, &c. *Our Galli are in service*, &c. Further, this Edict of *Constantine* occurrs, in the *Medicæan Copy*, after the *Books of Ecclesiastick History*, with this Title, ἀντίγραφον διατάξεως τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως. ἣν τοῦ τυράννου καθελὼν, τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔθνεσιν ἑλληνικῇ σωτάξας φωνῇ διεπέμψατο, that is, *a Copy of the Constitution of the Emperor dear to God, which, (after he had destroyed the Tyrants,) he wrote in the Greek Tongue, and transmitted to the Province under him.* Vales.

CHAP. XLIII.

That those things which Constantine *had established by Laws, were by him really accomplished and performed.*

THese were the Constitutions contained in the Emperors first Edict sent to [a] us. Immediately therefore the Orders contained in this Law were effectually put into Execution: and all things were transacted, contrary to what a little before had been audaciously perpetrated by Tyrannick Cruelty; and they, to whom the Law granted them, enjoyed the Imperial Indulgences.

[a] Hence it appears, that the Writer of *this History* was a *Palestinian.* Which I was therefore willing to remark, because *Dionysius Gotofredus* thought, that *Eusebius Cæsariensis* was not the Author of this *Work*: which nevertheless 'tis easie to refute, both by innumerable testimonies of ancient Writers, and also from very many passages of this Work; especially from chap. 45, and 46, of this *Book.* Now, the aforesaid Law of *Constantine* was issued out to the *Palestinians* in particular, for this reason, Because the persecution had raged most sorely there, and there had been many Confessors and Martyrs in that Province. Notice likewise is to be taken of what *Eusebius* says, *viz.* that this *first Sanction* or *Edict* of *Constantine* hath been brought to them. For *that Edict* concerning the Peace and Liberty of the *Christians*, which *Constantine* had sent into the East after his conquest of *Maxentius*, was by *Maximine's* fraud suppresst, as *Eusebius* tells us in the beginning of his *ninth Book.* Vales.

CHAP. XLIV.

That he preferred Christians *to the Government of Provinces; but if* [*any of the Governours*] *were* Pagans, *he forbid them to Sacrifice.*

AFter this, the Emperor * put his hand seriously to the work. And in the first place, most of those he sent as Governors of the Nations distributed throughout the Provinces, were Persons dedicated to the salutary Faith. But, if any of them seemed addicted to *Gentilism*, it was forbidden them to Sacrifice. The same Law was imposed also [a] upon those, who in dignity preceded the Presidents, as likewise on them that had obtained the highest pitch of Honour and the Power of the *Prætorian Præfecture.* For either, if they were *Christians*, he gave them permission, that they should perform what was correspondent to their Appellation: or else, if they were otherwise affected, he ordered them not to worship Idols.

* Or, *Took in hand affairs of the highest consequence.*

[a] Ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπερτετιμημένων τὰς ἡγεμονικὰς ἀρχὰς ἀξιωμάτων. He means the *Vicarii*, *Comites*, and *Proconsuls.*

For these dignities were far more eminent than those of the *Presidents*, as every one knows. But *Christophorson*, according to his usual mistake, translates ἡγεμόνας *Præfects*; than which nothing is more absurd. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning the Laws forbidding Sacrifices, and ordering the Churches to be built.

SOON after, [a] two Laws were issued out at one and the same time. The one whereof forbad the detestable Sacrifices to Idols, here-

[a] Δύο κατὰ τὸ αὐτό. *Christophorson* renders it, *duæ Leges in eandem sententiam promulgabantur, two Laws were promulged to the same effect, or meaning*: wherein he seems to have followed *Portesius*, who had rendred it thus; *Duæ postea Leges emissæ non ita dissimili argumento, Two Laws were afterwards issued out of a Subject not unlike.* But I thought κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ to be the same with *simul, uno eodemque tempore, together, at one and the same time.* For so *Eusebius* does usually express himself. *Vales.*

tofore usually performed in every City and Country; so that, no Person in future should dare, either to * erect the Statues of the Gods, or to attempt Divinations and other such vain † Arts; [b] nor, in any wise to Sacrifice. The other Law ordered the Structures of the Oratories to be raised to a vast height, and the Churches of God to be enlarged both in length and breadth; as if all Mankind (I had almost said) were about to unite themselves to God, and as if the madness of *Polytheism* had been wholly destroyed. The Emperor's own Piety towards God moved him to entertain such Sentiments as these and thus to write to the Presidents of each Province. The Law contained this also, that they should not be sparing in the expence of Money; but, that the charges [of building the Churches] should be defrayed out of the Imperial Treasures. Moreover, he wrote Letters of this sort to the Prelates of Churches in all Places: and such a one he vouchsafed to write to me also, which was the first Letter he sent to me by name.

* Or, *Make erections of Statues.*

† Or, *Curiosities.*

[b] Μήτε μὴν θύειν καθόλου. These words of *Eusebius* are to be understood concerning private Sacrifices. For *Constantine the Great* prohibited by a Law, that no one of the Heathens should Sacrifice privately at home, as the *First Law in the Theodosian Code de Paganis* informs us. Therefore, he had prohibited, that the *Aruspices* should be called out to any private house on account of Sacrificing. For *these Persons inspected the Entrails of Victims.* But *Constantine* forbad not the going to the publick Temples to Sacrifice, and there to make use of the assistance of the *Aruspices*, as the *first Law in the Theodosian Code de Maleficis, attests.* See *Libanius* in his *Oration pro Templis, pag.* 10, and what *Gotofred has noted there.* Vales.

CHAP. XLVI.

Constantine's [Letter] to *Eusebius* and the rest of the Bishops, concerning the building of Churches; and that the old ones should be repaired, and built larger by the [Assistance of the] *Presidents.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To Eusebius.

WE really believe and are absolutely perswaded (Dearest Brother,) that, in * *Desire, regard an Impious* * *Presumption and a Tyrannick* or, *purpose. Violence hath persecuted the Servants of Our Saviour even to this present time, the Edifices of all Churches, have either by neglect gone to ruine, or through fear of the imminent Iniquity* [*of the Times*] [a] *have been less worthily adorned. But now, since Liberty is restor'd, and that* [b] *Serpent by Almighty God's Providence, and our instrumental endeavours, is forc'd out of the Administration of publick Affairs; we suppose that the Divine Power hath been sufficiently manifested to all Men: and that those, who* [c] *either through fear or unbelief have fallen into any Sins, having now* [d] *acknowledged* * *Him that truly is, will in future return to the true and right Course of Life. Do you therefore remind as well* [*all Persons belonging to*] *the Churches over which you preside, as also Bishops presiding in other Places, together with the Presbyters and Deacons whom you know, that they use their utmost diligence about the structures of the Churches; either about repairing those that are still standing, or about enlarging them, or in building new ones whereever it shall be found requisite. And You your Self, and the rest by Your Mediation, may ask necessaries* [*for that work,*] *both from Our Presidents of the Provinces, and also from the* [e] *Office of the Prætorian Præfecture.* [f] *For they have already been empowered by Letters, to be diligently observant about* Your Holiness's *Orders. God preserve You, Beloved Brother.*

[a] Ἀξίας γεγωνότας. In *Socrates* the reading is ἀξίως γεγωνότας, *have been less worthily adorned.* There is also another Emendation, set at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀξίας γεγωνότας, *have been adorned with less of statelinesse.* Any one might guess likewise, that this Place should be read and construed thus, ἀξίας τῆς ἐπικειμένης ἀδικίας, &c. *or through fear have been made agreeable to the imminent Iniquity* [*of the times.*] But that reading μὴ ἀξίως is truer, and is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales. In *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 9. *Eccles. History*; where this Letter occurs) the reading is ἐλάττονα τῆς ἀξίας, &c. *have been adorned with less of statelinesse.*

[b] I suppose *Licinius* to be meant, whom *Constantine* does thus term, because of his craftiness and age. Indeed, these following words, *forc'd out of the Administration of publick Affairs*, do sufficiently evince this to be spoken of *Licinius.* Whence also it may be conjectured, that this Letter was written a little after *Licinius's* depolition. *Vales.* See *Socrates*, book 1. chap 9, *note* (*o*)

[c] Ἡ φιλία ἡ ἀπιστία. In the beginning of this Letter, instead of ἀπιστία *unbelief*, he made use of the term ἀμέλεια *neglect.* By the word *Fear* those *Christians* are meant, who through fear of the Persecution had neglected the Churches, or renounced the Faith but the word *unbelief* belongs to the *Pagans* or *Infidels*, who had disturbed the sacred Houses, and several ways molested the *Christians.* Vales.

[d] Ἐπιγνόντας τε. The particle τε must be expunged; which occurrs not in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales. See *Socrat.* book 1. chap. 9. *note* (*b.*)

[e] See book 1. chap. 54. note (*b.*) The ἔπαρχοι are the *Præfecti Prætorio*, so termed because they were ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι, that is, *over the Presidents and Governours of Provinces.* Therefore ἐπαρχικὴ τάξις is the *Office of the Prætorian Præfecture*, concerning which the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* is to be consulted. Further, the *Office of the Præfectus Prætorio* was supream to all other Offices of all the Magistrates. For, as the *Præfectus Prætorio* in dignity excelled the rest of the Judges as well *Civil* as *Military*, so also his *Officials*, were more honourable than all other *Apparitors.* Hence, in the *Chalcedon Council, Action* 3. the *Office of the Præfecti Prætorio* is termed μεγίστη τάξις *the greatest Office.* These things were not understood by the Translators, whose mistake I had rather pass over in silence, than invidiously refute it. In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written, ἐν τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχικῆς τάξεως, as 'tis also in Sr *Henry Savil's Copy.* Vales.

[f] Τέθεις γὰρ ἐπιστάλθη. *Christophorson* renders it, *Hisce enim per literas à me significatum est, For they are acquainted herewith by Letters from me:* He has added the words *à me from me*, of his own head; which I like not. For, not the Emperor himself, but the *Præfecti Prætorio* most commonly wrote these sort of Letters. *Vales.*

[g] The same Letters were sent to the Prelates of Churches throughout every Province. And these the Presidents of Provinces were ordered to do what was agreeable and consonant hereto. So that, with all imaginable speed the Precepts of the Law were effectually put in Execution.

[g] From these words a new chapter is begun in the *King's Copy.* Further, hence it appears, that *Constantine* wrote Letters after the same Copy to the rest of the Bishops of the East. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVII.

That he wrote against Idolatry.

BUT the Emperor made a further progress in his [a] Piety towards God, and transmitted to the Provincials in each Province, [b] an Oration against the error of Idolatry,

[a] Τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὁσίαν διδασκαλίαν. Translators have rendred this place extreamly ill, in regard they thought ὁσίαν was an *adjective*; nor could they perceive, that a *Comma* was to be placed after ὁσίαν. ὁσία signifies nothing else but *Piety*, or *an observancy of the Deity.* In this sense 'tis used in chap. 45. *of this Book*, and in several other Places in *Eusebius.* Vales.

[b] Διδασκαλίαν τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας. It must be written διδασκαλίαν κατὰ τῆς, &c. *an Oration against*, &c as I found it mended in the margin of *Moræus's Copy.* Διδασκαλία imports here *a Speech, Oration*, διδασκαλικὸς λόγος. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is written thus, διδασκαλίαν κατὰ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ πλάνης, *an Oration against Idolatry and Error.* Vales.

latry, wherein they had been involved, [c] who had Governed the *Roman* Empire before him. [In which Oration] he exhorted His Subjects with an admirable eloquence, to acknowledge the ſupream God, and openly to aſſume to themſelves his [Son] *Chriſt* to be their Saviour. Moreover, I judged it neceſſary to tranſlate this Letter alſo, written with his own hand, out of the *Latine* Tongue [into *Greek*,] and inſert it into this preſent Work; that we may ſeem to hear the Emperour himſelf, crying out in the hearing of all Men after this manner.

[c] Τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ κρατησάντων. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place very ill; who, as I think, had not ſeen *Porteſius*'s Verſion. For *Porteſius* has rendered theſe words right, although he has not hit the ſenſe. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

Conſtantine's Edict to the Provinces, concerning the Errour of *Polytheiſm*. The Preface, concerning Vertue and Vice.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to the † Provincials of the Eaſt.

† Or, *Eaſtern Provincials.*

ALL things what ever that are contained in the moſt Authentick Laws of Nature, do give all Men ſufficient notices of a divine providence over and ‖ *Inſpection into the adminiſtration of all matters. Nor is there any doubt to thoſe, whoſe minds are by the right way of knowledge* † *directed to that end, but an accurate comprehenſion of a ſound mind and of the very ſight it ſelf,* [a] *by one and the ſame impulſe of true Vertue, may lead to the knowledge of God. Wherefore, no conſiderate Perſon can ever be diſturbed, when he perceives moſt Men following* * *Courſes of Life contrary the one to the other. For, the Beauty of Vertue would be* [b] *unuſeful and lie concealed, unleſs improbity ſhould on the other hand* † *ſet forth a ververſe and depraved way of living. Therefore, a Crown is propoſed to Vertue; but the Moſt high God preſides in the Judgment [and puniſhment of Improbity.] But, I will attempt, with all poſſible perſpicuity, to* ‖ *diſcourſe to you all, concerning thoſe* * *Hopes I have of things future.*

‖ Θεωρίας, *contemplation*; *Valeſius* renders it *Intelligence.*

† Or, *Carried to that ſcope.* Μιᾷ ῥοπῇ τῆ ἀληθοῦς φρενῆς. Vertue ſeems here to be taken for perfection, as well that which is in the ſight, as that in the intellect. For each power and perfection tends to the ſame end, to wit, the knowledge of truth. The ſenſe proceeds to the truth of things ſenſible; and the underſtanding to the verity of Intelligibles from the truth it ſelf of things ſenſible: and hence by degrees it aſcends to the knowledge of the ſupream God. Alſo at this place ἀρετὴ τῆς ἀληθοῦς may be termed *the force and virtue of Truth.* Yet, the following words do aſſure us, that this place muſt be taken concerning Moral Vertue. *Valeſ. Valeſius* renders thoſe Greek words ſet at the beginning of this note thus, *veræ virtutis eodem urgente atque inclinante naturâ, the nature of true Vertue verging and inclining to the ſame end.*

*Or, *Contrary purpoſes.*

† Or, *Diſcioſe a life of perverſe madneſs.*

‖ Or, *Make a confeſſion.*

*Or, *Hopes within my ſelf.*

[b] Ἀνόητος, *fooliſh* or *abſurd.* I read ἀνόνητος *unuſeful*, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*, and in *Moræus*'s, and *Gruter*'s *Copy*. A little after I write, διὰ τῆ μὲν' ἀρετῆ στέφανος πρόκειται, *Therefore a Crown is propoſed to Vertue.* But theſe words are very obſcure and intricate; which is partly to be attributed to *Conſtantine* himſelf, in regard being ὀψιμαθὴς *a perſon that began to learn late*, he was more obſcure in expreſſing himſelf; and partly to *Euſebius*, or whoever elſe it was, who of obſcure Latine words made the Greek more obſcure. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the reading is ἀνόνητος, and διὰ τ' μὲν' ἀρετῆς, &c. excellently well. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLIX.

Concerning the Pious Father of *Conſtantine*; and concerning *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* the Perſecutors.

I Always look't upon the former Emperours, by reaſon of the Ferity of their diſpoſitions, as Perſons * *extraneous and foreign. My Father was the only Man, who took in hand works of Lenity and Manſuetude; and with an admirable Piety invoked God the Father in all his Actings. But the reſt [of the Emperours,] not ſound as to their Intellectuals, made immanity, rather than mildneſs, their Buſineſs; and this they nouriſhed* † *in a wonderful manner, ſubverting the true doctrine during their own times. Further, the fury of their improbity was kindled to ſuch a degree, that* [a] *Civil Wars were raiſed by them, againſt all as well Divine as Humane affairs, when in the greateſt repoſe and tranquility imaginable.*

* Ἀποκλήρους, *Men diſinherited.*

† Or, *Profuſely.*

[a] He terms the Perſecutions of the *Chriſtians*, *Civil Wars.* For there is nothing liker a Civil War, than when the *Chriſtians* were put to flight and murdered in all Cities, not by an incurſion of Enemies and Barbarians, but of their own Fellow-Citizens. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. L.

That by reaſon of *Apollo*'s Oracle, who could not give forth Reſponſes becauſe of *The juſt Men*, a Perſecution was raiſed.

IT was reported, that at that time Apollo *gave forth an Oracle out of a certain Den and dark Cavern, not by humane voice; whereby he declared, that* The juſt Men upon Earth *were an hinderance to him, that he could not ſpeak the truth: and, that on this account* † *falſe Oracles were given out from the* Tripods: *and, that for this reaſon* [a] *his mournful propheteſs ſuffered her long hair to hang down neglected; and, the Art of Divination being baniſh'd, lamented that great Evil amongſt Men. But Let us ſee, what manner of concluſion theſe things were brought to.*

† Or, *The Oracles of the Tripods were made falſe*

[a] Τοῦτο αὐτῆ καταμφεῖς. It muſt be written, τοῦτο αὐτῆ θεσφῆτις (or, if you will, ἱερεία) κατηφὴς; which reading we have followed in our Verſion. *Porteſius* alſo, and *Morinus* underſtood theſe words concerning the *Pythia* or *Prieſteſs* of *Apollo*. But, in the excellent *Fuketian Manuſcript*, this whole place is written thus, τοῦτο αὐτῆ καθηφεῖς τοὺ πλοκάμους ἀνεῖναι πεποίηκε. ἡ μανείας τ' ἐλαυνομένης, &c. *For this reaſon he* [Apollo] *ſuffered his mournful long hair to hang down neglected*, &c. whereto agrees Sir *Henry Savil*'s *Copy*. Preſently, in the ſame Copies the reading is εἰς ὁποῖον τέλος κατέληξεν, *in what manner of end theſe things terminated.* Valeſ.

CHAP. LI.

That *Conſtantine*, when he was a youth, heard that *the juſt Men* were *the Chriſtians*, from him that had written the [Edicts] concerning the Perſecution.

I Now † *appeal to Thee, Moſt high God! [Thou knoweſt,] that being then* [a] *very young I heard, how He, who at that time held the chief-*

† Or, *Call upon.*

[a] Κομιδῆ παῖς ὑπάρχων. In the *Greek Title* of *this chapter*, 'tis truer written, νέος *a youth.* For *Conſtantine* was not then a Child, when, as an Hoſtage, he reſided at *Dioclesian*'s Court. For, he was deliver'd by his Father *Conſtantius* to *Dioclesian*, on the year of *Chriſt* 291; after *Conſtantius* had been made *Cæſar* by *Dioclesian*. At which time *Conſtantine* was about 15 years old. For he Died on the year of Chriſt 337, in the 62 year of his age. *Valeſ.*

eſt place amongſt the Roman *Emperours*, (*a perſon wretched, truly miſerable,* * *impoſed upon by the errour of his mind;*) *with a great deal of curioſity enquired of thoſe that were his Guards, who* thoſe juſt Men were [*that lived*] *upon the earth: and, that one of the Sacrificers about him made anſwer, that they were* the Chriſtians. *The Emperour,* [b] *having devoured this anſwer like ſome honey, unſheathed the Swords,* * *prepared to puniſh Crimes, againſt an unblamable Sanctity. Immediately therefore he wrote Edicts of Blood* [c] *with bloody points of Swords (as I may ſay;) and ordered his judges to* [d] *ſtretch that ſubtilty implanted in them by nature, to an invention of Acuter puniſhments.*

* Or, *Deceived in mind by errour.*

[b] Βροχθήσας μέλι. In the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Manuſcripts* the reading is truer, βροχθίσας; and 'tis the ſame in the *King's Copy.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Invented.*

[c] Μιαιφόνοις ἀκωκαῖς. He alludes to the point of an inſtrument to write with. *Conſtantine* expreſſes himſelf with much of Eloquence, in ſaying, that thoſe Laws concerning the Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*, were written with the bloody points of Swords. So ſome of the Ancients tell us, that *Draco's Laws* were written with Blood, not with Ink. *Valeſ.*

[d] Ἐκτείνειν *to produce.* I had rather ſay ὀπτείνειν *to ſtretch*; which is an uſual expreſſion with *Euſebius.* Valeſ.

CHAP. LII.

How many ſorts of Tortures and Puniſhments were made uſe of againſt the *Chriſtians*.

THen you might, [*I ſay*] *you might have beheld, with how great a freedom* [*and Licence*] *the* * *venerable worſhippers of God daily underwent the ſevereſt of Contumelies,* [*cauſed*] *by a continuedneſs of Cruelty. For, that modeſty, which even none of the Enemies ever affected with any injury,* [a] *was made the eaſie ſport and paſtime of the contumely of their own enraged Fellow-Citizens. What fire, what manner of Torments, what ſort of Tortures was not made uſe of upon every body, and without diſtinction* [applied] [b] *to perſons of all ages whatever? Doubtleſs, at that time the Earth wept; the Heavens, within whoſe circumference all things are contained, being defiled with Blood, lamented. Alſo, the very* [*light of the*] *day it ſelf was clouded by the ſorrow and horrour of that prodigy.*

* Or, *That gravity of piety.*

[a] Παιγνίας παρεῖχον ἐγίνετο. So above, at book 1. chap. 27. *Euſebius* ſpeaking of *Severus* Cæſar, ſays παρεῖχον ἐγένετο θανάτου *became a cheap and eaſie ſacrifice of death*; where ſee what we have noted concerning that expreſſion. For the Tranſlators perceived nothing here. *Valeſ.* In the Greek Text of *Valeſius's Edition*, the term παροινίας is left out; but it occurrs in *Robert Stephens.*

[b] Καὶ ἡλικίᾳ πάσῃ. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἐκ ἡλικίᾳ πάσῃ. A little after, in the ſame Copy, and in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis written, ἥ γε μὴν ἡμέρα αὐτὴ τῷ πένθει τῶν δαιμόνων ἐνεκαλύπτετο. *Valeſ.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* is the ſame alſo.

CHAP. LIII.

What reception was given to the *Chriſtians* by the *Barbarians*.

BUT why [*do I mention*] *theſe things? On account hereof the Barbarians do now boaſt, who gave reception to the Men of our Country that fled at that time, and* * *treated the Captives with all imaginable tenderneſs and humanity. For, they allowed them not only ſafety, but permitted them to retain* † *their religious worſhip with*

* Kept, or, *Preſerved.*

† Or, *The rites of their Sanctimony.*

ſecurity. Therefore the Romans *do now bear this perpetual Brand of Infamy, which the* Chriſtians, *at that time driven out of the* Roman *World, and flying to the* Barbarians, *fixed upon them.*

CHAP. LIV.

What manner of Revenge overtook them, who, on account of the Oracle, raiſed a Perſecution.

BUT, what need I in many words rehearſe thoſe Lamentations, and that common mourning of the whole World? Thoſe Authors of ſo horrid an impiety, periſhed afterwards by a moſt ignominious end, and were thruſt down into the pits of Acheron, *to an eternal puniſhment. For, having been* * *involved in inteſtine Wars, they left no Remains, either of their Name, or Stock. Which doubtleſs had never happened to them, had not that impious prophecy of the Oracles of* Apollo *had a falſe and depraved force.*

* Or, *Mixt together.*

CHAP. LV.

Conſtantine's Glorification of God, and his confeſſion in reference to the ſign of the Croſs, and his Prayer for the Churches and People.

NOW, I beſeech Thee, * *Moſt ſupream God! Be mild and propitious to* Thy Eaſterns: *Be* [*merciful*] *to all thy Provincials, worn out by a laſting Calamity: by me Thy ſervant,* † *adminiſter a Remedy. And theſe things I ask of Thee not without Cauſe, O Thou Lord of all, Holy God! For, by Thy Guidance and Aſſiſtance, I have undertaken and perfected Salutary Affairs. Every where carrying before Me Thy Sign, I have lead on my Victorious Army. And as often as the publick neceſſity requires, following thoſe very Enſigns of thy* ‖ *Virtue, I march out againſt the Enemy. For theſe reaſons I have dedicated my mind to Thee, purely tempered with love and fear. For I love Thy Name with a ſincerity: but I have an awful fear for Thy Power, which Thou haſt demonſtrated by many indications, and haſt thereby rendred my faith firmer. I haſten therefore, to put my ſhoulders, my own ſhoulders* [*I ſay to the Work,*] *that I may re-edifie thy Moſt holy* [a] *Houſe; which thoſe deteſtable and moſt impious* [*wretches*] *have ruined by* * *a wicked overthrow.*

* Or, Greateſt.

† Or, Reach forth.

‖ Or, Power.

* Or, *By a wickedneſs of demoliſhment.*

[a] He means The Catholick Church which in the next chapter he terms the *Houſe of Truth.* In the ſacred Scriptures 'tis called *The Pillar and Ground of Truth.* A little after, from the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuſcripts*, and from the *King's Sheets* write, ὧν οἱ μυσαρὸι ἐκεῖνοι, &c. *which thoſe deteſtable,* &c. Valeſ.

CHAP. LVI.

How he prays that all Perſons may be *Chriſtians*; but forces no body.

I Deſire, that thy People may live in Repoſe, and without Tumult or diſturbance, for the common advantage of the World and all Mortals.

May

May thoſe involved in the Errour [of Gentiliſm] *with gladneſs partake of an enjoyment of the ſame Peace and Quiet with the Believers. For, this Reparation of mutual ſociety* [a] *will be of great efficacy in leading Men to the true way. Let no Perſon moleſt another.* [b] *Let every one do that which his Soul deſireth. Yet, it behooves thoſe whoſe Sentiments are true, to be firmly perſwaded, that they only ſhall live holily and purely, whom Thou calleſt* [to this,] *that they ſhould acquieſce in Thy holy Laws. But, let thoſe who withdraw themſelves, have their Temples of Lyes, ſince they deſire them. We retain the moſt ſplendid Houſe of Thy Truth,* ‖ *which Thou haſt given us according to Nature. We wiſh this likewiſe to them, namely, that by a common conſent and agreement, they alſo may reap a delight of mind.*

[a] Πρὸς τῶν ἐνθεῖναι ἀγαγεῖν ὁ δὴν ἰσχύει. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἰσχύς. But that is the true reading which I found in the *Kings Sheets*, ἰσχύσει. Which indeed is far more elegant; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[a] Ἑκάς ὅπερ ἡ ψυχὴ βέλεται, τοῦτο ἄγ περαίνετω. The meaning is, *Let every one follow what religion he has a mind to.* By which words *Conſtantine* leaves His Subjects an entire Liberty of worſhipping the Deity according as every one ſhall have a mind. For, the moſt Religious Prince earneſtly deſired indeed, that all Mortals ſhould come to the Faith of Chriſt: but he never compelled any one to that. He wiſh'd that the Heathens were freed from their Priſtine Error: notwithſtanding, he prohibited not the Ceremonies and ſacrifices of the Temples, as he himſelf atteſts hereafter, at chap. 60. *Valeſ.*

‖ Ὅπερ χάριν φύσιν δέδωκας. *Valeſius* renders it, *quam naſcentibus nobis donaſti, which thou gaveſt us when born.* I underſtand neither *the Emperour's*, nor *Valeſius's* meaning.

CHAP. LVII.

He gives Glory to God, who by his Son has enlightned thoſe that were in Error.

[a] Concerning the Original and Antiquity of the *Chriſtian Religion Euſebius* writes the ſame in the beginning of his *Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory*, and in his *books de Evangelicâ Demonſtratione.* Valeſ.

[a] NOR *is our Religion new, or of a late date; but, from ſuch time as we believe this beautiful Fabrick of the World to have ſtood firmly put together, Thou haſt inſtituted this* [Religion] *with a due obſervancy of Thy Deity. Further, Mankind ſeduced by various Errors, hath ſtumbled. But, leaſt this Evil ſhould increaſe and grow ſtronger, Thou by Thy Son haſt raiſed up a pure Light, and haſt put all Men in mind* * *of the worſhip of Thy Deity.*

* Or, *Concerning Thy Self.*

CHAP. LVIII.

Another Glorification of God, from his * Government of the World.

* *Charge*, or, *Adminiſtration.*

THY Works give confirmation to theſe things. Thy Power makes us innocent and faithful. The Sun and Moon have their ſtated and preſcribed † *Road; nor are the Stars moved round the* ‖ Axis *of the whole World in an irregular manner. The Viciſſitudes of Times recurr by a certain Law. By Thy word the firm* * *ſite of the Earth hath been eſtabliſhed. And the wind makes its motion* [a] *according to a ſet time. Alſo, the current and carriage of the Waters* † *proceeds from the motion of a reſtleſs Flux. The Sea is contained within fixt and immovable Bounds. And what ever is diffuſed thorow the Earth and Ocean, every ſuch thing is framed for certain admirable and* ‖ *great Uſes. Which unleſs it were in this manner governed according to the Arbitrement of Thy Will, doubtleſs ſo great a diverſity, and* [b] *ſo manifold a diviſion of power, would have brought deſtruction upon the whole World and humane affairs.* [c] *For they who have waged War againſt one another, would doubtleſs have fought with a greater vehemency againſt mankind. Which queſtionleſs they do, although they are not ſeen with the Eyes.*

† Or, *Way.*

‖ Or, *Circuit.*

* Or, *Station.*

[a] Κατὰ τὴν ἐπεισαχθέντα καιρόν. I read κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταχθέντα καιρὸν, *according to a ſet time*; as *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read. And ſo the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuſcripts.* Valeſ.

† Or, *Slides by.*

‖ Or, *Uſeful advantages.*

[b] Πολλὴ ἡ ἐξουσίας διάκρισις: that is, ſo manifold a divinity, to wit, of the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements, concerning which he hath ſpoken above. For all theſe, unleſs they were governed by the Beck and Power of one God, would likewiſe be Gods. Ἐξουσία therefore imports a power ſubject to no dominion; which we commonly term *an Impendency*, which is proper to God only. *Valeſ.*

[c] He means the Gods of the Heathens, as I have ſaid above: to wit, the Sun, Moon, and the reſt of the Elements of the World, which Antiquity worſhipped for Gods. Preſently from the *Fuketian Copy* write τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐμάχοντο γένος as the reading alſo is in the *King's Sheets.* Valeſ.

CHAP. LIX.

He praiſes God, in regard he always teaches good things.

WE give Thee many thanks, Thou Lord of all, Greateſt God! For, by how much the more Humane Nature is known from different * *Endeavours; by ſo much the more the* † *Precepts of the Divine Religion are confirmed in thoſe, whoſe Sentiments are right, and* [a] *who are ſtudious of true Vertue. But, whoever hinders himſelf from being cured,* [b] *let not him impute that to another. For the Medicine, which* † *is of ſtrength ſufficient to effect the Cure, is publickly propoſed to all Men. Only* [this muſt be taken care of,] *that no one ſhould violate that Religion, which the things themſelves do manifeſt to be pure and immaculate. Let all us Men therefore make uſe of the* ‖ *atonement of that Good in common conferred on us, that is, the bleſſing of Peace; to wit, by ſeparating our Conſciences from every thing that is contrary to it.*

* Or, *Studies.*

† Or, *The Diſcipline is confirmed, &c.*

[a] Γνώσιας ὀπωλομένοις ἀρετῆς. In the *Fuketian* and Sir *Henry Savil's Copy* the reading is γνώσεως, &c. *who are ſincerely ſtudious of Vertue.* Valeſ.

[b] Ἀλλῷ τοῦτο μὴ λογιζέσθω. That is, *whoſoever ſuffers not himſelf to be cured, or freed from the diſeaſe of Idolatry; let him impute it to himſelf, in regard the Medicine is ready. Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place ill, thus, *alteri qui ſanari vult, non vitio vertat, let him not blame another, who has a mind to be cured.* I ſay nothing concerning *Porteſius*, who wanders from the true ſenſe almoſt every where. But *Muſculus* has rendred theſe words not unhappily. *Valeſ.*

‖ Or, *The common Inheritance of that good given us.* *Valeſius* renders it, *The fellowſhip.*

CHAP. LX.

An Exhortation at the cloſe of the Edict, that no Perſon ſhould give trouble or diſturbance to another.

BUT, let no Perſon do harm to another, by that which he hath perſwaded himſelf of, [a] *and declared. What one Man hath underſtood and known, with that let him aſſiſt his Neighbour, if it may be. But, if it be impoſſible, let him omit it. For 'tis one thing*

[a] Ἀναδέδεκται. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis over written in the ſame hand, ἀναδέδεκται *received.* Both readings may be born with. *Valeſ.*

thing, voluntarily to undertake the Combat for immortality; another, to be forc'd to it by punishment. These things I have said; these things I have discoursed of more at large than the scope of Our Mansuetude required, because I would not conceal [b] *the true Faith. Especially, in regard some Persons (as I hear,) do assert, that the Rites of the Temples and the* [c] Power of Darkness *are wholly abolished. Which I had indeed perswaded all Men to, had not the violent* [d] *Insolency of nefarious Error been immeasurably fix'd on the minds of some Persons, to the hurt and damage of the* [e] *Emendation of Mankind.*

[b] Τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας πίστιν, *the faith of the Truth.* That is, *The true Faith.* For 'tis the same as if he should have said, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς πίστεως *the Truth of the Faith.* He expresses himself so again, hereafter. *Vales.*

[c] These words are taken out of St. *Paul's Epist. to the Colos. chap.* 1. *v.* 13. Further, as he here terms *Gentilism the power of darkness*, so lower (at *chap.* 67.) he calls *Christianity the power and efficacy of Light.* Vales.

[d] Ἐπανάστασις. This term does properly signifie *Conspiracy* and *Rebellion:* which is most appositely said concerning the worship of Idols. For *Idolatry* is a defection from the true God. *Vales.*

[e] Τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως, *of the common Resurrection.* It must, as I think, be ἀνορθώσεως, *Emendation* or *Correction.* For the common word seems to have been fetch'd out of the foregoing line. Further, at the end of this Edict, this subscription was doubtless placed (concerning which I have spoken at large above,) πεφιεδήτω ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι, *Let it be published in Our Eastern parts.* For this subscription is properly agreeable to this Edict, in regard it was sent to the Provincials of the East. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXI.

How from the City Alexandria * *Controversies were raised on account of* Arius.

* Or, *Questions.*

THese things the Emperour, like a most loud-speaking Preacher of God, by his own Letter † proclaimed to all the Provincials; ‖ diverting his Subjects from Diabolical Errour; and exhorting them to the exercise of true Piety. But whilst he was exceedingly joyful on account hereof, news was brought him, concerning a disturbance of no small consequence, which had seized the Churches. At the hearing whereof he was extreamly troubled, and began earnestly to consider of a Cure. [The Original of the disturbance] was this. The People of God were in a flourishing condition, and * pleased themselves with the exercises of good Actions. There was no fear without, which might give disturbance: in regard, by the grace and favour of God, a splendid and most profound Peace fortified the Church on all sides. But Envy framed treacherous designs against our Blessings. [At first] it crept in privately; but [afterward] it danced in the very midst of the Conventions of the Saints. At length it raised Contention between the Bishops, and [a] cast in discord and wranglings amongst them, under a pretence of the Divine † *Dogmata.* From thence, as 'twere from some small spark, a great fire was kindled. Which began from the *Alexandrian* Church, as 'twere from an ‖ Eminence; and afterwards overran all *Egypt*, and *Libya*, and the *Further Thebais.* Moreover, it ruined the rest of the Provinces and Cities: in so much that, you might have seen not only the Prelates

† Or, *Shouted forth.*

‖ Or, *Driving away.*

*Or, *Were adorned with*, &c.

[a] Στάσιν ἐμβαλὼν ἐρεσχελίας. It must, as I think, be καὶ ἐρεσχελίας *and wranglings.* Further by φθόνος at this place is meant *The envious Devil.* For so *Eusebius* does usually speak in many places. *Vales.*

† That is, *More sublime and hidden doctrines of the Christian faith.*

‖ Or, *High place.*

of the Churches fighting one with another with words; but the People also rent into factions; some inclining to this party; others, to that. [b] Further, the spectacle of the things performed proceeded to such an height of absurdity, that even in the very Theatres of the Infidels, the venerableness of the Divine Doctrine * was traduced by a most ignominious and reproachful derision.

* Or, *Underwent a most*, &c.

[b] Τοσοῦτον δὲ πλανᾶν. In the *Kings Manuscript* the reading is δὲ πλανᾶν, which I like better. This whole place therefore is thus to be written; δὲ πλανᾶν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀτοπίας, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is εἰς τοσοῦτον. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXII.

Concerning Arius *and the* Melitians.

THese Persons therefore at *Alexandria* in a childish manner strove about the Sublimest [Points.] But [a] others all over *Egypt* and the *Upper Thebais* were in the interim at difference on account of a controversie which had been started before: so that, the Churches were in all places rent in sunder. And whereas the Body [of the Church] was distempered as 'twere with these [diseases,] all *Libya* likewise fell sick; and the other parts of the Provinces without were seized with the same distemper. For they of *Alexandria* sent Legates to the Bishops in each Province; and these, divided into either side, partook of the like Sedition and disturbance.

[a] He means *the Melitians* concerning whose Schism *Epiphanius* and *Baronius* are to be consulted. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXIII.

How Constantine *sent a Legate with a Letter in order to a Composure.*

UPon hearing hereof the Emperour was highly perplex'd in mind; and looking upon this thing to be his own calamitous Concern, he forthwith dispatches away one of the worshippers of God whom he had about him, (a [a] Person whom he well knew to have been approved for his * modesty of Faith, and in the late times to have been ennobled with confessions in defence of Piety;) to *Alexandria*, to make Peace between those that were at difference there. And by him he sends a most useful and necessary Letter to the Occasioners of that Contention. Which Letter, in regard it contains an illustrious *Specimen* of his Care in reference to the People of God, is fit to be inserted into this our Discourse concerning him. The Contents of it are these.

* Or, *Modest Vertue of Faith.*

[a] He means *Hosius Cordubensis*, as *Gelasius Cyzicenus* relates book 2. and after him *Photius* in his *Bibliothec. ca*, chap. 127. and *Nicephorus.* And before all these, *Socrates* and *Sozomen.* Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

Conſtantine's Letter to *Alexander* the Biſhop, and *Arius* the Presbyter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Alexander* and *Arius*.

* Or, *Make God our witneſs.*

† *Miniſtery*, or, *Charge.*

WE * call God to witneſs, who, as 'tis meet, is himſelf the *Aſſiſtance of Our attempts, and the Saviour of all men*; that upon a twofold account we were moved to take in hand the † management of thoſe affairs which We have in reality performed.

CHAP. LXV.

That he was continually Sollicitous about Peace.

[a] Τῷ περὶ τὸ θεῖον σεβάσεσιν. I had rather write διάθεσιν, or σεβάσμιον the affection or mind, or pre-poſſeſt Opinion. On the contrary, in the beginning of this Letter, inſtead of διπλῆν μοι σεβάσιν, *upon a twofold account*, I had rather read σεβάσμιον. Preſently, I write σεὸς μίαν ἕξεως οὖσιαν ἑνῶσαι, from the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies*: or rather, σεὸς μιᾶς, &c. *Valeſ.*

FOR *firſt*, [*our deſign was*] *to unite the* [a] *Opinion of all Nations concerning the Deity, in one Conſtitution and Form as 'twere: Secondly, We were deſirous of reſtoring to an healthineſs the Body of the whole World, afflicted as 'twere with ſome terrible* [b] *diſtemper. Which* [*two things*] *having propoſed to Our Self as Our aim, we inſpected the one with the ſecret eye of Thought; but we attempted to effect the other by the power of a Military force: well knowing, that if* (*as 'twas Our deſire*) *We could eſtabliſh an univerſal agreement amongſt the Worſhippers of God, the conſequence would be, that the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs would certainly obtain a change agreeable to the pious minds of all men.*

[b] Καθάπερ χαλεπῷ τινὶ. Some words are wanting here, which in *Moræus's Copy* are thus ſupplied, χαλεπῷ τινὶ νοσήματι πάσαν χώραν διορθώσασθαι, &c. as the reading alſo is in the *Geneva Edition*; and we have rendred it accordingly. I would willingly have made good this place thus, χαλεπῷ τινὶ νοσήματι τῆς τυραννίδος πεζόμενον ἐλευθερῶσαι πρόθυμήθην, *We were deſirous to free* [*the Body of the whole world*] *oppreſt with ſome terrible diſeaſe of Tyranny.* But in regard in the excellent *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* this place is ſo made good as I have ſet it above, 'tis better to follow that writing. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript*, the word κοινῆς *whole* is wanting. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. LXVI.

In what manner he put a ſtop to the Controverſies raiſed in *Africk*.

[a] Μαλλον ὁ διπλοῦς. Queſtionleſs it muſt be written μᾶλλον γὰρ, &c. *When therefore*, &c. A little after, where the reading is ἢ διὰ τοῦ, the particle ἢ is to be expunged. He means *The Donatiſts*, who after the *Roman Synod* and *that of Orleans*, after *Conſtantine's* own determination, were as yet tumultuous in *Africa*. Valeſ.

[a] WHEN *therefore an intolerable madneſs had ſeized all* Africa, *occaſioned by ſome perſons, who with a raſh levity had dared to rent the Religion of the people into various Sects; We being deſirous to put a ſtop to this Diſtemper, could find no other remedy ſufficient to effect its Cure, than* (*after we had deſtroyed the* [b] *Common Enemy of the world, who had oppoſed his own impious Opinion and Command againſt your ſacred Synods*;) [c] *that we ſhould ſend ſome of You as Aſſiſtants in order to the making up an agreement between thoſe who were at variance one with another.*

[b] Without doubt he means *Licinius*, as theſe following words declare, *who had oppoſed his own impious opinion*, &c. For *Licinius* had prohibited the Synods of the *Chriſtian Prelates*, as *Euſebius* atteſts in book 1. chap. 51. But *Chriſtophorſon* by a great miſtake thought, that *by the Common Enemy of the world* here was meant *The Devil*. The meaning of this place therefore is this. *We had thoughts*, ſays *Conſtantine*, *after our conqueſt of* Licinius, *of ſending ſome of you Eaſtern Biſhops into* Africa, *to make up a Peace there between the Donatiſts and Catholicks. For, when the Biſkops of* Italy *and of the* Gallia's *could not effect that, we hop'd it would at length be done by your help. But, as we perceive, you your ſelves do now ſtand in need of Peace-makers.* Valeſ.

[c] Ἀπεσταλαι με. I write ἀποσείλαιμι, from *Gruter's* and *Moræus's Copy*; whereto agree the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuſcripts*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

CHAP. LXVII.

That the Beginnings of Religion were from the *Eaſt*.

FOR, *whereas the power of* [*the true*] *Light, and the Law of the Sacred Religion, being by the Beneficence of God given forth out of the Boſoms* (*as I may ſo ſay*) *of the Eaſt, hath at the ſame time illuminated the whole world with its Sacred Light; we upon a very good account believing* [a] *you would prove the Authors as 'twere and Promoters of the Salvation of* [*all*] *Nations, have attempted to find you out, as well by a propenſity of our mind, as the* * *ſight of our eyes.* [b] *Immediately therefore after our great Victory and our moſt certain Triumph over our Enemies,* [c] *we had reſolved before all things to enquire into that again, which we judged to be the chiefeſt and moſt momentous of all.*

[a] Ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ πάσης ἀρχηγούς. Queſtionleſs the reading muſt be ὑμᾶς *you*, as 'tis mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*. Nor is the reading otherwiſe in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Manuſcripts*. Further, *Conſtantine* does expreſsly reckon the *Egyptians* amongſt the people of the Eaſt, which was not perceived by *Chriſtophorſon*. Indeed, *Egypt* was then accounted amongſt the Provinces of the Eaſt, from the times of *Maximine*, who having been conſtituted *Cæſar* in the Eaſt, had had *Egypt* under him. Hence 'tis, that *Amm. Marcellinus* (in his *fourteenth book* where he reckons up the Provinces of the Eaſt,) atteſts, that *Egypt* and *Meſopotamia* were of their number. The place occurrs at *pag. 19 of our Edition*. Moreover, the *Comes of the Eaſt* had *Egypt* and *Meſopotamia* under his diſpoſe in the times of *Conſtantine* and *Conſtantius*, as *this old Inſcription* informs us: M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBURIO CÆCILIANO. PLACIDO. C.V. COMITI ORIENTIS ÆGYPTI ET MESOPOTAMIÆ: CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. Further, under the Latter Emperours, although the *Egyptick Dioceſe* was ſerved from the *Oriental*, yet 'twas always under the *Præfectus Prætorio in the Eaſt*, as 'tis manifeſt from the *Notitia of the Empire*. A little after, I think it ſhould be written ἤντειν ἠπειγόμην, *have haſtned to find you out*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Efficacy.*

[b] Ἅμα γὰρ τῇ μεγάλῃ νίκῃ. 'Tis the ſame with what he had ſaid in the foregoing chapter, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχθρὸν ἐξελών, *after we had deſtroyed the Common Enemy of the world*. *Conſtantine* means the *Hadrianopolitane Battle*, and *that at Chalcedon*. The *Former* of which happened on the *fifth of the Nones of July*: the *Latter* on the *fourteenth of the Calends of October*, in the year of Chriſt 324. About the end of which year *This Letter* ſeems to have been dated: *Valeſ.*

[c] Τεθέστι πρῶτον εἰλόμην. I think the reading ſhould be τοῦτ' ἔπι perhaps alſo περιειλόμην; that is, *we had reſolved again to enquire into and determine that diſſention of the Donatiſts*. In the excellent *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τί ποτ' ὄντι πρῶτον, &c. and ſo 'tis mended in *Turnebus's* and *Moræus's Copy at the margin*. Some words are doubtleſs wanting here. But the meaning of the place is wholly the ſame with what I have ſaid. Further, the reading of all Copies being compared together, the place ſeems to be reſtored thus, τί ποτ' ὄντι τοῦτο πρῶτον, &c. *we reſolved upon enquiring what that firſt thing was, which*, &c. Valeſ.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

That being troubled by reason of the Disturbance, he advises to an Agreement.

BUT (*O the most Beautiful and Divine Providence!*) *what a deadly wound hath been given to our Ears, or rather to* [a] *our very heart, when 'twas told us, that the dissentions raised amongst you were far more fierce than those which have been* [b] *left remaining in* Africk? *In so much that, your parts, from which we hop'd a remedy might have been produced for others, do now stand in need of a greater Cure. Indeed, when we seriously considered of the* Origin *and cause of these* [differences,] *the Occasion appeared to us very trivial, and such as in no wise deserved so fierce a Contest. Wherefore, being induced to a necessity of* [penning] *this Letter, and writing to* Your [c] Unanimous Sagacity, *having also called upon Divine Providence to be Our Assistant in this affair, we do upon a good account interpose Our Self as the* * Arbiter *of your mutual dissention, and as an* † Administrator *of Peace. For, if We Our Self (God giving us his assistance, although there were a greater occasion of discord, yet) by instilling reason into the Pious minds of Our Hearers, could be able without much difficulty* [d] *to recal each person to more wholesome Counsels; why may not we the same person (in regard the occasion is small and very trivial, which hinders the agreement of the whole Body;) promise Our Self an easier and far more expedite* ‖ *accommodation of this matter?*

Τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν. Every one sees it should be written τῆς καρδίας. Nor is *Christophorson's* conjecture to be condemned, who read τραῦμα κακιστον *deadly wound.* For so the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies,* and the *Kings Sheets,* do plainly give it us written. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephens* the reading is τραῦμα κακιστον *a deadly thing.*

* *Umpire.*

† Or, *Dispenser.*

‖ Or, *Emendation.*

[a] Τῶν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθέντων. *Christophorson* saw nothing here, nor perceived that this word ἐκεῖ was to be referred to the *Schism of the Donatists*, whereof *Constantine* had spoken above. The Emperour says therefore, that this Schism was for the most part appeased, and that only some small Remains of it were left in *Africa.* Vales.

[b] Περὶς τὸ ὁμόψυχον ὑμῶν ἀξίνοιαν. *Christophorson* designedly omitted the term ὁμόψυχον *unanimous*, because he thought, that *Alexander* and *Arius* could not be termed *unanimous*; in regard they disagreed one with another about matters of so great consequence. But *Constantine* does nevertheless term them *unanimous*, in regard he thought well of them both, and believed that they disagreed in words, rather than in reality and in mind. But the term ἀξίνοια seems but little agreeable to Prelates. The Emperours do use this term indeed in their Letters to Governours of Provinces. But when they speak to Prelates, they do more frequently use *Sanctity, Gravity,* or *Prudence.* The *Old Glosses* ἀξίνοια *Solertia, Experientia, Sagacity* or *Prudence, Experience.* Vales.

[c] Εἰς τὸ χρησιμώτερον ἕκαστον μετασῆσαι. The word ἕκαστον seems to be used in the *Neuter Gender.* For 'tis referred to the *Article* ὅπερ, whereto by an by τοῦτο answers. In the *Kings* and *Fuketian Copy* therefore, after the *Verb* μετασῆσαι, a distinction is rightly placed. For the sense is not entire. But *Christophorson*, contrary to his own usage, of one priod has made two. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXIX.

Whence the Controversie between *Alexander* and *Arius* arose; and, that such matters ought not to be enquired into.

WE *understand therefore, that the Ground of the present Controversie arose from hence. For whereas You,* Alexander, *enquired of your Presbyters,* [a] *what every particular person* [b] *sons* [Sentiment was] *concerning a certain passage of those things written in the Law, or rather asked about a part of fruitless Controversie: and whereas You,* Arius, [b] *inconsiderately vented that, which you ought either not to have conceived at first, or if you had had such conceptions, it had been your duty, to have let them been buried in silence:* [c] *hereupon a dissention has been raised between you,* [d] *communion is denied, and the most holy people, rent into two Factions, are separated from the harmonious unity of the whole Body. Wherefore, let both of you, mutually* [e] *pardoning each other, accept of what your Fellow-Servant doth reasonably advise you to. But what is that? It was fitting, neither to have asked such questions at first, nor if proposed, to have made any return thereto. For such Questions, which no Law does necessarily order or prescribe, but are proposed by the contentiousness of an unprofitable vacancy from business (although they may be made to exercise and imploy our Natural parts about, yet) we ought to confine within our Breasts, and not inconsiderately divulge them in publick assemblies, nor unadvisedly commit them to the Ears of the Vulgar. For, what person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified, either accurately to comprehend the full efficacy and nature of things so sublime and performed, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or, should any man look upon this to be an easie performance, how small a part of the Vulgar will he induce to be fully perswaded hereof? Or,* [f] *what man can without danger of falling into gross errours, insist upon the accurate discussions of such nice Controversies? In questions therefore of this nature, Loquacity must be bridled and restrained, least either through the frailty of our Nature, we being not able to explicate what we propose, or through the slower understanding of the Auditors, (being unable accurately to apprehend those matters discoursed of;) least* [we say] [g] *from the one of these two Causes, the people be reduced to a necessity either of Blasphemy, or Schism.*

[b] Ἀσκεφῶς εἰπεῖν. The reading in *Gelasius* is truer, thus, ἀντεῖπας, that is, opposed or objected. And so *Epiphanius Scholasticus* had read, as appears from the 19th *chapter of the Tripartite History.* Vales.

[c] Ὅσον τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν διχονοίας. *Nicephorus* has expunged the first word as superfluous, which nevertheless all our Copies retain, and *Epiphan. Scholasticus* also, in his *Version.* Vales.

[d] Ἡ μὲν σύνοδος ἠρνήθη. *Langus* renders it, *conventus quidem solemnis quibusdam denegatus, the solemn Convention is denied to some.* *Christophorson* translated it in this manner, *Conventus qui in Ecclesiâ fieri solet, impeditus, the assembly which is wont to be made in the Church, is hindred.* They took σύνοδον therefore here for *Synaxis*, in which sense 'tis used not infrequently. So again in this chapter, εἰς δημοσίας συνόδους ἐκφέρειν, *divulge them in* or *among publick assemblies.* Further, *Epiphan. Scholasticus* renders it *mysteria contemnuntur, the mysteries are contemned.* Vales.

[e] Τὴν συγγνώμην φιλαχεῖν. *Socrates* and *Gelasius Cyzicenus* and *Nicephorus* have γνώμην, that is, *affording me your ears and mind.* But the common reading, which we have followed, is truer. For so *Constantine* expresses himself below in the next chapter. *Epiphanius* renders it *voluntatem præbens.* Vales.

[f] Ἢ τὶς ὁ ταῖς περὶ τοιούτων. In the *Kings, Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, the reading is, ἢ τὶς ταῖς, &c. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἢ τὶς ὃς ταῖς, &c. truer than in the common Editions. By and by, from the *Fuketian and Savil. Copies* I have mended it, ἢ τῇ περὶ ἀκριβεστέρα θεωρίᾳ σωέσει, *or through the slower understanding of the Auditors,* &c. *Vales.*

[g] Ἐξ ὁ πολέμου τύπων. In the *King's*, and *Fuk.* Copy the reading is πολέμου without the *Preposition*; which reading may be born with, if you referr the word πατέρα to those which follow ἢ βλασφημίας, ἢ σχίσματος, *either of Blasphemy, or Schism. The one of these two,* says he, *will beget an occasion either of Blasphemy, or Schism.* But *Socrates* and *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* have it written here αὖθις ἐξ ἑκατέρου. Indeed, this place is very difficult and obscure by reason of the ill *Syntax.* Therefore in the *Kings Copy* at the side of this line is set this mark φρ that is, φρόντισον, *attend.* Vales.

[a] Τὶ δὴ περ. ἑκάστου. The word φρονεῖ is without doubt to be added from *Gelasius Cyzicenus* book 2 chap 4. But *Nicephorus* (book 8. chap. 13) has νοεῖ, *thought.* By and by, where the reading is πανδήνου, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* have it written ἐπανδήνε, which is truer. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LXX.

An Exhortation to an agreement.

WHerefore, let an unwary Queſtion, and an inconſiderate Anſwer in both of You mutually pardon each other. For this conteſt hath not been raiſed among you upon an occaſion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: nor have you introduced any new Hereſie concerning the worſhip of God. But both of You hold one and the ſame Opinion; ſo that, You may eaſily cloſe with each other in a [a] *conſent of Communion.*

[a] Πρὸς τὸ τῆς κοινωνίας σύνθημα. *Langus* and *Muſculus* render it *Communionis teſſeram, Mark* or *token of communion*; *Chriſtophorſon, communionis conſenſum, conſent of communion.* I had rather render it *Signum a ſign.* For, as in the myſteries of the Heathens ſome Signs or Symbols were delivered to the perſons initiated, whereby the *Symmyſtæ* [*companions of the ſame diſcipline*] might know one another: ſo the *Chriſtians* had a ſign of Communion, that is, The *Euchariſt*, or *Baptiſm.* Indeed, *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* renders it *communionis ſignum, a ſign of Communion.* Valeſ. *Valeſius* has tranſlated it *a ſociety of Communion.*

CHAP. LXXI.

That a pertinacious Contention ought not to have been raiſed concerning this matter, on account of ſome light and frivolous Expreſſions.

FOR whilſt you thus pertinaciouſly contend about trifles and matters of no importance, 'tis not decent that ſo numerous a multitude of God's people ſhould be under your Care and Government, becauſe of your diſſention with one another: nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis likewiſe judged to be altogether unlawful. Now, that we may advertiſe your prudence by a ſmaller inſtance, [a] *We will tell you: you know even the Philoſophers themſelves,* [b] *how that they are all united in* [the profeſſion of] *one Sect, whenas nevertheleſs, they frequently diſagree in ſome part of their Aſſertions: but although they diſſent in the very Perfection of ſcience, yet becauſe of the agreement and union of their Sect, they cloſe again in a mutual conſent. Now, if it be ſo* [amongſt them,] *how will it not be much more reaſonable, that* [c] *You, who are the Miniſters of the moſt High God, ſhould in like manner be unanimous in the profeſſion of the ſame Religion? But, Let us with more accuracy and a greater attention, inſpect and examine what we have now ſaid; whether it be reaſonable, that becauſe of the trivial, vain, and pertinacious Conteſts between you about words, Brethren ſhould be ſet in array as 'twere againſt Brethren; and that the Venerable Aſſembly ſhould upon your account, who contend one with another about things ſo ſlight and in no wiſe neceſſary, be rent in ſunder by an impious variance. Theſe things are poor and mean, and do befit a childiſh ignorance, rather than agree with the underſtanding of Prieſts and prudent men. Let us of our own accord depart from the Temptations of the Devil. Our Great God the common Saviour of all,* [d] *hath reached forth a Light common to all. By the aſſiſtance of whoſe Providence, give us leave who are his Servant, ſucceſsfully to finiſh* [e] *this our Endeavour; that by our Exhortation, diligence, and earneſt admonitions, we may reduce you to a Communion of Convention. For in regard, as we have ſaid already, your faith is one and the ſame, and your Sentiment of our Religion is one, and whereas the* [f] *commandment of the Law doth in each part of it incloſe all in general in one conſent and purpoſe of mind: Let not this thing, which has raiſed a ſmall contention between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to* * *the ſum of all Religion in general,) by any means make any Separation and Faction amongſt you. And theſe things we ſpeak, not to neceſſitate you to be all of one opinion concerning this fooliſh idle Queſtion, of what ſoever it be. For the pretious value of the Convention may be preſerved entire amongſt you, and one and the ſame communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongſt you a great diverſity of Sentiments in things of the leaſt moment. For, we do not all will the ſame in all things; nor is there in us one diſpoſition or opinion. Therefore concerning the Divine providence, let there be amongſt you one faith, one underſtanding, and one* † *conſent in reference to God. But, as for thoſe ſlender and trivial queſtions, which with ſo much niceneſs you diſpute of and make reſearches into amongſt your ſelves, although therein you do not agree in the ſame opinion, yet 'tis fit you ſhould confine them to your own thoughts; and keep them within the ſecret repoſitories of your minds. Let therefore that eximious* [privilege] *of a common friendſhip, and the* ‖ *belief of the Truth, and the honour of God, and a religious obſervancy in reference to* [His] *Law, remain amongſt you firm and immoveable. Return ye to a mutual friendſhip and charity: reſtore to the whole Body of the people their own embraces. And be you your ſelves (having* [g] *purified your own ſouls as 'twere,) acquainted again* [and renew your familiarity] *with each other.*

[a] Ὑπομνήσωμι, λέξω. The laſt word is wanting in *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*, nor does it ſeem very neceſſary. 'Tis certain, *Epiphanius* has omitted it in his Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὡς ἐνὶ μὲν δόγματι ἅπαντες συμφέρονται. Tranſlatours underſtood not what the import of δόγμα was here; ſome of them have rendred it *Opinion*, or *firm conſent in one opinion*; others, *a profeſſion of diſcipline.* But, there is not one opinion amongſt Philoſophers, as 'tis ſufficiently manifeſt. Therefore I had rather render it *Sect.* For all Philoſophers have ſome Sect to which they are addicted; ſome have the *Sect of the Stoicks*; others, that of the *Peripateticks.* Now, in every Sect there are ſometimes controverſies concerning ſome queſtions between Philoſophers of the ſame Sect. Yet the ſame perſons, on account of the ſociety of their Sect, do eaſily agree one with another. This is the meaning of *Conſtantine*'s words as I think. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἡμᾶς, *that we.* We muſt read ὑμᾶς *that you*; from *Gelaſius, Nicephorus*, and *Epiphanius.* And a little after, ἐν ὑμῖν *between you*, from the ſame Authors; to whom agree the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, and the *Kings Sheets.* Valeſ.

[d] Τὸ φῶς ἐξέτεινεν, *hath produced a Light.* He had better have ſaid ἐκτέτακεν *hath reached forth.* A little before I read ὁ κοινὸς ἁπάντων σωτὴρ *the Common Saviour of all*; as 'tis in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies.* Valeſ.

[e] Ταύτῃ ἐμοὶ τῷ σπουδῷ. That is, *this our endeavour and purpoſe, of eſtabliſhing concord in the Church, and of reducing all men to the worſhip of one God.* Concerning which endeavour and deſign, *Conſtantine* hath ſpoken at the beginning of this Letter, and does boaſt of it every where. *Valeſ.*

[f] For the Law enjoyns us nothing elſe but love; namely, that we ſhould love God with the entire affection of our hearts, and our neighbour as our ſelves. In theſe two conſiſts the whole Law, as our Lord ſays in the Goſpel. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this paſſage; he renders it thus; *unumque Legis ac diſciplinæ inſtitutum*, &c. *and one Decree of the Law and diſcipline, which binds the whole body of the Church with its parts, in one agreeing concord and purpoſe of minds. Porteſius* tranſlates it truer, thus; *Præceptumque Legis in id omnibus partibus incumbit, ut in unam animam univerſum concludat, and the commandment of the Law in all its parts earneſtly endeavours at this, that it may include the whole Body in one mind.* Perhaps alſo it ſhould be written τοῖς δυσὶ αὐτῆς μέρεσιν *in both its parts.* For there are two parts of this commandment, the one has a reference to God, the other to our neighbour. *Valeſ.*

[g] Ψυχὰς ἐνηκριβωμένοι. That is, *having put away the darkneſs of hatred, wherewith the acuteneſs of your mind was clouded and obſcured.* For it follows, ἀλλήλους ὀπίσω τε, that is, *be acquainted one with another again, embrace, ſalute.* In which words *Conſtantine* ſeems to allude to the uſage of the *Chriſtians* of his own time: amongſt whom in their ſacred Conventions, whilſt the people approach'd to the participation of the Myſteries, the Deacon often cried out ὀπίσω ὡσκεῖτε ἀλλήλους, *take acquaintance one of another*; to wit, leaſt any prophane perſon or Jew might creep to the ſacred Table, as *Chryſoſtome* informs in his *firſt Oration againſt the Jews*, pag. 440 of the *Firſt Tome.* The ſame word *Marcion* uſed when

* Or, *The power of the whole.*

† Or, *Covenant of the Deity.*

‖ Or, *Faith.*

when on a time he saw *Polycarp*, ἐπίγνωσε ἡμᾶς *take acquaintance of us*, as *Eusebius* relates out of *Irenæus*, book 4. chap. 14. of his *Eccles. Hist.* The *Latines* also use the verb *recognoscere* in the same sense. So *in the passion of* Fructuosus *the Bishop*: *cum se excalceasset*, &c. *when he had pulled off his shooes, a Fellow-souldier, our Brother, by name* Felix, *came to him, and took him by the right hand*, recognoscens eum *taking acquaintance of him, and beseeching him, that he would be mindful of him.* Vales.

For Friendship (when it returns to reconciliation again,) frequently becomes sweeter and more pleasing, after the [h] *removal of the Enmity.*

[h] Τῆς ἔχθρας ὑποθέσεως, *the occasion of the Enmity.* The reading must be ἀποθέσεως *removal*, as 'tis in *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. And so 'tis plainly written in the *Fuk. and Savil. Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

CHAP. LXXII.

That being highly affected with Grief in regard of his Piety, he was necessitated to shed tears; and, that on this account, he put off the Journey he was about to make into the East.

RESTORE therefore to us peaceable and serene days, and nights void of care; that the pleasure of the pure Light, and the joy of a quiet life may in future be reserved for us also. Which if [we shall] not [obtain,] we must of necessity groan, and be wholly surrounded with Tears; nor shall we finish the residue of our Life without great disquietude. For, whilst the people of God, (we mean our Fellow-Servants) are rent in sunder by this unreasonable and pernicious Contention one with another, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of mind? But, that you may be sensible of our excessive Grief on account of this matter, [be attentive to what we shall tell you:] when we lately came to the City* Nicomedia, *we had resolved forthwith to have made a journey into the* East. *But whilst we were hastning unto you, and* [a] *by the greatest part* occurrs; but we meet not with it here.

* In *Socrates* the Verb ἀκούσατε *hear*, or, *be attentive*,

[a] That is, *in mind and thought*. For the mind is the greater and the better part of any one. But *Christophorson* thought the meaning was *the greater part of his journey*; which is not to be endured. *Vales.*

were with you, [b] *the news of this affair* * *quite altered our Resolution: that we might not be necessitated to behold with our eyes those things of which we accounted even the Report to be intolerable. Do you therefore in future, by your unanimity, open a way for us into the East, which by your mutual Contentions you have stop'd up. Give us leave with joy speedily to see you, and all the rest of the people, and that with an unanimous consent of praises we may attribute to God due thanks for the Concord and Liberty of all persons.*

* Or, *Wholly subverted.*

[b] Τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένα. Τὸ ἀγγελία, *the news of this Letter.* It must be made θέσμα. Τὸ *affair*, from *Socrates*, *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, and *Nicephorus*. A little after I read θεσπίσῃς, as 'tis in *Nicephorus* and Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. LXXIII.

That after this Letter, the disturbance about the * *Controversies continued.*

* Or, *Questions.*

AFter this manner the Pious [Emperour,] by sending his Letter, made provision for the Peace of the Church of God. Moreover, that good man made use of his utmost diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his will, by whom he had been sent. And he was every way a [a] Pious person, as I have said. But, the affair was greater, than to be accommodated by the help of a Letter. In so much that, the Contention of the persons at variance increased daily; and the vehemency of the mischief over-ran all the Eastern Provinces. Envy, and the malicious Devil, vext at the prosperity of the Church, † invented these things for our destruction.

† Or, *Wrought these things.*

[a] Θεοσεβὴς ἀνήρ. In the *Kings Copy* the word ἀνὴρ is wanting, which is not very necessary. Nevertheless, 'tis my conjecture, that the place is to be read in one breath, thus, διηκονεῖτο δὲ ἐν τῇ γεγραμμένου συμπεφέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τῆς καταπέμψαντος νεύματι καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, καὶ τὰ πάντα θεοσεβὴς ἀνὴρ, ὡς εἴρηται, *That Good and every way Pious Person, as I have said, made use of his utmost diligence, not only in carrying the Letter, but in fulfilling his will, by whom he had been sent. But the affair*, &c. He means *Hosius*; see chap. 63. *Vales.*

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

A Comparison of Constantine's *Piety with the Improbity of the Persecutors.*

IN this manner the Devil, the hater of Good, envying the Felicity of the Church, raised up Storms and intestine Disturbances in it, during a time of Peace and Joy. [a] In the Interim, the Emperor dear-to-God neglected not the performance of what became him: [b] but doing all things contrary to what had been audaciously perpetrated a little before by Tyrannick Cruelty, [by that means] he was made Superior to every of his Enemies and opposers. In the first Place therefore, They, alienated from [his Worship] who truly is God, by various methods of force compelled all Men to adore those who were not Gods: but He, evincing them as well by words as in reality in no wise to be Gods, exhorted all Persons to an acknowledgment of Him who is the only God. Besides, they derided God's Christ with blasphemous Expressions: But he [c] assumed to himself as his preservative, that very thing, against which those impious Wretches with the greatest Virulency * belch'd forth their Blasphemies; and gloried in the Trophy of [Salutary] Passion. They persecuted the Worshippers of Christ, and drove them from their Houses and Habitations. He recalled them all [from Exile,] and restored them to their own Dwellings. They surrounded them with ignominies; he made them honourable and happy in the opinion of all men. They seized upon the Goods of God's Worshippers, and with the greatest injustice made sale of them: He not only restor'd their Goods to them, but likewise enricht them abundantly with very many Gifts and Benefactions. They by written Constitutions [d] publish'd Calumnies against the Prelates [of Churches:] on the contrary, he raised and advanced those Men to Honour [bestowed] by Himself, and by Edicts and Laws made them more renowned than they had been before. They demolished the Oratories to the very Foundations, and from their vast height pulled them down to the Ground: He by a Law ordained, that those Oratories which were standing should be raised higher, and that new ones should be magnificently erected, [the

[a] Καὶ μὴν βασιλεύς. In Sr *Henry Savil's Copy* the reading is ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς. In the *Old Sheets* both readings are retained, in this manner, ὁ δὲ δὴ καὶ μὴν βασιλεὺς, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Πάντα περᾶτων παναιτία. In *Moræus's Copy* 'tis mended in the margin, πάντα δὲ περᾶτων, *But doing*, &c as 'tis also in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies.* A little before instead of τῶν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων, *of what belonged to him*; both Copies and the *King's Sheets* have it τῶν αὐτῷ πρεπόντων, *of what became him.* Vales.

[c] Ἐφέσατο σφῶν ἀλεξητήριον, *he inscribed as his preservative.* It seems to be used instead of ἐπεσέσατο, *he assumed.* But if you had rather take the verb ἐσεφέσατο in its common signification, that may also be born with. For *Constantine* ordered it to be engraven on the Base of his Statue, which he erected at *Rome* after the Victory gotten over *Maxentius*, that by the Virtues of this *Standard Rome* had been set at Liberty by him. *Vales.*

* Or, *Armies*; and *plied.*

[d] Ταῖς κατὰ τῶν, &c. The Rule of *Syntax* requires that we should read ταῖς κατὰ τῶν, &c. A little after it must be written τῇ παρ' αὐτῶ τιμῇ, *to honour* [*bestowed*] *by himself*; as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies.* Vales.

charges whereof were defrayed] out of the Imperial Exchequer if self. They ordered the divinely-inspired Scriptures to be destroyed and consumed by Fire: He made a Sanction, that at the charge of the Imperial Treasury the [Copies of the sacred Volumes] should be increased, [e] and * adorned with a magnifick furniture. They commanded, that Synods of Bishops should in no wise be attempted to be any where convened: He called together into his own presence the Prelates out of all the Provinces; and vouchsafed them admission not only into his Palace, and inmost Bed-chamber; but likewise gave them a reception within his own House, and made them Companions of his Imperial Table. They honoured *Dæmons* with consecrated Gifts: but he laid open their frauds, continually distributing the * unserviceable matter of those consecrated Gifts to such as could make use of it. They gave order, that the Temples [of the Gods] should be adorned with all imaginable splendor: He utterly demolished those very Temples, especially them that were highliest esteemed of by superstitious Men. They subjected the Servants of God to the most ignominious Punishments: He took Vengeance on those who had done these things, chastizing them with a [f] condign punishment from God; but he never desisted from honouring the memories of God's holy Martyrs. They drove Men that were worshippers of God from the Imperial Palaces: He put his chiefest Confidence in such Persons, knowing them to be of all Men the best affected and faithfullest to him. They were overcome with [the love of] Money, having enslaved their Minds to a * *Tantalick* † *passion:* but he with an Imperial magnificence opened all his Treasures, and made distributions of them with a || Liberality that was bountiful, noble and generous. Lastly, they perpetrated infinite Murders, to the end they might make a Seizure of, and expose to sale the Estates of those that were slain: but during the whole Reign of *Constantine*, every sword hung up as useless to the [g] Judges; in regard the People and [g] *Decuriones* were [h] ruled by a paternal power, rather than governed by force and necessity. All which things whoever shall attentively consider, he will have good cause to say, that a certain *new* [i] *Age* seemed just then to have appeared; an unusual light * after a long darkness having shined upon Mankind. And he will confess, that all this was the work of God, who opposed this Religious Emperor, as an Adversary against that multitude of the Impious.

[e] In *Moræus's Copy* these words (which we likewise found in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Manuscripts*,) are added in the margin, μεγαλοπρεπεῖ θεραπείᾳ πολυπλασιαζόμενα, *adorned*, or *augmented, with a magnifick furniture*; which reading *Christophorson* has followed in his version. Indeed, *Constantine* adorned those books which served for Ecclesiastick uses with Gems and precious Stones; as *Cedrenus* tells us in his *Chronicon*, where he speaks concerning *Metrodorus the Philosopher*. Vales.

* Or, *Augmented with.*

* Τῶν ἔχρησον τῶν ἀναθημάτων ὕλην; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *materiam ipsam donariorum nullis usibus dicatam, the matter it self of the consecrated Gifts dedicated to no uses.*

[f] Τῇ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ κολάσει, *with a condign punishment of God.* I had rather make it *ἐκ Θεοῦ, from God*; as *Eusebius* usually expresses himself. *Vales.*

* See book 1 chap. 55.

† Or, *Distemper.*

|| Or, *Rich and noble bounty.*

[g] Πολιτῶν. *Christ Morson* understood not the import of this word; He hath rendred it *Cives, Citizens* But πολιτῶν are the *Decuriones*' as I have long since remarked at the 22d book of *Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 225 *of my notes.* Vales.

[h] Παλαιονομούμενον that is, *were ruled by a paternal Power.* He says therefore, that *Constantine's* Government, by reason of his Mildness and Clemency, was wholly like the Government of a Father over his Sons: So that, all the People and *Decuriones*, were not kept within the bounds of duty by Force and Fear like Subjects, but obeyed on their own accord, like Sons. In the *Fuketian Copy*, instead of ἐπ' ἀνάγκης the reading is ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, *by force and necessity.* Vales.

[i] Νεοπαγῆ Αἰῶνα. In mine own Judgment, I have rendred this passage very happily, thus, *novum sæculum, a new Age.* So in the *Coyns of Philippus*, 'tis termed *novum sæculum.* The old *Etrusci* affirmed, that every Age was limited by the Gods, by a certain number of years: which number of years being ended, then prodigies were by the Gods shown from Heaven, or out of the Earth; whereby it might be signified, that a *new Age* was begun. And, that men were born, who would make use of new Fashions and Customs, and would be more or less dear to the immortal Gods. These Signs the *Etrusci* had exactly noted in their *Libri Rituales*, as *Plutarch* has told us in *Sulla*; and [*Censorinus* chap. 17. *de die Natali.* Vales.

CHAP. II.

Again concerning the Piety of Constantine, *who made a free and open profession of the Cross of Christ.*

FOR, whereas they were such Persons, the like to whom had never appeared at any time, and had dared to act such things against the Church, as * no person from the utmost memory of Men ever had done; with good reason God himself produced a certain new Miracle, [I mean *Constantine*,] by whom he effected such things as had never been known by report, nor represented to view. For, what Miracle was stranger and more unusual, than the vertue of our Emperor, whom the Wisdom of God bestowed upon Mankind? For with all imaginable confidence and freedom he continued asserting God's Christ to all Men; nor was he ashamed of the † Salutary Appellation: but gloried in reference to that matter, and shewed himself in order to his being taken notice off and known by all Men; sometimes sealing his Face with the Salutary Sign; at others, boasting in the Victorious Trophy.

* Or, *Are not contained in the bearing of an Age.*

† He means the name of a *Christian* as 'tis manifest from the following words.

CHAP. III.

Concerning Constantine's *Picture, over which was placed a Cross, and under it* * *a wounded* Dragon.

MOreover, in an high painted Table placed before the † *Porticus* of the Imperial Palace, he proposed to the view of all Men, the Salutary Sign represented in a Picture, set over his own head; but [he ordered] that Enemy and fierce Adversary [of Mankind,] who by the Tyranny of the impious had || opposed the Church of God, to be drawn [underneath,] in the form of a Dragon * falling into the deep. For the divine Oracles contained in the Books of God's Prophets, have termed him a Dragon and a crooked Serpent. On which account the Emperor, under his own and his Children's Feet, in *Encaustick painting* exhibited to the view of all Men, a Dragon wounded with a Dart thorow the midst of his Belly, and cast into the depths of the Sea; denoting hereby that secret Enemy of Mankind; whom also he declared to have been thrust down into the pit of Destruction, by the power of that Salutary Trophy placed over his Head. And these things were tacitely shown by the Picture painted with a variety of Colours. But I am seized with an Admiration of the Emperor's great knowledge; in regard by divine Inspi-

* Or, *A Dragon was wounded.*

† Or, *Entry.*

|| Or, *Besieged.*

*Κατὰ βυθοῦ φερόμενον; *Valesius* renders it *in præceps ruentem, falling headlong.*

Inſpiration he expreſt thoſe very things in paint, which the words of the Prophets had declared before concerning that ſame Beaſt in this manner, ſaying, * *That God would* † *unſheath a great and terrible Sword againſt the Dragon the Serpent that flees, and would ſlay the Dragon that is in the Sea.* The Emperor therefore expreſt the Figures hereof, ‖ having in the Picture truly imitated the thing it ſelf.

* See Eſai. 27. 1.

† Or, *Bring forth.*

‖ Or, *Having in the adumbration truly ſet forth the Imitations.*

CHAP. IV.

Again concerning the Controverſies [*raiſed*] *in* Egypt *by* Arius.

THeſe things he performed with a complacency of Mind. But the blackneſs of Envy, which [at that time] in an horrid manner diſturbed the Churches of God at *Alexandria*, and the [a] peſtilent Schiſm of thoſe of *Thebais* and *Egypt*, troubled him not a little. For the Biſhops in each City * Strove with the Biſhops, and the People made inſurrections againſt the People, and daſh'd one againſt another like *the* [b] *Symplegades*, were cut in pieces by mutual wounds. In ſo much that, ſpurred on at length by a fury and deſperateneſs of Mind, they attempted impious and nefarious Facts, and were ſo audacious as to do violence to the Pictures of the Emperor. But theſe things did not ſo much excite the Emperor's anger, as they grieved and diſquieted his Mind; in regard he was extreamly troubled at the madneſs of Men that were impaired as to their Intellectuals.

[a] Or, *The Schiſmatical Miſchief* He means *the Schiſm of the Meletians.* For *Egypt* at that time was ſick of a double diſeaſe; to wit, *the Arian Hereſie*, and *the Schiſm of Meletius.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Were daſhed againſt.*

[b] Συμπληγάσι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is συμπληγάδων, *Symplegades*; in which manner *Turnebus* had mended it at the margin of his Copy. Valeſ. *The Symplegades* are two Iſlands or Rocks in the *Boſphorus*; which had this name given them, becauſe (as 'tis fabulouſly reported) they met one time, and fought.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Diſſention on account of [*the Feaſt of*] Eaſter.

MOreover, before theſe [Diſtempers] there had riſen another moſt ſore Diſeaſe, which [a] for a long time, had infeſted the Church; [namely] a Diſſention about the * Salutary Feaſt. For ſome affirmed, that the uſage of the *Jews* ought to be followed: others aſſerted, that † the time it ſelf was accurately to be obſerved, nor were erroneous Perſons to be followed, who were eſtranged from Evangelick Grace [b] even in this matter alſo. Whereas therefore the People in all Places had now for a long time diſagreed one with another, and whereas the divine Laws [of our Religion] were diſtributed and ſubverted; (for, in one and the ſame Feaſt, a * diverſity of time begat the greateſt diſſention imaginable amongſt thoſe who celebrated the Feaſt; in regard ſome Perſons † afflicted themſelves with faſtings and auſterities; others ‖ indulged to Leiſure and Mirth;) there was no mortal able to find out and adminiſter a remedy to this miſchief; becauſe the [c] controverſie hung in an equal poize as 'twere between the diſſenting Parties. To the only Omnipotent God it was eaſie to cure theſe Evils. Whoſe ſole Miniſter of good things upon Earth appeared to be *Conſtantine.* Who, after he had received an account of what we have even now mentioned, and ſaw that his Letter to *Alexandria* proved ineffectual; himſelf muſtered up [all the Forces of] his own Mind, and ſaid, that this * new ſort of War againſt an inviſible Enemy that had diſturbed the [peace of the] Church, ought to be ended by him.

[a] 'Εκ μακρῆ διενοχλῆσα. In my Judgment the reading would be truer thus, ἐκ μακρῆ δὴ διοχλῆσα, *which had indeed a long while infeſted.* Valeſ.

* He means *Eaſter.*

† Or, *The accurate hour of the time was to be*, &c.

[b] Καὶν τέ-τῳ τῳ μέρει. This Place is corrupted by an ill Punctation. I write thus therefore, τοῖς τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς ἀλλοδοίοις χάριτος καὶν τούτῳ. Τοῖς ἀρῆν, &c. *who were eſtranged from Evangelick Grace even in this matter alſo. Whereas therefore*, &c. *Euſebius* ſays, that the *Jews* were eſtranged from the Grace of the Goſpel, both in other things, and alſo moſt eſpecially in this; becauſe they as yet celebrated *The Paſcha* agreeable to the *Moſaick uſage*, not according to the verity of the Goſpel. *Conſtantine* confirms our Emendation in his *Letter to the Churches*, the words whereof are recorded below at chap. 18. ἐκοῖθεν δὲ πίνων καὶν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐχ' ὁρῶσιν. Valeſ.

[c] Or, *Were exerciſed with.*

* Or, *Change.*

‖ Or, *Aſſigned*, or *dedicated their Leiſure to a relaxation*, or *ceſſation.*

[c] Ισοστάσιὸν τῆς ἔριδος. *Græcians* term that ἰσοστάσιον μάχην, *as often as a fight is ſo maintained, that neither ſide gets the Victory.* In the ſame ſenſe *Euſebius* has here termed it ἰσοστάσιον ἔριδα, that is, *paribus utrinque momentis libratam controverſiam, the controverſie was poized by equal weights on both ſides. Chriſtophorſon* therefore has not rendred it well, thus, *præſertim cùm controverſia diſſidentium animos ex æquo exagitaret, eſpecially in regard the controverſie equally diſquieted the minds of the Perſons diſſenting.* Valeſ.

CHAP. VI.

In what manner he gave order, that a Synod ſhould be convened at Nicæa.

IMmediately therefore ſetting in aray as 'twere a divine * Army againſt † him, he convened ‖ *Oecumenical* Synod; by honourable Letters inviting the Biſhops every where, to the end they ſhould come with all the ſpeed imaginable. Nor was it a ſimple and bare Order; but the Emperor's appointment gave aſſiſtance to the buſineſs it ſelf. For to ſome he allowed a Liberty of making uſe [a] of the *Curſus publicus:* others he ſupplied abundantly with the aſſiſtances of Beaſts of Burden. Moreover, a moſt convenient [Place] was aſſigned for this Synod, a City [namely] which *from Victory* has the name *Nicæa*, ſituate in the Province of the *Bithynians.* When therefore the Emperor's Order was brought into all the Provinces, all Perſons [ſet out] as 'twere from ſome Goal, and ran with all imaginable alacrity. For the hope of good things drew them, * and the participation of Peace, and [Laſtly] the ſpectacle of a new Miracle, to wit, the ſight of ſo great an Emperor. When therefore they were all come together, that which was done appeared to be the work of God. For they who were at the greateſt diſtance one from another, not only in Minds, but in Bodies, Regions, Places, and Provinces; were ſeen aſſembled together in one Place. And one City received them all, as 'twere ſome vaſt Garland

* Or, *Phalanx.*

† that is, *The Inviſible Enemy.*

‖ Or, *General.*

[a] Δημοσίᾳ δρόμῳ. 'Tis ſtrange that *Euſebius* does here diſtinguiſh τὰ νωτοφόρα, *the Beaſts of burden* from the *Curſus Publicus.* But it may be anſwered, that by the name of the *Curſus Publicus Euſebius* underſtood *the Waggons or Chariots.* In which ſenſe *Nicephorus* took it, book 8. chap. 14. To ſome Biſhops therefore *Conſtantine* ordered *Waggons* or *Chariots* ſhould be allowed; to others, *publick Horſes*, whereon they might be conveyed to the Council. *Valeſ.*

* Ἡ τε τῆς εἰρήνης μετουσία; *Valeſius* renders it, *and the opportunity of the preſent peace.*

of Priests made up of a variety of beautiful Flowers.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Oecumenical Synod, *at which were present Bishops out of all Provinces.*

*Τὰ ἀκροθίνια, *the first fruits, or top.*

*THE most eminent therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which fill'd all *Europe*, *Africk*, and *Asia*, were convened. [a] And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as 'twere by God himself, included at the same time within its walls, *Syrians* and *Cilicians*, *Phœnicians* and *Arabians*; *Palestinians* likewise and moreover *Egyptians*, *Thebæans*, *Libyans*; also those that came out of *Mesopotamia*. There was likewise present at this Synod a *Persian* Bishop; nor was [b] the *Scythian* absent from this Quire. *Pontus* also, *Galatia*, and *Pamphylia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Phrygia* afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, [there appeared here] *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, *Achaians* and *Epirots*, and such as dwelt far beyond these, were nevertheless present. From * *Spain* likewise it self, that most celebrated Person [*Hosius*] was one, amongst the many others, who sate in this Synod. [c] The Prelate of the Imperial City was absent indeed, by reason of his Age: but his *Presbyters* were there, who filled his Place. *Constantine* was the [d] only Emperor of all the Princes since the Foundation of the World, who, after he had platted such a Crown as this with the Bond of Peace, dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a Divine Present and gratefull Acknowledgement for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries; having constituted this [Synod convened] in our days, to be a lively Representation of that Apostolick Quire.

[a] Εἶτ' οἰκῷ ἐυκτήριῳ. I read εἷς τε οἰκῷ, &c. *and one sacred*, &c. from *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, *Nicephorus*, and *Socrates*. Vales.

[b] He has put the *Scythians* instead of the *Goths*. For so *Græcians* are wont to term them; as does *Libanius*, *Themistius*, *Eunapius*, and *Eusebius* himself in book 1. chap. *de Vitâ Constant*. Vales.

* Or, *The Spaniards themselves.*

[c] *Gelasius Cyzicenus* thought that by these words was meant the Bishop of *Constantinople*. Whom *Nicetas* hath followed in *his Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, book 5. chap. 6. in these words; *Eusebius autem Pamphili*, &c. *But Eusebius Pamphilus, in his third Book of the Life of the Emperor* Constantine, *writes that the Prelate of* Constantinople *was absent from the Synod, but he expresses his name: in whose stead some Presbyters appeared. But 'tis manifest from the Acts of the Synod, that at that time Metrophanes was Bishop of* Constantinople, &c. So also *Epiphanius Scholasticus* tells us in Book 2. of his *Tripartite History*. But this Explication is not to be born with. For *Constantinople* was not as yet dedicated, nor grac'd with the name of the *Imperial City*, when the Synod was convened in the City *Nicæa*. Therefore these words of *Eusebius* are necessarily to be understood concerning the Bishop of *Rome*. Which *Sozomen* confirms, book 1. chap. 16. (into which Writer the name of *Julius* has corruptly crept, instead of *Sylvester*;) and *Theodoret* book 1. chap. 7. *Vales.*

[d] Μόνον ἐξ ἀιῶνος. The same also is the reading in *Socrates*. But I had rather make it μόνος as 'tis in *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. And so *Epiphan. Scholasticus* read in *Socrates*. But whereas ἐξ follows, that ought not to trouble any one. For *Eusebius*, hereafter at chap. 26. puts μόνος ἐξ together. *Vales.*

CHAP. VIII.

That, like as ['tis said] in the Acts of the Apostles, *they met together out of various Nations.*

* See *Acts* 2. 5.

FOR 'tis * said, that in the Apostles times, there were gathered together *devout men out of every nation under heaven.* Amongst whom were *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and the Inhabitants of *Mesopotamia*, *Judæa* and *Cappadocia*, of *Pontus*, and *Asia*, of *Phrygia* and *Pamphylia*, of *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya* adjacent to *Cyrene*: strangers also of *Rome*, Jews and *Proselytes*, *Cretians*, and *Arabians*. This only was wanting amongst them, they who met were not all the Ministers of God. But in this present Quire, there was a multitude of Bishops, which exceeded the Number of [a] two hundred and fifty. But the number of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* who followed them, [b] of the *Acolythi*, and of the many other Persons, was not to be comprehended.

[a] In *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. where this place of *Eusebius* is quoted, the reading is τειακοσίων *three hundred.* The Ancients are not agreed about the number of the Bishops who were present at the *Nicene Synod*. *Eusebius* at this place tells us they were two hundred and fifty. But *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* (in his *Homily* concerning those words which occurr in the *Proverbs of Solomon*, *Dominus creavit me*,) says they were about 270; but tells us, that he had not accurately reckoned up their number. But the more constant Report, and which is confirmed by the consent of all the more modern Authors, is, that 318 Bishops sate in that Synod. So amongst the Ancients *Athanasius* in his *Epistle to the African Bishops*, not far from the beginning, *Hilarius* in his *book against Constantius*, *Hieronymus* in his *Chronicon*, and *Rufinus*. *Athanasius* in his *Letter concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Synod*, says, that the Bishops who met at *Nicæa*, were three hundred more or less. *Vales.*

[b] Ἀκολύθων δὲ πλείστων ὅσων δ' ἑτέρων. It must be written, ἀκολύθων τε πλείστων ὅσων ἑτέρων, from *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. and from *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* the reading is ἀκολύθων τε πλείστων; and after the word πλείστων, a *middle distinction* is set in all our Manuscript Copies. *Vales.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Virtue and Age of the two hundred and fifty Bishops.

[a] MOreover,] of these Ministers of God, some were eminent for their * Wisdom and Eloquence; others, for their Integrity of Life and patient sufferance of Hardships; [b] others, were adorned with Modesty and a courteous Behaviour. Some of them were highly respected by reason of their great Age; others were eminent for their youthful Vigour, both of Body and Mind. Some were newly initiated into the † Order of the Ministery. To all which Persons the Emperor commanded a plentiful Provision of Food should be every day allowed.

* Or, *Discourse of Wisdom.*

† Or, *Course.*

[a] At these words I began a new chapter, having followed the authority of the *Kings and Fuketian Copy*: whereto agrees the *Old Shutts*. Vales.

[b] Οἱ δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ καὶ εὐκοσμίῳ. Several senses may be given of this Passage. For μέσος τρόπος may be taken *for modesty and a courteous behaviour*; supposing μέσῳ to be made use of instead of μετείῳ. Or, μέσος τρόπος may be meant concerning them, *who were not the eminentest Persons amongst the Bishops for learning and sanctity of Life*; *but did not come much behind them.* So the Ancients termed those *Medios Principes ac duces*, *middle Princes or Commanders*, *who were neither the best*, *nor the worst*, *but were in a middle place between both.* Lastly, μέσος τρόπος may be said of them, *who deserved to be praised on both accounts* to wit, *for their Learning and Sanctity.* So *Sozomen* has expounded this place of *Eusebius*, in his *first book*, *chap.* 17. in these words: οἱ μὲν νοεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν ἱκανοὶ, &c. *Some excelled in Understanding and Eloquence, and were Eminent both for their Knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures, and for other Learning also: others were famous for their Integrity and Virtue of Life: others were well approved of on both accounts.* Those whom *Eusebius* terms τῷ μέσῳ τρόπῳ κατακοσμιωθέντας, are by *Sozomen* stiled κατ' ἀμφότερον εὐδοκιμοῦντας, *well approved of on both accounts.* *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, in the *second book of his Tripartite History*, *chapter* 1. renders this place of *Eusebius* thus: *Ministrorum verò dei, alii sapientiæ sermone fulgebant, alii continentiâ vitæ & patientiâ coruscabant: alii verò medio modo horum virtutibus ornabantur; but of the Ministers of God, some shined with the discourse of Wisdom, others glistered with continency of Life and Patience; but othersome were in a middle manner adorned with the Virtues of these.* Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Synod [was held] in the Palace, amongst whom Constantine *went in, and sate together with [the Bishops.]*

BUT on the day appointed for the Synod, whereon the points in controversie were to be determined; after [a] every Person concerned in that [determination] was come [b] to the very middlemost * Edifice of the Palace, which [Edifice] in greatness seemed to exceed all others: and after a great many Seats had been placed in order on both sides of the Room, the Persons who had been sent for went in; and each of them took an agreeable Seat.

* *House, Room,* or, *Building.*

[a] Παρῆν ἑκάτερος τῶν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀγωνιζομένων. It must be written ἕκας & *every person*, as *Christophorson* seems to have read. To whom nevertheless I can't assent, as to his having thought, that ταύτῃ was to be referred to σύνοδον. But I doubt not, but τῷ λύσιν *the determination* (which word precedes immediately,) is to be understood. For 'tis truer Greek, as I take it, to say ἄγειν or ἐπάγειν τῷ λύσιν, than ἄγειν τῇ σύνοδον. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* 'tis plainly written ἕκας. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλείων. Whoever that Person was that composed the Greek contents of the Chapters, he took these words as meant of the Palace; and *Christophorson* has followed him in that. *Sozomen* likewise (book 1. chap. 19.) and *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 7.) do write that the *Nicene Synod* was held in the Palace, where the Emperour *Constantine* ordered Seats and Benches to be prepared for the Bishops. *Nicephorus* also (book 8.) hath written out the words of *Theodoret*. But, with the favour of so many and such great Men be it spoken, 'tis in no wise likely, that the *Nicene Synod* should have been held in the Palace. These Persons were deceived, as it seems, by the ambiguous word here made use of by *Eusebius*, τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλείων. For this term is promiscuously used, as well for the Palace of the Emperour, as for a Church. 'Tis certain *Eusebius*, in the *Tenth Book of his Eccles. History*, terms *a Church* βασίλειον οἶκον. Indeed, much would be detracted from the Authority of that Council, should we believe it to have been held in the Emperour's Pallace. Besides, *Eusebius* himself does most apparently contradict this Opinion. For above at *chapter* 7. he writes thus in express words, εἷς τε οἶκος συνεῖχεν, *And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as 'twere by God himself, included at the same time within its Walls, Syrians and Cilicians*, &c. What can be more manifest than these words? Is it not most evidently declared by this passage, that the *Nicene Synod* was held in the Church? For *Eusebius* affirms, that all the Bishops were contained within the compass of one Church. Moreover, the words which *Eusebius* subjoins in this Chapter, in my judgment do sufficiently shew this. For he writes, ἐν αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ οἴκῳ τῶν βασιλείων, ὃς δὴ καὶ διαφέρειν ἐδόκει μεγέθει τοὺς πάντας, *to the very middlemost Edifice of the Palace, which* [Edifice] *in greatness seemed to exceed all others. Eusebius* says, that that House was the greatest and largest of all Houses in any place. But this can't be said of the Palace of the City *Nicæa*. For, although we grant there was a Palace in that City, questionless that could not be the greatest of all the Palaces every where. For the Palaces at *Rome* and *Millain* were far greater. Nor do I doubt but the Palace at *Nicomedia* was far larger and richer than that at *Nicæa*, in regard *Nicomedia* had been the Seat and Habitation of the Emperours from the times of *Diocletian*. Some one will perhaps answer, that *Eusebius* does not say, that that middle Edifice of the *Nicene* Palace or Church, in largeness exceeded all the Buildings of the whole World; but only, that it was greater than the other Edifices of that Palace or Church. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter, at book 4. chap. 66. where he describes *Constantine's Funeral*. Indeed, I could willingly grant, that this is the meaning of *Eusebius's* words. But yet it follows not from hence, that the *Nicene Palace* is meant by *Eusebius*. For, as well in Churches as in Palaces, the middlemost Edifice was the largest and most capacious, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, in his *description of the Church of Tyre*. All things therefore being accurately weighed, this is my Sentiment: that the Bishops met first in the Church; and treated there many days concerning the opinion of *Arius* and the Rule of faith; but, that at length, on the day appointed for finishing the business, they came together into the Palace, that they might declare their Opinion before the Emperour, and might put an end to the Contention. And thus all manner of difficulty is taken away. Indeed *Eusebius* does plainly confirm that which I have said. For he says that *the Bishops, on the day appointed whereon an end was to be put to the Controversies, came all into the Palace.* And the Emperour going forth immediately to the Synod, all things, says he, were established in his presence. From which words it plainly appears, that *Eusebius* does here speak concerning the last day of the Council, or the last Session, after the matter had been before discussed and sifted, in many Sessions of the Bishops. For so many and such great matters, as were negotiated in that Synod, could not be examined and determined in one days space. The same also had been done before in the *Antiochian Synod* against *Paul* of *Samosata*, as *Eusebius* informs us in the *Seventh Book of his Ecclesiastick History*. Vales.

But when with a befiting decency the whole Synod had sate down, they were all silent, expecting the Emperour's coming forth. Soon after this enters one, then a second, and a third Person of those about the Emperour. Others also went before, not any of the [Emperour's] usual *Protectors* and Guards, but * those only of his friends who profest the Faith of Christ. And when, [c] upon a sign given which declared the Emperour's entrance, they had all risen up, at length he himself [d] came walking in the midst, like some Celestial Angel of God:

* Or, *Those only of his faithful friends.*

[c] ἐπὶ σωτῆρι δὲ τῷ βασιλέως εἴσοδον ἐδήλου. Concerning this sign whereby the Emperours coming was declared, *Corippus* speaks in these words;

——— *Prænuncius ante*
Signa dedit cursor positâ de more Lucernâ. Vales.

[d] Διέβαινε μέσος. *Christophorson* renders it *per medium consessum intrat, enters through the midst of the assembly sitting together.* He might better have rendred it, *went thorow the middle space which was between the two ranks of the Persons sitting.* That's the import of the word διαβαίνειν, that is, διὰ τῆς δυεῖν βαίνειν, *to go between two.* So below at chap. 15. μέσοι δὲ τῶν διέβαινον, &c. *thorow the midst of whom the Men of God without fear passed*, &c. *Vales.*

shining with his bright purple-garment as 'twere with the splendour of Light, glistering with * flaming Rays, and adorned with the clear brightnesses of Gold and precious Stones. Such was the attire of his Body. But as to his mind, 'twas sufficiently manifest, that he was to an accuracy adorned with a fear and reverence of God. And an indication hereof was given by his cast-down Eyes, by his blushing Countenance, and by † his Gate and Motion. Moreover, the rest of his Bodily shape; his tallness of Stature namely, wherein he excelled all Persons that were about him, [as he did likewise] in a Comliness of Make, in a magnificent gracefullness of Body, and in an invincible strength and might: all these [accomplishments I say] being mixt with a † sweetness of disposition, and with an Imperial Lenity and Mansuetude, declared the immense excellency of his mind to be superiour to all manner of commendation. After the Emperour was come to the * upper end of the seats, [e] in the first place he stood in the midst. And when a ‖ low Chair made of Gold had been placed before him, he sate not down till such time as the Bishops had beckoned to him. As soon as the Emperour [had seated himself,] they all did the same.

* Or, *Fiery.*

† Or, *The motion of his walking.*

† Or, *Meekness*, or, *Modesty.*

* Or, *First beginning*, or, *head.*

‖ Or, *Small.*

[e] Μέσος πρῶτος ἔστη. *Christophorson* seems to have read πρῶτον: for he has rendred it thus; *Primùm in medio conventu erectus constitit, in the first place he stood upright in the middle of the Convention.* Vales.

CHAP. XI.

The Silence of the Synod, after Eusebius *the Bishop had made a short Speech.*

THEN [a] He of the Bishops, who sate first on the right-hand-side, arose, and addrest himself to the Emperour in a speech of an indifferent length, wherein he gave Almighty God

[a] *Sozomen* attests, book 1. chap. 19. that he who had the first place on the right side, and who in the name of the whole Council made a speech to the Emperour, was *Eusebius Pamphilus*. And so 'tis written in the Title of *this chapter*. But *Theodoret* (book 1. chap. 7. *of his History*,) says this Oration was not made

made by *Eusebius* but by *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*. *Baronius* has followed *Theodoret*'s Opinion; whom any one, from *his writings*, will easily find to have been of a mind full of anger and hatred against *our Eusebius*. But *The Author of the Tripartite History*, (book 2. chap. 5. where he writes out *Theodoret*'s words,) says that after *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* made a speech likewise concerning the praises of the Emperour. Which nevertheless occurrs not now in the Greek Copies of *Theodoret*; so that it necessarily follows, either that *Epiphanius Scholasticus* had procured more perfect Copies of *Theodoret*, or else that he added this of his own head, as 'tis sometimes his usage. Of this nature is that which we have noted above concerning the Bishop of the Imperial City, whom *Socrates* from *Eusebius* relates not to have been present at the *Nicene Synod*, where *Epiphanius Scholasticus* by a notorious mistake has added the name of *Alexander*, when as he ought rather to have said *Metrophanes*. But to return to our business, there are those who write, that that honour was conferred neither on *Eustathius*, nor *Eusebius*, but on *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, that in the name of the Council he should make a speech to the Emperour. *Nicetas* in his *Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei*, book 5. chap. 7. affirms this in these words: *Eusebius de Vitâ Constantini Libro 3. se primum verba in Synodo feciſſe teſtatur*, &c. *Eusebius in his third book concerning the Life of Constantine attests, that he made the first speech in the Synod. But if we believe Theodoret, Eustathius was the first*, &c. *But as Theodorus Mopsuestenus writes, that honour was freely conferred on Alexander the Pontiff of Alexandria.* But in such a diversity of Writers I should more willingly close with that Opinion, which affirms that the first Course of speaking was by the Synod conferred on *Eusebius*. First of all, because without controversie *Eusebius* was the Learnedest and most eloquent Person amongst them. Secondly, he himself does plainly attest this, at the beginning of this work, in these words: ἅτε ὢν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ, &c. *We our selves also, by a Panegyrick spoken in his Vicennalia, have lately Venerated the same glorious Conquerour environed with a Synod of Gods Sacred Ministers.* See the *Preface to the first Book*, note (*a*.) Valesius.

† *The Emperour.* thanks and praise for † Him. After he had taken his Seat also, Silence was made, all Persons having fix'd their eyes on the Emperour. When he had look'd upon them all with joyful eyes and a pleasing countenance, afterwards He made a recollection of his own mind within himself, and with a calm and mild voice uttered these words.

CHAP. XII.

Constantine's [Speech] to the Synod concerning Peace.

* Or, *End.* THE * *Sum of my Prayers* (*Dearest Friends!*) *was this, that I might enjoy the sight of your Convention. Which having now obtained, I render my thanks to* [*God*] *the supream King; because, besides his innumerable other* [*Benefits,*] *He hath granted Me a sight of this, which is the chiefest of all Goods: I mean, that I might* † Or, *See.* *behold all You Convened together, and* † *find one and the same unanimous Sentiment amongst you all. Let no envious Enemy therefore in future* ‖ Or, *Ruine our goods.* *disturb the happy posture of our Affairs: and, since that opposition made by Tyrants against the Deity is wholly removed by the power of God Our Saviour, let not the malignant Devil* [a] *by any other methods* * *expose the Divine Law to Blasphemies. For, an intestine Sedition of the Church of God appears to me more grievous and dangerous than any sort of War or Fight whatever: nor do any external affairs seem more afflictive to Me, than these matters. Indeed, at such time as, by the Will and Cooperation of God, I had obtained a compleat Victory over mine Enemies,* [b] *I was of opinion, that nothing remained to Me, but to give God thanks, and to rejoyce with those whom he by our means had set at Liberty. But when (contrary to all expectation) I had received information of your disagreement, I look'd upon that* † *thing as in no wise to be neglected: but wishing that by our assistance a remedy might be applied to this* [*mischief*] *also, without any delay I called you all together. And I am highly pleased with the sight of this Your Convention. But shall then judge that I have managed this affair according to my Prayers, when I shall behold all of You* ‖ *conjoined in your minds, and one amicable agreement in common concluded on amongst you all, which it becomes You, who are Persons consecrated to God,* [c] *to Preach to others. Delay not therefore, Dearest Friends, ye Ministers of God, and good Servants of the Common Lord and Saviour of us all! But beginning* [d] *even from hence to take away the Occasions of mutual dissent amongst you,* [e] *dissolve every knot of controversie by the Laws of Peace. For by this means You will perform both what is most acceptable to the supream God; and will likewise bestow a transcendent favour on Me Your Fellow-Servant.*

† Or, *Report.*

‖ Or, *Mixt together.*

[c] Πρεσβεύειν. *Christophorson* has rendred it ill, *à Deo impetrare*, by request to obtain of God; when as he ought to have rendred it, *Prædicare*, to *Preach*. For in this sense *Eusebius* is wont to use this word, as 'tis apparent from innumerable passages in his *Eccles. History*; for instance, book 4. chap. 15. In the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* the reading is bad, thus, εἰς βασιλεύειν. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη φέρειν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, this whole place is written far otherwise, thus, τὰ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν διαστάσεως αἴτια τῷ λοιπῷ φέρειν ἀνέχεσθε. πάντα δὲ σύνδεσμον, &c. *refuse not in future to take away the occasions of dissent amongst you; dissolve every knot*, &c. And so Sir *Henry Savil* and *Christophorson* found it in *their Copies*. Vales.

[e] Ἐπλύσασθε. I read with *Christophorson* ὁπλύσασθε, *to dissolve*. But the common reading may stand, provided after the words *Saviour of us all*, a *Colon* be placed, as Sir *Henry Savil* hath noted at the margin of *his Copy*: and so 'tis pointed in the *Kings Copy*. Vales.

[a] 'Ετέρως. *Portesius*, *Christophorson*, and the *French Translatour* have omitted this word; notwithstanding that therein lies the whole *Emphasis* and force of the sentence. For to this word the following period is referred. *Take heed*, says he, *least after the destruction of their Tyranny who brought a War against God, the Devil by some other way should again expose our Religion to reproaches and calumnies*. By *another way* therefore is meant *intestine dissentions*. See the following words. *Vales.*

[b] Οὐδέν τε λείπειν. It must be written, as I suppose, οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ γε λείπειν ἐνόμιζον, *I was of opinion that nothing remained to me*. And a little after with *Turnebus* and *Gruterus* I read ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὑμετέρων, &c. *But when* —— *I had received information of your*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

That he reduced those Bishops who were at difference, to an agreement.

HAving spoken these words in the *Latine Tongue*, which were done into *Greek* by some other Person, he gave those who presided in the Synod, leave to speak. But then, some of them began to accuse their Neighbours; others answered their accusations, and on the contrary made complaints. Many things therefore being in this manner proposed on both sides, and a great controversie raised even at the first beginning [of the debate,] the Emperour heard them all very patiently, and with an [a] intent mind received their proposed Questions; and by turns assisting the Assertions of both parties, by degrees he reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind. And by his gracious Speeches to each Person, and his making use of the *Greek* tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language,) He rendred himself most extraordinarily pleasing and delightful; [b] inducing some to be of his opinion by the force of his arguments; woing others by entreaties; praising those who spoke well; and exciting all to an agreement: till at length he had made them all of the same mind and opinion, in relation to all matters concerning which they had before disagreed.

[a] Σχολῇ τε εὐτόνως. In *Socrates*, book 1. chap. 8. and in *Nicephorus*, the reading is εὐτόνῳ, *intent*. But *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, chap. 28. has εὐτονωτάτῃ *most intent*. With *Socrates* agrees the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

[b] Τὸς μὲν γῶν πείθων. In *Socrates*, *Gelasius*, and *Nicephorus*, the reading is τοὺς μὲν συμπείθων. But in the *Kings Copy* 'tis τοὺς μὲν πείθων. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

*The Concordant * Determination of the Synod concerning the Faith, and concerning* Eaſter.

* Or, *Expoſition.*

SO that, there was not only an univerſal Agreement about the [Articles of] Faith, but one and the ſame time alſo was generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the ſalutary Feaſt [of *Eaſter*.] Moreover, [a] the Determinations ratified by a Common Conſent, were engroſſed, and confirmed by the Subſcription of every perſon. Which things having in this manner been performed, the Emperor affirmed that he had obtained this ſecond Victory againſt the Enemy of the Church, and celebrated a Triumphant Feaſt in honour of God.

[a] That is, the draught of the Creed, the Canons, and the Synodick Letter. For all theſe were confirmed by the Subſcriptions of every one of the Biſhops. They who beſides theſe three, think that the *Acts of the Nicene Synod* were put into writing, are very much miſtaken. For *Euſebius* ſays in expreſs words, that nothing was committed to writing, except thoſe matters which had been Decreed by the common conſent of the Council; and he affirms, that thoſe things were confirmed by the Subſcriptions of all. Indeed *Baronius* at the year of Chriſt 325. chap. 62. ſays that the Acts were written by the *Nicene Synod*, and has affirmed that that is expreſsly recorded by *Athanaſius in his Book de Synodis*. But *Baronius* was impoſed upon by the *Latin Verſion*, which runs thus; Tom. 1. *pag.* 873. *quòd ſi ad hanc rem uſus Synodi deſideratur, ſuperſunt Acta patrum, nam neque in hâc parte negligentes fuere qui Nicææ convenerunt, ſed ita accuratè ſcripſerunt*, &c. *But if the uſe of the Synod be wanting to this matter, the Acts of the Fathers are to be had. For thoſe convened at Nicæa were not negligent even in this matter, but wrote ſo accurately*, &c. But in the Greek Text there is no mention of Acts; for thus it runs, ἔστι τὰ τῶν πατέρων, that is, *the Writings of the Fathers are to be had*; to wit, the Creed, the Canons, and the Synodick Letter. There is another paſſage of *Athanaſius*, in his *Epiſtle de Decretis Nicænæ Synodi*, pag. 250 whence it may be manifeſtly gathered, that there were no Acts written. For thus he ſpeaks: *Quandoquidem tua dilectio ea noſſe deſiderat quæ in Synodo*, &c. *In as much as your love deſires to know thoſe things which were done in the Synod, I have made no delay; but have forthwith ſignified to you whatever was done there*, &c. Now, if the *Acts* had been taken in writing by the Notaries, *Athanaſius* had done enough, had he tranſmitted thoſe Acts to his Friend. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XV.

That Conſtantine *entertained the Biſhops at a Feaſt, it being* His Vicennalia.

AT the ſame time the twentieth Year of his Empire was [a] compleated. On which account publick Feaſts were celebrated in all the other Provinces; and the Emperor himſelf began the Feaſts with the Miniſters of God, banquetting together with them now reconciled one with another, and by them offering this becoming Sacrifice as 'twere to God. Nor was any of the Biſhops abſent from this Imperial Feaſt.

[a] Theſe words muſt be interpreted favourably. For the twentieth year of *Conſtantine*'s Empire was not yet compleated, nay ſcarce begun. For the twentieth year of his Reign began on the eight of the *Calends of Auguſt*, when *Paulinus* and *Julianus* were Conſuls, which was the 325th year of *Our Lord's Nativity*. But the *Nicene Council* was celebrated on the twentieth of the month *May*, in the *ſame perſons Conſulate*, as *Socrates* writes in the *thirteenth chapter* of his *firſt book*, or rather on the 13th of the *Calends* of *July*, on the 19 day of the month *Deſius*, which by the *Romans* is termed *June*, as it occurrs in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in the *Collectio Creſconiana*, which I think to be truer. For if we ſuppoſe the *Nicene Council* to have been convened on the 20th day of *May*, too narrow a ſpace of time will be left for the tranſacting of thoſe affairs which *Conſtantine* performed after his Conqueſt of *Licinius*. *Licinius* was vanquiſhed in the laſt Battle at *Chalcedon*, on the year of Chriſt 324, on the 15th of the *Calends* of *October*, as 'tis recorded in *Idacius's Faſti*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. On the day following *Licinius*, who had betaken himſelf to *Nicomedia*, ſurrendred himſelf to *Conſtantine* the *Victour*. After this *Conſtantine* made his Entry into *Nicomedia*; whilſt he made his reſidence in that City, and haſtned to take his progreſs into the Eaſtern parts, he received the news concerning the diſſention of the *Alexandrian* Church and all *Egypt*, on account of the Opinion of *Arius* and the diſturbances of the *Meletians*, as he himſelf writes in his *Letter to Alexander and Arius*. And in the firſt place he ſent *Hoſius* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, who by his authority might compoſe the Tumults there. But after *Hoſius* had ſtaid ſome time at *Alexandria*, he returned to *Conſtantinople* without having effected any thing. All which buſineſſes could not any wiſe have been done within leſs time than three months. Further, when *Conſtantine* ſaw the miſchief increaſe daily, he reſolved upon convening a General Council of Biſhops, that thereby he might reſtore Peace to the Church. In order thereto he diſpatch'd away the *Veredarii* (*Coursers*) and *Agentes in Rebus* (*Meſſengers of the Emperor*) thoroughout all the Provinces, who might call together the Biſhops to *Nicæa* of *Bithynia*. Let us ſuppoſe therefore, that the *Veredarii* had brought the Emperor's Letters to each of the Biſhops in the month *March*: 'tis ſcarce credible that the Biſhops could come into *Bithynia* from the moſt diſtant Countries as well of the Eaſt as Weſt, before the month *July*; eſpecially, in regard they were conveyed thither by Land, not by Sea, as *Euſebius* tells us chap. 6. The Greeks do uſually term the ſeventh Sunday after *Eaſter*, that namely which immediately precedes *Whitſontide*, κυριακὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων *the Sunday of the holy Fathers*, or τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων τῶν ἐν νικαίᾳ *of the 318 holy Divines which were at Nicæa*; as we are informed from *The Typick of the Monaſtery of Saint Saba*. Valeſ.

Further, what was then performed, ſurpaſſes the bounds of any Narrative. For the [b] *Protectors* and Soldiers, with the naked points of their Swords, on all ſides guarded the *Porticus*'s of the Palace; thorow the midſt of whom the Men of God without fear paſſed, and went into the inmoſt Rooms of the Palace. Then [c] ſome of them * lay down together with the Emperor; others reſted themſelves on *Stibadia* [or, Beds to eat on] placed [d] on both ſides. One would have thought, that a repreſentation of Chriſt's Kingdom was adumbrated, and that the thing it ſelf was a dream, but nothing more.

* *That was heretofore the uſual poſture at Feaſts.*

[b] Δορυφόροι καὶ ὁπλῖται. In the ſame manner he joynsthem both together a little above, where he ſpeaks of *Conſtantine*'s entrance into the Synod. Δορυφόροι are *the Haſtati*, or *the Protectors who carried Spears*. *Themiſtius* in *his Oration to the Emperor Jovian*, writes that he went an αἰχμοφόρῳ (*a Spear Carrier*) againſt the *Perſian*, that is a *Protector Domeſticus*, as we underſtand from *Amm. Marcellinus*. The ὁπλῖται were *the Scutati*, *Shield Bearers*; to wit, Soldiers who were under the Command of the *Magiſter Militum præſentalis*, or *Maſter of the Milice who lived at Court or in the preſence of the Prince*. Valeſ.

[c] Οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν συναπεκλίνοντο. It muſt be made αὐτῷ *together with the Emperor*, as *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read; and ſo 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Theodoret* confirms our Emendation (book 1. chap. 11.) in theſe words, which do wonderfully explain this paſſage of *Euſebius*; πολλὰς δὲ σιβάδας εὐτρεπισθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀξιωτέρους ὁμοτραπέζους λαβὼν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἑτέλων εἰς τὰς ἄλλας, *and having ordered many Stibadia to be made ready, he feaſted them all in one and the ſame place; the more honourable of them he took to his own Table, but diſtributed the reſt upon other Stibadia*. A better *Scolion* could not have been placed at *Euſebius*'s words. Thoſe which *Euſebius* had termed κλινάδας, (for ſo 'tis to be read from the *King's* and the *Fuketian Copy*;) *Theodoret* calls σιβάδας; that is *Stibadia* or *Accubita*. *Nicephorus*'s Tranſlator renders it *toros*, which is ill done. Nor has *Theodoret*'s Tranſlator done better in tranſlating it *Sedes*, *Seats*. *Suidas* interprets σιβάς, χαμαικοίτιον, ἀκκούβιτον, *a Bed lying on the ground, an Accubitum*. The words of *Juvenal's Scholiaſt at the fifth Satyr*, are theſe; *apud veteres Accubitorum uſus non erat, ſed in Lectulis Diſcumbentes manducabant, amongſt the Ancients there was no uſe of the Accubita, but they lay down upon little Beds and eat*. Valeſ.

[d] Ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατέρων. I think it muſt be written ἐξ ἑκατέρων *on both ſides*. Than which Emendation nothing is more certain. *Euſebius* ſays that the *Stibadia* were placed on both ſides of the *Imperial Hall*, whereon the Biſhops might lie down; but, that the Emperor's *Stibadium* was in the midſt, whereon he lay down together with the more honourable Biſhops. After the ſame manner in the *Nicene Synod*, the Seats whereon the Biſhops ſate were placed on both ſides: but the Emperor himſelf ſate in the midſt on a golden Chair, between the two rows of the ſitting Prelates. The *Tribunal of the nineteen Accubita at Conſtantinople* was ſome ſuch like thing, made in imitation of his *Conſtantinian Feaſt*, as I think. Valeſ. See *Evagr.* book 5. cha. 13. *note* (*a.*)

CHAP. XVI.

The Gifts bestowed on the Bishops, and the Letters written to all.

AFter the Feast had in a most splendid manner been kept, the Emperor received them all, and out of his own Magnificence added this also, that he honoured every one of them according to his desert and dignity, with presents from himself. He likewise gave an account of this Synod, even to those who were not present at it, by his own Letter: which I will insert into this very Narrative concerning him [and will publish it fix'd] as 'twere upon some Pillar. The Contents thereof are these.

CHAP. XVII.

Constantine's [Letter] to the Churches, concerning the Synod [convened] at *Nicæa*.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS
To the Churches.

HAving sufficiently experienced, by the flourishing posture of the State, how great the benignity of the Divine Power has been towards us; I judged it my chiefest concern and aim [to Labour] for the Preservation of one Faith, a sincere Love, and one universally acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God, amongst the most Blessed * Congregations of the Catholick Church. But in regard this thing could not be firmly and stedfastly constituted, unless all, or at least the greatest part of the Bishops were convened in one Place, and every particular that concerns the most Holy Religion were discussed: on this account, when as many of the Clergy, as could possibly be got together, were assembled, and I my Self also, as one of You, was present with them, (For I will not deny, what I account my greatest Glory, that I am Your Fellow-Servant;) all matters were sufficiently discussed so far, till such time as an opinion acceptable to God the Inspectour of all things, was brought to light, [a] in order † to an universal agreement and union: so that no place might be left for dissention or controversie in relation to the Faith.

* Multitudes, or, people.

† Or, To a consent of unity.

[a] Παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἑνότητος συμφωνίαν. In *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* the reading is truer, thus, πρὸς τὴν, &c. *in order to*, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVIII.

The same persons [words] concerning the Agreement about the Feast of *Easter*, and against the *Jews*.

WHere also, after a disquisition made concerning the most Holy Day of Easter, [a] Ἔδοξε *it* [a] *was by a general opinion thought good to be*

[a] Ἔδοξε κοινῇ γνώμῃ. These words of *Constantine*, *Athanasius* seems to have had a respect to, when (in his *Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ, pag.* 873.) he observes that the Fathers of the *Nicene Synod* spake one way in their exposition of the Faith, another in their defining the day of *Easter*. For in this business they made use of the word ἔδοξε *it pleased*, or *it was thought good*. But in their Exposition of the Faith they did not in any wise say *placuit, it pleased*, but *ita credit sancta & Universalis Ecclesia, the holy and universal Church believes thus*. 'Tis certain, the word ἔδοξε which *Athanasius* mentions, is not found in the *Synodick Letter*, but in this Letter only of *Constantine*, which any one might conjecture, was not without reason taken for the *Synodick Letter*. Vales.

Decreed, that [*that Festival*] *ought to be celebrated by all Persons in all Places on one and the same day. For what can be more comely, what more grave and decent for us, than that this Festival, from which we have received the hopes of Immortality, should be unerringly kept by all Men, in one and the same order, and in a manner apparently agreeable? And in the first Place, it seemed* [*to all*] *to be a thing unworthy and misbecoming, that in the Celebration of that most Holy Solemnity we should follow the usage of the* Jews. *Who being Persons that have defiled their own hands with a most detestable Sin, are deservedly impure and blind as to their Minds. For,* [b] *their usage being rejected, we may by a truer Order, which we have observed from the first day of the Passion until this present time, propagate the* * *Rite of this observance to future Ages. Let nothing therefore be common to us with that most hostile multitude of the* Jews. *For we have received another way from Our Saviour. There is proposed to us a* [c] *Lawful and decent course to* [*Our*] *most sacred Religion. Let us therefore (Dearest Brethren! with one accord constantly persist in this course, and withdraw our Selves from that most impure* [*Society and*] [d] *their consciousness. For 'tis really most absurd, that they should boast, that we are not sufficient of Our Selves, without their instruction, to observe these things. But, of what are they able to pass a right judgment, who after the Murder of the Lord, and that parricide, having been struck with madness, are led, not by the conduct of Reason, but by an ungovernable* * impetus, *whithersoever their innate rage shall drive them? Hence therefore it is, that even in this particular they discern not the Truth: in so much that, wandring at the greatest Distance* [e] *from a decent and agreeable Amendment* [f] *they celebratee* Easter *twice within one and the same Year.* [g] *What reason have we to follow these Men,*

[b] Τὸ ἐκείνῳ ἔθνος, *that Nation.* I reade ἔθος *usage*, with *Christophorson* and *Gruterus*. We have noted the same fault in his *Eccles. Hist.* In the *Kings Sheets* and Sir *Henry Savil*'s Copy 'tis ἔθος *usage*. Vales.

* Or, *Completion of this observation.*

[c] Καὶ νόμῳ καὶ πρέπων. In *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* the reading is καὶ νόμῳ πρέπων, *and a decent Law*. But *Socrates* and *Theodoret* defend the common reading. *Vales.*

[d] For they who celebrate the *Lord's Pasch* with the *Jews*, seem to be conscious of that wickedness which the *Jews* committed against the Lord. But *Christophorson* renders συνείδησιν, *Opinion*; with whom I agree not. *Vales.* In *Socrates*, instead of αἰχεῖς *impure* the reading is ἐχθεῖς *Hostile* or *Adverse*.

* Or, *Violence.*

[e] Τῆς πεφυκυίας ἐπανορθώσεως. *Socrates, Theodoret, Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*, have ἀντὶ τῆς πεφυκυίας, &c. which I like not. For 'tis rightly said πλανωμένους τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως. *Vales.*

[f] Whereas the *Paschal Neomenia* (or *New-moon*) of the *Jews* began from the fifth day of the month *March*, and was ended on the third of *April*, hence it sometimes hapned, that their *Pascha* began before the *Æquinox*. So they kept a twofold *Pascha* in the same year, (if you understand the *Solar*, or *Julian year*,) to wit, from the *Vernal Æquinox* of this year to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the year following. *Ambrosius* says the same in his *Epistle to the Bishops of Æmilia*, where he writes, that the *Jews* sometimes celebrated the *Pascha* on the twelfth month, that is, according to the *Latines* or *Orientals*. For the *Jews* never celebrated the passover on that month which amongst them was accounted the twelfth, but on the fourteenth day of the first month. Further this repetition or doubling of their passover, which *Constantine* objects against the *Jews*, seems to me not at all momentous. For the *Jews* might have retorted against the *Christians*, namely that they celebrated *Easter* twice in the same year, if we understand the year current. For let us suppose, that this year *Easter* was celebrated on the tenth of the *Calends* of *May*; on the year following it must necessarily be kept sooner. And so there will occurr two *Easters* amongst the *Christians* within the space of one year current. Which nevertheless will not happen, if you count the year from the *Æquinoctial Cardo* to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the other year. See *Epiphanius* in *Hæres. Audian.* and *Petav. Animad.* p. 294. To whom add *Ægidius Bucherius de Paschali Judæorum Cyclo*, cap. 3. *Vales.*

[g] Τίνος χάριν. In *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* the reading is τίνος οὖν χάριν, *what reason therefore*, &c. so 'tis also in *Socrates* and *Gelasius.*

laſius. From whom the following words muſt be amended in this manner, τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀγχίνοιαν, *your prudence.* And a little after, ἐν μηδεμιᾷ ὁμοιότητι, *in no likeneſs.* Although in thoſe writers I have mentioned, the reading is ἐν μηδενὸς ὁμοιότητι *in the likeneſs of any thing.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἐν μηδεμιᾷ προφάσει *upon no pretence.* Further, the *Author of the Apoſtolick Conſtitutions,* (book 5. chap. 16.) ſeems to allude to theſe words. Which any one will confeſs, who compares that place with theſe words of *Conſtantine.* Valeſ.

who, 'tis acknowledged, are diſtempered with a moſt grievous errour? For we ſhall never endure the keeping of two Eaſters *in one and the ſame year. But, although what I have ſaid were not ſufficient, nevertheleſs it behooveth your prudence, to make it your greateſt care, and the conſtant matter of your Prayers, that the purity of your ſouls ſhould not in any thing ſeem to have communion with the uſages of moſt wicked men. Beſides, this alſo is to be conſidered, that 'tis a moſt deteſtable thing, that there ſhould any diſagreement be found in a matter of ſo great concern, and in ſuch a ſolemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Feſtival day of our Liberty, that is the day of His moſt Holy Paſſion; and 'twas his will, that His Catholick Church ſhould be one. The members of which Church (although for the moſt part they are diſperſt into many and various places, nevertheleſs) are cheriſhed by one ſpirit, that is by the Divine Will. Let the prudence of Your Sanctity conſider, how grievous and indecent a thing it is, that on the ſelf-ſame days ſome ſhould keep* [h] *ſtrict Faſts, and others celebrate Feaſts: and that after the days of* Eaſter, *ſome ſhould be converſant in Feaſtings and a relaxation [of their minds;] and others devote themſelves to ſet Faſts. Wherefore, 'tis the Will of Divine Providence, that this thing ſhould be redreſſed by a convenient emendation, and reduced to one and the ſame form, as I ſuppoſe you are all ſenſible.*

[h] He means the head [or beginning] of the Faſt, which by the *Quartodecimani* was begun at one time; by the other Chriſtians, at another. Indeed, the following words concerning the days after *Eaſter,* do inform us that theſe words are to be underſtood concerning the head of the Faſt. Otherwiſe it would be a ſuperfluous Repetition. But if any one had rather underſtand theſe words concerning the end of the Lent faſt, I ſhall not gainſay him. See *Chryſoſtom* in his *Homily againſt thoſe who faſted the firſt day of* Eaſter, *pag.* 714. Valeſ.

CHAP. XIX.

An Exhortation, that they would rather follow the greateſt part of the world.

SInce therefore it was expedient to make ſuch an amendment in this matter, as that we might have nothing in common with the * *uſage of thoſe Parricides and Murderers of Our Lord, and ſince this is the moſt decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Weſtern, Southern, and Northern parts of the world, and alſo ſome of the Eaſtern parts, do obſerve:* [a] *on this account all perſons have at preſent judged it good and expedient, (and I my ſelf have promiſed that it would pleaſe your prudence,) that that which with one and a concordant mind is obſerved in the City of* Rome, *and over all* Italy, Africa, Egypt, Spain, *the* Gallia's, *the* Britannia's, *the* [b] Libya's, *thorowout all* Achaia, *the* Aſian *and* Pontick Diœceſis, *and* Cilicia; *Your prudence alſo would moſt willingly embrace and receive.*

* In the Greek 'tis ἐθνῶν, Nations.

[a] Οὗ ἕνεκεν. In *Socrates, Theodoret, Gelaſius* and *Nicephorus* the reading is ὧν ἕνεκεν, *for theſe reaſons.* But it would be better thus, τούτων ἕνεκεν, or τούτου, as 'tis above. In the *Fuketian Manuſcript* 'tis τούτου ἕνεκεν, *on this account,* and ſo 'tis in *Turnebus's Copy.* Valeſ.

[b] Every one ſees, that the words are miſplac'd here. 'Tis righter therefore in *Gelaſius,* thus, *The Britannia's, Egypt, and the Libya's. Socrates* has *Libya*; which reading I like beſt. *Valeſ.*

Which [wiſdom of yours] will conſider, that not only the number of the Churches in the forementioned places is far the greater; but that 'tis moſt juſt and equal, that all men ſhould in common deſire that, which [c] *ſtrict reaſon ſeems to require, and ſhould have no communion with the* [d] *perjury of the* Jews. *But that I may ſpeak more ſummarily and briefly, it has pleaſed the judgment of all in common, that the moſt holy Feaſt of* Eaſter *ſhould be celebrated on one and the ſame day. For 'tis indecent, that there ſhould be any difference in ſo great a ſanctity: and 'tis better to follow that Opinion,* [e] *wherein there is no mixture of ſtrange errour and impiety.*

[c] Ἀκριβὴς λόγος. In *Theodoret* and *Gelaſius* the reading is λογισμὸς; which diſpleaſes me not, provided λογισμὸς be the ſame with ψηφισμὸς, that is, *diligens ſupputatio, an exact reckoning*; whence 'tis termed *Computus Paſchalis.* ἀκριβὴς λόγος is taken in another ſenſe, in the *Synodick Letter of the Nicene Council,* where it treats concerning the cauſe of *Meletius.* For 'tis there taken for *the rigour of the Law,* and 'tis oppoſed to equity or a diſpenſation. *Valeſ.* See *Socrates,* book 1. chap. 9. note (*b.*)

[d] The *Jews* are termed perfidious and perjured men, who, when as they acknowledged no King or Lord beſides God, afterwards denied the ſame [Lord,] and atteſted they had no other King but *Cæſar.* Valeſ.

[e] After theſe words, there was a whole line wanting in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; which 'twas eaſie to have made good from *Socrates, Theodoret, Gelaſius,* and *Nicephorus.* in this manner, ἐν ᾗ ἀστεμία ὅτι ἀλλοτρίας πλάνης καὶ ἁμαρτήματος ὁπωσοῦν, *wherein there is no mixture of [or converſe with] ſtrange errour and impiety.* This is what *Conſtantine* had ſaid above at chap. 18. τῆς αἱρέσεως ἐκείνης συνειδήσεως ἀποσπάσωμεν; where ſee what we have remarked at note (*d.*) For *Chriſtophorſon* in no wiſe underſtood theſe words. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

An Exhortation, that [all] ſhould * give their aſſent to the Decrees of the Synod.

SInce therefore theſe things are thus, do you with all willingneſs receive this † *Gift of God, and this truly divine Commandment.* [a] *For whatever is tranſacted [and determined] in the holy Aſſemblies of Biſhops, That has a reference to the divine will. Wherefore, when you ſhall have intimated to all our beloved Brethren thoſe matters which have been tranſacted,* [b] *you ought to embrace and eſtabliſh the foremention'd rule and obſervation of the moſt holy day: that when I ſhall come into the preſence of* [c] *Your Love (which I have long ſince been deſirous of,) I may celebrate the holy Feſtival with you, on one and the ſame day, and may rejoyce with you, for all things, beholding the Cruelty of the Devil totally removed by the Divine power, and by* [d] *our* * *endeavours; whilſt your Faith, Peace, and Concord does every where flouriſh. God preſerve You, Deareſt Brethren!*

* Or, *Be perſwaded by thoſe things written by the Synod.*

† Or, *Grace.*

[a] This opinion of *Conſtantine* concerning the authority of the determinations of Synods, is to be taken notice of. There is another place like to this, in a *Letter of the ſame Conſtantine to the Biſhops after the Council of Orleans. Dico enim, ut ſe veritas habet,* &c *For I ſpeak, as the truth is. The judgment* [or, *determination*] *of the Biſhops* [or, *Prieſts*] *ought ſo to be eſteemed, as if the Lord himſelf ſate and judged. For they may not think any other thing, or judge any other thing, but what they are taught by the Inſtruction of Chriſt.* Valeſ.

[b] From this place it may plainly be gathered, that this Letter of *Conſtantine's* was written to the Biſhops who had not been preſent at the Synod. Indeed, the Letter is inſcribed *To the Churches.* But by the name of *the Churches, the Prelates* are to be meant. For *The Church conſiſts in the Prelates,* as *Honorius* ſays in *the Appendix to the Theodoſian Code.* Valeſ.

[c] This is an Expreſſion peculiar to the *Chriſtians*; who when they ſpoke to any one of their Brethren, either by word of mouth or Letter, were wont to ſay *Your charity* or *Your Love.* Nothing occurs more frequently in the Epiſtles of the holy Fathers, ſo that we need not heap together inſtances. So *Athanaſius* expreſſes himſelf in his *Epiſtle concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Synod,* a paſſage whereof we have quoted a little before. But *Chriſtophorſon* renders δόξαν, *diſpenſation*; nor did he underſtand the meaning of this place. *Valeſ.*

[d] Διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων πράξεων, *by your actions.* I doubt not but it ſhould be ἡμετέρων, *our,* as the reading is in *Socrates, Theodoret, Gelaſius*

laſius, and *Nicephorus*. 'Tis certain, *Conſtantine* in his Letters is wont to boaſt, that the Divine Majeſty by his Labour had deſtroyed the Tyrants who perſecuted the Church, and had freed the whole world from the ſuperſtitious worſhip of *Dæmons*. Valeſ.

[e] Ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἰσοδυναμοῦσαν γεγραφήν. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not this place, as 'tis apparent from his Verſion. For he renders it thus; *Edictum, quod idem pondus habebat & autoritatem cum hâc Epiſtolâ, Imperator in ſingulas miſit Provincias*: *An Edict, which had the ſame weight and authority with this Letter, the Emperour ſent into each Province.* But *Euſebius* mentions no Edict, but only a Letter ſent to the Biſhops. *Chriſtophorſon* thought that γεγραφὴ ſignified *an Edict*, which was a great miſtake. For ἰσοδυναμοῦσα γεγραφὴ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς is nothing elſe but *a Tranſcript of a Letter*; which *Græcians* do likewiſe term ἶσον or ἰσότυπον; and we in the vulgar Idiom call it *Copiam, a Copy*. *Euſebius* ſays therefore, that *Conſtantine* ſent a Copy of his Letter into all the Provinces, or, (which is the ſame thing,) that he ſent this Letter written from the ſame Copy to all the Provinces. Further, the Reader is to be advertiſed, that the Title of this chapter was put in wrong place, in regard it belongs to the concluſion of the foregoing Letter, as any one may ſee. This Title therefore muſt be placed above, before theſe words, *Since therefore theſe things*, &c. as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. And there we have ſet it. *Valeſ.*

[e] A Copy of his very Letter was by the Emperour tranſmitted into every Province; whereby, as in a glaſs, he gives thoſe that reade it, the cleareſt view of his own mind, and of his piety towards God.

CHAP. XXI.

[*His*] *advice to the Biſhops now ready to go away,* * *that they would preſerve Unity.*

* Or, *Concerning Concord.*

[a] Συντακτικὴν παρεῖχεν ὁμιλίαν. Tranſlatours underſtood not this expreſſion. For *Porteſius* renders it thus, *ex compoſito verba fecit ad Epiſcopos. Chriſtophorſon* in this manner, *Sermonem apud Epiſcopos de rebus ordine diſpenſandis inſtituit.* But συντακτικὴν παρεῖχεν ὁμιλίαν imports no more than, *Valedixit, he had farewel*, or *took his leave of*. *Menander*, or rather *Alexander Rhetor*, (in the chapter περὶ λαλιᾶς pag. 624,) writes, that σωτακτικὴ λαλιὰ was by the *Sophiſts* termed *an Oration, wherein the Scholaſtici (when the courſe of their ſtudies was compleated,) departing from Athens, and about to return into their own Country, atteſted their grief in reference to their going away*: or *when any one going from home, reſolved upon a journey to Athens*. The *ſame Author* in his chapter περὶ συντακτικῶν λόγων, gives us the method of ſuch Orations: ὁ συνταπόμενος, δῆλός ἐστιν ἀνιώμενος ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ, *he that bids farewel, pretends himſelf grieved on account of his departure.* Moreover, throughout the whole chapter he every where uſes σωτάπεδας for *valedicere, to bid farewel*. And he ſays, that this ſort of Oration was firſt invented by *Homer*, in whom *Ulyſſes* bids farewel to the *Phæaces*. But *Natalis Comes* who tranſlated *Menander Rhetor* into *Latine*, renders συντακτικὸν λόγον *adjunctivam Orationem, an adjunctive Speech*, and tranſlates thoſe words I have cited, ὁ συνταπόμενος, &c. *adjungers*, &c. *adjoyning*, &c. Than which nothing can be more fooliſh. But with *Græcians* σωτάπεδας is *valedicere to bid farewel*. *Heſychius*, συντάξασθαι, ἀσπάσασθαι. So *Euſebius* uſes it in the end of *this chapter*, and in the *Firſt Book*, chap. 21. where he ſpeaks concerning the death of *Conſtantius Chlorus*. There is an Oration of this ſort extant, made by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the *convention of the* 150 *Biſhops*; which *Oration* has this Title, συντακτήριος λόγος, which is the ſame with σωτάκτικος. For in this Oration *Gregorius* bids farewel to the *Conſtantinopolitane* Church. *Suidas* therefore is right in ſaying συντακτήριος, συντάκτικος. But, as to what the ſame *Suidas* adds, that *Origen* was called συντακτήριος, in that he is much out: for *Origen* was termed συντάκτης, as *Epiphanius* atteſts not συντακτήριος. *Valeſ.*

Further, when the Synod was about to be diſſolved, [a] He made a *Valedictory Speech* to the Biſhops. For on a ſet day he called them all together. And when they were met, he adviſed them that they ſhould uſe their utmoſt diligence to preſerve Peace one with another, and to avoid pertinacious Contentions; that they ſhould not be envious, if any Biſhop amongſt them appeared eminent and approved for wiſdom and eloquence: but, ſhould account the virtue of every one to be a common good: that thoſe who were the more eminent ought † not to exalt themſelves above them who were meaner: For, that it was God's property to give a judgement concerning every one's true virtue and worth. That it was rather behoveable, that [the more eminent] ſhould yield and condeſcend to the Weaker, with an indulgence and Lenity; eſpecially, in regard 'twas very difficult to find any thing every way perfect. Wherefore, that it behoved them to grant one another pardon for ſmall offences, and to forgive and remit whatever has been committed through humane frailty; [b] having always an high regard to, and honour for mutual Concord; leaſt whilſt they raiſe Seditions and Factions one amongſt another, an occaſion of deriſion might be given to thoſe, who are ready to blaſpheme the Divine Law. [c] Of which perſons we muſt take the greateſt care, and ought to do all things, in regard they [d] might eaſily be ſaved, if thoſe things performed amongſt us could ſeem to them deſirable and worthy of imitation. [e] And, that they [ought] not to doubt, that the advantage [ariſing] from diſcourſes does not profit all men. For ſome rejoyce, that conveniences are [f] allowed them as 'twere in order to their maintenance: others

† *Raiſe*, or, *advance.*

[b] Περὶ πολλῶν μεμφόμενον. It would be better, were it made μεμφόμενος. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ὧν μάλιστα τὰ πάντα δεῖν. Some words ſeem to be wanting here. Indeed *theſe Books* are imperfect in many places, as we have already noted diverſe times. Now, this place may not unfitly be made good thus; ὧν μάλιστα φροντεῖν ἡμᾶς, χὴ ποιεῖν τὰ πάντα δεῖν, *of which perſons we muſt take the greateſt care, and ought to do all things, in regard*, &c. For theſe words are ſpoken concerning the *Pagans*, of whom *Conſtantine* had made mention juſt before, when he ſaid τοῖς τὸν θεῖον βλασφημεῖν νόμον παρεσκευασμένοις, *to thoſe, who are ready to blaſpheme the Divine Law*. *Conſtantine* ſays therefore to the Biſhops, that their chiefeſt care ought to be, leaſt by their diſſentions the *Pagans* ſhould be provoked to contemn and deride the Chriſtian Religion. For, that it behoves us, to take the greateſt care imaginable of them, and to do all things, whereby they might be recalled to the true faith and ſalvation. But, that they might eaſily be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, if our matters might ſeem bleſſed and admirable to them. Wherefore, that every one of them ought to be allured to our ſide by various ways and arts. Then he makes uſe of an inſtance of Phyſitians, who that they may reſtore health to the ſick, deviſe all things which they believe may be of advantage to them. Theſe words, 'tis certain, the Tranſlatours underſtood not, in whoſe Verſions the Reader will find all things contrary. To this place is to be referred a paſſage of *Euſebius* in chap. 58. *of this book*, where he ſays that the Emperour *Conſtantine* gave a great quantity of Gold to the Churches for the maintenance of the poor, in regard he was deſirous, that all men ſhould be invited, even this way alſo, to embrace the doctrine of the ſaving faith; according to the example of the Apoſtle, who in his *Epiſtle to the Philippians* ſays theſe words, *whether in pretence, or in truth, Chriſt is Preached*. Further, in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, and *Turnebus's Book*, the whole place is written thus; ὃς χὴ μάλιστα δεῖ σωθῆναι. ὃν ἀδύναλον γὰρ εἰ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ ζηλωτὰ φαίνουλο. Which queſtionleſs is the true reading. This only I would have mended, that inſtead of ὃν ἀδύναλον γὰρ it ſhould be written ὃν ἀδύναλον ἦ; and afterwards, inſtead of μὴ ἀξυοεῖν that the reading be μὴ ἀξυοεῖν γὰρ. *Valeſ.*

[d] Σωθῆναι δυναμένων. At this place σωθῆναι ſignifies *to partake of the doctrine of the ſalutary Faith*; in which ſenſe 'tis taken by St. *Paul*, where he ſays, that *God would have all men to be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth*. This verb is in this ſenſe proper to the Chriſtian Religion. In which ſignification nevertheleſs, the Philoſophers of the latter age uſed it, as I remember I have read in the *Commentaries of Proclus on Timæus*. Valeſ.

[e] Μὴ ἀμφιξυοεῖν. It is rather to be written μὴ δ' ἀμφιξυοεῖν, by underſtanding δεῖ which was made uſe of a little before; and we have rendred it accordingly. But the *Fuketian Copy* has opened to us the true reading, wherein 'tis thus worded, μὴ ἀξυοεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶμαι ὡς, &c. *But I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant, that*, &c. And ſo *Turnebus* had mended it at the margin of his Book, from a *Manuſcript Copy*. Valeſ.

[f] Ἐπικαιρέμενοι. A new and unuſual word; inſtead whereof it ought, as I think, to be ἐπιχορηγέμενοι, *allowed*. The meaning of this paſſage is the ſame with that we have ſet in our Verſion. For *Conſtantine* ſays, that the *Pagans* are wont to be converted to our Religion on various accounts and occaſions. That ſome are drawn by the hope of food, namely becauſe of the Alms of the *Chriſtians*. Others, by the hope of Patronage; to wit, on account of the authority of the Biſhops, who could do much with the Emperour and *Grandees* at Court. Προστασία ſignifies *Patronage, Protection*, or *Favour*, as *I have noted at Amm. Marcellinus*; which term *John Chryſoſtome* makes frequent uſe of. In the excellent *Fuketian Copy* the word ἐπικαιρέμενοι is wanting, and this whole place is thus worded; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πρὸς ἡδονὴν χαίρουσιν. οἱ δὲ πρὸ προστασίας ἐπειλημμένοις ὑποτρέχειν εἰώθασιν; *For ſome rejoyce as 'twere on account of food: others are wont to run under thoſe who are poſſeſſed of* [or, *have procured*] *Patronage*. Valeſ.

are

are wont to flie to Patronage. Some love those from whom they have had a kind reception: and others being honoured with Gifts, are thereby induced to enter into a friendship. But their number is small who are [g] true Lovers of discourses, and †'tis a rare thing to find a friend of Truth. For which reason they ought all to fit and conform themselves [to all men,] and (like a Physician) administer to each person those things which are profitable for salvation; to the end that the saving Doctrine may be honoured by all men. These were the admonitions [given them by the Emperour] in the first place. But in the close he added, that with all diligence and earnestness they would put up their prayers to God in behalf of him. Having in this manner taken leave of them, he permitted them all to return into their own Countries. They therefore went home with all the chearfulness imaginable; and in future one Opinion, which had been agreed on in the Emperours presence, prevailed amongst all men; in regard those who for a long time had been disunited, closed again in one Body as 'twere.

[g] Ἀόγων ἀληθεῖς. The *Fuketian Copy* and Sir *Henry Savil's* have it written λόσων ἀληθῶν ἐραστὰ, *Lovers of true discourses.* And in the same manner 'tis mended in the margin of *Turnebus's Book.* But the common reading (expresst in our Version) pleases me best, by reason of those words which immediately follow, to the end a *tautology* might be avoided. A little after, the *Fuketian Copy* and the *Kings Sheets* have it written ὑφ' ἑνὶ σώματι, *in one Body*; not ἐφ' ἑνὶ as 'tis in the common Editions. In the *same Copy* I found it written διόπερ πάντας ἁρμόττεσθαι δεῖ, *For which reason they ought to fit and conform themselves to all men*; not as 'tis commonly Printed, διὸ πρὸς πάντας. *Vales.*

† Or, *A friend of truth is rare.*

CHAP. XXII.

In what manner he sent to some, and wrote to others; and [concerning] the distributions of money.

THE Emperour therefore, rejoycing at this * great success, by his Letters imparted most plentiful and pleasing fruit to those who had not been present at the Synod. Moreover, he ordered liberal distributions of money to be made amongst all the people, as well those in the Countries as them in the Cities; in this manner honouring the publick Festivals [celebrated] on account of the twentieth year of his Empire.

* Or, *Brave exploit, viz. the union of the Church.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How he wrote to the Egyptians, *and exhorted them* * *to Peace.*

* Or, *In relation to Peace.*

BUT when other persons were at Peace one with another, amongst the *Egyptians* only the mutual contention was fierce and implacable: in so much that they did again disturb the Emperour; nevertheless they excited him not to anger. For he † treated them with all the honour imaginable, as if they had been Fathers, or rather Prophets of God; and called them to him a second time; and did again with great patience mediate between them; and honoured them with Gifts again, and declared to them his determination by a Letter: wherein he confirmed and established the Decrees of the Synod; and besought them that they would be studious to preserve Concord, that they should not distract nor tear in sunder the Church; but that they should take into their consideration the memory of the judgment of God. And these things the Emperour suggested to them by † a peculiar Letter.

† Or, *Cherished.*

† Or, *His own writing.*

CHAP. XXIV.

That he frequently wrote * *Pious Letters to the Bishops and People.*

* Or, *Piously.*

MOreover, he wrote infinite other things of the same sort with these, and penn'd a vast number of Letters; † sometimes to the Bishops, wherein he commanded those things which were of advantage to the Churches of God; at others, he addrest himself by Letters even to the ‖ populacy themselves, [in which Letters] this thrice blessed person stiled the people of the Church, Brethren and his own Fellow-servants. But we will at another time get leisure [a] to make a Collection of these [Letters and Sanctions] in a peculiar Volume, to the end the ‖ Series of this our History may not be interrupted at present.

† Or, *Partly.*

‖ Or, *Multitudes.*

‖ Or, *Body.*

[a] Indeed, *Eusebius* did afterwards perform what he here promises; and in a peculiar volume comprized all the Letters and Sanctions of the Emperour *Constantine*, which bore a reference to the Catholick Faith. This I am informed of from the *Medicæan Copy*; wherein, at the close of his *Eccles. Hist. Constantine's Letter to the Palestinians* is written out, which *Eusebius* hath recorded in the foregoing book, and after the foresaid Letter these words occurr; ταῦτα μὲν ἓν ὧδέ μοι κείσθω. φέρε ἤδη λοιπὸν. τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἡμῶν καὶ πεφοτάτου βασιλέως ὁπισολὰς, ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ὁμοῦ πάσας συναγάγωμεν; that is, *Let these things therefore be here placed by me. But come on now; let us from another hand* [or, *beginning*] *gather the Laws, and all the Letters of our Pious and most mild Emperour* [*written*] *in defence of the true Religion.* Vales.

CHAP. XXV.

That he ordered a Church to be built at Jerusalem, *in the holy place of our Saviour's Resurrection.*

THese matters having been in this manner performed, this pious [Emperour] effected [a] another vast work highly memorable, in the Province of the *Palestinians.* But what was that? He look'd upon it as his duty, to render that most blessed place of the Salutary Resurrection, which is at *Jerusalem*, illustrious and venerable in the sight of all men. He gave orders therefore, that an Oratory should forthwith be erected there: which he was induced to do, not without God's appointment; but had his mind incited thereto by our Saviour himself.

[a] Μνήμης ἄλλο τι μέζισον. The first word ought, I think, to be expunged, as being superfluous; unless it should be made μνήμης ἕνεκα, *on account of its memorableness.* It may also be worded thus, εἰς μνήμην. *Turnebus* at the margin of his *Copy* hath made it ἄξιον instead of μέζισον. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

That the Impious had covered our Lord's Sepulchre with Rubbish and Idols.

FOR impious men, or rather the whole Tribe of *Dæmons* by the assistance of such men, had heretofore made it their business, wholly to involve that admirable monument of Immortality in darkness and oblivion. [The Monument I say] to which an Angel, shining with light, descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone from their minds who were really stony, and who supposed that the living [Christ] as yet lay amongst the dead: [which Angel] brought glad tidings to the women, and removed the stone of Infidelity from [a] their minds, to the end he might assert an opinion concerning his Life, who was sought for by them. This salutary Cave therefore some impious and profane persons took a resolution wholly to render invisible; being so foolish as to think, that by this means they should conceal the truth. Wherefore, having by much labour brought together a vast quantity of earth, [b] from what place soever they could get it, and heaping it up, they * filled that whole place. And after this they raised it to an height, and paved it with stone; under which great heap of earth they hid the divine Cave which was below. Then, as if nothing else remained to [be done by] them, upon this [heap of] earth they prepare a truely horrid Sepulchre of Souls; erecting a dark Cavern of dead Idols, in honour of that Lascivious *Dæmon* [whom they term] *Venus:* in which place they [c] offered abominable oblations upon impure and execrable Altars. For by this means only, and not otherwise, they thought to bring to effect what they had attempted, if by these execrable abominations they could cover the salutary Cave. For the Wretches were not able to understand, that it was altogether unlikely, that he who had been Crowned with a Victory over death, should leave this attempt of theirs concealed: [d] in the like manner as 'tis impossible, that the Sun shining above the earth, and performing his † usual course in the Heavens, should escape the knowledge of all mankind. For the power of our Saviour (which shines with a light far more resplendent than the Sun, and which does not illustrate Bodies [as the Sun does,] but the souls of men,) had now filled the whole world with its own Raies of Light. Nevertheless, the Machinations of these impious and prophane men against the Truth, had continued for a long space of time. Nor was there any person to be found, either of the *Presidents*, or * *Duces*, or of the Emperours themselves, who could be fit to destroy this so audacious an impiety; save only this one [Prince,] the Friend to the supream God. Who, inspired with the divine Spirit, and not enduring that that forementioned place, which by the Enemies frauds had been hid under all manner of impure † filth, should be delivered up to oblivion and ignorance; nor thinking it fit to yield to their malice, who had been the occasioners hereof: having called upon that God who was his Assistant, gives order that it should be cleansed. It being his Sentiment, that that part especially of the Ground, which had been defiled by the Enemy, ought by his means to enjoy the Divine Magnificence. As soon therefore as this Order was issued out from the Emperour, those engines of fraud were thrown down from their vast height to the very ground; and the Buildings erected to lead men into errour, were ruined and demolish'd, together with the very Statues themselves and the *Dæmons*.

[a] I supposed the word *their* was to be referred to the women which came early to the Sepulchre of our Lord. But *Christophorson* referred it to those stony and incredulous persons, concerning whom *Eusebius* hath spoken a little before; which I approve not of. *Vales.*

[b] Ἔξωθεν ποθέν. I would rather read ἔξ ὅθεν ποθὲν, that is, *from what place soever they could get it.* Vales.

* Or, *Cover'd*

[c] Θυσίας ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἀποπίνδυσες. *Christophorson* has rendred this place very ill, in this manner; *tum detestabiles ibi victimas super impuras aras immolare, also to offer detestable victims there upon impure Altars.* But the term ἀποπίνδυσες does sufficiently shew, that *Eusebius* speaks not here concerning *Victims* or *Beasts killed in Sacrifice*, but concerning *Libations*; to wit, *Wine*, *Milk*, and the like, which the Heathens offered to their Gods. Besides, 'tis wholly absurd, that Victims should be killed upon the Altars. For Sacrifices were killed *by*, not *upon* the Altars. This is a known Verse of *Ovid*;

Rode caper vitem. Tamen hinc cùm stabis ad aras, &c. Vales.

[d] Οὐδὲ τῷ σύμπασαν ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων λαθεῖν. This place is imperfect, of which sort very many occurr in *these Books of Eusebius.* It may, as I think, not unfitly be made good in this manner; ὡς οὐδὲ τῷ σύμπασαν τὴν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν δυνηθῆναι λαθεῖν, &c. *in the like manner as 'tis impossible*, &c. Indeed, *Eusebius*'s following words do most plainly confirm this our emendation. But *Christophorson* has confounded all things here, as 'tis apparent from *his Version.* Vales.

† Or, *Own.*

CHAP. XXVII.

In what manner Constantine *gave order, that the Materials wherewith the* Idol-Temple *had been built, and the Rubbish should be removed and thrown at a great distance.*

NOR did the Emperour's earnestness and diligence stop here. But he issued forth another Order, that the Materials of the Buildings demolished, which consisted of Stone and Timber, should be removed, and thrown at a vast distance without the confines of that Region. Which Order of his likewise was forthwith put in execution. Nor was he satisfied in proceeding thus far only. But, incited again by a divine warmth and zeal, he commanded, that they should dig up the very ground it self of that place, to a vast depth, and carry away the earth which was thrown out a far off, in regard it had been defiled with the Gore of Sacrifices offered to * Devils.

* Or, *Dæmons.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

*The discovery * of the most Holy Sepulchre.*

* Or, *Of the Holy Sepulchre of the Holies.*

WIthout delay therefore this Command was likewise fulfilled. But after another ground † beneath the former, namely the place which was at the bottom, was discovered; then the August and most Holy || Monument of our Saviour's Resurrection, contrary to all expectation appeared. And then also that Cave, [which may truly be stiled] the Holy of Holies, expresst a certain likeness to our Saviour's Resurrection: in regard, after its being * buried in darkness, it came forth into the light again, and gave a manifest History of those Miracles heretofore performed there, to be viewed

† Or, *Instead of*; he means the heap of earth wherewith the Heathens had filled that place.

|| Or, *Evidence.*

* Or, *Overwelmed with.*

viewed by them who flock't together to that ſight; [an Hiſtory] that atteſted the Reſurrection of our Saviour [a] by the things themſelves, which ſound far more audibly and clearly than any voice.

[a] Ἔργοις ἀπίστοις γεγωνοτέραν φωνῆς. It muſt doubtleſs be made γεγωνοτέρεις, which *Chriſtophorſon* perceived not. The meaning of the place is this, *that that reſtitution of the Lord's Sepulchre after ſo many ages, did really confirm the Reſurrection of our Lord.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is γεγωνοτέρως, in which manner *Turnebus* had likewiſe mended it at the margin of *his Book*, from a *Manuſcript Copy*. In the *Kings Sheets* 'tis γεγανοτέρας. Sir *Henry Savil* had noted at the margin of *his Book*, that *perhaps it ſhould be* γεγωνότερον. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXIX.

In what manner he wrote to the Preſidents, *and to* Macarius *the* Biſhop, *concerning the Building* [*of a Church.*]

THeſe things having been thus performed, immediately the Emperour, by iſſuing forth pious Laws and conſtitutions, and by plentiful allowances for expences, orders a Church befitting God to be built about the Salutary Cave, with a magnificence that was rich and royal. For he had laid this deſign within himſelf long before, and with a divine alacrity had foreſeen that which in future would be. [He gave command] therefore to the Governours of the Provinces in the Eaſt, that by allowing liberal and plentifull ſupplies, they ſhould make that Work Stately, large, and Magnificent. But to the Biſhop who at that time preſided over the Church at *Jeruſalem*, he ſent this Letter, wherein by manifeſt expreſſions he has aſſerted * the Doctrine of the ſaving Faith, writing in this manner.

*Or, *The ſaving Doctrine of the Faith.*

CHAP. XXX.

Conſtantine's [Letter] to *Macarius*, concerning the Building of the *Martyrium* of our Saviour.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Macarius*.

[a] Μὴ δὲ μὶ λόγων δεῆσθαι παρηγορίαν. In *Socrates*, *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus*, the reading is λόγων χορηγίαν; which I think to be truer. *Valeſ.*

SO *great is Our Saviour's Love and Favour, that* [a] *no Rhetorick ſeems ſufficient to ſet forth a Declaration of the preſent Miracle. For, that the Monument of his moſt Holy Paſſion, long ſince hid underneath the earth, ſhould lie concealed for ſo many periods of years, till ſuch time as, by the* [b] *ſlaughter of that common Enemy, it ſhould glorioufly appear to his ſervants now ſet at Liberty,* [*is a matter which*] *does really ſurmount all admiration.*

[b] *Conſtantine* here terms *Licinius* the publick Enemy; after whoſe deſtruction, he ſays, the ſacred Sepulchre of Our Lord, which before had been concealed, was brought to the light and ſight of Men. *Licinius* was ſlain on the year of Chriſt 326, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Faſti*. And on that very year, when *Helena* was come to *Jeruſalem*, the Sepulchre of Our Lord was found. By the name of *Publick Enemy*, the Devil might alſo be meant here, were not this contradicted by the following Words. For the Devil was not then finally vanquiſhed and overcome, when the Sepulchre of the Lord was cleared from the filth and rubbiſh which covered it. Beſides, ἀναίρεσις, that is, *ſlaughter*, is more appoſitely ſpoken of *Licinius*, than concerning the Devil. *Valeſ.*

For, if all thoſe Perſons who throughout the whole World are accounted wiſe, ſhould be convened in one and the ſame Place, with a deſign to ſpeak ſomething agreeable to the worthineſs of this Matter; they would not be able after their utmoſt Endeavours, to attain to [*an explication of*] *the leaſt part of it.* [c] *For* * *the authority of this Miracle doth as far tranſcend every Nature capable of Humane Reaſon, as things that are Celeſtial do exceed thoſe which are Humane. Wherefore, this is always my chief and only aim, that as the authority of the truth doth daily demonſtrate it ſelf by new Miracles, ſo the minds of us all ſhould with all modeſty and unanimous alacrity, become more careful and diligent about* [*an obſervation of*] *the Holy Law.* [d] *Which thing in regard I judge to be manifeſtly apparent to all Men, my deſire is you ſhould moſt eſpecially be perſwaded of this, that there is nothing which I have a greater care about and concern for, than that we ſhould adorn that Sacred Place* (*which by God's Command I have unburthened of that moſt deteſtable acceſſion of the Idol, as 'twere of ſome ponderous and heavy weight*; [*which place*] *by God's determination was made holy from the beginning, but was afterwards demonſtrated to be more Holy, out of which he hath brought to light the Truth and Certainty of Our Saviour's Paſſion*;) *with Magnificent and Stately Structures.*

[c] Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον πᾶσαν. I think it muſt be ἐπεὶ τοσοῦτῳ πᾶσαν, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

* The term πίστις, *faith, authority*, or *credit*, is wanting here; which we have inſerted from *Socrates*, Book 1. Chap. 9.

[d] Ὥσπερ δ' ἔστι. This place is to be mended from *Socrates* and *Theodoret*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXI.

That he would have this Church built ſo, as to exceed all the Churches in the World, for beauty of Walls, Columns, and Marbles.

THerefore, *it does well become* Your Prudence, *ſo to diſpoſe and make proviſion of all materials neceſſary for the Work, that not only the Church it ſelf may in Statelineſs excell all others in what Place ſoever, but alſo that the other parts of it may be made ſuch, as that all the beautifulleſt Structures in whatever City may be outdone by this Fabrick. And as concerning the raiſing and exquiſite Workmanſhip of the Walls, We would have you know, that the care thereof hath by Us been committed to Our Friend* [a] Dracilianus Deputy to the moſt Famous the Præfecti Prætorio, *and to the Preſident of the Province.*

[a] Δρακιλιανῷ τῷ διέποντι τὰ ἡμῖν ἐπαρχῶν μέρη. This place muſt likewiſe be mended from *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Nicephorus*, in this manner, τὰ τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων μέρη, *Deputy to the moſt Famous the Præfecti Prætorio.* There are indeed two Laws of *Conſtantine* extant in the *Thodoſian Code*, the one in the *Title de Uſuris*, the other in *that de Hæreticis*, written to this *Dracilianus*. The former has this Inſcription; *Imp. Conſtantinus Aug. ad Dracilianum agentem vices Præfectorum Præt.* It was publiſhed at *Cæſarea in Paleſtine* on the fifteenth of the Calends of *May*, in the *Conſulate of Paulinus and Julianus*. But the ſecond is ſaid to have been publiſhed on the Calends of *September*, at *Generaſtum*, *Conſtantinus Auguſtus the ſeventh time and Conſtantius Cæſar being Coſſ.* That is, on the year of Chriſt 326. On which year alſo *Conſtantine* wrote this Letter to *Macarius* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Further, 'tis to be noted, that the *Præfecti Prætorio* are here termed *Clariſſimi*, *moſt famous*. For they had not yet received the dignity of *the Illuſtriſſimate*, [or, *the title of moſt Illuſtrious.*] Moreover, in other of *Conſtantine's* Laws, the *Præfecti Prætorio* are ſtiled *clariſſimi*, as it occurs in theſe Books. But, as the *Præfecti Prætorio* had only the Title of *Clariſſimi* in *Conſtantine's* age, ſo the *Vicarii* [*Deputies*] of the *Prætorian Præfecture* were ſtiled only *perfectiſſimi* [*moſt perfect*] in the times of the ſame *Conſtantine*; as a *Letter to Probianus Proconſul* of *Africk* informs us. See *Athanaſius's Apologetick to Conſtantius*, pag. 794. *Valeſ.*

For it has been ordered by Our Piety, *that Artificers and Workmen, and whatever else they may be informed of from* Your Prudence *as necessary for the Structure, shall by their care be forthwith sent. But concerning the Columns or Marbles, whatever* You *Your Self,* [b] *on sight of the Model, shall judge to be more sumptuous and usefuller, make it Your business to inform Us by Letter; that when we shall understand from Your Letter, how many and what manner of Materials You stand in need of, they may be conveyed to you from all parts.* [c *For 'tis but reasonable, that that most admirable place of the whole World, should be beautified according to its dignity and worth.*]

[b] Σωφρονεστέρως ἡμῶν κρινεῖς. At this place σύνοψις signifies the *form* and *delineation* of the future work. In which sense 'tis taken also in the *Letter of Himerius the Rationalis of* Alexandria *to the Præfect of Mareotis*, which *Athanasius* records in his *Apology*, pag. 803. For, after he had said, that *Augustus* and the *Cæsars* had permitted *Ischyras* to build a Church in his own Village, he commands the *Præpositus* of that Village forthwith to draw a Model of the future Building, and send it to his Office. See *Socrat.* Book 1. Chap. 9. note (*x*.) Vales.

[c] This whole sentence is wanting here in the Greek Text of *Eusebius*. It occurs in *Socrates*, Book 1. Chap. 9. in *Theodoret*, Book 1. Chap. 17. and in *Robert Stephens's Edition* also at the *said places of Socrates and Theodoret*: but at this place 'tis left out in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. 'Tis inserted here in *Valesius's Version*; from whom, and the aforementioned Authorities, we have put it into our Translation.

CHAP. XXXII.

That [*Macarius*] should write to the Presidents concerning the beautifying of the * *Concha*, and concerning Workmen, and Materials.

* Or, *Inside of the Roof.*

Further, I desire to know of You, whether You think good to have the inner Roof of the Church [a] *Arched, or* † *Embowed, or made of any other sort of Work. For, if it be Embowed, it may also be* ‖ *gilded with Gold.* [b] *It remains therefore, that as soon as may be,* Your Holiness *should inform the forementioned Judges, how many Workmen and Artificers, and what Money for Expences there will be need of: and that* [Your Holiness] *take care to give Me a speedy account, not only concerning the Marbles and Columns, but in reference also to the Embowed Roofs, if You shall judge that to be the more beautiful Work. God preserve You, Beloved Brother!*

[a] Τὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς καμάρων, πότερον λακουναρίαν. The Roofs of Churches were usually adorn'd two ways. For they were either beautified with *Lacunaria Embowed* or *Fretted-Roofs*, or else wrought with *Mosaick Work*. As to the *Lacunaria*, this place of *Constantine* is an evidence. Concerning the *Mosaick-Work*, *Procopius* is to be consulted, in *his first Book de Fabricis Justiniani*, where he describes the Church of *Saint Sophia*. Now the *Lacunaria* were usually adorned two ways. For either they were gilded; or painted, which *Pausias* was the first Inventer of, concerning whom *Pliny* (Book 35. Chap 11) writes thus: *Idem & Lacunaria primus pingere instituit: nec cameras ante eum taliter adornari mos fuit.* *Isidorus* (Book 19. *of his Origines*,) writes thus; *Laquearia sunt quæ cameram subtegunt & ornant: quæ & Lacunaria dicuntur: quod Lacus quosdam quadratos vel rotundos ligno vel gypso vel coloribus habeant picta, cum signis intermicantibus.* Which place of *Isidorus*, *Salmasius* does without cause find fault with, in *his notes on Flavius Vopiscus*, pag. 393. where he denies that *Lacunaria* were ever put under Roofs. But *Pliny* in express Words affirms that very thing, as also *Constantine* in *this Letter*. *The Old Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament*, at *Question* 106, has these words; *Sicut enim ad ornamentum domus pertinet, si camera ejus habeat auro distincta Laquearia*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Word.*

† Or, *Fretted.*

‖ Or, *Adorned.*

[b] Καλλωπιδῆναι τὸ λειπόμενον. At this place I followed the punctation of *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus*, who after the verb καλλωπιδῆναι, *gilded with Gold*, set a point. All the Translatours likewise before us did the same, saving *Musculus*. But if any one had rather place the point after λειπόμενον, thus [*what remains*, or, *the rest of the Building, may be also gilded with Gold.*] Then it must be written, πλὴν ἡ σὴ ὁσιότης, &c. *Besides, Your Holiness as soon as may be shall inform*, &c. as the reading is in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and in Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Church of [Our] *Saviour was built, which the Prophets had termed* New-Jerusalem.

THese were the Contents of the Emperour's Letter: his * order was immediately followed by the things themselves effectually put in execution. And [a] in the very *Martyrium* of Our Saviour, [b] the *New-Jerusalem* was built, over against that most celebrated Old [*Jerusalem*;] which having been reduced to the * utmost degree of Ruin and Desolation after that nefarious Murder of Our Lord, underwent the punishment of its impious Inhabitants. Opposite to this [City] therefore, the Emperour erected † the Trophie of Victory which Our Saviour had gained over Death, ‖ with a rich and gorgeous splendour. And this perhaps was that fresh and New *Jerusalem*, spoken of in the Oracles of the Prophets; concerning which there occurs so many, and such large Expressions uttered by the divine Spirit it self. In the first place therefore, he adorned the sacred Cave, in regard it was the Head of the whole Work; to wit, that divine Monument, at which an Angel shining with [a Celestial] Light, heretofore * declared to all Men that Regeneration which was demonstrated by our Saviour.

* Or, *Last.*

† Or, *The Salutary Victory over Death.*

‖ Or, *With rich and abundant Honours*, or *Glories.*

* *Evangelized.*

[a] Κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον. *Eusebius* uses the same Words in *his Panegyrick concerning* Constantine's *Tricennalia, towards the latter end of chap.* 9. Nor has *Christophorson* translated it ill in both places, thus, *Salutare Christi Monumentum, the Salutary Monument of Christ.* Indeed, above at Chap. 28. *Eusebius* terms *the Sepulchre of our Lord* τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον, *the Martyrium or Monument of Our Saviour's Resurrection.* Moreover, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, in *his fourteenth Catechesis*, writes that the *place of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection* is termed *The Martyrium.* Vales.

[b] Νέα κατεσκεύαζετο ἱερουσαλὴμ. These words of *Eusebius*, *Socrates* has written out at Chap. 17. Book 1. ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ, οἶκον ὡφ' εὐκτήριον ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ, πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασεν, ἱερουσαλὴμ νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ καταλελειμένῃ ποιήσασα; *But the Emperour's Mother erected in the place of the Sepulchre a most Magnificent Church, called it New-Jerusalem, building it opposite to that Old deserted* [*Jerusalem.*] Which Words of *Socrates* are to be observed with more of attention. In the first place he attributes that to *Helena*, which *Eusebius* says was done by *Constantine*. Wherein he has followed the Authority of *Rufinus*, who (Book 1. Chap. 8. of *his Eccles. History*) writes, that this Church was built at *Jerusalem* by *Helena*. Now, although it be of small moment, whether *Helena* at the charge of the Emperour *Constantine*, or *Constantine* himself by the care and diligence of his Mother *Helena*, be said to have built that Church: yet 'tis better to follow *Eusebius's* Opinion; in regard he was both present at the things themselves, and also produces *Constantine's* Letter concerning the building of that Church. 'Tis to be remarked also, that what *Eusebius* had worded thus, κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, *in* or *at the Martyrium of Our Saviour*; that is thus expreſt by *Socrates*, ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ, *in the place of the Sepulchre.* But, what *Eusebius* had expressed in this manner, ἡ νέα κατεσκεύαζετο ἱερουσαλὴμ. *the New-Jerusalem was built*; that *Socrates* words thus, οἶκον εὐκτήριον κατεσκεύασε, ἱερουσαλὴμ νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον, &c. *erected*——*a*——*Church, called it New-Jerusalem, building it opposite*, &c. where any one may see that the word ἐπωνόμασεν, *called it*, must be expunged. For that Church was not termed *New-Jerusalem*, as the Translatour thought, and before him *Nicephorus*; but it was called *The Martyrium*, or *The Basilica Constantiniana*, and *Anastasis*. *Eusebius* therefore and *Socrates* do say only this, that *Constantine* or *Helena*, having erected that Church which was a great and stately Structure, built the *New-Jerusalem* over against that *old one*, which heretofore had been ruined by the *Romans*. Which is most true. For from that time, the City *Ælia*, its true and old name being by degrees abolished, began to be called *Jerusalem* by the *Christians*;

Chriſtians; whenas notwithſtanding, it really was not *Jeruſalem*, in regard it had been erected in another ſoil, and was built by a *Roman* Emperor (who then was the bittereſt Enemy to the *Jews*,) with that deſign and intent, that the *Gentiles* might inhabit it; but, that the *Jews* might be driven at the greateſt diſtance from its entrance. Further, I doubt not but *Euſebius* alludes to that place which occurrs in the *Revelation*, chap. 21. verſ. 2. *And I—ſaw the Holy City, New-Jeruſalem coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her Husband.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Deſcription of the Fabrick of The moſt Holy Sepulchre.

THIS [Monument I ſay,] in regard it was the Head of the whole work, the Emperor's Munificence in the firſt place * adorned with Eximious Columns, and with all imaginable Beauty; and rendred it glorious and ſplendid by various ſorts of Ornaments.

* Or, *Diſtinguiſhed.*

but the outward ſurface of the Walls, being beautified with poliſh'd Stones cemented together by exact joynts, made a moſt glorious and beautiful ſhew, nothing inferiour to the appearance of Marble. * As to the top of the Church, he covered the outward part of the Roof with Lead, in regard that was the ſtrongeſt defence againſt winter ſhowers. But the Inner Roof being † ſet with [b] Carv'd *Lacunaria*, and ſpread like ſome great Sea all over the Church by || Tables joyned one with another, and covered all over with the * pureſt Gold, made the whole Church ſhine, as 'twere, with Rayes of Light.

* Or, *At the Roofs themſelves above.*

† *Finiſhed*, or *fitted.*

[b] Γλυφαῖς | φαλνωμά-των. What φαλνώμαλα are *Heſychius* and the *Author of the Etymologicon* do inform us; who interpret φαλνώματα, σανιδώμαλα, σήγη διάλυφα, that is, *Tabellæ*; *tecta laqueata*, *Tablets*; *Embowed Roofs*. *Euſebius* uſes the ſame word hereafter at chap. 49. Hence therefore it appears, that the Roof of the Church was on the inſide covered and adorned with a *Lacunar* [or *Embowed Roof*,] according to *Conſtantine's* thoughts about it, as he atteſts in his *Letter to Macarius*. For on the outſide it was covered with Lead, to keep off ſhowers. Therefore the Roof muſt neceſſarily have been framed of Stone, which might bear up the Lead laid upon it, *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Continued junctures.*

* *Bright*, or *clear.*

CHAP. XXXV.

A Deſcription of the Atrium, *and of the* Porticus's.

AFter that he paſſed to a moſt ſpacious Place, open to the pure Air. The * Ground whereof he beautified by paving it with [a] ſhining or bright Stone, and incloſed it [b] on three ſides with *Porticus*'s that † were extended to a vaſt length.

* *Floor*, or, *Bottom.*

† Or, *Ran out.*

[a] Λίθῳ λαμπρῷ. He ſeems to mean Marble, or at leaſt poliſh'd ſtone like to Marble. So in the following chapter *Euſebius* uſes theſe words ξεσῷ λίθῳ λαμπρυνομένῳ to ſignifie the ſame. But *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred λαμπρὸν λίθον, *Eximious Stone*: *Porteſius* tranſlates it *excellent Stone*; not well, as I think. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἐκ πεπλεύρω. The *Atria* (*Courts*) of Churches conſiſted uſually of four *Porticus's*, placed in form of a *Quadrangle*. In the midſt there was an open place, ſuch a one as we now a days ſee in the *Cloyſters* of *Monks*. *Euſebius* informs us hereof, in the *deſcription of the Church at Tyre*, which occurrs in the *Tenth Book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory* But in the Church at *Jeruſalem*, the Frame or Compoſure was different. For there were only three *Porticus's* there, placed at the three ſides. But in the fourth ſide, which was directly oppoſite to the Sepulchre at the riſing Sun, inſtead of a *Porticus* there was the Church it ſelf, as *Euſebius* informs us in the *following chapter*. Which ſeems to have been done for this reaſon, that the Church it ſelf might be enlightened with a larger light, no *Porticus* on the outſide giving any hindrance to the lights. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

A Deſcription of the Walls, Roof, Beauty, and Gilding * *of the Church it ſelf.*

* Or, *Of the Temple of the Church.*

FOR, to that ſide placed oppoſite to the Cave (which [ſide] look'd towards the riſing Sun,) the † *Baſilica* was joyned: a Work admirable and ſtately, raiſed to immenſe height, and extended to a vaſt length and breadth. The In-ſides of which Structure [a] were covered with Cruſts of Marble, that were of different colours:

† Or, *Royal Church.*

[a] Ὑλης μαρμάρου ποικίλης διεγλυπτον πλακώσεις. The Ancients adorned walls with cut Cruſts of Marble of a different colour, as I have noted at book 28. of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 363. Such Cruſts of Marble as theſe they termed πλάκας. See *Gregor. Nazianz. in Orat.* 32. and in his *Carmen Anacreonticum ad animum ſuum*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Deſcription of the double Porticus's *on both Sides, and of the three Eaſtern Gates.*

FUrther, at both the Sides, [a] double [b] *Porticus*'s as well [c] beneath as above, in length equalled the whole Church; the Roofs of which [*Porticus*'s] were likewiſe variouſly adorned with Gold. wit, two at each ſide of the Church. For that's the meaning of theſe words δίπλοῦν στοῶν δίδυμοι παραστάδες. Beſides, the following words do manifeſtly evince this. For, of theſe *Porticus*'s *Euſebius* ſays ſome were in the front of the Church, that is more outward; but others more inward. In the ſame manner there were four *Porticus*'s in the *Church of the Apoſtles* which was in the City *Rome* as *Prudentius* atteſts in the *Paſſion of the Apoſtles*, in theſe Verſes;

[a] There were four *Porticus*'s in the *Jeruſalem-Church*; to

Subdidit & Parias fulvis laquearibus Columnas
Diſtinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.

The ſame *Prudentius* in the *Paſſion of Hippolytus*, writes thus concerning the *Church of Saint Hippolytus*:

Ordo columnarum geminus laquearia tecti
Suſtinet, auratis ſuppoſitus trabibus.
Adduntur graciles tecto breviore receſſus,
Qui laterum ſeriem jugiter exſinuent.

The ſame Form may be ſeen in the greater Churches amongſt us, where four Orders of Pillars do make two *Porticus*'s on both ſides. Further, ſuch *Porticus*'s as theſe ſeem to be termed *gemellares* in the *Itinerarium Hieroſolymitanum*. *Intrà verò civitatis ſunt piſcinæ gemellares quinque Porticus habentes.* In which place nevertheleſs, 'tis doubtful, whether the pools themſelves, or the *Porticus's* are to be termed *gemellares*. And 'tis better to underſtand the pools to be *gemellares*. For there were two Pools, as *Jerome* relates in his *Book de Locis Hebraicis*, where he treats of *Betheſda*. Valeſ.

[b] Παραστάδες. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred it *Xyſtos*, which is ill done. For στοῶν παραστάδες are by a *Synecdoche* made uſe of to ſignifie *Porticus's*. *Heſychius* expounds παραστάδας, *Pillars which are ſet againſt* [or *turned towards*] *a wall*. But *Chriſtophorſon* referred thoſe words δίπλοῦν στοῶν to πλάγιος in this manner, ἀμφὶ δ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πλάγιος δίπλοῦν στοῶν, &c. *at both the ſides of the double Porticus's*, &c: whereas, after the word *ſides*, a *comma* is to be placed, as the reading is in the *King's and Fuketian Manuſcript*; and thoſe words δίπλοῦν στοῶν ought to be referred to παραστάδες. For the ſides of the Church are meant here; which is confirmed from the *Tenth Book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory*, where he deſcribes the Church of *Tyre* in theſe words, ταῖς παρ' ἑκάτερα τῆς παστὸς νεὼ στοαῖς, *to the Cloyſters* [or, *Porticus's*] *on both ſides of the whole Church*. Valeſ.

[c] Ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων. *Euſebius* has treated above concerning the *Porticus's* of the *Atrium*. Now he ſpeaks concerning the *Porticus's* of the Church. And in the firſt place he ſays, that at each ſide of the Church, there were two *Porticus's*. Then he tells us, that thoſe *Porticus's* were partly ἀναγείους, partly καταγείους. Which I ſo render; as that thoſe *Porticus's* had two Roofs; and that ſome of them were equal to the floor of the Church it ſelf; but that the other *Porticus's*

were placed above them; such as we see in our Churches. *Porticus*'s of this sort the Ancients termed διορόφους or διστέγους, *double-roofed*. *Gregory Nazainzen* (Orat. 19. pag. 313. where he describes a Church built by his own Father.) has these words; χιόνων δὲ ἡ στῶν κάλλεσι δι' ὀρόφων εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον, that is *rising to an height with the beauties of pillars and double-roofed porticus's*. For in that place of *Gregory* it must be written διορόφων in one word, which *Billius* perceived not. We may also render καταστέγους, *under-ground porticus's*. For in Temples, *Porticus*'s of this sort were wont to be built, which *Aristides* (in *his Oration de Cyziceno Templo*) calls δρόμους καταστέγους. Where he also says, that that Temple was threefold, partly subterraneous, partly in the open air; but, that the middle part of it was fitted for daily uses. *Vales.*

[d] Αἱ μὲν ὅπῃ πρόσω-πα; that is, *the outermost Porticus's*. So in the 10th *book*, speaking of the Fountains that

Of these [*Porticus*'s,] [d] they which were in the Front of the Church, were under-prop'd with vast Columns; [e] but those which were more inward, were born up by [f] piles of Stone most beautifully adorned on the outside. Three ‖ doors fitly placed at the rising Sun, received the multitudes of those that went in.

‖ Or, *Gates.*

were before the doors of the Church at *Tyre*, he says they were opposite εἰς πρόσωπον τῦ νεῶ, *to the front of the Church*. Vales.

[e] Αἱ δ' ἔσω τῶν ἔσωθεν. At the margin of the *Moræan Copy* 'tis mended τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, the same with which is the reading in *Gruter's Book*. It might also be mended τῶν ἔξωθεν. But in regard the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies* have it τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, that reading is to be preferred. *Vales.*

[f] Ὑπὸ πυστῖς. *Christophorson* renders it *postes*, *posts*; extreamly ill: *Portesius* translates better, *pilas*, *piles*. What πυστὶ are, *Procopius* informs us in *Book* 1. *de Fabricis Justiniani*, when he describes the Church of *Saint Sophia*; to wit, *hills* or *heaps of stone*, which he compares to certain Rocks that underprop'd the *Apsis* [*Bowing of the Arch'd Roof.*] The latter *Grecians* have termed them πυστὰς, as *Meursius* has remarked in his *Glossary*. They were therefore stony piles, so called as I think from their figure, because they were four-corner'd, like *pessi* or *pessuli*, *bars* or *bolts*. Now the inner *Porticus's*, which were next to the sides of the Church, were therefore underprop'd with these *pessi*, because they bore up the Roof of the Church on each side: which Roof in height exceeded all the rest. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Description of the Hemisphere, *and of the twelve Columns with their* Capitals.

[a] Ἡμισφαιεῖα. I write ἡμισφαίειον: so he calls the Altar of the Church, because it was built in the form of an *Hemisphere*.

OPposite to these [doors] was the [a] *Hemisphere*, the Head of the whole Work, [b] which was * stretch'd to the top of the Church. This *Hemisphere* was † begirt with twelve Pillars, equal to the number of our Saviour's Apostles. The heads of which [Pillars] were adorned with vast *Capitals* made of Silver: which the Emperor himself had dedicated to his God, as the fairest sacred present.

* *Continued*, or *prolonged*.

† Or, *Crowned*.

Hence 'tis that he terms it τὸ παντὸς κεφάλαιον *the Head of the whole Work*. For Churches were therefore built, that upon the Altar an unbloody Sacrifice might be offered to God. A little above *Eusebius* has termed the Sepulchre of our Lord *the Head of the whole work*: but now he gives the Altar of the Church that name; which two differ widely one from the other. For the Sepulchre of our Lord is therefore called the Head of the whole Work, because it was the beginning and entrance [or, porch] as 'twere of the whole Fabrick, and because for the sake of that, *Constantine* built the whole work But the Altar of the Church is termed the Sum of the whole Work, in regard the whole Work had a reference to that, and that was the Complement of the whole Structure, without which the Church was imperfect. Further, *Eusebius* has improperly stiled it *The Hemisphere*, instead of *the Hemicycle*, or rather *The Hemicylinder*; of which form the *Altar* of *Saint Sophia* was, as *Procopius* informs us *Book* 1. *de Ædificiis*. In *Turnebus's Book* at the margin 'tis mended ἡμισφαίειον, but in a more modern hand. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐπ' ἄκρα τῦ βασιλείου ἐκτελεμμένον. 'Tis the same as if he had said ἐπ' ἄκρον, *to the top*. The *Hemisphere* was stretch'd from the bottom to the top of the Church. And in the bottom there were twelve pillars, placed in a semicircular form. *Procopius* (book 1. *de Ædificiis*) confirms this explication, where he describes the Church of *Saint Sophia*: whose description it will be pleasant to compare with this Narration of *Eusebius*. Ἐπ' ἄκρα may also be expounded *in the upper end or top of the Church*, that so the meaning may be, that the Altar was not placed in the *middle of the Church*, but at the *upper end or top of it*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

[a] *A Description of the* Area, Exhedræ, *and* Porches.

[a] Ἐκθέσεις μεσαυλίας. *Christophorson* is grievously out, in rendring μεσαύλιον *portas atrienses*, *the Gates of the Atrium*; as if μεσαύλιον and μέσαυλον were all one. But μεσαύλιον is *Area*, *a Court* or *Court-yard*. For that which in the Contents of this Chapter is termed μεσαύλιον, in the Text of the Chapter is by *Eusebius* called αἴθριον. He makes use of the same term in his *description of the Church at Tyre*, in the *Tenth Book of his History*, μέσον αἴθριον ἧκεν, *the middle space he left open*; *see book* 10. *chap.* 4. *note* (u.) *Christophorson* renders it *aream*, which is not ill done. *Portesius* and *Musculus* translate it *subdivale spatium*, *a space that is vacant or abroad in the Air*, which is in my judgment better Latine. For the *Latins* called a clean place wherein Corn was threshed, *Aream*; but not those which now a days we term *Curtes*: yet use has prevailed, that *Areæ* should be called *Curtes*. *Græcians* likewise term *Curtis* (wherein Hens are fed and Oxen stalled,) μέσαυλον and μέταυλον; as *Apollonius* informs us in book 3. *Argonautic.* pag. 134. and his *Greek Scholiast*, and *Harpocration* in the word μέταυλος. The *Areæ* of Churches are mentioned in *Law* 4 *Cod. Theod. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt*. *Ut inter templum quod parietum descripsimus cinctu, & Januas primas Ecclesiæ, quicquid fuerit interjacens, sive in cellulis, sive in domibus, hortulis, blaneis, areis atque porticibus, confugas interioris templi Vice tueatur.* The *Greek Constitution* there related runs thus: ὡς τε μεταξὺ τῆ ναῶ, ὃν τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ περιφράξαι διεγράψαμεν, ἄχει τῶν πρώτων μὴ τοὺ δημοσίους τόπους ὁπλίσεως ὑφῶν, πᾶν τὸ παρεκκείμενον, εἴτε ἐν οἰκίαις, ἢ κήποις, ἢ αὐλαῖς, ἢ λέσχαις, ἢ ἐν στοαῖς τυχάνῃ, &c. You see that αὐλαὶς is rendred *Areas*. This Law of *Theodosius* is related in book 7. *Capitular. Caroli M.* Tit. 125. where nevertheless, instead of *areæ*, *atrium* is made use of. *Vales.*

[b] Ἔδεν δὲ προϊόντων. I had rather write προϊὼν, as *Musculus* seems to have read; and then it must be rendred thus, *proceeding from hence to those passages which lie*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Αὐλὴ πρώτη. *Christophorson* and *Musculus* render it right, *Atrium*. Indeed, the *Old Translator of the Gospel*, where ever the word αὐλὴ occurrs, renders it *Atrium*: Besides in the *Old Glosses* αὐλὴ is expounded *Atrium*. *Victorinus Petabionensis on the Revelation of Saint John*, says, *Aula atrium dicitur*, *vacua inter parietes area*, *Aula is termed Atrium*, *an empty Space between Walls*. Yet *Isidorus* (*book* 5. *Origin.*) distinguishes *Aula* from *Atrium*: But I agree rather with *Victorinus*. In the *Itinerarie of Antoninus the Martyr*, there is mention of the *Atrium* of the *Constantinian Church*. Further, notice is to be taken, that in the *Contents of this Chapter*, *Exhedræ* is made use of instead of *Aula*. Vales.

[d] Ἧς δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν παρ' ἑκάτερα. The words seem to be transposed here; which I would rather read thus; ἦσαν δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν ἡ αὐλὴ πρώτη, στοαί τ' ὅπῃ ταύτῃ παρ' ἑκάτερα, *In which place there were first the Atrium, then the Porticus's on both sides.* For to those who went out of the Church, first of all occurred the *Aula*, then the *Porticus*'s on the right and left hand of the *Atrium*, and after that the *Porch*. Vales.

[e] Ἐπ' αὐλῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς. Before the greater Churches, for the most part there were streets, wherein was kept a Market of things vendible, on the Festival of that Martyr to whom the Church was dedicated. Which things the Ancients therefore observed, that the sight of the Porches might be fairer, and that there should be nothing which might hinder their lights. So at *Rome*, before the *Church of the Apostles* there was a Street, as *Prudentius* attests. At *Alexandria* also, there was a Church at the great Street, as *Athanasius* informs us in his *Epistle ad Solitar.* Ἔκαυσαν τὰς πύλας ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ. Further, the word ἀγορᾶς seems to be a *Scholion* added to explain the term πλατείας; unless you had rather write ἀγυιᾶς; and then it must be rendred thus, *in the very midst of the broad Street*, *being most* &c. *Vales.*

[f] Τῶν ἔνδον ὁρωμένων ἰδέαν. It must be ὁρωμένων, *of the things seen within*, as 'tis mended at the margin of *Turnebus's Copy*. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

Concerning the Number of the * Donaria.

* *Sacred Preſents, or, Gifts.*

THis Church therefore, which was a manifeſt evidence of the ſalutary Reſurrection, the Emperour erected; and beautified it throughout with a furniture that was † magnificent and truly Imperial. He adorned it likewiſe in a various manner with inexpreſſible ‖ ornaments of innumerable conſecrated Gifts, conſiſting of Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones. The Compoſure of which [ornaments,] being wrought with the moſt curious workmanſhip, and [eminent] for greatneſs, number, and variety, we are not now at leiſure to deſcribe particularly.

† Or, *Rich.*

‖ Or, *Beauties.*

CHAP. XLI.

Concerning the Building of the Churches at Bethlehem, *and on the* Mount of Olives.

HAving likewiſe in the ſame Country found other places [a] ennobled with two * Sacred Caves, he beautified them alſo with magnificent † ornaments. To that Cave, wherein our Saviour firſt made his Divine appearance, where alſo he endured to be born in the fleſh; he attributed a becoming Honour. But in the other Cave he honoured the Memory of our Lord's Aſcent into the Heavens, which [had heretofore happened] on the top of a Mountain. And theſe places he adorned moſt magnificently; and [at the ſame time] eternized the Memory of His own Mother, who had procured ſo great a Good for Mankind.

[a] Τετιμημένας, *cut.* It muſt be written τε τιμημένας, *ennobled*, or, *Honoured*; as the reading is in his *Panegyrick concerning Conſtantine's Tricennalia*, chap. 9. where the ſame words are repeated. *Valeſ.*

* Or. *Myſtick*

† Or, *Honours.*

CHAP. XLII.

That Helena Auguſta, *the Mother of* Conſtantine, *going* [*to* Bethlehem] *on account of Prayer, built theſe* [*Churches.*]

FOR, in regard ſhe had reſolved to pay the due debt of her pious affection to God the ſupream King, and had determined that ſhe ought to give thanks with Supplications for her own Son ſo glorious an Emperour, and for his Sons the *Cæſars* moſt dear to God, her Grand-children; though now very aged, yet [a] ſhe haſtned and came with a youthful mind, (being a Woman of a [b] ſingular prudence,) that ſhe might view that admirable Ground, and with a care and ſollicitude truly Royal, might make a Viſit to the Eaſtern Provinces, * Cities, and People. But, after ſhe had given a due Veneration to the Footſteps of our Saviour, agreeable to that prophetick Expreſſion which runs thus, † *Let us worſhip at the place where his Feet have ſtood:* immediately ſhe left the fruit of her own piety even to poſterity.

[a] Ἦκε δὲ σπεύδουσα. I had rather read ἧκε δή; as I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

* In the Greek 'tis *Νήσους, commonalty.*

† See the *Sept. verſ.* of *Pſal.* 132. v. 7.

[b] Beſides *Euſebius's* teſtimony, there are many things which perſwade us to think, that *Helena* the Mother of *Conſtantine* was a Woman of a ſingular prudence For, whereas ſhe had the Emperour *Conſtantine* always obedient to her, even to the very laſt day of her life; this very one thing is an argument of her ſingular prudence. This alſo was an evidence of her great wiſdom, that ſhe abuſed not the riches of her Son, and the height of the dignity of *Auguſta*, to Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs; but with her own liberality ſuccoured the Provinces, Cities, and private Perſons. And whereas ſhe entirely loved her own Grand Children the Sons of *Conſtantine*, ſhe took care of this above all, that no one of *Conſtantius's* Children Brethren to *Conſtantine*, ſhould ſnatch the Empire from them. Wherefore, as long as ſhe lived, ſhe always detained them Exiles as 'twere; ſometimes at *Toloufe* in *France*, as *Auſonius* writes; otherwhiles, at *Corinth*, as *Julianus* relates in his *Letter to the Corinthians.* A fragment of which Letter is extant in *Libanius*, in *His Oration pro Ariſtophane Corinthio, pag.* 217. where *Libanius* terms *Helena* πανοῦργον μητρυιὰν, *a crafty Mother-in-Law*, and atteſts, that by her advice and Step-Mother-hatred, *Conſtantius* Father to *Julian* had been conveyed up and down this way and that way. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Again Concerning the Church at Bethlehem.

FOR, ſhe forthwith dedicated two Churches to that God whom ſhe had adored: the one at the Cave * wherein Chriſt was born: the other on the Mountain † whence he had aſcended into Heaven. For ‖ *Emanuel* endured to be born for us [a] under the Earth: and the place of His Nativity is by the *Hebrews* termed *Bethlehem.* And therefore the Empreſs moſt dear to God, adorned the place where the *Theotocos* was delivered, with admirable Monuments, and illuſtrated that Sacred Cave with all manner of Ornaments. Not long after which, the Emperour honoured it alſo with Imperial ſacred Gifts; increaſing his Mother's * Magnificence with Monuments of Silver and Gold, and [b] with various Curtains. Further, the Emperour's Mother, † in memory of his Aſcent into the Heavens who is the Saviour of all, raiſed ſtately Edifices in the *Mount of Olives*; erecting a ſacred Houſe [c] together with an holy Church upon the very top of the Mount.

* Or, *Of the Birth.*

† Or, *Of the Aſcent.*

‖ Or, *God with us.*

[a] Ὑπὸ γῆν. *Chriſtophorſon* has not rightly expreſt the force of the Greek word; who renders it *in terris naſci, to be born—in the earth.* For *Euſebius* ſays more, *viz. that the Lord for our ſake would be born in a Cave under-ground. Saint Jerom's* words in his *Epitaph of Paula* are theſe; *Bethlehem & in Specum Salvatoris introiens, entring into Bethlehem and into the Cave of our Saviour.* And a little after; *orare in Speluncâ, in quâ virgo puerpera dominum infantem fudit*, &c. *to pray in the Cave, wherein the Child-bed Virgin brought forth the infant Lord.* Whence by the-by it appears, that wherever *Euſebius* has made uſe of ἄντρον, it ought to be rendred *Specum* or *Speluncam, a Cave.* For ſo the Latines term it, not *antrum, a den*, as *Chriſtophorſon* renders it. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Studies of Elegancy.*

† Or, *Exalted the memory— by ſtately*, &c.

[b] Παραπετάσμασί τε ποικίλοις. I approve not of *Chriſtophorſon's* Tranſlation, who renders it *aulæa.* For *aulæa befit a Scene rather than agree with a Church.* I choſe therefore to tranſlate it *Vela, Curtains*; for there were Curtains in Churches. And they were made uſe of both in the Doors of Churches; (concerning which ſee *Epiphanius* in his *Epiſtle to John Biſhop of Jeruſalem, which Letter Saint Jerome has done into Latine*;) and about the Altar alſo, of which ſort ſome are to be ſeen even at this time amongſt us. Further, the Curtains which hung before doors, were by *Grecians* termed ἀμφίθυρα, which word occurrs in *Choſroes's Letter* recorded in *Theophilactus Simocatta*, Book 5. Chap. 14.—— &c.—— See *Evagr. Eccleſ. Hiſtor.* Book 6. Chap. 21. *Note* (*f.*) Valeſ.

[c] Νεών τε Some thing ſeems to be wanting here, or at leaſt the words are tranſpoſed Therefore I would have the place reſtored thus; ἱερὸν οἶκον ἐκκλησίας νεών τε ἅγιον ἀναδείρασα, *erecting a ſacred*, &c. But *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words ſo, as if *Euſebius* ſhould ſay, that *Helena* built two Churches in the *Mount of Olives*; one on the top, the other in the Cave: which nevertheleſs I do not think to be true. For the *Author of the Jeruſalem-Itinerary* tells us, that one Church was built there by *Conſtantine.* And *Euſebius* in his *Panegyrick* (chap. 9 *towards the end*;) ſpeaking of that *Martyrium* which *Conſtantine* built at *Jeruſalem*, expreſſes himſelf in the ſame manner as he does here; *viz.* οἶκον εὐκτήριον παμμεγέθη, νεών τε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημείῳ, &c Where you ſee, that οἶκον εὐκτήριον and ναὸν are joined, and uſed concerning one and the ſame Church. And he terms *the Baſilica*, οἶκον εὐκτήριον, becauſe People came thither to pray; but the *whole Sacred Houſe* (which being incloſed within one circuit, contains within it ſelf the *Atrium, Porticus's, Secretary,*

Baptistery, and the Church it self;) he terms ναὸν. Which *Eusebius* does most plainly declare below, at *chap.* 50. *of this book*, where he speaks concerning the *Dominicum Aureum* which *Constantine* built at *Antioch*. And thus the passage of *Eusebius* in the *close of his Panegyrick*, *concerning* Constantine's *Tricennalia* is to be explained; as likewise a passage in his *tenth book*, and another in *chap.* 45. *of this book*; where he joins together ναὸν and ἐνκτήριον οἶκον. 'Tis something otherwise in the *fifth Law Cod. Theod. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt.* For there ναὸς ἐνκτήριος is called the *Basilica or Oratory where the Altar is*. But *the Church* is termed that whole Building within the circumference whereof are contained the *Atrium*, *Porticus's*, *Cells*, *Baths*, and lastly the Oratory it self. *Vales.*

[a] Καὶ τῶν θαλάσσης ἀληθής. The *Author of the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* has these words; *Inde ascendis in montem Oliveti, ubi dominus discipulos docuit ante passionem, Thence you go up to Mount Olivet, where our Lord taught his Disciples before his Passion.* Bede (in his book *de Locis Sanctis*, *ch.* 7.) has this passage; *Tertia quoque ejusdem montis ad australem Bethaniæ partem Ecclesia est, &c.* *There is a third Church also of the same Mount at the South part of* Bethany, *where the Lord before his Passion spoke to his Disciples concerning the day of Judgment.* He means the place in *Saint Matthew*, *chap.* 24. This Sermon therefore *Eusebius* here terms ἀπορρήτους τελετὰς, *secret Mysteries*, because the Lord then spake concerning secret things, *viz.* about the end of the World, concerning Christ's coming, and the last judgment. For even the Apostles came then to the Lord secretly, as St. *Matthew* says; in regard they were desirous to know Mysteries, and the Revelation of things future, as *Jerome* on *Matthew* writes. But that which *Eusebius* says (*viz.* that our Lord delivered these Mysteries to the Apostles in the Cave,) is not expressly recorded in the Gospel. Yea, the contrary seems possible to be made out from the Gospel. For 'tis related therein, that the City *Jerusalem* was in sight to the Disciples, when our Lord Preach'd these things. They were not therefore in the Cave, but in an open place. Yet it may be answered, that that Cave, had several holes, of which sort there were many Caves in *Palestine*, as the *Itineraries* inform us. Indeed, whereas St. *Matthew* affirms, that the Disciples came to our Lord secretly, 'tis probable that that discourse in the Cave was made by Our Lord whilst he stayed there. *Vales.*

[e] Τὰς ἐν ὄντῳ ἄντρῳ. The first word is to be expunged, as being superfluous. *Eusebius* seems to allude to the usage of the Gentiles, who performed their *Mithriaca Sacra* [*Sacrifices in honour of the Sun*] in a Cave, as *Porphyry*, (in his book *de Abstinentia*,) *Jerome*, and others inform us. The *Fuketian Manuscript* confirms our conjecture, in which the word τοῦ is wanting. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning Helena's *greatness of Mind, and Beneficence.*

FOR whilst she was taking her progress round the whole East with a *Royal Magnificence, she heap'd innumerable benefits and favours, both on Cities, and on every private Person also who approach'd her: and with a liberal †hand she distributed numerous [largesses] amongst the Military Forces. But, on the poor, naked, and on such as were destitute of all help and comfort, She bestowed very many Gifts: making distributions of Money to some; plentifully supplying others with clothes to cover their bodies. Other-some She set at Liberty from bonds, as also them afflicted with the slavery of the Mines: She likewise freed some that were oppress't by the violence of Persons more powerful than themselves; and again, re-called others from banishment.

*Or, Magnificence of Imperial power, †Or. Right hand.

CHAP. XLV.

In what manner Helena *was religiously conversant in the Churches.*

HAving rendred her self eminent by such actions as these, [in the interim] she in no wise neglected Her piety towards God. For *She was seen to come constantly into the Church of God; and beautified the sacred Houses with splendid ornaments; not contemning the †Churches even in the smallest Cities. You might therefore have beheld this admirable Woman, in a ‖ modest and decent garb associating her self with the rest of the multitude, and demonstrating her Reverence towards God, by all manner of pious actions.

*Or, *She gave her self to be seen coming*, &c. †Naës. *Valesius* renders it *Sacella*, *Chapels*. ‖ Or, *Grave, and mean*, or, *frugal*.

CHAP. XLVI.

How, being eighty years old, and having made her Will, she ended her Life.

BUT at length, when, after she had lived a sufficient space of time, she was called to a better allotment; having prolonged her life till about the eightieth year of her age, and being arrived at the very confines of death, she composed, ordained and declared her last Will and Testament, constituting her only Son (*sole Emperour, and Lord of the World,) Her heir, together with his Sons the *Cæsars* Her Grandchildren; and distributing to each of Her Grandchildren, those her own Goods, whatever she was possest of throughout the whole World. Having in this manner made Her Will, afterwards she closed her Life, Her †Great Son being present with and standing by her, ‖ paying her all imaginable respect, and embracing her Hands. Insomuch that, to those whose Sentiments are good and true, this thrice-blessed Woman in no wise seemed to die, but in reality to *make a change of this earthly life, for one that was celestial. [a] Her Soul therefore was new-framed into an incorruptible and Angelick substance, and received up to her Saviour.

*Or, *Emperour, Monarch, and Lord*, &c. †Or, *So Great*. ‖ Or, *Cherishing her with all*, &c. *Or, *Undergoe*. [a] Ἀνεσοφρονήθη τοῦν αὐτῆ ψυχή, *Her soul therefore was reformed*, or, *new-framed*. These words seem to savour of *Origen's* Doctrine, to which our *Eusebius* was too much addicted. For the Souls of the Blessed are not reformed into an Angelick substance. Indeed, *Origen* believed, that in the Resurrection, Bodies would be turned into Souls, and Souls would be changed into Angels, as Saint *Jerome* says some where. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

In what manner Conſtantine *depoſited his Mother; and how he honoured her whilſt ſhe was living.*

BUT the Body of this Bleſſed Woman was vouchſafed no trivial Honour. For it was conveyed into the [a] Imperial City [accompanied] with a numerous train of the [Imperial] Guards; where it was depoſited in a Royal Monument. In this manner the Emperour's Mother cloſed her Life; a Woman worthy of an indelible Memory, both in reſpect of her pious Actions, and alſo on account of that moſt eminent and admirable Son born of her. Whom 'tis fit we ſhould ſtile Bleſſed, beſides all other things, even for this alſo, his piety towards her who brought him forth; whom he rendred ſo Religious, (ſhe having before not been a worſhipper of God), that ſhe ſeemed from her tender years to have been diſcipled by [b] Him Himſelf who is the common Saviour of all: whom he honoured with Imperial Dignities in ſuch a manner, that in all the Provinces, and by the very Companies of the Milice, ſhe was ſtiled *Auguſta* and Empreſs; and Golden Coins were ſtamp'd bearing her Image. Moreover, *Conſtantine* granted her a power over the Imperial Treaſures, to make uſe of them according to her own arbitrement, and to diſpoſe of them according to her own mind, in ſuch manner as ſhe thought good, and as every thing might ſeem well-pleaſing to her. For even in * this reſpect alſo, her Son rendred her conſpicuous and † admirable. Wherefore, amongſt thoſe things belonging to the illuſtrating of his Memory, We have, not without reaſon, included theſe alſo, which out of his tranſcendency of piety the Emperour performed in honour of his Mother; whereby he fulfilled the Divine Laws, which do injoin due [Offices] of honour towards Parents. Theſe forementioned beautiful ſtructures therefore, the Emperour in this manner erected in the Province of *Paleſtine*. Moreover, in all the other Provinces alſo, he built new Churches, and made them far more ſtately than thoſe that had been before.

[a] He means *Rome*. For thither the dead Body of *Helena Auguſta* was carried, and after two years was conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, as *Nicephorus* tells us book 8 chap 30. But *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 17.) tranſcribing *Euſebius*'s words, interprets βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν *New Rome*. Which errour of *Socrates*, *Baronius* does deſervedly reprove, in regard by the name of *the Imperial City Euſebius* is always wont to mean *Rome*. Beſides, *Conſtantinople* was not yet dedicated, and therefore could not be called *the Imperial City*, whenas then it was only *old Byzantium*. Nevertheleſs *Cedrenus* has followed *Socrates*; who alſo adds this, that *Helena* died twelve years before *Conſtantine*. By this computation *Helena* muſt have died on the year of Chriſt 325, or 326. On which year nevertheleſs, ſhe is ſaid by *Euſebius* and *Rufinus* to have gone to *Jeruſalem*. Beſides, after the Death of *Criſpus Cæſar* and *Fauſta Auguſta*, *Helena* was for ſome time alive, as *Zoſimus* atteſts, book 2. Further, *Criſpus* was ſlain in the *ſeventh Conſulate of Conſtantinus Auguſtus* which he bore with *Conſtantius Cæſar*, on the year of Chriſt 326. as 'tis recorded in *Idatius*'s *Faſti*. The death of *Helena* therefore may rightly be aſſigned to the year of our Lord 327, as *Sigonius* thinks, *book* 3. *de Imperio Occidentali*. Valeſ.

[b] Ὡς αὐτὸ δηλεῖν. It muſt be written αὐτῷ. For 'tis referred to τῷ κοινῷ σωτῆρι, as we have rendred it. And ſo I found it mended in *Moræus*'s Book, at the Margin. Nor is it otherwiſe written in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Theſe things.*
† Or, *Worthy of Emulation.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

*Churches. *In what manner he built* *Martyria *at* Conſtantinople, *and aboliſhed all manner of Idolatry.*

BUT when he had reſolved upon raiſing that City to the higheſt honour which bore His own name, he beautified it with many Oratories, with vaſt *Martyria*, and with moſt ſtately Houſes; part whereof were erected in the Suburbs, and part within the City it ſelf. And by this means, he both honoured the Memories of the Martyrs, and likewiſe conſecrated his own City to the God of the Martyrs. In fine, being [a] wholly inſpired with the wiſdom of God, he thought it requiſite, in ſuch a manner to purifie that City, which he determined to dignifie with the appellation of his own name, from all ſorts of Idolatry; that the Images of thoſe reputed to be Gods, ſhould no where be worſhipped in Temples therein; neither ſhould Altars defiled with the † Blood of Victims be viſible in it; nor Sacrifices wholly conſumed by fire; nor ſhould the Feſtivals of *Dæmons* [be celebrated there;] nor any other of thoſe uſages [commonly practiſed] amongſt ſuperſtitious Perſons.

[a] Ὅλως δ' ἐμπνέων. I had rather make it ὅλῳ, which is far more elegant. So indeed it occurrs written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valeſ.

† Λύθροις αἱμάτων, *with the gore of blood.*

CHAP. XLIX.

The Sign of the Croſs in the Palace, and [*the* * Effigies *of*] Daniel *in the* † *Conduits.*

YOU might therefore have ſeen in the Conduits ſituate in the middle of the *Forum*, the † Repreſentations of the Good Shepherd, well known to thoſe skill'd in the Divine Oracles; [the *Effigies*] of *Daniel* likewiſe, together with the Lyons, [a] caſt in Braſs, and ſhining with ‖ plates of Gold. Further, ſo ardent a divine Love had poſſeſt the mind of the Emperour, that in the ſtatlieſt Room of all thoſe within the Imperial Palace, at the very middle of the Embowed Roof which was gilded with Gold, a large Table was diſplay'd, in the midſt whereof was fix'd the Sign of our Lord's paſſion, conſiſting of a variety of pretious Stones, and wrought with a great quantity of Gold. And this [in my judgment] ſeemed to have been * ſet up by that pious Emperour, as the preſervative of the Empire it ſelf.

* *Images*
† Or, *Fountains*
† Or, *Symbols.*
‖ Or, *Spangles.*
* Or, *Made.*

[a] Ἐν χαλκῷ πεπλασμένα. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written πεπλασμένον; and 'tis refered to thoſe words τόν τε Δανιὴλ, *Daniel likewiſe.* But the ordinary reading pleaſes me better, in regard it occurrs both in the *Kings Copy* and in the *Old ſheets*. For πεπλασμένα is referred to the word σύμβολα, *Repreſentations*. So that, it muſt be written, τᾶ τε Δανιὴλ, [*the Effigies*] *of Daniel likewiſe.* Valeſ.

CHAP. L.

That He built Churches at Nicomedia *alſo, and in other Cities.*

WIth theſe [ornaments] therefore He beautified his own City. He likewiſe honoured the [a] chief [City] of *Bithynia* with the Monument of a moſt * ſtately and moſt magnificent Church; in which place alſo, † at his own charge, he erected the Trophies of Victory which he had gained over the Enemies and Oppoſers of God, in honour

[a] He means *Nicomedia*, which was the Head City of *Bithynia*. In which City *Conſtantine* had compelled *Licinius*, beſieged therein, to a ſurrendry. In memory therefore of that Victory, *Conſtantine* built a Church at *Nicomedia*. See *Sozomen*, book 2. chap 3. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Large.*
† Or, *Out of his own Treaſures.*

nour of his own Saviour. Moreover, he also grac'd the chiefest Cities of the rest of the Provinces, with most beautiful Oratories: [b] for instance, that City which was the *Metropolis* of the whole East, that took its name from *Antiochus*. In which [City,] as 'twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Region, he dedicated [to God] a † Peerless Church, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he encompassed the whole Temple with a large circuit on the outside: [c] but within, he raised the *Basilica* to an immense height: it was built in an [d] *eight-square* figure; and surrounded on all sides with many Lodging Rooms, and [e] *Exhedræ*, and with * apartments [f] as well above as under [or, even with] the ground. Which Church [he beautified] with ‖ a vast quantity of [g] Gold, and † adorned it with Brass and other Materials of great value.

† Or, *Matchless.*

* Or, *Places.*

‖ Or, *Abundance of much Gold.*

† Or, *Crowned it with the beauties of Brass, &c.*

[b] Ὥσπερ ἓν κἀ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς μητροπόλεως. It must be written μητρόπολιν. Except you had rather read thus; ὥσπερ ἓν κἀ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς μητροπόλεως; which reading indeed displeases me not. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis written, ὥσπερ ἓν κἀ τὸν, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Ἔσω δὲ τὸν εὐκτήριον ᾤκον. In his *Panegyrick*, *chap.* 9. whence these words are transcribed, *Eusebius* has termed it ἀνάκτορον. I have rendred it *Basilica the Cathedral or Church it self*; not *the Sanctuary*, as *Christophorson* translates it. *Vales.*

[d] Ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ ——— σχήματι. Of the same figure was that Church, which *Nonnus* Father to *Gregory Nazianzen* built in the Town of *Nazianzum*, as *Gregory* himself attests in his *Funeral Oration concerning the praises of his own Father*, *pag.* 313. These Temples were termed *octachora*. This *old Inscription* occurrs in *Gruter's Thesaurus*, *pag.* 1166.

Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus.
Octagonus fons est munere dignus eo.

Now, that is a *Templum Octachorum*, *which hath eight sides rising from the bottom to the very top.* From the same reason Altars are termed *trichora*, in *Paulinus's Epistle*; that is, *trino sinuata recessu*, *bent or embosomed with a triple recess*, as the *same Paulinus* expresses himself, in his *Natale of Saint Felix*. *Cedrenus* (*at the 26th year of Constantine*,) terms that Church which had been built by *Constantine* at *Antioch*, *Octagonum Dominicum*, *the eight-cornered Church*. Vales.

[e] Ἐξέδραις. In *Eusebius's Panegyrick*, at *the chapter just now cited*, the reading is truer, thus, ἐξέδραις. For so *Eusebius* terms them, in *His description of the Church at Tyre*, which you have in the *Tenth Book of his Eccles. Hist.* What an *Exedra* is, *Valafridus Strabo* tells us, *in his book de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, *chap.* 6. *Exedra est absida quædam*, *separata modicùm quidem a templo vel palatio: dicta inde*, *quòd extra hæreat. Græcè autem κύκλον vocatur*; *An exedra is a certain outward building*, *separated a little from the Temple or Palace: thence so termed*, *because it sticks without. In Greek 'tis called κύκλος. Strabo* is indeed mistaken, because he understood not, that *Exedra* was a Greek word: but he is not at all mistaken in the origine of that word. For, 'tis truly termed ἐξέδρα, *Exedra*, ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω ἕδρας, *from its being without the seat.* For so more outward Houses were termed, which were usually built within the circuit of a Church, wherein 'twas lawful to sit, and take rest, as *Eusebius* tells us. Concerning these *Exedræ*, St. *Austin* speaks in *his book de Gestis cum Emerito Donatista*. *Cæsareæ in Ecclesia majori*, &c. *At Cæsarea*, *in the greater Church*, *when Deuterius Metropolitane Bishop of Cæsarea*, *together with Alipius*, *Augustinus*, *Possidius*, *Rusticus and the other Bishops had gone forth into the Exedra*, &c. In the *Concilium Namnetense*, *Canon* 6. *th*, there is mention of an *Exedra*. *Prohibendum etiam secundùm majorum instituta*, *ut in Ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur*, *sed in atrio aut porticu*, *aut in Exedris Ecclesiæ*; *it is to be forbidden also*, *according to the orders of our Ancestours*, *that they should in no wise bury* [or *be buried*] *in the Church*, *but in the Atrium*, *or Porticus*, *or in the Exedræ of the Church.* So the reading is in the *Manuscript Copy* belonging to the *Bibliotheca Puteana*. See *Jerome on the* 40*th chapter of Ezechiel*. —— Further, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* have it written right here, ἐξέδρας τε. *Vales.*

[f] Ὑπερῴων τε καὶ καταγείων χωρημάτων. See what we have noted at chap. 37. κατάγεα οἰκήματα are *Houses whereto we go up no Stairs*; to which are opposed ἀνάγεια or ὑπερῷα, that is, *Chambers*, or *upper Rooms* Although by the term κατάγεα you may here understand *Cryptæ*, *Vaults* or *Rooms under ground*. Vales.

[g] For this reason that Church was termed *Dominicum Aureum*, *the Golden Church*. *Jerom in the Chronicon*, *at the* 22*d year of Constantine*; *Antiochiæ Dominicum quod vocant aureum*, *ædificari cœptum*; *at Antioch the Dominicum which they term Aureum*, *was begun to be built.* It was consecrated in the Reign of *Constantius*, on the fifth year after *Constantine's* death. *Vales.*

CHAP. LI.

That He likewise gave order for the building of a Church in [*the place called*] Mamre.

THese were the most eminent Structures, which the Emperour dedicated to God. But, having been informed, that that one and the same Saviour, who had lately made his appearance in the World, had heretofore exhibited the presence of His Divinity, to certain Men of *Palestine* that were lovers of God, near that called the *Oak of Mamre*; He ordered an Oratory to be erected there also, to the God who had appeared. Therefore, the * Emperour's Order was issued out to the Governours of Provinces, by the Letters transmitted to each of them, commanding them to bring to effect what they had been enjoined to perform. But to us who write this History, he sent an [a] Exhortation full of Wisdom. A Copy whereof I judge fit to be inserted into this present work, to the end that the care and diligence of this most pious Emperour might be accurately known. Having blamed us therefore for those things, which, as he had been informed, were done in the forementioned place, he wrote word for word thus.

* Or, *Imperial Authority.*

[a] Λογικωτέραν διδασκαλίαν, *a more rational Sermon.* So also *Eusebius* has before termed *Constantine's* Letters, because in those Letters *Constantine* seemed in a manner to Preach. Such is *Constantine's Speech to the Convention of the Saints*, and almost all his Letters, which are recorded partly by *Eusebius*, and partly by others. For in all these, *Constantine*, although as yet but a *Catechumen*, plays the Doctor. Indeed, it can't be denied, but *Constantine* was a Man full of God, and was sent by God in order to the propagation of the Christian Faith; to which single Person, next to the Apostles, we owe very much. Yet in Ecclesiastick affairs, he took something more upon himself, than might befit a Prince that was a Laick; the Bishops permitting him all things, and rejoycing greatly with themselves, because they saw an Emperour a *Christian.* Vales.

Constantine's Letter to *Eusebius* concerning *Mamre.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,
To *Macarius* and the rest of the Bishops of *Palestine.*

EVen this very one thing was a most eminent favour [a] *of my most Holy Mother-in-*

[a] Τῆς ὁσιωτάτης μου κηδεσείας. In the rendition of this place all the Translatours, *Portesius*, *Musculus* and *Christophorson*, have been mistaken; they rendring it *curam & solicitudinem*, *care and solicitude*; as if the reading had been κηδεμονίας. But *Constantine* speaks of his Mother-in-law, to wit, *Eutropia Syra*, to whom *Fausta* the Wife of *Constantine* was Daughter. For κηδεσεια signifies in Greek *a Mother-in-law*, as the *Old Glosses* inform us, wherein 'tis thus read, κηδεστὴς *a Father-in-law*, κηδέσεια *a Mother-in-law*. Indeed, the following words do plainly confirm our explication. For it follows, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς γνησίου γραμμάτων, *by her Letters to us she hath made known.* He means the Letters which his *Mother-in-law Eutropia* had sent to him. Wherefore *Christophorson's* Emendation is to be rejected, who hath corrected it πρὸς ὑμᾶς, *to you.* Moreover, these following words, ἡ προειρημένη διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν, &c. do sufficiently shew the very same thing. For who would say concerning *care and solicitude*, ἡ προειρημένη, *the foresaid care and solicitude*? That would have been altogether trifling and fooliish. But in our Version all things are plain and clear. For ἡ προειρημένη is rendred *our foresaid Mother-in-law*; who by reason of her Piety and Religion could not hide so great an impiety, but by Letter declared it to her Son-in law *Constantine*, that at length he might remedy this mischief. *Eutropia* therefore was a Christian, as we learn from this place. Her Daughter *Fausta* also profest the Christian Faith, and together with her Husband *Constantine* was buried in the Church of *The Apostles.* Further, I must not omit what

what I found noted at the margin of the *Kings Copy*. For there, over against the word κηδεσείας, instead of a *Scholion* Μήτηρ *Mother* was written; as if *Constantine* meant his own Mother *Helena*; which explication I don't approve of. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* says it was the Emperour *Constantine's Mother-in-law*, who, when She was come to the *Oak Mamre*, and had found there the detestable impieties of the Heathens, gave *Constantine* an account of that affair. See *Sozomen*, Book 2. chap. 4. *Vales.*

[b] Εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐνεχέτω. *towards you*——*towards us.* I had rather write εἰς ὑμᾶς *towards you*; although the common reading may be born with. Further, by a small transposition of the words, I would have the beginning of this Letter read thus, ἓν τοῦτο καὶ μέγιστον, &c. *This was one and the greatest favour*, &c. The other reading is ἓν καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον, &c. *Vales.*

law [b] *towards you, that by Her Letters to us She hath made known that nefarious boldness of certain impious persons, which hitherto hath lain concealed amongst you: to the end that, that long-neglected Crime might, (though late, nevertheless) necessarily obtain a befitting animadversion and cure from us. For, 'tis most certainly the greatest impiety, that holy places should be defiled by detestable impurities. What therefore is that (dearest Brethren!) which, when it had escap'd Your prudence, Our foresaid Mother-in-law, by reason of Her Reverence towards the Deity, was not able to keep concealed?*

CHAP. LIII.

That our Saviour appeared there to *Abraham.*

[a] This place was likewise called *Terebinthus*, distant from the City *Jerusalem* about thirty miles, as we are told by the *Author of the Jerusalem Itinerarie* who lived in the times of *Constantine the great.* His words are these. *Inde Terebintho millia 9. ubi Abraham habitavit, &c. Thence to Terebinthus nine miles; where* Abraham *dwelt, and dug a well under a Turpentine-tree, and spake with the Angels, and took food. There a Church is built by* Constantine's *order, of a wonderful beauty. Then from Terebinthus to Chebron, two miles; where there is a Monument* [or, *Memory*] *built four-square* [or, *by a four-square-figure*] *of Stones, of a wonderful beauty, wherein are laid* Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c. *Sozomen* also, *book 2. chap. 4.* relates that that place was termed *Terebinthus.* Now, this place was so called from a *Turpentine-tree*, which was said to be the oldest Tree there, and to have stood from the very beginning of the world, as *Josephus* attests in his *fifth Book of the Jewish Wars.* Although others said it was the Staff of one of the Angels which appeared to *Abraham*, from which Staff thrust into the ground sprang up a *Turpentine-tree.* So *Georgius Syncellus* tells us in his *Chronicon.* But 'tis strange, (whereas there was an *Oak* there under which *Abraham* had pitch'd his Tent, as we read Gen. 18.) why that place should have taken its name from a *Turpentine-tree*, rather than from *an Oak.* Vales. In *our English Bibles*, at *Genesis* 18. there is not the least mention of *an Oak*, but of *a Tree* only, at *verse* 8. Nor does *Saint Jerom*, in his *Translation*, term it *an Oak.* Indeed, in the *Version of the 72*, (at *Gen.* 18. 1.) we have these words, πρὸς τῇ δρυῒ τῇ μαμβρῆ, *at the Oak Mambre:* but the expression in the original is בְּאֵלֹנֵי מַמְרֵא *in the Plains of Mamre.* The *Seventy Two* were belike of opinion, that אֵלוֹן had the same import with אַלָּה; the determination whereof is left to the Learned.

[b] Μιαίνεσθαί φασιν. In the *Kings Copy*, the *Fuk. Manuscript*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, 'tis truer written thus, μιαίνεσθαί φησι, *is (She says)——defiled:* ἡ κηδεία, *Mother-in-law*, is understood. *Vales.*

[c] Ἐδήλωσε. You must again understand κηδεία, *Mother-in-law. Our Mother-in-law* (says *Constantine*) *has related to us, that there is an Altar there, whereon impure sacrifices are offered.* Vales.

[d] I suppose, that the Pictures of the Angels are meant, which had appeared there to *Abraham.* For the Heathens worshipped these Pictures. Moreover, the Heathens worshiped the *Turpentine-tree* it self, as *Eusebius* informs us in his *fifth book Demonstr. Evangel*; *chap* 9. Which place *Scaliger* (in his *Animadversions on Eusebius, pag.* 192.) took in a wrong sense. For he thought, that that *Turpentine-tree* had had the highest honour imaginable paid to it by the *Christians*; and he cites *Eusebius* as the Relater of that thing. But *Eusebius* speaks of the *Heathens* there, not concerning the *Christians.* For after he had said; ὅθεν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν, &c. *wherefore, to this present time, this place is adored, as being Divine, by those that dwell near it; and the Turpentine-tree is visible, which as yet stands:* He adds; οἱ τε τῷ ἀδελφοθέτῃ ὀπτεινωσθέντες, &c; *and the Angels, which were entertained by* Abraham, *are painted in a Table there, on each side one; but he in the middle is made better, and exceeds in honour: He is our forementioned Lord himself, our Saviour, whom they ignorantly Worship.* You see *Eusebius* does here plainly speak of the *Heathens*, who were ignorant of Christ. For this cannot be spoken of the *Christians.* Our opinion is confirmed by *Sozomen*, *book 2. chap* 4; where he discourses at large concerning *that Market* kept at *Terebinthus.* For he writes, that every year in Summer time, *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Pagans* came thither out of *Palestine*, *Phœnice*, and *Arabia*, partly on account of Trade, and partly for Religion; and, that all these celebrated a Festival after their own way. For the Heathens (he says) adored the Angels, offering to them Sacrifices, and meat and drink offerings. The Pictures therefore of the Angels were there, to which the *Pagans* offered Victims. *Saint Jerom de Locis Hebraicis*, where he treats concerning *Arboch*, writes to them in this manner. *Quercus Abraham quæ & Mambre, &c. The Oak of* Abraham, *which is also called Mambre, was to be seen there until the times of the Emperour* Constantine; *and his Sepulchre is at present visible. And in regard a Church is now built their by us, Terebinthus* [*the Turpentine-tree*] *is superstitiously worshipped by all the Nations round, because under that* Abraham *heretofore entertained the Angels. Saint Jerom* has added many things here of his own head. For *Eusebius* himself, in his *book de Locis Hebraicis*, has only these words, ἀρβὼ. ἔστι δὲ Χεβρὼμ κώμη νῦν μεγίστη, &c. *Arbo. This is Chebrom, now a great Village, heretofore a Metropolis, the ancient Habitation of the strange Nations* [or, *Philistines,*] *and Gyants, and after that the Royal City of* David. *It was in the alotment of the Tribe* Judah, *and was one of the Cities set out to the Levites, one of the Cities of Refuge also, distant from Ælia at the North two and twenty miles. The Oak of* Abraham *and his Sepulchre are to be seen there, and the Terebinthus* [*Turpentine-tree*] *is manifestly worshiped by our Enemies, as likewise the Angels entertained by* Abraham. *Heretofore its name was* Arbo, *afterwards 'twas called Chebrom, from* Chebrom *one of the sons of* Caleb, *as 'tis in the Chronicles.* A famous passage this; which totally overthrows *Scaliger's* opinion, and does egregiously confirm our explication. For *Eusebius* says, that *the Terebinthus* and *the Angels* were superstitiously worshipped there *by our Enemies*; which is the appellation he gives to the *Heathens* and *Jews.* This passage of *Eusebius* is also cited by *Damascenus*, Book 3. *De Imag.* Vales.

and that an [c] *Altar is built hard by, and that impure Sacrifices are continually* * *offered there. Wherefore, in regard this thing seems both disagreeable* [f] *to Our Times, and an indignity also to the sanctity of that place; I would have* Your Gravity *know, that we have given order by Letter to* the most Perfect Acacius *the* Comes *and a* [g] *Friend of ours*;

* Or, *Performed.*

[c] Concerning this Altar *Eustathius* speaks in his *Hexameron*, which he says was standing in his time, as also the *Terebinthus* it self. Whence it appears, that *this work of Eustathius's* was written before *Constantine* had given order for the demolishment of that Altar. In *Sozomen's* age, neither the Altar, nor the *Terebinthus* was standing. Nevertheless, the superstition of the Heathens continued in that place, as *Jerom* attests. So difficult a matter it is wholly to pluck up the roots of Superstition! We must not omit what *Antoninus the Martyr* hath written concerning this place, in *His Itinerarie. De Bethleem*, says he, *usque ad radicem Mambre sunt millia viginti quatuor*: &c. *From* Bethlehem *unto the root of Mambre there are twenty four miles: in which place rest the bones of* Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, *and* Joseph. *There is a Church built* [per quadrum] *in a four-square figure, and in the middle an uncovered Atrium: and thorow the midst of the Rails on one side the Christians enter, on the other the Jews, carrying in much incense. For, the interment of* Jacob *and* David *in that Ground, is most devoutly celebrated on the first day after* our Lord's Nativity; *in so much that, a multitude meets together from all parts of the Land of the Jews, carrying Incense and Lights. And they bestow Gifts, and worship there. See* Jerom in Epitaphio Paulæ. *Vales.*

[f] Τῶν καιρῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τῷ κράτει ἡμετέρῳ ἀλλότριον, *disagreeable to our times to our Empire. Christophorson* expunged the four first Greek words, and they are wanting in the *King's*, *Fuketian*, and *Savil. Manuscripts.* But if the matters were to be determined by me, I would rather blot out the following words, τῷ κράτει ἡμετέρῳ, *to our Empire*; which in my judgment, are added instead of a *Scholion*, in order to the explaining of the former words. *Græcians* do elegantly term *the time of any one's Empire*, καιρός. Further, the Emperours were mightily ambitious of this, that the felicity and clemency of their own times might be celebrated. Nothing occurrs more frequently in the *Latine Historians*, and in *the Laws of the Emperours.* In *Philostratus* (book 2. *de Vitis Sophistarum*, where he speaks of *Heliodorus*;) this word is corrupted. For when *Heliodorus* had begun his Oration in the Emperour's presence, *Philostratus* says that the Emperour arose on a sudden, and cryed out, *such a man, the like to whom I have not yet seen! The Glory and Ornament of my Times!* τῶν ἐμαυτῆ καιρῶν ἕυρημα; for so the reading should be. *Constantine* makes use of this very term in his *Letter to the Hereticks*, which occurrs at the end of *this book.* Wherefore, I am of opinion, that the common reading is to be retained: and that these words τῷ κράτει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ are transpos'd, and must be placed after the word ἐπεισθῆ, thus; *Wherefore, in regard in this our Empire, this thing*, &c. *Vales.*

[g] Καὶ φίλον ἡμῶν. In the *Fuketian Manuscript*, and the *Kings Sheets* the reading is φίλον ἡμέτερον, *our friend.* Vales.

that

that without any delay, not only all the Idols, which can be found in the fore-mentioned place, shall be committed to the flames; but that the Altar also shall be totally demolished: and, that [h] *a condigne punishment shall be inflicted on all those, who, after this Order of Ours, shall dare to perform any thing that is impious in that place. Which place moreover We have commanded to be beautified with the pure Edifice of a Church; to the end it may be made a fit Seat for holy men. But if any thing shall happen to be done contrary to Our Precept, 'tis fit it should without any delay be made known to Our Clemency, by Your Letters namely: to the end We may Order the person detected to undergo the extreamest of punishments, as being a transgressour of the Law. For you are not ignorant, that the supream Lord and God appeared first to* Abraham *in that place, and talk'd with him. Moreover, the observance of the holy Law took its first beginning there. There Our Saviour himself, together with the two Angels, first gave* Abraham *a full sight of his own presence. There God first of all appeared unto men. There he made* Abraham *a promise concerning his future seed; and immediately fulfilled that promise. There he foretold, that he should be the Father of many Nations. Which things being so, 'tis fit, as to me it seems, that by Your care this place should be preserved from all manner of pollution, and restored to its Pristine Sanctity; that so in future, no other thing be done in that place, save the performance of a befitting worship to the Almighty and Our Saviour and to God the supream Lord. Which thing* [i] *'tis fit you should observe with a due care, if* Your Gravity *be desirous (of which I am confident) to accomplish my will, which is chiefly inclined to the worship of God. God preserve you, Beloved Brethren!*

[h] Τιμωείας ἄξιον. I read τιμωείας ἄξιον ἦ. That is, *it shall be capital for all those*, &c. Wherefore, there is no need of *Christophorson's* emendation here, *viz*; τιμωείας ἄξιον κείνομεν, *we judge him worthy of punishment, who*, &c. Nevertheless, there is another reading in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*; which 'tis better to follow here. A little after, from the *Fuk. Copy* make it ὃν δὴ καθαρῶ, &c. *Which place moreover*, &c. *Vales.* Though *Valesius* preferrs the reading in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* here; yet he has not shown us what it is.

[i] Πεφοπκεν ὑμᾶς φυλάτειν. I read πεφοπκον or πεφοπκει, 'tis fit, as *Christophorson* seems to have read. In the *King's Sheets* I found it written πεφοπκον, according as I had conjectured. *Vales.*

CHAP. LIV.

*The demolishment of the Idol-Temples and * Images in all places.*

* Or, *Statues.*

ALL these things the Emperour performed with all imaginable earnestness, to the Glory of [Christ's] salutary power. And in this manner he ceased not from giving honour to God his Saviour. But he endeavoured all manner of ways to † confute the superstitious errour of the Heathens. Therefore, the Porches of some Temples in the Cities were * laid open, they being, by the Emperour's order, deprived of their doors: the Roofs of others were ript, that wherewith they were covered being taken off. The venerable Brazen † Statues of other some, on account whereof the errour of the Ancients had for a long time boasted, were exposed to publick view [a] in all the *Forum*'s of the Emperour's City. In so much that, for a reproachful sight to the Spectatours, there lay exposed to view, in one place *Apollo Pythius*, in another *Sminthius*; and in the very *Cirque* it self *The Delphick Tripods*; and the [b] *Heliconian Muses* in the Palace. In fine, the City which bore the Emperour's name, was filled in all places with Images, which being made of Brass with great art and curiosity, had heretofore been consecrated in every Province. To whom, under the notion of Gods, when men distempered with errour had for many ages in vain offered numerous *Hecatombs* and *Holocausts*; at length, though late, they learn'd to be wise; after the Emperour had begun to make use of these very Images as objects of sport in order to the laughter and recreation of the Beholders. But, on those Images made of Gold [c] he was revenged another way. For, whereas he perceived, that the simple multitude, like children, in vain stood in fear of those * *Bugbears* of errour made of Gold and Silver; it was his Sentiment that they ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they would be like some pieces of Stones cast before the feet of those who walk in the dark; and because a smooth and plain passage through the Kings-high-way was in future to be opened to all men. [d] Having therefore considered these things with himself, he was of opinion, that he stood not in need either of military Forces or a numerous army, in order to his giving check to these things, but, that one or two of those persons well known to him, were sufficient to effect this business; whom by one nod he dispatch'd away into every Province. They, confiding in the Emperour's piety, and in their own Religiousness towards God, made their way thorow the thickest crowds and thorow infinite multitudes of people, [e] and totally destroyed that ancient errour [of Idolatry] in all Cities and throughout every Country. And in the first place they commanded the Priests themselves, with much laughter and disgrace to bring forth their Gods out of certain dark recesses. Then they devested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap'd off that matter which seemed to be useful, and † cast it into the fire, and melted it down; so much of it as by them was thought to be of use and necessary, they reserved, and put it up safe. But what was superfluous and wholly useless, that they left to the superstitious for a lasting monument of disgrace.

[b] *Themistius* (in his *fifth Oration to Theodosius*,) is a witness, that the Statues of the *Muses* were in the *Curia* of *Constantinople*. The same Author, in his Oration to the Senate περὶ σφενδείας, says that these Statues were placed on this and that side, in a double number; so that they were not now nine, but eighteen. *Vales.*

[c] Ἄλλη τη μετήρχετο *Constantine* ordered the brazen Statues of the Gods to be brought to *Byzantium*, that he might beautifie that City with these sort of Spoils. But whatever Statues were made of Gold or Silver, them he ordered to be melted down, and coyned into money, as *Sozomen* relates, book 2. chap. 5. who explains this passage of *Eusebius* excellently well. Concerning this demolishment of the Temples and destruction of the Statues, our *Eusebius* has a passage in his *second Sermon de Resurrectione*. Vales.

*Μορμολύκεια, *things made up so, as to affright the beholders.*

[d] After these words [*opened to all men,*] those which follow, as far as [*Moreover, this admirable Emperour*, &c.] are wanting in the *Kings Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. But they are added by *Gruter*, *Portesius*, *Christophorson*, and others, from *Eusebius's Panegyrick*, and from Manuscript Copies. Indeed, we found them in the *Fuketian Copy*; and Sir *Henry Savil* hath given us notice, that the same words are extant in his *Copy*. Vales.

[e] Ἐπαύσατο φθορὰν. In the *Panegyrick*, *chap.* 8. whence these words are taken, the reading is ἐποίησε φορὰν, *made a discovery of*; which reading in my judgment is truer. *Vales.*

† *Vanquish* or, *overthrow.*

*Or, *Made naked.*

† Or, *Images.*

[a] Ἐν ἀγορᾶις πάσαις. *Sozomen* (book 2. chap. 5, where he has in a manner transcribed this whole passage of *Eusebius*) words it thus, κατὰ τὰς ἀγυιὰς, καὶ τὸ ἱππόδρομον, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια, *in the Streets, and in the Cirque, and in the Palace.* Vales.

† Or, *Tried it in the furnace and in the fire.*

More-

[f] Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing of this nature. For, at the ſame time that thoſe Idols of the dead, made of pretious matter, were ſpoiled in that manner we have declared, [g] He ordered the reſt of the Images conſiſting of Braſs to be brought together. Therefore, thoſe Gods, celebrated in the doting Fables [of the *Greeks*,] having had ropes made of hair caſt about them, were drag'd away bound.

[f] Οἷον δὲ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔρεξε βασιλεὺς ὁ θαυμάσιος, *Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto.* In *Moræus's Copy* I found it written, οἷον δὲ καὶ τότε διεπράξατο βασιλεύς, &c; *moreover, at that time*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is οἷον δὲ καὶ τοιόνδ' ἔρεξε. So alſo 'tis in Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*, but without the *Apocope*. V. l.

[g] Τὰ λοιπὰ μετῆει, &c. *Johannes Porteſius* renders it, *ad alia perrexit, He proceeded to others.* *Chriſtophorſon* tranſlates it, *reliquas aggreſſus eſt ſtatuas, He ſet upon the other Statues.* In the ſame ſenſe namely, with that *Euſebius* had ſaid above, ἄλλη τιν μετῄειχετο, *he was revenged another way.* Valeſ.

In *Euſebius's Panegyrick chap.* 8. the reading of this place is fuller, in this manner, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔρεξε βασιλεὺς ὁ θαυμάσιος, &c.

CHAP. LV.

The demoliſhment of the Idol-Temple at Aphaca *in* Phœnice, *and* [*the diſannulling*] *thoſe Acts of uncleanneſs* [*committed there.*]

After this the Emperour having as 'twere lighted a moſt bright Torch, look'd about with his Imperial eye, if peradventure he might any where find any Remains of Errour as yet lying concealed. And as ſome moſt ſharp-ſighted Eagle, which has raiſed her ſelf to Heaven on her wings, ſees from above thoſe things on the earth which are at the greateſt diſtance: in the ſame manner he whilſt he * was reſident in the Imperial Palace of [a] his own moſt beautiful City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower a certain pernicious ſnare of ſouls lying conceal'd in the Province of the *Phœnicians*. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midſt of a City, nor in the *Forums*, or Streets; of which ſort many [are viſible] in Cities, moſt gloriouſly built for ornament ſake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far diſtant from the common Road and beaten path, conſecrated to that filthy *Dæmon* [termed] *Venus*, in part of the top of [Mount] *Libanus* which is at [b] *Aphaca*.

* *Walk'd up and down in*, or, *was converſant in.*

[a] Τῆς αὐτῆς καλλιπόλεως. So *Themiſtius* does likewiſe term *Conſtantinople*, in *his* 16th *Oration*, about the cloſe of it; to wit, on account of the Beauty and Magnificence of the publick Works, which *Conſtantine* had moſt gorgeouſly erected there. For he had ſpoiled all Cities, Towns, Places, and Temples, that he might beautifie that City which bore his own name. Therefore *Jerome* has with good reaſon affirmed in his *Chronicon*, that *Conſtantinople* had been dedicated by the nakedneſs of almoſt all cities. *Valeſ.*

[b] Concerning this Temple of *Venus Aphacitis*, *Zoſimus* is to be conſulted in his *firſt book*; and the *Author of the Etymologicon* in the word ἄφακα; as alſo *Suidas* in the word χειροδοκῆσαι, and Mr. *Selden in Syntagm.* 2. *de Diis Syris*. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* the reading here is τῷ λιβάνῳ τῷ ἐν ἀφάκοις, *of* [*Mount*] *Libanus in Aphaca*. But in the *King's Sheets* 'tis ἐν ἀκρωρείᾳ μέρει τῷ λιβάνῳ τῆς ἐν ἀφάκοις, *in part of the Top of* Libanus *which* [*Top*] *is in* Aphaca. *Valeſ.*

This was a School of wickedneſs, [open] to all impure perſons, and ſuch as with all manner of * Intemperance had debauch'd their bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the † Gravity of their own Sex, appeaſed the *Dæmons* ‖ by ſuffering themſelves to be made uſe of as women. Beſides, unlawful * mixtures with women, and adulteries, and other † obſcene and infamous facts were committed in that Temple, [c] as in a place that was lawleſs and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inſpect what was done in that place, in regard no perſon of gravity or modeſty durſt go thither. But the impieties committed there could not lie concealed from this great Emperour alſo. But when He Himſelf had look'd into them with the Eye of Imperial providence, he judged ſuch a Temple as this to be unworthy of [being enlightened] with the Rays of the Sun. Wherefore, he orders it to be totally demoliſhed, together with its Statues and conſecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the * Engines of this impudent and libidinous errour were diſſipated by an Imperial Order; and a company of Soldiers gave their aſſiſtance in cleanſing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Laſciviouſneſs, being ſcar'd by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned Modeſty: as likewiſe did thoſe ſuperſtitious Heathens, that in their own opinion ſeemed very wiſe; who even themſelves truly and experimentally underſtood their own vanity and folly.

* *Sloth*, or, *pleaſure.*

† Or, *Dignity.*

‖ Θηλεῖα νόσῳ; *Valeſius* renders it, *multebria patientes.*

* Or, *Copulations of women.*

† *Horrible.*

[c] Ὡς ἐν ἀνόμῳ καὶ ἀποστάτῃ χώρῳ. Doubtleſs it muſt be made ἀνεφεκτάτῃ, *without a Governour*; as the reading is in his *Panegyrick*, *chap.* 8. where this whole paſſage occurrs. Yet in the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis ἀπωλίτῃ *deſerted*, in the *Panegyrick* alſo. A little before it muſt be made κλεψίγαμοί τε φθοραὶ, as the reading is in the *Panegyrick*. Valeſ.

CHAP. LVI.

The Demoliſhment of Æſculapius's *Temple at* Ægæ.

FOR, whereas the [ſuperſtitious] errour of thoſe thought to be wiſe, was great and much talk'd of, in reference to that *Dæmon* of *Cilicia*; almoſt infinite numbers of men highly admiring him as a Saviour and a Phyſician; in regard he ſometimes appeared [a] to thoſe who ſlept in his Temple, at others, healed the diſeaſes of them that were infirm in their bodies: (nevertheleſs, he was a manifeſt Deſtroyer of ſouls, a Seducer of Men from the true Saviour, one that drew off ſuch as could eaſily be impoſed upon, to the errour of impiety: the Emperour [b] behaving himſelf according to his wonted manner, (for he had propoſed the jealous God and true Saviour as the object of his adoration;) ordered this Temple alſo to be pulled down to the very ground. Preſently therefore, at one nod of the Emperour's, [this Temple, which was] a wonder cryed up amongſt the [c] noble Philoſophers, lay flat on the ground, being ruined

[a] Τοῖς ἐγκαθεύδουσι. Neither *Chriſtophorſon* nor *Porteſius* underſtood the true import of this word. For this term does not barely ſignifie *to lie down and ſleep*, but *to ſleep in a Temple*. This was an uſage of the Heathens, to lodge all night in the Temple, expecting Dreams and Cures from their Gods. Of which thing innumerable inſtances occurr in ancient Writers, but eſpecially in *Ariſtides*, in his *Orationes Sacræ*. The *Latines* termed it *incubare*. *Plautus's* words in his *Curculio* are theſe; *Ideo fit, quia hic Leno ægrotus incubat in Æſculapii fano. Solinus, chap* 7. *Epidauro decus eſt Æſculapii ſacellum, cui incubantes*, &c. See Saint *Jerom on the* 65th *chap. of Iſaiah, verſ.* 4. Valeſ.

[b] Εἰκότα δὴ πράττων. *Chriſtophorſon* was egregiouſly miſtaken in referring theſe words to *Æſculapius*, whenas they are ſpoken of the Emperour *Conſtantine*, as I have expreſt it in my Verſion. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies* the reading is εἰκότα δὴ βασιλεὺς πράττων, *the Emperour behaving*, &c. Valeſ.

[c] He means *Apollonius Tyanæus*, concerning whom *Philoſtratus* relates in his *firſt book*, that he was a long time reſident in the Temple of *Æſculapius* at *Ægæ*, as the Gueſt of that very God. *Valeſ.*

ned

ned by a Company of Souldiers: and [together with the Temple] [d] He that lay lurking within it, who was not a *Dæmon*, nor a God, but a Seducer of souls, one who for an exceeding long space of time had led men into errour. Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamities, was not able to find out a [e] remedy in order to his own preservation; no more than when he was struck with thunder (as we are told in the [f] Fables.) But the Actions of * Our Emperour, being such as were highly acceptable to God, were not in like manner fabulous: but by the manifest power of Our Saviour himself, this Temple in that place was so utterly ruined [together with others,] that not the least footstep of the former madness was left remaining there.

[d] Καὶ ὁ ἔνδον. In the excellent *Fuketian Manuscript*, this place is far othrewise expresst. For, after the word δαῖμων in the Greek [or, *Souldiers* in the *English Version*] *that Copy* places a full point.

* ἡμεδαπῷ βασιλέως, *Of our country Emperour.*

Then, it has the following passage worded in this manner; ὅτι ὃ ἐνδομυχῶν ἦν δαίμων. οὐδὲ γὰρ θεὸς· πλανᾷ δέ τις ψυχῶν, μακροῖς καὶ μυείοις ἐξαπατήσας χρόνοις, δῆλον ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων. *Because 'twas manifest from the facts, that no Dæmon lay lurking within it; nor a God; but a deceiver of souls, who for an exceeding long,* &c. The four last words [δῆλον ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων] which are wanting in the ordinary Editions, *Turnebus* had likewise added at the margin of his *book*, from a Manuscript Copy. Presently, where the reading in the common Editions is, εἶθ' ὁ κακῶν ἑτέρους ἀπαλλάξειν, &c. *Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses,* &c. the *Fuketian Copy* has it thus written, ὁ δὲ κακῶν ἑτέρους ἀπαλλάξειν καὶ συμφορᾶς περιέχόμενος, οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς ἀμυναν εὗρεν, &c. *For he who had promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamity, himself found nothing for his own defence.* Which reading seems to me fitter and better. In the *Kings Sheets* also I found it written εὗρε. *Vales.*

[e] Φάρμακον μᾶλλον. The last word is wanting in the *Kings Copy*, and may perhaps be understood. But the *other Copies* acknowledge it. In the close of this chapter, instead of ἀνετρέπετο, the *Fuketian Copy* has ἀνετίτρεπτο. *Vales.*

[f] The story is this, this *Æsculapius*, by the entreaty of *Diana*, restored to Life *Hippolytus* who had been torn in pieces by horses; whereat *Jupiter* being angry, killed him with Thunder.

CHAP. LVII.

How the Heathens having rejected their Idols, returned to the knowledge of God.

WHatever persons therefore had heretofore been addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, when with their own eyes they saw their own errour confuted, and actually beheld the Ruine of the Temples and Images in all places, some of them came over to the salutary Doctrine of Christ: but others, although they refused to do that, yet condemned the vanity of their fore fathers, and laught at and derided those which by them had heretofore been accounted Gods. And indeed, how could they forbear having such thoughts as these, when under an external beauty and splendour of the Images, they saw so much filth and impurity lie concealed within? For either the Bones of dead Bodies, and dry skulls [a] stoln by the frauds of Conjurers, were within them: or else, nasty rags and clouts stuft with abominable filth; or lastly a bundle of hay and straw. Which after they beheld heapt together within their soulless images, they blamed both their own and their fathers extream folly of mind; especially when they perceived, that within those their * *Adyta*, and within the Images themselves, there was no Inhabitant, [b] no *Dæmon*, no Utterer of Oracles, no God, no Prophet, as they had before perswaded themselves; no not so much as an impotent or obscure *phantome*. And therefore every dark Cavern, and every secret Recess was readily opened to those sent by the Emperour: the *Adyta* also, and places before inaccessible, as likewise the inmost parts of the Temples, were trodden by the feet of the Souldiers. So that, hereby was discovered and exposed to publick view that blindness of mind, wherein all the Heathens had for so long a time been kept involved.

[a] Τοῦτων περιεργίας ἔνεκεν ῥακωμάτια. In the King's *Fuketian*, and *Savilian Copies* 'tis truer written ἐσκαιωρημάτια. Which word *Christophorson* renders thus, *calvæ præstigiatorum doliscallidè obtectæ, skulls craftily covered by the frauds of Conjurers.* Which translation I approve not of; and had rather render it *subreptæ, stoln*, or else *adornatæ & ad maleficia comparatæ, trimmed and made ready for mischievous Facts.* For Bones and Skulls are the instruments of Conjurers, whereof they made use in order to their mischievous acts. *Vales.*

* Or, *Inaccessible Recesses.*

[b] In his Panegyrick concerning Constantine's Tricennalia, chap. 8. these words are placed otherwise, in this manner, δαίμων, θεὸς, χρησμῳδὸς, ἢ μάντις, *no Dæmon, no God, no Utterer of Oracles, no Prophet:* which I do indeed like better. *Vales.*

CHAP. LVIII.

That having demolished Venus's *Temple at* Heliopolis, *He was the first who built [a Church there.]*

[a] AND these things may deservedly be recounted amongst the Emperour's famous Actions; as likewise those matters particularly constituted by him in several Provinces. Of which sort is that [which we have seen performed by him] at *Heliopolis* a City of *Phœnice*. In which City the Heathens who honoured obscene Lust with the appellation [of the Goddess *Venus*,] permitted their wives and daughters to commit whoredom with impunity. But now a new and modest Law is issu'd out from the Emperour, whereby 'tis cautioned, that no one of those usages heretofore common amongst them, shall in future be in any wise audaciously practised. And to these persons he again transmitted instructions in writing; for he [b] was * appointed by God for this reason chiefly, that he might instruct all men in the Laws of Temperance. Wherefore, he accounted it not a thing below himself, to Preach even to these persons by his own Letters, and to exhort them to hasten to the knowledge of God. And in that place he added works consonant to his words, erecting even amongst them a [c] most spacious Church with the Edifices belonging thereto. In so much that, [d] what had no where been heard of by any preceding age whatever,

[a] This whole passage, as far as *the Heathens who honoured,* &c. is wanting in the *Kings Copy* and in *Robert Stephens's Edition.* But it has been added by Learned men, from the authority of Manuscripts. *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil* found it in *their Copies*; and we also saw it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, at the margin. But the reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is larger by one word, thus, τῆς βασιλέως εἰκότως ἀναθεὶν, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Πεσπμωμένος ἀποστελεὶς. The last word is wanting in the *Kings Copy* and *Stephens's Edition.* Wherefore 'tis to be considered, whether we had not better read πεσπμωμένως, *in the first place.* But, whereas the *Turnebian, Savilian*, and *Fuketian Manuscripts* do defend the writing of the *Geneva Edition*, I am of opinion, that it is to be retained. *Vales.*

* Or, *Sent.*

[c] Οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας ἅτε μέγιστον. I doubt not but it should be written οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας, νεώντε μέγιστον. For so *Eusebius* is wont to express himself, as I have remarked above. And by οἶκον εὐκτήριον he means *Basilicum, a Church*; but by νεὼν he means *the whole compass or inclosure of the Church*, that is, *the Porch, Atrium or Court, Porticus's, Exhedræ, Baptisteries, and the other Edifices which are wont to be annext to Churches.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας μέγιστον. *Vales.*

[d] Any one may, not without reason, wonder, why *Eusebius* should say it was a thing unheard of by all ages, that a City addicted to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, should receive a Church and a Bishop. For that had hapned to other Cities also at that time. But perhaps *Eusebius* means, that this was a thing new and unheard-of, that a Church

Church of God had been built in that City, wherein as yet there was no *Chriſtians*, but all perſons equally adored Idols. This Church therefore was built by *Conſtantine* at *Heliopolis*, in hope rather than for neceſſity; to wit, that he might invite all the Citizens to the profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion. A little after, the reading in the *Fuketian Manuſcript* is ἔργα τυχεῖν, truer than in the ordinary Editions, were 'tis ἔργον. *Valeſ.*

was then firſt of all really compleated; and a City of Men addicted to the ſuperſtitious worſhip of *Dæmons*, was vouchſafed a Church of God, and Presbyters and Deacons; and a Biſhop conſecrated to the ſupream God, preſided over the inhabitants of that place. Moreover, the Emperor taking great care that many perſons might come over to the Faith of Chriſt, made large diſtributions there, in order to the relief of the poor: and in this wiſe he perſwaded and invited men to the ſalutary Doctrine, in a manner uttering thoſe very words ſpoken by Saint *Paul*; * *whether in pretence, or in truth, Chriſt is preached.*

*Philip. 1. 18.

CHAP. LIX.

Concerning the diſturbance raiſed at Antioch *on* Euſtathius's *account.*

BUT, whilſt all perſons paſſed their lives in the greateſt joy imaginable on account of theſe [Bleſſings,] and the Church of God was all manner of ways exalted amongſt all Nations every where; the envy [of the Devil,] who is always contriving Plots againſt the Good, began again to make an inſurrection againſt this ſo great a proſperity of our affairs: ſuppoſing, that the Emperor, † exaſperated at our diſturbances and indecencies, would in future have his affection towards us alienated. Having therefore kindled a great fire, he ‖ filled the Church of *Antioch* with Tragical Calamities: in ſo much that, there wanted but little of the whole City's being utterly ſubverted. [a] For the people of the Church were divided into two Factions; and the Commonalty of the City in an hoſtile manner were ſo highly enraged againſt the Magiſtrates themſelves, and the [b] Milice: that, they were juſt upon the point of drawing their Swords, had not the providence of God, and the fear of the Emperor, repreſt the violence of the multitude. And here the clemency of the Emperor, like a Saviour and Phyſician of Souls, did again by diſcourſe adminiſter a Cure to thoſe diſtempered. For he diſpatch'd away thither one of thoſe about him, whom he had had tryal of, a perſon honoured with the dignity of a *Comes*, a Man eminently truſty and faithful; [by whom he ſpake] to thoſe people in a moſt gracious manner. And by Letter after Letter he exhorted them to entertain thoughts of Peace; and taught them to practiſe ſuch things as were agreeable to the divine Religion. And at length he prevailed with them; and excuſed them in thoſe Letters he wrote to them, affirming that he himſelf had publickly heard [c] him who had been the occaſioner of that Tumult. And theſe Letters of his, which were filled with no ordinary Learning and Utility, I had inſerted at this place, had they not ſet a Brand of infamy on the perſons † guilty. Wherefore I will at preſent omit them, being reſolved not to renew the memory of miſchiefs: and will only annex thoſe Letters to this Work, which he wrote to [d] expreſs the joy and ſatisfaction of his own mind in reference to the Peace and agreement of others. In which Letters he entreats them that they would not in any wiſe challenge to themſelves the Prelate of another place, by whoſe intervention they had made up a Peace amongſt themſelves; but that, agreeable to the Canon of the Church, they ſhould rather chooſe him Biſhop, whom [our Lord] himſelf, the Common Saviour of all, ſhould deſign [for that office.] He writes therefore both to the People, and alſo to the Biſhops, ſeverally, theſe following [Letters.]

† Or, *Wearied out with.*

‖ Or, *Encompaſſed.*

[a] Διαιρεῖτο. I read διαιρεθέντων τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαῶν, from *Socrates* book 1. chap. 24. But this whole place is thus to be reſtored from the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turnebian Copies*: εἰς δύο μὲν γὰρ τιμήματα διήιρητο ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λαὸς τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, ἀυλοῖς ἄρχεσιν καὶ στρατιώτης. πολεμίων τρόπον ὅπλα τοσοῦτον ἀνακεκίνητο; *For the people*, &c. as we have rendred it. *Valeſ.*

[b] Καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς. *Chriſtophorſon* renders it ill, *Milites præſidiarios, the Souldiers in Garriſon.* For *the Milites Præſidiarii* were in *Caſtles*, not in *Cities*. I ſuppoſe therefore that thoſe Souldiers are meant, who had performed their ſervice in the wars; as likewiſe *the Officials* of the *Comes of the Eaſt*, and of the *Conſularis* of *Syria*. Valeſ.

[c] He means *Euſtathius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, as 'tis apparent from the Contents of this chapter. Whom when the *Euſebians* [that is, *the party of* Euſebius *Biſhop of* Nicomedia] had by fraud and calumny ejected out of his own See, a great tumult was raiſed at *Antioch*. This hapned on the year of Chriſt 329, (as may apparently be gathered from *Philoſtorgius's ſecond Book*;) or on the year 330, as *Theodoret* ſeems to aſſert, book 2. chap. 31. For he writes, that *Meletius* was tranſlated to the See of *Antioch* thirty years after *Euſtathius's* Depoſition. Now 'tis manifeſt that *Meletius* was tranſlated to *Antioch* on the year of Chriſt 360. Wherefore, I can't aſſent to the *moſt illuſtrious Cardinal Baronius*, who being always angry with *our Euſebius*, whilſt he refuſes to follow his account, hath confounded all things. For he ſays that this Tumult hapned at *Antioch* on the year of Chriſt 324. that is on the very year before the *Nicene Synod*, then, when *Euſtathius* was created Biſhop of *Antioch*: whereas *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* do atteſt, that this Tumult had hapned at the depoſition of this *Euſtathius*. But *Baronius* proves by moſt evident arguments, as he himſelf ſuppoſes, that *Euſtathius* was ejected out of the See of *Antioch*, not under the Reign of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, but in that of *Conſtantius*. Let us ſee therefore, with what arguments he endeavours to make this out. In the firſt place he cites a paſſage out of *Athanaſius's Epiſtle ad ſolitarios*, about the beginning. *Fuit*, ſays he, *quidam Euſtathius Epiſcopus Antiochiæ*, &c. *There was one* Euſtathius *Biſhop of* Antioch, *a perſon famous for confeſſion*, &c. *whom the men of the* Arian *Opinion had accuſed to* Conſtantius *by a forged calumny in ſuch a manner, as if he had been contumelious towards the Emperors Mother.* But I affirm, that in this paſſage of *Athanaſius* inſtead of *Conſtantius*, *Conſtantine* is to be written. Which emendation is confirmed by thoſe words immediately added concerning the Emperor's Mother. For he means *Helena*, who about this time had come into the Eaſt. For theſe words can't in any wiſe be meant of *Fauſta*, who had been put to death above twenty years before, if we follow *Baronius's* computation. But the paſſage of Saint *Jerom*, out of his *book de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, makes little for *Baronius*, in regard in the *Old Editions*, as alſo *in that of Lyons* which I have, 'tis plainly written, *ſub Conſtantino Principe miſſus eſt in exilium, was ſent into Exile under the Emperor* Conſtantine. Wherefore, I had rather follow *Euſebius* here, than *Baronius*. Nor do I ſee, how ſo great ſtirs could have been made at the Creation of *Euſtathius*, (of which ſtirs there is mention in the *Emperor Conſtantine's Letter*,) that to appeaſe them a *Comes* was to be ſent, and ſo many Letters written by the Emperor. Beſides, *Conſtantine* ſays in his *Letter*, that he had publickly heard him who had been the Author of that whole Sedition; to wit, *Euſtathius*, whom he had ordered to come to Court, and had baniſh'd him into *Thracia*. And this *Athanaſius* in his before-mentioned Letter, accounts as the *firſt Exploit* of the *Arians*; which thing is to be remarked. For this was done before the *Synod of Tyre*, which was convened againſt *Athanaſius*, that is before the year of Chriſt 334. *Athanaſius* therefore does the right in beginning the Hiſtory of the War which the *Arians* brought upon the Catholick Church, from *Euſtathius's* depoſition, as from the firſt Exploit of the *Arians*: which having ſucceeded according to their wiſh, they thought that all other matters would in future be ready and eaſie. Further, *Baronius's* Opinion is refuted as well from what we have ſaid above, as from this, becauſe *Flaccillus* (who after *Paulinus* and *Eulalius* ſucceeded *Euſtathius*.) is mentioned amongſt thoſe Biſhops preſent at the Synod at *Tyre*, by *Athanaſius* in his *Apology to the Emperor Conſtantius*; as *Jacobus Gothofredus* has well obſerved in his *Diſſertations on the ſecond book of* Philoſtorgius. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τῶν ἄλλων ἐυθυμέμθν. It muſt be ἐυθυμέμθν, as *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. LX.

Constantine's Letter to the *Antiochians*, that they should not draw away *Eusebius* from *Cæsarea*; but should seek another [Bishop.]

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To the People of *Antioch*.

HOW grateful and pleasing is the Concord amongst You * to all the prudent and wise men of this Age! Even I my Self, Brethren, have determined to embrace You with an Everlasting Affection; being invited thereto both † by the Rule of Religion, and by your way of Life, and also by your Love and Favour. This is most certainly the genuine product of Blessings, to ‖ act with an understanding that is right and sound. For what can so much become you? [a] Wonder not therefore, if I shall affirm the Truth to have been to you * a cause of safety, rather than of hatred. Indeed, amongst Brethren (to whom one and the same affection of Mind, and a progress in the way that is right and just, doth by God's Assistance promise an enrollment into the pure and holy family;) what [b] can be more goodly and valuable, than with a joy and unanimity of mind to rest contented at their beholding the Blessings of all Men? Especially, in regard the instruction of the Divine Law incites [c] your purpose of mind to † a greater perfection, and because 'tis our desire that your judgment should be confirmed by the best determinations. This will perhaps seem strange to you; what namely this preface of our ‖ Letter should mean. Truly, I will neither avoid, nor refuse to declare the reason of this matter. For I confess that I have perused the Acts, wherein both from your honourable Commendations and Testimonies in reference to Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, (whom I my Self also have long since very well known, on account as well of his Learning as his Modesty;)

* Or, *To the prudence and wisdom of the world.*

† Or, *By the Law.*

‖ Or, *Have made use of.*

[a] Οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι ἄρ.

* Or, *An occasion of salvation.*

† Or, *A more beautiful direction.*

‖ Or, *Discourse.*

I perceive you have an [d] *Inclination towards him, and are desirous of making him your own. What, think you, came into my mind, who am* [e] *earnestly hastning to an accurate disquisition of* * *what is right and true? What a care and solicitude* [*do you believe me*] *to have taken on account of that your desire? O Holy Faith, which by the Words and Precepts of our Saviour dost exhibite to us as 'twere an express* † *representation of Life; with what trouble wouldest even Thou thy self resist* ‖ *Sinners, unless Thou shouldest wholly refuse to serve in order to gain and favour! Indeed to Me, he seems to have* [f] *conquered even Victory her self, who* * *makes Peace his more earnest study and endeavour. For where that which is decent, is lawful to any one, no body can be found who is not highly pleased with it. I beseech you therefore, Brethren, on what account should we so determine, as thereby to procure others an injury? For what reason do we follow those things, which will certainly overthrow the Faith of Our Opinion? Indeed, I do highly praise that Person, who by you also is approved of as worthy of Honour and Affection. Nevertheless, that (which amongst all should remain firm and ratified,) ought not in such a manner to have been* * *enervated, as that all Persons should not be contented* [g] *with their own Limits, nor all enjoy their domestick Blessings; and that in a search after those who might equally seem worthy of the Bishoprick, not only one, but many Persons should not be* † *produced comparatively of equal worth with* ‖ *this Person. For when neither* * *Terrour nor Roughness gives any disturbance to Ecclesiastick Honours, it happens that those* [*Honours*] *are alike in themselves, and* † *are in all things equally desirable. Nor is it agreeable to reason, that a deliberation concerning this matter should be made* [h] *to the Injury of others: in regard the minds of all men, whether they may seem to be* [i] *meaner or more illustrious do equally ad-*

* Or, *Weakened.*

† Or, *Proposed.*

‖ *Eusebius.*

* Ἐκπλήξεως ὅτε τραχύτητος; *Valesius* renders it, *neither roughness nor violence.*

† Or, *Are to be accounted of equal price*; so *Valesius.*

[d] Ἐγκειμένους αὐτῶν σφόδρα ἐξορῶ. In the Old Sheets of the King's Library the reading is ἐγκεκλιμένους, which pleases me mightily. But the Fuk. Savil. and Turneb. Copies give us another reading, ἐγκειμένως καὶ σφοδρῶς ζητοῦντας. Vales.

[e] Ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὀρθῶν λόγων. I doubt not but it should be written ἐπειγόμενον, earnestly hastning to. In the Fuketian Copy I found it written ὀπαγόμενον διεξοδικῶς. It might also be made ἐπισπόμενον, who am raised. Vales.

[f] Αὐτῆς τῆς νίκης φιλονεικοῦσης. A most elegant sentence, which Christophorson understood not.

Indeed to me, says Constantine, he seems to have conquered Victory her self, who is earnestly studious of Peace. Therefore, after the word ἀσπαζόμενος [or, *endeavour*, in our *Version*] a point must be placed; as 'tis in the *Kings and Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Old Sheets*. Vales.

[g] Ταῖς ἰδίαις γνώμαις ἕκαστος ἀρκεῖσθαι. That is, every one should be contented with their own Limits. For γνώμη is a *Boundary* or *Limit of Grounds*; whence those Writers are termed *Gnomatici*, who have written concerning the Boundaries of fields. After the same way ὅρος is promiscuously taken amongst *Græcians*, as well for a *Sentence*, as a *Limit*. For as a Limit does bound Fields, so does a Sentence terminate strifes and controversies. Further, in my judgment it should be written, ἑκάστους ἀρκεῖσθαι. For it follows, καὶ τῶν οἰκείων πάντας ἀπολαύειν. Although in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* the reading is, πάντων ἀπολαύειν, *nor enjoy all their domestick*, &c. *Vales.*

[h] Εἰς ἕτερον πλεονέκτημα, *to another injury.* It must be written εἰς ἑτέρων πλεονέκτημα, *to the injury of others.* *'Tis not becoming*, says *Constantine*, *that a deliberation of this nature about the choosing a Bishop into* Eustathius's *place should bring an injury upon others. Nor ought ye to spoil other Churches.* A little after, I am of the same opinion with *Scaliger* and *Christophorson* who have mended it thus, τῆς πάντων διανοίας. And so I found it written in the *Fuk. and Savil. Copies*, and in the *Old Sheets*. Vales. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis πάντως.

[i] Ἄν τ' ἐλάττως, ἄν τε μείζως. That is, *whether they be inhabitants of a lesser City, such as is Cæsarea; or of a greater City, of which sort is* Antioch. *All*, says he, *as well the Citizens of smaller, as of greater Cities, are equal with God. Wherefore lesser Towns are not to be deprived of their Bishops. Constantine* had said the same a little before; namely, *That Ecclesiastick Honours are all equal, and are to be accounted of equal value.* Vales.

[b] Τὶ ἂν τιμιώτερον γένοιτο. After these words *Scaliger* and others have inserted these, τὸ δὶ εὐτυχίας, which I found written also in *Morellus's book*. But I can't approve of this their conjecture. For, what should the meaning of δὶ εὐτυχίας be? I had much rather read thus, ἢ τίς πάντων καλοῖς χαίουσιν ὁμογνωμονεῖν, *than with a joy*, &c. For, *Constantine* says that it does not become *Christians* to grieve at the Blessings of others, and to draw away the Bishops of neighbouring Cities from their own Churches, because they may be eminent for knowledge and virtue. For the *Antiochians* would have done that; who after they had deposed *Eustathius*, requested, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* might be made their Prelate. In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the word γένοιτο. there is a point set at the top. Then the reading is, τοῦτο δ' εὐτυχίας τοῖς, &c. Nor is it otherwise in *Turnebus's Copy*. Sir *Henry Savil* had mended it thus at the margin of his *Copy*; τὸ δ' εὐτυχίας τῆς πάντων καλῶς, &c. Which reading, whether it proceeded from conjecture, or was taken out of some *Manuscript Copy*, I can't approve of. Indeed I had rather read thus; τὶ ἂν τιμιώτερον γένοιτο τοῦ διὰ τυχόντας τοῖς πάντων καλῶς ὁμογνωμονεῖν; that the meaning may be the same with that which I have set above. *Vales.*

[c] Τὴν σπεύδουσαν ὑμῶν. *Christophorson* did not rightly understand this place. For *Constantine* means that earnestness or vehemency of their minds, wherewith the *Antiochians* had purposed to procure *Eusebius* to be their Bishop. As a little afterwards by the term κείσεως he means the *Judgment* wherewith they had elected the same person. I read therefore, καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐν κείσει βεβαιοῦντος τοῖς ἀρίστοις, &c. *and because 'tis our desire that your judgment*, &c. as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*. Vales.

to whom one, &c. as the reading is in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, whereto Sir *Henry Savil's*, *and Turnebus*'s book do in part agree. *Vales.*

mit

*mit of and keep the divine * Dogmata; so that, as to what relates to the Common † Faith, one sort of Persons are in nothing inferiour to another.

* Decrees
† Or, Law.

k But should we plainly declare the Truth, any one might with good reason affirm, that this is not to detain a man, but rather to take him away by force; and, that what is done is an act of Violence, not of Justice. And whether the * generality of the People think thus, or otherwise, I my self do plainly and boldly affirm, that this business gives Occasion for an Accusation, and does raise the disturbance of no small tumult. For, even Lambs do shew the † force and strength of their Teeth, as often as (the usual care and Concern of their Shepherd for them growing more remiss,) they perceive themselves deprived of their former guidance and looking to. Now, if these things be thus, and if we are not mistaken; in the first place, Brethren, consider this. (For many, and those great advantages will offer themselves to you even at the very beginning.) First of all [I say consider this;] whether the ‖ affection and love you have one towards another will not be sensible of some abatement of it self. Then [weigh this also,] that that person who [l] came to you on account of good advice, does from the Divine Judgment reap to himself the due fruit of Honour; in regard he has received no mean favour from that Honourable Testimony which you by a general consent have given of His * Vertue. Lastly [consider,] [m] that is agreeable to your usage, to make use of a care and diligence which becometh good judgment, in your looking out for such a Man as you stand in need of; so as that you may avoid all manner of tumultuous and disorderly Clamour. For such sort of Clamour is always † noxious; [n] and from the * collision of several Men one against the other, sparks and fires are usually raised. May I therefore so please God and you, and may I so lead a Life agreeable to your desires and wishes, as I Love you, and the Calm Port of your Mildness; [o] since you have cast out that filth, and instead thereof have brought in Concord with good Morals, and have put up [A-board your Ship] the firm Flag [of the Cross;] whoredome; concerning which whoredome consult *Theodoret*, *book* 1. *chap.* 21. The same thing is likewise intimated by *Constantine* a little after this, where he says, πᾶν γὸ τὸ τὴν ναῦν λυμαινόμενον ἄπαντες ἐξ ἀντλίας ἀνέλωτε. That is, *For, whatever could any way defile the vessel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere.* At which place nevertheless *Christophorson* does again render it *the filth of Sedition*. But, how *filth* can be a term properly used in reference to Sedition I can't indeed perceive. But no body can doubt, but it may be very properly spoken in reference to that incontinency wherewith *Eustathius* was charged. There is a Metaphor here, taken from *Ports*, which are wont to be cleansed, as often as they are stopt up with sand, mud, or such like filth. Now, those words ἐξ ἧς may be rendred *adverbially*; and so the reading must be ἀντλεῖτε ἐκκλ which displeases me not: *May I so please God, says* Constantine, *as I Love you, and the port of your Lenity, after having cast out that filth you have brought in Concord with good Morals.* Indeed, this meaning pleases me much better than the common reading. For now the *Antiochians* were quiet, and the Sedition was appeased, at such time as *Constantine* wrote this *Letter*, as 'tis apparent from its beginning. *Vales.*

l From these words it may be gathered, that our *Eusebius* had come to *Antioch* together with the rest of the Bishops, who in a Synod had condemned *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*: and that the *Antiochians*, after *Eustathius*'s deposition, had a mind to keep him with them. This is what *Constantine* has said above, ἐ κάθεξιν, ἀλλ' ἀφαίρεσιν μᾶλλον, *this is not a detention, but rather the taking away of a Man by violence. Theodoret* tells us the same, *book* 1. *chap.* 22. Vales.

* Or, *Probity.*

m Ὁ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωφθείας. I think it must be written ὅπ τῆς ὑμετέρας, &c. For the verb σκέψασθε, *consider*, is to be understood in common. But if any one has a mind to defend the common reading, I shall not much resist him. *Vales.*

† Or, *Unjust.*

n Καὶ κ τῆς τῶν διαφορῶν συσκείσεως, *and from the comparing of several persons together.* It would doubtless be better to read thus, τῆς τῶν διαφορῶν συσκρέσεως; that is, *from the collision of many Men, sparks and flames are usually raised.* The *Fuketian Copy* hath at length confirmed our conjecture to us; wherein I found it plainly written συσκρέσεως. *Vales.*

* *Knocking*, or, *beating together.*

o Ἐξ ἧ τὸν ῥῦπον ἐκεῖνον ἀποσάμενοι. *Christophorson* renders this place thus: *Ex quo portu sordibus seditionis præteritæ ejectis, pacato mentis statu concordiam in earum locum inducite: Out of which port having ejected the filth of your past Sedition, in place thereof do you bring in Concord with a calm temper of mind.* But in this Version, there are many things which I can't approve of. For first, I am not pleased with his making ῥῦπον ἐκεῖνον to mean the *filth of Sedition*. In my judgment *Constantine* seems to hint at that cause, on account whereof *Eustathius* had been deposed; to wit, the debauching of a certain

p *Steering a prosperous course to the Light it self, with Rudders of Iron, as one may say. Wherefore,* q *convey on Board your Ship the incorruptible Cargo. For whatever could anyway defile the Vessel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere. Now therefore, use your utmost endeavours, that your enjoyment* r *of all these Blessings may be such, as you may not a second time seem, either to have determined any thing at all, with an inconsiderate and unprofitable desire, or from the beginning to have attempted what is disagreeable. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!*

p Δρίμων τὲ ἐρμίνιον εἰς φῶς δρεμύλες, *Steering a celestial course to the Light it self.* I think it must be made δρόμον ἔειον, *a prosperous Course.*

For 'tis a Metaphor taken from Navigation. In *Sophocles*, ἔεος δρόμος is used to signifie *a happy Voyage by Sea*; and *a Ship which Sails with a prosperous gale of Wind*, is by *Græcians* termed ἐειοδρεμὲς ναῦς. *Vales.*

q Τὸν ἄφθαρτον φθαρτὸν ἀγεῖδε. This whole Letter is in many places faulty; but especially this clause does abound with mistakes. For, what is the meaning of these words? I doubt not but it must be read thus, ἄφθαρτον φόρτον ἄγεσθε, *convey on Board*, &c. *Constantine* does here make use of a continued Metaphor taken from Navigation, and compares Christians to Merchants who make Voyages on account of Trade. *Sail on*, says he, *with a prosperous Course to the eternal Light, having erected the Flag of the Cross in your Ships, and carry on Board your Vessel the incorruptible Goods. For now, whatever could have endamaged the Ship, is Pump'd out.* Thus by making a small, and in a manner no alteration, the meaning does now appear elegant and plain. *Vales.*

r Τῆ ἧς ἁπάντων. It must, I think, be written in one word, τῆσδε τῶν; as Sir *Henry Savil* had mended it in his *Copy*. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἀπόλαυσιν ἧς ἁπάντων. The close of *this Letter*, is in my judgment thus to be restored; ἢ καλόλε τι πρόξασθε, ἢ τὸ ἀρχὴν ὁπχειρῆσαι μὴ συμφέρον δοκοίησε. Which reading I have followed in my *Version*. *Constantine* terms the desire which the *Antiochians* had manifested towards *Eusebius*, when they coveted him to be their Bishop, ἄδικον σπουδὴν, *an inconsiderate desire*. The affection of the *Antiochians* towards *Eustathius* may also be meant; at whose deposition they were vext, and had raised a Sedition. In the *Fuk. Sav.* and *Turneb. Copies*, this place is written thus, ἐπιχειρῆσαι ὃ μὴ συμφέρον εἶ ἡμεῖς δοκοίημεν. But the reading is plainer which we found in the *Old Sheets*, ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὴ συμφέρον δοκοίημεν. Vales.

CHAP. LXI.

Constantine's Letter to *Eusebius*, wherein he commends Him for His Refusal of [the See of] *Antioch*.

The Emperour's Letter [a] to Us, after our Refusal of the Bishoprick of *Antioch*.

[a] This Title was written by *Eusebius* himself, as 'tis apparent. For He himself says concerning himself, πρὸς ἡμᾶς, *to us*. Wherefore, there was no need of any other Title. Further, hence it may be plainly gathered, that *these Books* were written by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*. Which, notwithstanding it may be proved by innumerable arguments and testimonies; yet I wonder at *James Gothofred*, who has been so bold as to deny it. In the *Fuketian Copy*, which has the *Contents* or *Titles* prefixt before every Chapter, these words are wanting. But in the *Kings Sheets* they are written at the margin. *Vales.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Eusebius*.

I Have perused your Letter *very often; and have found that you do most exactly observe the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline. For, to persist in those Sentiments which appear both acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apostolick Tradition, is an eminent degree of Piety. You may account your self blessed even in this very thing, because by the testimony of the whole World, as I may say, you have been judged worthy* [b] *to be Bishop over the whole Church. For, whereas all persons desire you to be* [Bishop] *amongst them, without question they increase this your Felicity. But* Your prudence (c *which hath resolved to observe the commands of God, and the Apostolick Canon, and that of the Church,*) *has acquitted it self incomparably well, in regard it hath refused the Bishoprick of the Church at* Antioch; *and hath endeavoured to continue in that See rather, the presidency over which by the will of God it had at first undertaken. Further, concerning this matter I have written a Letter to the People, and to those other Persons your Colleagues, who also themselves wrote to me in relation to the same affairs. Which Letters when* Your * Holiness *shall have perused, it will easily understand, that, because Justice seemed to Resist them, I have written unto them by the impulse of the Diety. It will behove* Your Prudence *also to be present at their* † *Council to the end this very thing may be constituted in the Church of* Antioch. *God keep you, Beloved Brother.*

[b] πάσης ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι. *Baronius* (at the year of our Lord 324, *Number* 145,) expounds these words thus, *Constantine*, says he, *terms the care of the* Antiochian *Church the Bishoprick of the whole Church; because* Antioch *was the Metropolis of all the East*. But, with the favour of that great person be it spoken, there seems to be another sense of these words. For whereas all Cities were desirous of having *Eusebius* their Bishop, as *Constantine* attests a little after, *Eusebius* was by the consent of all worthy of the Episcopate of the whole World. *Vales.*

[c] Ἦγεν τάς τε ἐκκλησίας. In the *Fuketian Copy* and *that of* Sir *Henry Savil* the reading is ἔπερ τάς τε ἐκκλησίας. I should choose to write ἥπερ τάς τε, &c. *which hath*, &c. A little before, where the reading is σύμφωνα φαίνεται, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* add ἐναγῆς, *is an eminent degree of piety*. Vales.

* Or, *Purity.*

† Or, *Consultation.*

CHAP. LXII.

Constantine's Letter to the Synod, that *Eusebius* should not be drawn away from *Cæsarea*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To [a] *Theodotus*, *Theodorus*, *Narcissus*, *Aetius*, *Alpheus*, and to the rest of the Bishops which are at *Antioch*.

[a] This Theodotus was Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*; *Narcissus* was Bishop of *Neronades* in *Cilicia*; *Aetius* was Bishop of *Lydda* in *Palestine*: all Favourers of the *Arian Party*. Who, when they were come to *Antioch*, together with *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, deposed *Eustathius*, as *Theodoret* relates *Eccles. Hist. book* 1. *chap.* 21. But *Aetius* betook himself afterwards to the side of the Orthodox, as *Philostorgius* attests, book 3. chap. 12. and also *Athanasius*. Now, *Alpheus* Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and lastly *Theodorus* Prelate of *Sydon* in *Phœnice* are named amongst the Bishops who subscribed to the *Nicene Synod*. Concerning *Theodotus*, *Athanasius* speaks also, in his *book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ* Vales.

I Have read the Letter written by Your Prudence, *and do highly commend the wise resolution of Your Colleague* Eusebius. *And when I had perfectly understood all transactions, partly from Your Letter, and partly from that of the* Most Perfect [b] Acacius *and* Strategius [the Comites,] *and had made a due inspection into the thing; I wrote to the People of* Antioch, *what was well pleasing to God, and befitting the Church. A Copy of which Letter I have ordered to be annext hereto, to the end you also might know, what I,* [c] *invited thereto by the way of Right, had ordered to be written to the People* [of Antioch:] *in as much as this was contained in Your Letter, that according to the suffrage of the People and* [d] *the desire of Your Prudence,* Eusebius *the Most Holy Bishop of the Church of* Cæsarea *might preside over the* Antiochian *Church, and undertake the care thereof.* [e] *Indeed,* Eusebius's *Letter appeared highly observant of the Ecclesiastick Canon: but 'tis meet, that Our Sentiment also should be made known to* Your Prudence. [f] *For, it has been related to me, that* Euphronius *a Presbyter, who is a Citizen of* Cæsarea *in* Cappadocia, *and* [g] Georgius

[b] Concerning *Acacius Comes of the East*, if I mistake not, *Constantine* speaks above in his Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, chap. 53. But *Strategius* is he, who by another name was called *Musonianus*; concerning whom I have made several remarks in *my Notes on the* 15th *Book of Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 99. He had been sent to *Antioch* by the Emperor *Constantine*, to appease the tumult there, as *Eusebius* has said above; see *chap.* 59. Vales.

[c] Παρακληθείς, I had rather write παρακληθείς. *Vales.*

[d] Παραιρέσεως σύνεσιν, *the prudence of your desire*. I would more willingly read συναίσεως παραίρεσιν, *the desire of your prudence*. Further, from these words (which are ill understood by *Christophorson*) it appears, that the Bishops who had been convened at *Antioch*, had by their Letter requested of *Constantine*, that according to the desire of the *Antiochian* People, and themselves, *Eusebius* might be translated to the See of *Antioch*. Therefore those words, ὡς τε κατά τε τὸν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὸν τῆς ὑμετέρας συναίσεως παραίρεσιν, are taken out of the Letter of the Bishops convened at *Antioch*, which they sent to the Emperor *Constantine*. Vales.

[e] Τὴν γε μὴν τὰ τοῦ βίου γεγράμματα. I am not displeased with the conjecture of Learned Men, who have mended it τά γε μὴν τοῦ εὐσεβίου γεγράμματα, &c. *Indeed Eusebius's*, &c. The place might likewise have been restored thus, ἀπήγγελται γε ὑμῖν τὰ τοῦ εὐσεβίου, &c. But the former reading is confirmed by the authority of the *Fuketian and Savilian Copies*. Only the *postpositive Article* ἅ is to be expunged, which occurrs not in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[f] Ἀφῖκται γὰρ εἰς ἐμέ. *In the Fuketian* and Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; ἀφῖχθαι γὰρ εἰς ἐμὲ συνέβη, *For it hapned that there have come to me Euphronius*, &c. which reading *Christophorson* has followed. But the common reading is far better ἀφῖκται γὰρ εἰς ἐμέ, that is, *I have been given to understand*, as *Musculus* renders it; or, *It has been told me*. Vales.

[g] Γεώργιον τὸν ἀρειδυσίων. Understand πολίτην, *a Citizen*; which word *Christophorson* perceived not was to be repeated in common. Now, πολίτης does not only signifie *a person born in some City*, but rather *such a one as has his residence in a City, and is enrolled amongst the Citizens, whether he may have been born there, or elsewhere*. Vales.

[a Citi-

[*a Citizen*] *of* Arethusa, *a Presbyter also* (h *whom* Alexander *preferred to this dignity in the City* Alexandria,) *are most approved Persons in reference to the Faith.* i *It seemed good therefore, to give* Your Prudence *notice of these Men, that having* k *proposed them, and some others, whom You shall judge fit for the dignity of the Episcopate, You may determine such things as may be agreeable to the Tradition of the Apostles. For such matters as these having been well prepared and ordered,* Your Prudence *will be able so to direct this Election according to the Canon of the Church and Apostolick Tradition, as the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline does require. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!*

h *Athanasius* says the same in his *Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*; that *this* George namely, who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*, had first been ordained Presbyter by *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but was afterwards deposed by the same *Alexander* because of his impiety. In his *Apologetick also against* Constantius, *pag.* 728; he writes that the same Person was deposed by *Alexander*, which very thing is plainly confirmed by the *Fathers of the Sardican Council in their Synodick Letter.* The same *Athanasius*, in the *same Book de Synodis pag.* 886, attests that this *George* resided at *Antioch.* Further, from the *Kings Sheets* I have pointed this place thus; ὃν ἐπὶ τ τάξεως ταύτης ἀλέξανδρ@ ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατεστήσατο, ἔτι τλῶ πίστ δοκιμωτάτ, *whom Alexander*, &c. and so *Musculus* points the place. *Vales.*

i This place seems to me to be imperfect, which is in my judgment thus to be made good: καλῶς ἂν εἶχε δηλῶσαι τῇ συνέσει ὑμῶν τούτους, ὑμᾶς ὃ προχειρισαμένους τούτους τε κὴ ἑτέρους, &c. which reading I have followed in my Version. By τούτους, *these Men*, he means the foresaid *Euphronius* and *Georgius.* Of whom *Euphronius* was afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*, and immediate successour to *Eustathius*; as *Socrates* and *Sozomen* do relate, and also *Theodorus Mopsuestenus in Nicetas's Thesaurus Orthodoxæ fidei.* But this *Georgius* was, as I have said, afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τούς τε προχειρισμένους. Further, 'tis to be noted, that Men who were *Arians*, are here by *Constantine* commended for Persons that were Orthodox; either because as yet they concealed their Heresie, or else in regard the *Arians* had possest themselves of the Emperour's ear and mind. *Vales.*

k Προχειρισαμένους. *Christophorson* perceived nothing here. The term προχειρίσασθαι in elections imports thus much, *to propose* or *publickly to produce the name of some Person, that it may be inquired whether he be worthy of that Office, the debate about which is in agitation.* Which very thing *Constantine* in his *Letter to the People of Antioch* expresses by the verb ἐκφῆναι. The προχειρισμὸς was followed by *an Examination*, then *the Election*, and last of all *the Ordination* or *Consecration.* See *Socrates's Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 9. *note* (*f.*) Vales.

CHAP. LXIII.

In what manner He endeavoured to destroy Heresies.

SUch were the admonitions [which the Emperour gave] to the [Prelates] of the Churches, [advising them to do all things] in order to the glory and commendation of the Divine Religion. But after he had made a riddance of all dissentions, and had reduced the Church of God to an agreement and Harmony of Doctrine; He past from thence, and was of opinion, that another sort of impious Persons were to be suppresst and destroyed, in regard they were the Poison of Mankind. These were a sort of pernicious Men, who under the specious disguise of Modesty and Gravity ruined the Cities. Whom our Saviour somewhere terms false Prophets or ravenous Wolves, in these words: * *Beware of false Prophets which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits.* By the transmission of a precept therefore to the Presidents of Provinces, He put to flight the whole Tribe of these sort of Persons.

* *Matt.* 7. 15, 16.

But besides this Law, the Emperour composed an enlivening. * Exhortation, directed to them by name; wherein he incited those Men to hasten their repentance: For [he told them] that the Church of God would be to them a Port of † safety. But, hear in what manner ‖ He discourst even to these Persons, in his Letter to them.

* Or, *Instruction.*
† Or, *Salvation.*
‖ Ὁμιλεῖ; *Valesius* renders it, *he Preaches.*

CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Constitution against the Hereticks.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To the Hereticks.

ACknowledge now by the benefit of this Law, (O ye Novatianists, Valentinians, Marcionists, Pauliani; *and you who are termed* Cataphrygæ; *in a word, all of you, who by your private Meetings, breed and* * *compleat Heresies!) in how many Lyes the* † *vanity of your Opinions is wrapt up; and in what manner your Doctrine is* ‖ *compounded of certain pernicious Poisons: in so much that, by you the healthy are reduced to weakness, and the living to a perpetual death: Ye Enemies of Truth, ye Adversaries of Life, and ye Councellours of destruction! All things amongst you are contrary to Truth; agreeable to filthy impieties;* a *stuft with absurdities and fictions: whereby you compose Lyes, afflict the Innocent, and deny Believers the light. And, sinning continually under a Mask of Divinity, you defile all things! Ye wound the innocent and pure consciences* [*of Men*] *with blows that are mortal and deadly; and ye ravish even the day it self (I had almost said,) from the eyes of Men. But what necessity is there of recounting every particular? Especially, since neither the shortness of the time, nor the urgency of Our Affairs will suffer Us to speak concerning your* * *Crimes according as they deserve. For, your impieties are so large and immense, so filthy and full of all manner of outragiousness, that a whole day would not be sufficient for a description of them. And besides, 'tis fit we should remove our ears and turn away our eyes from things of this nature, least by a particular declaration of them, the pure and sincere* † *alacrity of Our Faith should be defiled. What reason is there then that We should any longer tolerate such Mischiefs? Especially since Our long* b *forbearance is the cause, that even those who are sound, become infected with this pestilential distemper as 'twere. Why therefore do we not immediately cut off the roots (as we may so term them) of such a mischief by a publick animadversion?*

* Or, *Compleat.*
† Or, *Vanity amongst you is, &c.*
‖ *Contained in*, or, *beset with.*

a Ἀτοπίαις καὶ δεήμασι χεῖται. In the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*, I found it χαίρουσι, *rejoycing in*; according as *Scaliger*, *Christophorson*, and others found it in their Copies. *Vales. Valesius* renders it *referta*, *stuft*; on what account I know not.

* Or, *Misdeeds.*

† Or, *Activity.*

b Παρεπιδύμησις. Perhaps it should be παρενδυμησις, *negligence* and *forgetfulness.* In the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*, the reading is ὑπερθεσις, *delay.* A little after, from the *Fuketian Copy* I write διὰ δημοσίας ἐπισρεφείας. *by a publick animadversion.* Vales. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis ἐπισροφίας. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXV.

Concerning the taking away the Meeting-places of Hereticks.

*WHerefore, in as much as this perniciousness of your improbity is not any longer to be born with, We declare by this Law, that no one of you shall in future dare to hold Assemblies. And therefore We have given order, that all those your houses, wherein you hold such Assemblies, shall be taken away: and this Care [of Our Majesty] does extend so far, as that the congregations of your superstitious madness shall not meet together, not only in publick, but neither in a private house, nor in any places, whereto the Right or Title is peculiar. Therefore, what ever persons amongst you are studious of the true and pure Religion, (which is a thing far more commendable and better,) let them come over to the Catholick Church, and hold communion with its sanctity, by the assistance whereof they may arrive at the Truth. But, let the Errour of your perverted minds, I mean the execrable and pernicious dissent of Hereticks and Schismaticks, be wholly separated from the felicity of Our Times. For it becomes Our Blessedness, which by God's assistance We enjoy, that they who lead their lives [buoy'd up] with good hopes, should be reduced from all manner of * Extravagant Errour to the right way; from darkness to the light; from Vanity to the Truth; Lastly, from Death to Salvation. And, to the end that the force and power of this Remedy may be effectual and prevalent, We have given order, that [a] all the Conventicles of your Superstition, as We have said above, I mean the Oratories of all sorts of Hereticks, (if it be fit to term them Oratories,) shall without any contradiction [b] be taken away, and without any delay delivered to the Catholick Church: but, that the rest of the places shall be adjudged to the publick: and, that no Licence shall be left to you [c] of holding Meetings there in future. So that, from this present day, your illegal Congregations shall not dare to meet, either in any publick or private place. [d] Let it be published.*

* Or, *Disorderly*

[a] Ὑπὸ πάντα τὰ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας. The first word must be expunged, as superfluous. In the *Fuketian, Savil.* and *Turnebian Copies*, the reading is ὑπὸ πάντα: perhaps it should be, ὑπίπαν τὰ, &c. *that the Conventicles——shall wholly be taken away.* Valesi.

[b] Ἀφαιρεθέντας. *Christophorson* did ill in rendring it *diruta, pull'd down.* For *Constantine* does not order the Churches of Hereticks to be pull'd down, but to be taken from them, and given to the Catholick Church. There are the like Constitutions of the Emperours in the *Theodosian Code*, in the Title *de Hæreticis.* Further, from this Law of *Constantine* the *Novatianists* had before been excepted, as 'tis apparent from *the second Law* in *the same Title.* But in *this last Sanction of Constantine*, they are included, together with the other Hereticks and Schismaticks *Valesi.*

[c] Τῷ συναλσθῆν. The reading in the *Fuketian Copy* is truer, thus, τῷ συνάγειν. For συνάγειν is the proper term to denote this thing. The *Latines* in one word call it *colligere*, as may be proved by many instances. Whence *they* term that *Collecta*, which in *Greek* is σύναξις. *Optatus* (in his *Second Book*, where he speaks concerning the Bishops of the *Donatists* in the City *Rome*,) has this passage. *Sed quia quibusdam Afris urbica placuerat commoratio, & hinc a vobis profecti videbantur, ipsi petierunt, ut aliquis hinc qui illos colligeret mitteretur.* And a little after. *Non enim Grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui intra quadraginta & quod excurrit, basilicas, locum, ubi colligerent, non habebant.* Valesi.

[d] Περιέδητω. *Christophorson* understood not this word; it was usually added to the Laws and Constitutions of Princes, and sometimes in their own hand So in *Theodosius's Novel de reddito Jure armorum*, it occurrs; *Et Manu divinâ. Proponatur amantissimo nostri populo Rom.* And at the side, *Data 8. Calend. Julias Romæ Valentiniano & Anatolio Coss. See book 2. chap. 42. note (b.)* After the word τολμήσει therefore in the Greek, a point is placed in the *Kings Copy*, which is well done. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the verb περιέδητω is wanting. *Valesi.*

CHAP. LXVI.

That impious and prohibited Books having been found amongst the Hereticks, very many of them returned to the Catholick Church.

IN this manner therefore the * Dens of the *Heterodox* were by the Imperial Order laid open; and the wild Beasts themselves, that is the Ring-leaders of their impiety, were put to flight. Now, some of those Persons who had been deceived by them, being put into a fear by the Emperour's Menaces, crept into the Church with a mind and meaning that was false and counterfeit, and for a time [a] play'd the Hypocrites. And because the [b] Law commanded that a search should be made after the Books of those Men; they who made evil and forbidden Arts their business, were apprehended. On which account they practised dissimulation, and did all things, to the end they might purchase themselves safety. But others of them betook themselves to a better hope, with a purpose of mind that was hearty, true, and sincere. Further, the Prelates of the Churches made an accurate † inspection into both these sorts of Persons, and such as they found coming over [to the Church] * under a disguise, who were hid under the skins of Sheep, them they drove away a far off. But they who did this with † sincerity, were tried for some time; and after a sufficient proof, [the Bishops] enrolled them amongst their number who are [c] admitted to the sacred Assemblies. And in this manner they treated those * Hereticks that were infamous and abominable. But such as maintained nothing that was impious in † their Opinions and Doctrines, but by the fault of Schismatical Men had been rashly severed from the common society, them they admitted [into the Church] [d] without any delay.

* Εξυρύματα; it properly signifies *a company of Souldiers hid in any place, in order to their attacking the Enemy at unawares.*

[a] Καλειρωνεύόμενοι. In the *King's Copy*, this term is thus explained in the Margin, καλυποκρινόμενοι, *acting the Hypocrites.* Valesi.

[b] Therefore besides the *above said Letter of* Constantine *to the Hereticks*, there was another Law, which ordered the Books of Hereticks to be found out and burnt; or else this Letter produced by *Eusebius* is not entire. Further, the reading should be ἐπεὶ καὶ διεῤῥνᾶδης. *And because*, &c. and a little after, ἠλίσκοντό τ' ἀπειρημένας, &c. not ἠλίσκοντο τότε, which is the reading in the *Fuketian Copy*, and must be rejected; though, by what chance I know not, it has crept into our Edition.

† Or, *Inquisition.*

* Or, *Feignedly.*

† Or, *A pure mind.*

[c] Τῷ πλήθει εἰσαγομένων. I had rather write τῶν συναγομένων. For, that Bishop is properly said συνάγειν, *who holds a religious assembly.* The συναγόμενοι *are the Laicks who come together into the Church.* Whence σύναξις imports *an Ecclesiastick Assembly. Dionysius Alexandrinus's* words in *his fifth Epistle to Pope Xystus*, are these; τῶν δὲ συναγομένων ἀδελφῶν πρὸς νομιζόμενον ἀρχαῖον, &c. Therefore *Scaliger, Christophorson*, and *Gruterus* have mended it ill, thus, συνεισαγομένους. *Christophorson* has rendred it *adscititios, counterfeit*; which can no wise be born with. In the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, the reading likewise is συνεισαγομένους. *Valesi.*

[d] Ἀμελήτως, *without care.* It must doubtless be ἀμελλήτως, *without any delay.* For he says, that Schismaticks were without delay received into the Church; but, that Hereticks were admitted after a long penitency. For the Church is always wont to give *Schismaticks* a more favourable and kinder reception, than *Hereticks.* Of which matter we have an eminent instance in the *Nicene Synod*; which, when it had *Anathematized* the *Arians*, received the *Meletians* into Communion, after they had been gently chastized. Now, what the difference is between *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*, *Basilius* informs us in *his first Canonical Epistle to Amphilochius*; where he distinguishes these three, αἵρεσιν, σχίσμα, συναγωγήν. Nevertheless *Chrysostome*, in his *eleventh Homily on the Ephesians*, proves *Schismaticks* to be worse than *Hereticks.* Valesi.

These

These therefore, returning in Troops from some [e] Foreign Region as 'twere, recovered their own Country again, and acknowledged their Mother the Church. From which having strayed, after a long interval of time they made their return to * Her with a gladness and joy. Thus the members of the whole Body were united one with another by one common Band, and grew together into one Frame. And the one and only Catholick Church of God, † fitly cohering with it self, darted forth its Rays of Light; no congregation either of Hereticks or Schismaticks being left remaining in any part of the Earth. To the performance of which [f] singular and great Action, Our Emperour (the only Person car'd for and respected by God, amongst all those that had ever sway'd the Imperial Sceptre,) entitled Himself.

[e] Ἐξ ἀποικίας. He has used ἀποικία improperly, to signifie *a Foreign Region*. Which *Christophorson* not perceiving, rendred it very ill, *ex colonia, from a Colony*. Valesius.

* *The Church.*

† Or, *Having been converted into it self.*

[f] Καὶ τοῦτο μόνε. The word μόνε must be blotted out, because it disturbs the sense; unless you take it to signifie *singular*, or *Eximious*. Further *Christophorson* has translated this place otherwise. For thus he renders it; *cujus præclari facinoris causam Imperator Deo acceptum plane retulit, the cause of which famous Action the Emperour plainly ascribed to God as acceptable to him.* Nor does *Musculus* render it otherwise. But I have interpreted these words [τῶν αἰτίαν ἐγεφάτο, or rather, ἐπηγεφάτο] concerning *Constantine Himself*; that is, *The Emperour was the Author of this glorious action*. *Johannes Portesius* also, the first Translatour of *these Books*, renders this place in the same manner. For thus his Version runs; *Id verò unicum ab orbe condito factum, homini dei tutelâ præclaro, tum acceptum etiam relatum est.* Valesius.

The End of the Third Book.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

In what manner he honoured very many Persons with gifts and promotions.

ALthough the Emperour accomplished so many and such signal performances in order to the Edification and Glory of God's Church; and administred all matters so, as that Our Saviour's Doctrine might every where find a glorious * Reception: nevertheless, in the interim he neglected not the † Civil affairs. But even in this respect he never desisted from bestowing various favours, which were successive and continued, on all the Inhabitants of each Province: sometimes demonstrating in publick a paternal care towards all Persons; at other times, honouring in private each of His Favourites with different dignities; and bestowing all things upon all Persons with a true greatness of mind. Nor did it ever happen, that he mist of his design, who beg'd a Favour of the Emperour: neither was there ever any Person who hop'd to obtain a Boon from him, that went away frustrated of his expectation. But some got Money; others Estates: some were grac'd with the [a] dignity of the *Prætorian Præfecture*; others with the *Senatorian:* some were created *Consuls*; many were designed Presidents. Some were made [b] *Comites* of the first rank; others, of the second; others, of the third. Innumerable other Persons had the * *Perfectissimatus* bestowed on them, as likewise very many other such like dignities. For, to the end he might honour the more, the Emperour devised various dignities.

* *Repute*, or, *commendation.*

† *External* or, *Temporal.*

[a] Ὑπαρχικῶν ἀξιωμάτων, *with Consular dignities.* Doubtless it ought to be written ἐπαρχικῶν ἀξιωμάτων, *with Prætorian dignities*, or, *with the dignity of the Prætorian Præfecture*, from the Copies of *Christophorson* and Sir *Henry Savil*: or at least, ὑπαρχικῶν; as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*. Ἔπαρχοι or ὕπαρχοι are *the Præfecti Prætorio.* They are termed ἔπαρχοι, because they excel the other Governours and Judges. And they are stiled ὕπαρχοι, in regard being placed under the immediate power of the Prince, they are above all others. It matters not much therefore, whether you term them ἐπάρχους or ὑπάρχους. But the ordinary reading, ὑπατικῶν, *consular*, can no wise be born with. For, whereas he speaks afterwards concerning the *Consular* and *Senatorian* dignity, it would have been superfluous to make mention of the Consulate here. Nor can it be said, that below are meant *the Consulares* who governed Provinces. For first, it ought then to be mended there τῶν ὑπατικῶν, which term occurrs a little before. Secondly, under the term ἡγεμόνες, the *Consulares* are also comprehended: so that, there can be no necessity of mentioning the *Consulares* by themselves. Lastly, in regard all the dignities are here reckoned up, 'tis not at all likely, that the *Præfecti prætorio* were omitted, whose number *Constantine* increased, as *Zosimus* attests. Now, at that time the *Præfecti Prætorio* had only the title of *Clarissimi*, as *Constantine's Letter* informs us, which *Eusebius* has recorded above; See *book* 3. *chap.* 31. and what we have noted there. Also, under the Emperour *Constantius*, the *Præfecti Prætorio* were only termed *Clarissimi*, as *the Protestation of the People of Alexandria* informs us, which *Athanasius* has recorded at *the close of his Epistle ad solitarios.* Vales.

[b] Concerning the *Comites* of the first Rank, as also of the second and third Order, there is frequent mention in *Old Inscriptions*, and in *The Code.* Some of these were within the Palace; others in the *Consistory*, who were afterwards termed *Comites Consistoriani*; others were *Comites Domestici.* In *Gruter's Thesaurus*, pag.

* That is, *had the honour to be stiled perfectissimi, most perfect.*

pag. 406, this old Inſcription occurrs; FL. EUGENIO V. C. EXPRÆFECTO PRÆT. CONSULI ORDINARIO DESIGNATO. MAGISTRO OFFICIORUM OMNIUM. COMITI DOMESTICO ORDINIS PRIMI, &c Concerning the ſame *Comites Domeſtici*, there is another *Old Inſcription* extant in the *Houſe of the Barberini*, worth the ſetting down here. M. NUMMIO. ALBINO. V. C. QUÆSTORI CANDIDATO, PRÆTORI. URB. COMITI. DOMESTICO. ORDINIS. PRIMI. ET CONSULI. ORDINARIO. ITERUM NUMMIUS. SECUNDUS. EJUS. This *Nummius Albinus* was *Conſul the ſecond time* and *Præfect of the City* in the times of *Gallienus*, as 'tis manifeſt from *the Faſti*, and from the *Old Book de Præfectis Urbi*. Whence it may be concluded, that this *dignity of the Comes of the firſt and ſecond Order or Rank*, was not firſt inſtituted by *Conſtantine*, as *Cujacius thought in his Notes on Juſtinianus's Code*; but that it was in uſe long before *Conſtantine's* time. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. II.

A Remiſſion of the fourth part of the * Cenſus.

* Or, *Tributes.*

BUT, with what earneſtneſs he endeavoured, that all mankind in general might lead joyful and pleaſant Lives, may be perceived even from this one inſtance, which being highly advantageous to the Life of men, and extended to all perſons in general, is even at this very preſent highly celebrated in the mouths of all. Having abated a fourth part of thoſe annual Tributes which were paid for Land, he beſtowed it upon the Owners of the Grounds: ſo that, if you compute the ſum of this annual abatement, it will † appear, that every fourth year the [a] Occupiers of the Fruits are free from the payment of Tribute. Which thing being ‖ paſt into a Law, and confirmed for the time to come, not only to thoſe of the preſent age, but to their children, and the ſucceſſours of them, made the Emperour's Beneficence indelible and perpetual.

† Or, *Happen.*

[a] τὰς τῶν καρπῶν οἰκήτορας, *the Occupiers of the fruits.* This expreſſion can't be born with.

‖ Or, *Eſtabliſh'd by a Law.*

'Tis my Sentiment that the words are tranſpoſed here; and that at this place we ſhould read, τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκήτορας, *the Occupiers of the Grounds*: and above, τοῖς τῶν καρπῶν δεσπόταις, *upon the Owners of the fruits*. *Turnebus* at the margin of his *Copy*, inſtead of οἰκήτορας *Occupiers*, has made it κλήτορας, *Poſſeſſours*. Or *at leaſt it muſt* (ſays he) *be written*, τῶν χωρῶν οἰκήτορας, *the Occupiers of the places or Farms*. Valeſ.

CHAP. III.

The * Peræquation *of thoſe* Cenſus *that were too heavy and burthenſome.*

* Equalling, or, *making even.*

BUT, whereas ſome perſons found fault with thoſe Surveys of Land, which had been made by the former Emperours, and complained that their own Grounds were too much oppreſt; here alſo [the Emperour in obedience] to the Laws of juſtice, diſpatch'd away [a] *Peræquatores*, who might free the Complainants from wrong.

[a] Ἐξισωτὰς. These the *Latines* term *Peræquatores*; of whom there is mention in the *fourteenth Book of the Theodoſian Code*, in *the Title de Cenſitoribus, Peræquatoribus, & Inſpectoribus*. Moſt commonly *Senatours* were by the Prince elected to that Office; it was the buſineſs of theſe Officers, *to make equal the Cenſus in thoſe Provinces which complained that they were oppreſt with the Burthen of the Tributes*. In *Gruter*, *pag.* 361, this *Old Inſcription* occurrs: L. ARADIO VAL. PROCULO V. C. PRÆTORI TUTELARI LEGATO PRO PRÆTORE PROV. NUMIDIÆ PERÆQUATORI CENSUS PROV. GALLECIÆ. There is alſo extant a *ninth Oration of Gregory Nazianzen*, εἰς ἐξισωτὴν ἰουλιανὸν, *to Julianus the Peræquator*. Valeſ.

CHAP. IV.

That on thoſe who were overthrown in Pecuniary Cauſes, *he himſelf beſtowed money out of his own* [*Income.*]

MOreover, as often as the Emperour had pronounc'd Sentence between two who were at Suit; to the end the party that had loſt his cauſe, might not go away ſadder [a] than him in favour of whom Sentence had paſt; out of his own [Revenues] he beſtowed on thoſe who had been caſt in their Suits, ſometimes Farms, and ſometimes Money: by which means he managed the matter ſo, as that the party worſted did no leſs rejoyce than he who had carried the Cauſe; in regard [the perſon overthrown] had been vouchſafed to come into * his preſence. For he judged it altogether unfit, that any one who had ſtood before ſo great a Prince, ſhould be diſmiſt ſad and ſorrowful. By this means therefore, both parties that were at Law returned from Sentence with countenances full of joy and chearfullneſs: and the Emperour's Greatneſs of mind was the admiration of all men.

[a] Ἐξωρεῖτο τὸ τῶ νενικηκότ☉. Every one ſees that the words are tranſpoſed here; which is a fault frequently committ'd in *theſe Books*. At my peril therefore, write thus; ὡς ἂν μὴ τὸ ληφθὲν παρ' αὐτῶ μέρος ἧττον ἀπαλλαίτοιτο χαίρων τῶ νενικηκότ☉, ἐξωρεῖτο, &c. *to the end the party that had*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* the words τῶ νενικηκότ☉, *than him in favour of whom Sentence had paſt*, are wanting. But *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil* place thoſe words after the verb ἀπαλλαίτοιτο, *might not go away*. The ſaid Sir *Henry Savil* hath noted at the margin of his *Copy*, *that perhaps it ſhould be* χαίρων, *and that the comma after the word* ἀπαλλαίτοιτο *ſhould be blotted out*. Which when I had read, I was extreamly glad, that my conjecture was confirmed by the judgment of *that moſt Learned perſon*. But, whereas Sir *Henry Savil* adds there, *that Chriſtophorſon ſeems to have read thus*, in this I can't aſſent to him. For *Chriſtophorſon* read χαίρων, and renders it *Libenter, willingly*. Further, *Turnebus* does here mend it τὸ λειφθὲν, which pleaſes me. *Valeſ.*

* *The Emperour's.*

CHAP. V.

The conqueſt of the Scythæ, *who were ſubdued by the Standard of Our Saviour's* [*Croſs.*]

[a] WHat need have I here of making mention by the by as 'twere, how he reduced the *Barbarous* Nations under the Empire of the *Romans?* In what manner he firſt brought under the Yoak, the Nations of the [b] *Scythæ* and *Sarmatæ*, who before had never learn'd to obey any one; and forc'd them even againſt their wills, to acknowledge the *Romans* their Lords?

[a] Τί δεῖ μέχει λόγυ. I doubt not but it ſhould be written thus, τί δὴ με χρὴ λόγυ παρεργον ποιεῖσθ☉. Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is, τί ὃ μέχει. Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his *Copy* mends it, τί δεῖ μετὰ πάρεργα λόγυ ποιεῖσθ☉. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, the reading of this place is this, τί ὃ δεῖ μέχει λόγυ τὰ πάρεργα ποιεῖσθ☉. *Valeſ.*

[b] Inſtead of *the Scythæ*, *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 18.) and *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 8.) terms them *The Goths*. Indeed *Greek Writers* do uſually term them *Scythæ*, whom the *Latins* call *Goths*. So *Libanius*, *Themiſtius*, *Eunapius*, and many others. Further, *the Goths* were vanquiſhed by the *Roman* Army in the Country of the *Sarmatæ*, on the twelfth of the *Calends of May*, in the Conſulate of *Pacatianus* and *Hilarianus*, (as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's Faſti*,) that is on the year of Chriſt 332. *Valeſ.*

For

[c] *Socrates* says the same at the place before cited. Indeed *Jordanes* (in his book *de Rebus Geticis*, speaking concerning the Emperour *Philippus*,) says the *Romans* paid an annual tribute to the *Goths*. And

For the preceding Emperours had paid [c] Tribute to the *Scythæ*: and the *Romans* were Servants to the *Barbarians*, allowing them a sum of money yearly. [d] But this indignity was insupportable to the Emperour: nor did he judge it a thing befitting a Victorious Prince, to pay what had been paid by the former Emperours. Putting his confidence therefore in his Saviour, he raised the Victorious Trophee against them also, and in a small time subdued them. Such of them as were contumacious and made a resistance, he vanquished by his Arms; but the rest he appeased by prudent Embassies, and from a Lawless and Salvage life, reduced them to a way of living that was agreeable to reason and Law. Thus the *Scythæ* at length learn'd to obey the *Romans*.

Petrus Patricius (in his *Excerpta Legationum*) attests the same concerning *Tullus Menophilus*, where he writes concerning the *Carpi*. Vales.

[d] Οὐκ ἦν δ' ἄ-. I read ἐκ ἦν δ' ἀρ' ἔτ⊖, &c. from the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, and from the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

CHAP. VI.

The Subduing of the Sarmatæ, *occasioned by the Rebellion of the Servants against their Masters.*

* Or, *Drove under.*

BUT God himself * prostrated the *Sarmatæ* at the feet of *Constantine*; and subdued those men swelled with a Barbarick insolence, in this manner. For the *Scythæ* having raised a War against them, the *Sarmatæ*, that they might make a resistance against their enemies, armed their Slaves. After these Slaves had gained the Victory, they † turned their Arms against their Masters, and drove them all from their own [a] habitations. They found no other Port of safety, save only *Constantine*. Who, in regard 'twas his usage to preserve men, gave them all a reception within the confines of the *Roman* Empire. And those that were fit for Service, he enrolled amongst his own Military Companies: But to the rest of them he distributed Grounds to be Tilled, in order to their procuring necessaries for a Livelyhood. In so much that, they acknowledged their calamity to have been successful and fortunate to them; in regard, instead of a Barbarick Salvageness, they enjoyed a *Roman* freedom. In this manner God annext ‖ very many Barbarous Nations to his Empire.

† Or, *Took up.*

[a] Τῆς ὁικίας From the *Fuketian Copy* it must be made ὁικείας. Further, this Conspiracy of the *Sarmatæ* against their Masters hapned on the year of Christ 334. In *those Fasti* which *Jacobus Sirmondus* terms *Idatius's*, these words occur; *Optato & Paulino His Coss. Sarmatæ servi universa Gens Dominos suos in Romania expulerunt.* *Jerome* agrees also in the *Chronicon*, who terms those Slaves of the *Sarmatæ*, *Limigantes*. And so does *Amm. Marcellinus*. See *the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*. Vales. For a further account of *these Limigantes*, The Reader may consult Dr. *Howell's History, second part, pag.* 11, *and* 127, 128.

‖ Or, *All sorts of.*

CHAP. VII.

The Embassies of several Barbarous Nations and the Gifts [bestowed on them] by the Emperour.

FOR, from all places Embassies arrived continually [at his Court,] and brought him such presents as were of greatest value amongst themselves. In so much that, even We our selves hapned one time to see * various shapes of Barbarians, standing in order before the [a] Court-Gate of the Imperial Palace. Whose garb and manner of dress was different and changeable; and the hair both of their head and beard much unlike. Their aspect grim, barbarous, and terrible; and their Bodily Stature of an immense greatness. Some of them had ruddy countenances; the faces of others were whiter than snow. In other some of them there was a middle temperature of colour. For the *Blemmyæ*, *Indi*, and *Æthiopes* (who [as [b] *Homer* says,] *are divided two ways, and live in the out-skirts of the earth*;) were to be seen amongst those forementioned Barbarians. Each of these persons ([c] in such manner as we see it commonly painted in Tables) brought severally to the Emperour such presents as were of greatest value amongst themselves. Some [presented him with] Crowns of Gold; others, with Diadems beset with precious Stones; others, with yellow-hair'd boyes; others, with Barbarick Garments [d] interwoven with Gold and Flowers; others, with Horses; others, with Bucklers, long Spears, Arrows, and Bows. By which presents they demonstrated, that they made an offer of their Service and confederacy of Arms to the Emperour, if he pleased. The Emperour received and *kept the presents brought by each of them, and remunerated them with so many and such great Favours, that in an instant of time the persons who had brought these presents were extraordinarily enrich'd. Moreover, he [e] grac'd the eminenter persons amongst them with *Roman* dignities: in so much that, very many of them forgot to return into their own Country, and † chose to make their Residence here amongst us.

* Or, *Laid in order.*

† Or, *Fell in love with.*

* *Eminent* or, *conspicuous.*

[a] Πρὸ τῆς αὐλίου. It must be αὐλείου, as I found it written in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and in the *Kings Sheets*. So *Græci* ans termed that gate of an house which they who go in, do first of all meet with: and they accounted that to be the Limit; to pass which was look'd upon as a thing indecent in Matrons. *Philo's* words in his Book *de Specialibus Legibus* are these; Ἐπειδὰν ὑπὲρ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἔνδον μονὴ παρθένοις μὲν εἴσω χιλιοστάδων, τὴν μεσαίτατον ὅρον πεμπομβόαις. τελείαις δ' ἤδη γύναιξι τὼ αὐλίου. Without doubt *Philo* alludes to these Verses of *Menander*, which *Stobæus* records, chap. 163.

Τὰς τῆς γαμετῆς ὄρος ὑπερβαίνεις γυναῖ
Διὰ τὴν αὐλάν. πέρας γὰρ αὐλεὼ θύρα·
Ἐλεύθερα γυναικὶ νενόμισ' οἰκίας
Τὸ δ' ἐπιδιώκειν, εἰς ἃ τὴν ὁδὸν τρέχειν
Ἔτι λοιδορουμένην, κυνὸς ἔσ' ἔργον ῥοπή.

These very verses of *Menander*, *Harpocration* does tacitly mean, in the word αὐλεὼ. *Vales.*

[b] *Homer's* words (*Odyss.* 1. *near the beginning*) are these;

Αἰθίοπας τοὶ δίχθα δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
Οἱ μὲν δυσομένου ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος:

Which Mr. *Hobbs* has thus Englished;

The Blackmoors are the utmost of mankind,
As far as East and West asunder stand,
So far the Blackmoors Borders are disjoyn'd.

[c] Ὥσπερ ἐν πίνακι γραφῇ. These words seem to be superfluous; unless *Eusebius* had a mind to express the matter it self more clearly in this manner, in favour to those who had not been present and seen it. For the pictures of the Emperours were usually so drawn, as that they might represent the Embassadours of the Barbarians making them presents, or the Provinces paying them Gold, as may be seen in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*. Vales.

[d] He means the Barbarick manner of weaving; of which sort is that in *Virgil*, in the *first Book of his Æneid*.

Et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho. Vales.

[e] *Amm. Marcellinus* says the same in his 21 *Book, pag.* 190, and 195 *of our Edition*. Vales.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

That he wrote to the Persian *Emperour (who had sent an Embassie to him,) in favour of the* Christians *there.*

MOreover, in regard the King of the *Persians* was desirous of being made known to *Constantine* by an [a] Embassie, and had likewise sent him Presents which were the signs of Peace and Amity; [b] making it his business to enter into a League with him: here also the Emperour [shewed] a transcendent greatness of mind, and by the magnificence of his Presents far out-did him who had first honoured him. And being informed, that the Churches of God were numerous amongst the *Persians*, and that infinite numbers of people were gathered together within the Folds of Christ; he was highly pleased at the news hereof, as being the common Patron and Defender of all men whereever they lived; and even to those Regions also he extended his providence [which Laboured] for the good of all men.

[a] The only person that I know of, who speaks concerning this Embassie of *Sapor* to *Constantine*, is *Libanius*, in his Oration entitled βασιλικὸς pag. 119. where he writes, that *Sapor* King of the *Persians*, when he had resolved upon entring into a War with the *Romans*, and in order to that affair wanted Iron, took such measures as were fraudulent and crafty, and dispatch'd away Embassadours to *Constantine*, who might adore him as his Lord, and might request of him a vast quantity of Iron; under a pretence indeed, that with his Arms he might revenge himself on some Barbarians that were his neighbours: but in reality, that he might make use of that Iron against the *Romans*. Vales.

[b] Ἐπρεσβ. ὑπὲρ τῶν συνθήκων καὶ περὶ τούτου βασιλ. &c. The other Translatours render these words so, as if they were all spoken concerning *Constantine*, supposing the import of them to be this, *that Constantine entred into a League with the* Persian *King*. But *Valesius* (whom we have followed,) takes the former part of this clause as meant concerning the *Persian* King; and therefore has plac'd a *semicolon* after his rendition of these words, ἔπρεσβ. ὑπὲρ τῶν συνθήκων.

CHAP. IX.

Constantinus Augustus's Letter to *Sapor* King of the *Persians*, wherein he makes a most pious Confession of God and Christ.

A Copy [of the Letter] to the King of the *Persians*.

BY keeping the Divine Faith, *I am a partaker of the Light of Truth: being led by the guidance of the light of Truth, I* * *arrive at the knowledge of the Divine Faith. By this means therefore, as 'tis confirmed by the things themselves, I acknowledge the most Holy Religion: this very worship I declare to be the Teacher of my knowledge of the* †† *Most Holy God. Having the power of this God for mine assistance, I have begun from the utmost Bounds of the Ocean, and have raised the whole World* [a] *to a firm hope of safety. In so much that, all the Provinces (which being enslaved under so many Tyrants, and involved in daily Cala-*

* Or, *Acknowledge the Divine Faith.*

†† Ἀγιοτάτῳ; so the reading is in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 25. where a more perfect Copy of this Letter occurrs, and therefore we have taken our Version of it from thence.

[a] Βεβαίοις σωτηρίοις *of safety*: although in *Theodoret*, book 1. chap. 25. *Edit. Stephen.* the word σωτηρίας is wanting. But *Epiphanius Scholasticus* acknowledges that word, as his Version informs us in the 3d book *of the Tripartite History*. Vales.

mities, [b] were in a manner totally ruined;) [c] having at length gotten a * *Restorer of the Republick, are raised to life again by some sovereign medicine as 'twere. This God I assert: whose Standard my Forces which are dedicated to God, do carry on their shoulders, and are directed to what place soever the Rule of Equity invites them; and on these very accounts I immediately obtain most Glorious Victories as my Reward. This God I profess my Self to honour with an immortal memory. Him I contemplate with a pure and sincere mind, whose Seat is in the highest [Heavens.]*

* Or, *Avenger.*

[b] Ἐξέπλαγ. ἐγκρύπτει. 'Tis evident that this place is imperfect. In *Morænus*'s Copy I found it supplied in the same manner as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition*; *namely* thus, ταῦτα τῷ ὄντι τὸ κρεῖττον δι' ἡμῶν βελτίωσιν λέξασ. But whoever mended this place thus, was certainly an ill and unskilful conjecturer. With how much more of ease and safety might this imperfection have been supplied from *Theodoret*, in which Writer this Letter of *Constantine* to *Sapor* occurrs much perfecter, and more correct. Nevertheless, the *Fuketian*, and Sir *Henry Savil*'s *Copy* make up this defect in the same manner with the *Geneva-Edition*. Nor ought it to trouble us, because this expression is barbarous. For this Letter of *Constantine* had at first been written *in Latine* by him: then it was done *into Greek* by some unskilful Translatour. The same thing has hapned to *Constantine*'s other *Letters* and *Orations*. Vales.

[c] All these words, from, *Having at length*, to *This God I profess*, are wanting in *this Copy* of *Constantine*'s Letter to *Sapor*. They occurr in *Theodoret*; from the Greek Text of which Author we have inserted them into our *English Version*.

CHAP. X.

That [He speaks] against Idols, and concerning the Glorification of God.

HIM I invoke upon my bended knees; and I have an aversion for all manner of abominable Bloud, and unpleasant and detestable Odours; and lastly I do avoid all sorts of [a] *terrene Fire: of all which the impious and execrable Errour [of superstition] has made use, and has* [b] *thrust down many of the Heathens, yea almost whole Na-*

[a] Γεώδη λαμπηδόνα. *Christophorson* renders it *Sacrificiorum flammam, the flame of sacrifices*; *Camerarius, incantationum igniculos, the fires of inchantments*; which is a truer Version. For, certain kinds of fires [were made use of] in the Mysteries of the *Pagans*, and a sort of light shined after darkness. Which thing the Priests of *Dæmons* performed by magick Art, and I know not what impostures, to the end they might gain an Authority and Reverence to their sacred Rites. *Apuleius*'s words in his 11th *Book* are these; *Accessi confinium Mortis; & calcato*, &c; *I approach'd the confines of death; and having trod the path of Proserpine, I went back, conveyed through all the Elements. At midnight I saw the Sun glistering with bright Light*, &c. Concerning this Rite there is an elegant passage of *Themistius*, in *Stobæus*, chap. 274; which deserves to be set down here: τὸ γὰρ παθεῖν πάθος οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις καθοργιαζόμενοι. Διὸ καὶ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ τελεῖον προσέοικε. Πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πλανώμεναι, καὶ κοπώδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους πρὸς ὕποπτοι πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι· εἶτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα· φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἱδρὼς καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φῶς περιμάσιον ἀπαντήσεται, καὶ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωναὶ καὶ χορεῖαι καὶ σεμνότητες ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν οἷς ὁ τελούμενος ἤδη καὶ μεμυημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγονὼς, καὶ ἄφετος θείων, ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει, &c. This passage of *Themistius* is taken out of his *Book concerning the Immortality of the Soul*; wherein *Themistius* asserted that the soul was immortal, as well by several other arguments, as by this, *that Græcians do term death* τελευτὴν, *as if it were* τελετὴν, *that is, a Mystery. And, as these two terms are exceeding like one to the other, so the things themselves, signified by these terms, have a wonderful similitude. For, in the Mysteries there are first unconstant and restless wandrings, and troublesome circuits, and fearful passages thorow dark places, and most tedious journeys accompanied with weariness. Then, before an arrival at the end, all things are terrible; Horrour, trembling, sweat, and amazement. But at last, a certain admirable Light occurrs, and pleasant places and Meadows, wherein sacred voices are heard, and holy apparitions seen*, &c. To the same Rite belong these words of *Origen*, in his 4th *Book against Celsus*; ἐξομοιεῖ ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς βακχικαῖς τελεταῖς τὰ φασμένα καὶ τὰ δειπνήματα προσφάγματα. Vales.

[b] Ὅλα γῆν καταῤῥήξας. In the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written, καταπεπλε, which pleases me better. In the *same Copy* the reading is πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, *many of the Nations*. Vales.

tions,

tions, to the loweſt * Hell. For, the ſupream God can in no wiſe endure, that thoſe things which by His providence over men, and out of his own benignity [towards them] he has produced for common uſe, ſhould be † perverted to any one's Luſt. But, He requires of men a pure mind only, and an immaculate ſoul; * wherewith, as in a Balance, he weighs the Actions of Vertue and Piety. For he is pleaſed with the works of Modeſty and Lenity, loves the Meek, hates the Turbulent; loves Faith, puniſhes Infidelity: deſtroys all power joyned with arrogancy, puniſhes the contempt of the proud. He utterly ruines thoſe who are puft up with inſolency, but diſtributes agreeable Rewards amongſt them that are humble and patient of injuries. † Hence 'tis, that he puts an high Value upon that Empire which is juſt; confirms it by his own aſſiſtances, and always keeps Imperial Prudence in a Calm of Peace.

* Or, *Parts.*

† Or, *Drawn.*

* Or. *Wherein.*

† Or, *And in this manner.*

CHAP. XI.

Againſt Tyrants and Perſecutors; and concerning *Valerian* who was taken Priſoner.

NOR do I ſeem to my ſelf to be miſtaken (*My Brother!*) by my profeſſing this one God to be the Author and Parent of all things. Whom many of thoſe who have been poſſeſt of the Empire here, induced thereto by mad Errours, have attempted to deny. But, all theſe [Emperours] have been deſtroyed by ſuch a dreadful and avenging end, that ſince their times, all Mankind [a] doth uſually wiſh their Calamities may fall as a Curſe and puniſhment on thoſe, who ſhall ſtudy to imitate them. One of which perſons I judge him to have been, (Him [I mean] whom divine vengeance, like ſome thunder, drove out of our Regions, and conveyed into your Country;) [b] who by his own diſgrace and ignominy erected that Trophie ſo * much boaſted of amongſt you.

[a] Τοῖς παρὰ τούτοις. The reading of this place is far otherwiſe in *Theodoret*, namely in this manner; ἐπαράτους τοῖς τὰ ὅμοια ζηλοῦσι πάντως. Incomparably well, in my judgment. Nor had *Conſtantine* written otherwiſe. *All the preceeding Emperours*, ſays he, *who perſecuted the Faith of Chriſt, have been cruſh'd by ſuch a lamentable end, that now all mankind are wont to imprecate or wiſh for the Calamities of thoſe Princes as the ſum total of puniſhment on them, who ſhall ſtudy to imitate them.* What can be plainer and more elegant than this meaning of the words? Παράδειγμα therefore does in this place ſignifie *puniſhment*, in which ſenſe that term is frequently uſed amongſt *Græcians*, as *Agellius* has remarked. Further ἐπαράτους πάντως τὰς συμφορὰς is an elegant phraſe to ſignifie that which the *Latines* term *imprecari, to wiſh for as a Curſe*. So εὐχὴν πάντως is an uſual expreſſion with *Græcians*, as I have noted above. *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* tranſlates this paſſage thus; *Sed illos omnes finis comprehendit exitioſus, ita ut omne genus hominum poſt eos exurgens, clades illorum pro maledictionis exemplo proponere videatur: But ſo deſtructive an end has incloſed them all, that all mankind who have lived ſince them, ſeem to propoſe their Ruine as the patern of a Curſe.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Famous.*

[b] Ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰχμῆς. In the *Hiſtory of Theodoret* the reading is truer, thus, τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ αἰχμῆς πολυθρύλλητον τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν τρόπαιον ἀπεφήναντο, *who by his own*, &c. He means *Valerian*, who having been taken priſoner by the *Perſians*, ended his days amongſt them in a diſhonourable ſlavery, and by his own private diſgrace ennobled the Triumph of the *Perſins*. That is, by his own ignominy he made the Victory of the *Perſians* over the *Romans* moſt ſignal and famous. This is the meaning of this place, which was not hit, either by *Epiphanius*, or any of the other Tranſlatours. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies* it is ἀπεφήνατο, which is no ill reading. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

That He ſaw the Fall of the Perſecutors, and does now rejoice becauſe of the Peace of the *Chriſtians*.

INdeed, this thing has ſucceeded well, namely, that in Our age alſo the puniſhment of ſuch perſons have moſt evidently been demonſtrated. For even I my ſelf have been a ſpectator [of their diſaſtrous End,] who lately diſquieted the people dedicated to God, by their moſt impious Edicts. Therefore, I give God great thanks, becauſe by his ſignal Providence, all mankind who are obſervant of the divine Law, having Peace and Repoſe reſtored to them, are exceeding joyful and glad. From whence I do perſwade my ſelf, that all affairs are in an excellent and moſt ſafe poſture, in regard God vouchſafes to gather all perſons to himſelf, by their pure and approved Religion, and by their unanimous Sentiment in reference to the Deity.

CHAP. XIII.

An Exhortation, that he ſhould love *the Chriſtians*, who live in his * Country.

HOW great a pleaſure and delight was it to Me (think you) when I heard, (what is my moſt earneſt deſire,) that even the richeſt and beſt places of Perſia were † plentifully adorned with a [a] multitude of theſe men, I mean Chriſtians? For my whole diſcourſe at preſent is concerning them. I wiſh therefore, both that your affairs may continue in a moſt flouriſhing poſture, and in like manner that their affairs may be ſo too; that is, [b] the affairs of both of you equally. For, by this means you will have God the ſupream Lord and Father, merciful and propitious towards you. Theſe perſons therefore, becauſe you are ſo great [a Prince,] I commit to Your Care: theſe very perſons, in regard You are eminent for piety, I deliver into your hands. Love theſe men in a manner befitting Your own benignity and good nature. For, by this Your Faith, You will do an immenſe kindneſs both to Your Self and Us.

* That is, *in Perſia.*

† Or, *Far and wide.*

[a] Τότε τῷ καταλόγῳ. The reading in *Theodoret* is truer, τότῳ τῷ καταλόγῳ. For theſe words are referred to the verb κεκόσμηται. Preſently, write ὑπὲρ τούτων from *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus*. Valeſ.

[b] Ὅπ σοὶ κἀκείνῳ. In *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* the reading is ὃ ὅτι σοι, κἀκείνοις. In *Syrmondus's Edition* 'tis ὅπ ὅτι, &c. Which words *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* renders into Latine thus; *Tu ergo optimè gubernaveris, ſi fueris ſicut illi, & habueris commune quod illi. Joachimus Camerarius* who rendred *Theodoret's Hiſtory* into Latine, tranſlates it in this manner: *Optimè igitur tecum, ſimiliterque cum illis optimè agitur, quia communiter cum utriſque.* And *Langus's* Verſion is in a manner the ſame. But this meaning does not ſatisfy me. Formerly I thought it was to be written thus, ὅπ σὺ κἀκείνοις, κἀκείνοι σοι, *that as you to them, ſo they to you.* Which reading I had followed in my Verſion. But having now examined the matter more attentively, I am of opinion that the reading of *Theodoret* and *Nicephorus* is to be retained, and thus I render this whole place. *Opto igitur, ut & tuæ res quàm florentiſſimæ, & illorum perinde ſint florentiſſimæ; hoc eſt utriuſque veſtrûm ex æquo: I wiſh therefore*, &c. Thus the ſenſe is moſt plain, and the following words will agree. Only it muſt be made ὑπάρχοι in the *optative mood*. 'Tis certain *Muſculus* read ὑπάρχει: For thus he renders it: *Cedat igitur id tibi optimè & illis ſimiliter: & tibi inquam & illis.* In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is ὅπ σοὶ, without that word κἀκείνῳ. Valeſ. *Valeſius* (in his *notes on* Theodoret's *Hiſtory*, book 1. chap. 25.) tells us, that in *Leo Allatius's Copy* the reading of this place is, ὅπ σοὶ κἀκείνοι, *For even they are yours*: which he concludes to be the trueſt reading of all.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

How, by the earneſtneſs of Conſtantine's *Prayers, Peace was beſtowed on the* Chriſtians.

ALL Nations in all parts of the world being (like ſome Ship,) in this manner ſteered and directed by one Commander, and willingly embracing the [a] Religion and Government of this Servant of God; and there being no perſon who might give any further diſturbance to the *Roman* Empire; all men in future lead peaceable and undiſturbed lives. But, becauſe the Emperor judg'd the Prayers of Pious Perſons to be highly uſeful and advantageous in order to the ſafety and preſervation of the State, 'twas his Sentiment, that theſe were neceſſarily to be procured. Therefore, both he himſelf humbly implored God's Aſſiſtance, [b] and alſo commanded the Prelates of Churches to put up their prayers to God for him.

[a] Τὴν πολιτείαν. He means *the Chriſtian Religion*, as I ſuppoſe; which almoſt all Nations did then embrace; having rejected the errour of their own Superſtition. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τοῖς ἧσσ ἐκκλησίων προέδρεσι. Make it τοῖς τε τῶν, &c. unleſs you had rather read ἐνεκελεύσατο, as 'tis in the *Fuketian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

That both on his Money, and in his Pictures, he ordered himſelf to be ſtamp'd and drawn in a praying poſture.

BUT, how tranſcendent a livelineſs of [a] divine Faith was fixt in his Soul, may eaſily be conjectured from this very one thing; that on his Golden money he ordered his own Image to be ſtamp'd in ſuch a manner, as that he might ſeem to look up to God with his Hands * expanded, in the poſture of one praying. And this ſort of money was current over the whole *Roman World*. But in the Imperial Palaces which were [b] in ſome Cities, his Pictures were plac'd on high at the very entrance of the Porch, wherein he was drawn ſtanding upright, looking up to Heaven; [c] but his hands were expanded, in the faſhion of one praying.

[a] Πίστεως ἐνθέου. *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* in his *Verſion of the Seventh Synod*, wherever the word ἔνθεος occurs in the Greek renders it *deificum*, which term imports *any thing extraordinarily ſent, or made by God himſelf*. So the Latines termed the *Books of the ſacred Scriptures*, *Deificos Libros*, as it occurs in the *Geſta Purgationis Cæciliani*. Valeſ.

* *Stretch'd out.*

[b] Κατὰ πύλας, *near certain gates*. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, and in the *King's Sheets*, the reading is κατὰ πύλας πόλεις, *in ſome Cities*; which is far the truer reading, as I Judge. For *Euſebius* ſays, that not in all, but in the Palaces of ſome Cities, *Conſtantine's* Picture was thus drawn. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τῷ χεῖρε δὲ ἐκπεταμένῳ. Whoever was the Tranſlatour of this Book, he has rendred this place wi h little of attention, thus; *Et precantis formâ manus ſurſum tollens, and lifting up his hands in the form of one praying*; whereas he ought to have rendred it, *manibus expanſis, ut precantes ſolent, with expanded hands as perſons praying are wont to do*. For the *Chriſtians* were wont, when at prayers, to ſtretch forth their hands, that by this means they might repreſent the likeneſs of a Croſs. Indeed, the *Chriſtians* lifted up their hands, whilſt they were praying. But this was not peculiar to the *Chriſtians* in regard the Heathens did the ſame; as *Virgil* atteſts in theſe words,

—*Et geminas tollens ad ſidera palmas.*

But that was peculiar to the *Chriſtians*, to expand their hands in the form of a Croſs. *Tertullian's* words in his *Book de Oratione Chap.* 11, are theſe: *Nos verò non attollimus tantum, ſed etiam expandimus, & dominicâ paſſione modulamur*; *We do not only lift up* [*our hands,*] *but do ſpread them alſo, and we put our ſelves into a form agreeable to our Lord's Paſſion*. He ſays the ſame in his *Apologetick*, *chap.* 30. Valeſ.

CHAP. XVI.

*That He iſſued forth a Law, forbidding his own * Statues to be placed in Idol-Temples.*

* Or, Images.

IN this manner therefore he repreſented himſelf praying, even in his Pictures drawn in Colours. But by [a] Law he forbad, that his own Statues ſhould be dedicated in Idol-Temples: leaſt they ſhould be [b] polluted, even as far as the † outward Form only, with the errour of prohibited Superſtition.

† Or, *Adumbration.*

[a] But *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 18.) relates the contrary, in theſe words; Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ μονομάχια. εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐνανέθηκε; *And firſt, he aboliſhed the Combates of the Gladiatours; then, he placed his own Statues in the Temples.* But any one might with good reaſon conjecture, that this place of *Socrates* is corrupted. For, *Socrates* does there reckon up all things, which were invented by *Conſtantine* in order to the abolition of the Superſtition of the Heathens. Amongſt which he ſays, that *Conſtantine* placed his own Pictures and Statues in the Temples of the Gods. But by doing of that, the ſuperſtition of the Heathens was not extinguiſhed, but rather increaſed, or changed. For the Heathens would adore the Emperor in place of a God. Wherefore that paſſage of *Socrates* muſt be mended from *Euſebius*, in this manner; εἰκόνας δὲ τὰς ἰδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπέῤῥηθε ἀναθεῖναι *But he forbad, that his own Statues ſhould be dedicated in the Temples.* Valeſ.

[b] Μολύνοιτο ἢ γεφή. The two laſt words muſt in my judgment be expunged; in regard they diſturb the ſenſe. For if you blot out them, the ſenſe is plain. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVII.

His praying in the Palace, and his reading of the Divine Scriptures.

BUT whoſoever has a mind to give attention, will perceive far nobler [inſtances of his piety] than theſe; how he conſtituted [a] a Church of God as 'twere, within the Imperial Palace; and with diligence and chearfulneſs lead the way himſelf, to thoſe who aſſembled within that Church. Moreover, he took the Bible into his hands, and with an attentive mind meditated upon thoſe divinely-inſpired Oracles. After which he recited the * uſual prayers, together with [b] the whole aſſembly of his Courtiers.

* *Preſcribed*, or, *ſolemn.*

[a] Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ τέρπον. *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 8.) has theſe words: καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατεσκεύασε, *and he erected an Oratory within the Imperial Palace.* 'Tis plain that *Sozomen* (as he uſually does,) borrowed this out of our *Euſebius*. But *Euſebius* does not ſay, that *Conſtantine* built a Church in the Palace. He ſays only this, that he conſtituted a kind of a Church in the Palace. See *Euſebius's Panegyrick on Conſtantine's Tricennalia*, *chap.* 9. where he does plainly confirm our Opinion. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τοῖς τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον πληροῦσιν, *with thoſe that filled the Imperial Palace*, or, *the Church*. Βασίλειος οἶκος is an ambiguous expreſſion, which ſignifies a *Church*, and a *Palace*. And *Euſebius* ſeems deſignedly to have play'd with the ambiguity of this phraſe, becauſe *Conſtantine's* Palace was like a Church. And thoſe whom at this place he calls τοὺς τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον πληροῦντας, he has termed above in this chapter, τοὺς ἔνδον ἐκκλησιαζομένους. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XVIII.

That by a Law He commanded Sunday *and* Friday *to be honoured.*

BUT He ordained, that a day ſhould be eſteemed of, as convenient and fit for prayers; that day namely, which really is the Chief and Firſt of the other days, and which is truly the Lord's, and the Salutary day. Moreover, he ap-

pointed Deacons and Miniſters conſecrated to God, who were grac'd with integrity of Life and all other Vertues, to be the [a] Keepers of his whole Houſe. Laſtly, the *Protectors* and truſty *Guards*, furniſhed with the arms of good Affection and Faith, [b] acknowledged the Emperour himſelf as their Inſtructer in the Practice of Piety; and they themſelves in the ſame manner honoured the Salutary and the Lord's day, whereon they poured forth [to God] prayers that were grateful to the Emperour. And this Bleſſed [Emperour] incited all other Men to practiſe the ſame Thing; in regard this was his chiefeſt deſire, that by degrees he might make all Perſons worſhippers of God. And for this reaſon, he iſſued out a Precept to all thoſe who lived under the *Roman* Empire, that they ſhould keep Holy-day on thoſe days which had their denomination from our Saviour; as likewiſe, that they ſhould honour [c] the day before the Sabbath: in Memory (as I think) of thoſe things ſaid to have been performed on thoſe days by the common Saviour. Further, whereas he inſtructed his whole Army diligently to honour the Salutary day, which happens to derive its name from the light and from the Sun; to thoſe who had embraced the Divinely-inſpired Faith, he allowed time and leiſure for a free exerciſe of themſelves according to the uſage and order of God's Church, to the end they might without any impediment be preſent at the performance of the Prayers.

[a] Φύλακες τῆς παιδὸς οἴκου. The Tranſlator followed the opinion of *Sozomen*, and ſuppoſed a *Church* to have been meant here; with whom I don't agree. For *Euſebius* himſelf in his *Panegyrick chap.* 9. where this paſſage occurrs word for word, ſays nothing concerning a Church. The meaning therefore of this place is, that *Conſtantine* committed the Care and Cuſtody of his whole Palace to the Miniſters and Servants of God, and to the Prelates: ſo that, the Prelates were certain *Controllers* as 'twere of his Houſe, or ſuch Officers as the *Romans* termed *Curæ Palatii*. Valeſ.

[b] Διδάσκαλον ἐυσεβῶν ἐδιδάσκουτο. It muſt I think, be written ἐπηγέφουτο, *acknowledged*: and ſo 'tis in the *Panegyrick* at the place now cited. The *Printed-reading* is not to be born with. *Valeſ.*

[c] Καὶ τὰς τῆ σαββάτε πρώας. Doubtleſs it muſt be written, τῆ πρὸ τῆ σαββάτε, *the day before the Sabbath*. And thus, as 'tis evident, he read, who compoſed the Contents of theſe Chapters. Moreover, *Sozomen* (*book* 1. *chap.* 8) confirms this very thing in theſe words; τῆ δὲ κυριακὴν καλυμένην ἡμέραν, &c. *But, he made a Law that on that day called Sunday, (which day the Jews term the firſt of the Sabbath, but the Gentiles give it the name of Sunday;) and on that day before the Sabbath, all perſons ſhould ceaſe from doing buſineſs in the Courts of Judicature, and abſtain from all other employments, and ſhould worſhip God with Prayers and Supplications.* In theſe words of *Sozomen*, ſomething of difficulty occurrs, as to what reſpects *Friday*. For I can ſcarce perſwade my ſelf, that *Conſtantine* ſhould have commanded, that on that day People ſhould abſtain from doing buſineſs in the Courts of Judicature. 'Tis certain, *Euſebius* affirms no ſuch thing concerning *Friday*, but concerning Sunday only. There is a Law of *Conſtantine's* extant in the *Theodoſian Code*, *Tit. de Feriis*, in which Law Sunday only is excepted. Therefore *Sozomen* added this of his own. Who ſeeing this obſerved in his own Times at *Conſtantinople* (for he was an Advocate in that City, together with one *Aquilinus*, as he himſelf relates in his *ſecond Book chap.* 3) believed *Conſtantine* to have been the Author of this thing. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XIX.

How He ordered the * Ethnick-Soldiers *to pray on Sundays.*

* Or, *Heathen.*

BUT to them who as yet had not embraced the Doctrine of the divine Faith, He iſſued out a Precept in a Second Law, that [a] on Sundays they ſhould go out into a [b] pure field in the Suburbs; where, after a Signal given, they ſhould all together pour forth a Prayer to God, which they had * learnt before. For, [c] that they ought not to place their confidence in their Spears, nor in their Armour, nor in their ſtrength of Body: but were to acknowledge the ſupream God, the giver of every good thing, and of Victory it ſelf; and, that to him the ſolemn prayers were to be performed; lifting up their hands on high towards Heaven; but raiſing the eyes of their mind higher, as far as the celeſtial King himſelf: and that in their Prayers they ought to call upon Him as the giver of Victory, the Saviour, the Preſerver, and the Aſſiſtant. Further, he himſelf gave all His Soldiers a form of Prayer, ordering all of them to recite theſe words in the Latine Tongue.

[a] Τὰς κυριακὰς ἢ μέρας. It muſt be written ταῖς κυριακαῖς, &c. or at leaſt ἐν ταῖς κυριακαῖς, &c. *Valeſ.*

[b] He terms that *a pure field, wherein there were no Altars, no Sepulchres.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Meditatedon.*

[c] Μὴ τὸ δέεσθαι χεῖνας, *For, that they ought not to uſe their Spears.* In *Euſebius's Panegyrick, chap.* 9. where this paſſage occurrs in the ſame words; 'tis truer written χεῖναι, *that they ought not to place*, &c. which the tranſlatour perceived not. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XX.

The form of Prayer which *Conſtantine* gave to His Soldiers.

*THEE we acknowledge [to be] the only God: Thee we declare [to be] King: Thee we invoke as Our Aſſiſtant. 'Tis thy Gift, that we have gotten Victories: By Thee we have vanquiſhed Our Enemies: To Thee we pay our thanks for paſt * Bleſſings: and from Thee expect [more] in future. We are all Thy humble Suppliants: Keep Our Emperor* Conſtantine *(together with His moſt pious Children,) in ſafety amongſt us, and continue Him a Victor during the longeſt ſpace of time, we humbly beſeech Thee. Theſe* things He ordered his Military Companies to do on Sundays, and taught them to utter theſe expreſſions in their prayers to God.

* Goods.

CHAP. XXI.

[He orders] the Repreſentation of our Saviour's Croſs [to be drawn] upon the Arms of his Soldiers.

MOreover, he cauſed the Symbol of the Salutary Trophie to be expreſt [a] upon the very Arms [of His Soldiers:] and [commanded,] that before his [b] Armed Forces, none

[a] *Sozomen* ſays the ſame, book 1. chap. 8. τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας προσεθίζων ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν σέβειν, &c. *Further, that he might accuſtom His Soldiers to worſhip God in the ſame manner with himſelf, he mark'd their Arms with the Symbol of the Croſs.* Which words of *Sozomen*, as any one may ſee, are taken out of *Euſebius*. Further, by the term ὅπλων *Arms*, I underſtand the *Bucklers* or *Shields*, whereon *Conſtantine* ordered the Salutary ſign of the Croſs to be painted. In the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*, ſuch kind of Shields as theſe are to be ſeen, whereon the ſign of the Croſs is divers ways expreſt. Moreover, *Prudentius* (in his *Book againſt Symmachus*) atteſts the ſame in theſe verſes:

Chriſtus purpureum Stellanti pictus in auro
Signabat Labarum: Clypeorum inſignia Chriſtus
Pinxerat.——Valeſ.

[b] Ἐνόπλῳ σαυρῷ, *before the Armed Croſs.* I read ἐνόπλῳ στρατῷ, *before his Armed Forces*; as the Tranſlator ſeems to have read. The occaſion of the miſtake ſeems to have been given by the contracted Form of writing. For whereas the *Librarius* [*Book writer*] had written στῷ, ſome unskilful Tranſcriber thought that the meaning of that abbreviature was σαυρῷ, *Croſs*. Valeſ.

of

of the [c] Golden Images should be carried in Pomp, (as the usage had hertofore been;) but the Salutary Trophie only.

[c] Χρυσῶν μὲν ἀγαλμάτων. Before these words in the Greek, the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* add two words in this manner, τὰ μὲν χρυσῶν, &c. And in the following line, after the word τὸ μυθὲν, the *same Copies* and Sr. *Hen. Savil's* insert the verb ἠγεῖτο. But the common reading, which we have followed, is far better. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXII.

*His Fervency and Earnestness in Praying, and his * Religious Observation of the Festival of Easter.*

* Or, *Honour.*

[a] Ὅτι δὲ θερσευχῆς. I have, as I think very happily mended the Title of this chapter, in this manner, σπουδῆ θερσευχῆς, *his fervency and earnestness in praying.* For in this chapter *Eusebius* treats concerning that fervency in praying wherewith *Constantine* was inflamed. The cause of the mistake arose from the usage of the *Antiquarii* [*persons that wrote Books fair*;] who in their writing out the Titles of chapters, were wont to omit the first letter, that afterwards at their leisure they might paint it with *Vermilion.* In the *Kings Sheets* the first letter of the Title is always left out. But in the *Fuk. Copy* 'tis sometimes added, sometimes omitted. For instance the Title of this chapter, both in the *Fuketian Copy* and in the *Kings Sheets*, is thus worded, περὶ δεῖ θερσευχῆς, the first letter being omitted; which the *Fuketian Manuscript*, in the body of the Book, does make good in this manner, ὅπερ δεῖ, &c. very ill, and without any sense, as it is apparent. *Vales.*

* Or, *Mysteries.*

BUT He himself, in regard he was a partaker of the sacred * Rites, every day at stated hours shut himself up within the inmost Rooms of his Imperial Palace, where he convers'd alone with his only God; and falling upon his knees, made his request in humble Supplications, that he might obtain those things which he stood in need of. But on the days of the Salutary Festival, he raised the vigour of his Religious exercises and meditations, and with his utmost strength of body and mind [b] performed the Office of a Prelate or Pontiff. [c] And with a chearfullness and diligence he himself lead on all persons to the celebration of the Feast. But he turned the sacred Vigil into the brightness of day, [d] pillars of wax which were of a vast height being lighted up all over the City, by those persons to whom this affair was given in charge.

[b] Θείας ἱερουργείας ἐπελέσατο. *Christophorson* renders it *divinos sacrorum Ritus obibat,* *He performed the divine Rites of things sacred.* *Musculus* translates it in this manner; *Sacras ceremonias expediebat, he dispatch'd the sacred Ceremonies.* But neither of these two Persons perceived that this place was corrupted. I read therefore, ἱερουργείας ἐτέλει, *performed the Office,* &c. For he compares *Constantine* to a *Prelate* or *Pontiff*: whence he subjoyns these words in the *following chapter* οὕτω μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἱερεῖτο θεῷ, *In this manner therefore he himself performed the Office of a Priest to his own God:* and in the *chapter after that,* adds, that, *Constantine* behaved himself as a Bishop; and in presence of the Bishops took that appellation upon himself. *Vales.*

[c] Ὧδε δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ὧδε δή. I read σπουδῇ τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐξάρχων, *And with a chearfullness,* &c. So above at chap. 17. his words are, σπουδῇ ἐξάρχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἔνδον ἐκκλησιαζομένων, *with diligence and chearfullness himself lead the way to those who assembled within that Church.* Vales.

[d] Κηροῦ κίονας. The *Christians* in the Vigil of the Feast of Easter lighted a vast company of wax Tapers. Which thing having been done by them, within the Church only; *Constantine* gave order that without the Church also Tapers should be every where lighten, in honour of so great a Festival. And whereas lights were usually kindled in the night, in great Cities, as I have remarked at the 14th Book of *Amm. Marcellinus, pag.* 6 *of my notes*; *Constantine* would have far more, and larger Torches lighted up on that night, to the end he might induce the minds of the Heathens to a veneration of the Christian Religion. Further, those pillars of wax, which *Eusebius* makes mention of here, do excellently well denote the *Paschal Taper* which we are wont to light up in the Vigil of Easter: concerning which Taper *Barnabas Brissonius* has written a particular Book. See *Gregory Nazianzen in his* 19th *Oration.* And in his *second Oration de Pascha,* pag. 676, he says, that then Lights were usually kindled both in private and publickly; in so much that, by reason of the multitude of Lights which all ages and degrees of men lighted up, that night was rendred transcendently bright. *Gaudentius Brixiensis* therefore does deservedly term that night, *noctem splendidissimam, a most splendid night*; as does likewise *Zeno Veronensis* in his *first Sermon ad Neophytos.* Vales.

[e] Torches likewise were kindled, which enlightned all places; in so much that this Mystick Vigil was rendred brighter than any the most glorious day. But as soon as the day light appeared; in imitation of our Saviour's Beneficence, [f] He reach'd out a bountiful hand to all Nations, Provinces, and People, and bestowed on all Persons the richest sort of Gifts.

[e] Λαμπάδες δὲ πυρὸς. *Musculus* took these words in such a sense, as if they were an exposition of the foregoing words, κηροῦ κίονας, *pillars of wax.* But *Christophorson* distinguishes λαμπάδας from *those pillars of wax*; whom we have also followed. *Grecians* do properly term those λαμπάδας, which the Latines call *Tedæ, Torches*; as *Pollux* informs us *Book* 10 *Chap.* 26. In which place of *Pollux* the reading must be ἐν ξαντείαις, not ἐξαντείαις, as 'tis commonly printed. Hence a Game amongst the *Greeks* was termed λαμπαδηδρομία, so called from these Torches. *Grecians* do likewise use λάμπας to signifie a *Lamp*, in which sense it occurrs in the 25th *Chap. of St. Mathew*; in the same manner that φανὸς is taken both for a *Torch*, and also for a *Lamp.* Vales.

[f] This passage of *Eusebius* is to be taken notice of in reference to the *Easter-Alms*, which *Constantine* was wont to bestow yearly, in memory of that Benefit which Christ on those days conferred upon mankind. The Ancient *Christians* where heretofore wont on the Feast-day of *Easter* to distribute mony amongst the poor: which thing was carefully performed not only by Lay-persons, but by the Clergy also. Concerning which matter there is an eminent passage in *Commodianus's Second Book of Institutions, Chap.* 75.

Congruit in Pascha, die felicissimo nostro,
Lætentur & illi qui postulant sumpta diurna.
Egetur eis quod sufficit, Vinum & Esca.
Respicite fontem quo memorentur ista pro vobis.
Immodico sumptu deficitis Christo donare.
Cùm ipsi non facitis, quomodo suadere potestis
Justitiam Legis talibus? Vel semel in anno.
Sic multos urget blasphemia sæpe de Vobis.

Commodianus speaks to the Clergy, as 'tis apparent from the Title of the Poem, and from the first letters of every verse. And he advises them, that at least on *Easter-day* they should bestow an Alms upon the poor. He reproves them also, because, by reason of their living too high, they had nothing left which they might bestow on the poor. For that is the meaning of this verse;

Immodico sumptu deficitis Christo donare.

Concerning these very *Paschal-Alms*, *Anastasius* (in the *Life of Pope Hadrian*) speaks in these words. *Simulque & in Balneo juxta eandem Ecclesiam sito,* &c. *As likewise in the Bath also, which is situate near the same Church, where Our Brethren, the poor of Christ, who were wont to meet yearly to receive Alms in the Paschal Festivity and to bath*; &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIII.

How He prohibited the worship of Idols; but honoured the Feasts of the Martyrs.

IN this manner therefore He Himself performed the Office of a Priest to his own God. But to all persons who lived under the *Roman* Empire, as well to the Commonalty as the Milice, the doors of Idolatry were shut, [a] and every sort of sacrifice was prohibited. A Law also was transmitted to the Presidents of Provinces, that they likewise should pay a veneration to the Lord's-day. Which [Presidents] [b] by the Emperour's Order did in like manner honour

[a] These words must be rendred favourably. For 'tis manifest, that the Sacrifices of the Heathens were not expresly and by name forbidden by *Constantine the Great*, as *Libanius* in expres's words informs us in *His Oration Pro Templis.* Indeed *Constantine* by issuing forth a Law prohibited private and domestick Sacrifices, as it appears from the *Theodosian Code de Maleficis & Mathematicis*, and from the *first Law de Paganis.* But he forbad not the publick and solemn Sacrifices, which had been instituted by their Ancestours. *Eusebius* repeats the same thing in *cha.* 25. Vales.

[b] Τῷ νεύματι βασιλέως. It must be made οἱ τῷ νεύματι βασιλέως; ἄρχοντες being to be understood; and we have rendred it accordingly. In *Robert Stephens's Edition* a point is ill set after the word βασιλέως; whereas it should be placed after the verb χειρίσαν, as 'tis in the *King's Copy*, and in the *Sheets* agreeably; whereto we have pointed it. *Vales.*

the Feast-days of the Martyrs, and shewed a due Reverence to the Times of the Ecclesiastick Festivals. All which things were performed with the greatest joy and satisfaction imaginable to the Emperor.

CHAP. XXIV.

That He affirmed Himself to be as 'twere a Bishop of External Affairs.

WHerefore, at an Entertainment which one time He gave the Bishops, he cast forth an expression which was not absurdly uttered, [affirming] that he himself also was a Bishop: the words he made use of in our hearing, were these. *You* (says He) *are Bishops in those matters transacted within the Church: But in them done without* [*the Church,*] *I am a Bishop, constituted by God.* Therefore, the thoughts of his mind were agreeable to his expressions; He governed all His Subjects with an Episcopal Care, and by what ever Methods he could take, incited them to be followers of * true piety.

* Or, *A pious life.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning His prohibiting of Sacrifices, *and* Initiations; *and concerning His abolishing the* Gladiators, *and the heretofore impure* [*Priests*] *of* the Nile.

ON this account it was, that by frequent Laws and Constitutions He prohibited all persons, from Sacrificing to Idols; from a Curious consulting of [a] Diviners and Soothsayers; from erecting Images; from performing secret *Initiations*; and from polluting the Cities with the * Bloody Shows of *Gladiators*. And whereas they of *Egypt* and *Alexandria* had a custom [b] of worshipping their River, by the ministery of certain effeminate Men; another Law was transmitted to them, [wherein 'twas ordered] that that whole Tribe of * *Androgyni*, in regard they were all an † adulterate sort of People, should be utterly destroyed; and that it should not be lawfull for those to be seen in any place whatever, who were distempered with the disease of this sort of uncleanness. Now, whereas the superstitious supposed, that the *Nile* would not in future any more overflow their Fields, as it had usually done before; God, in favour to the Emperor's Law, performed the quite contrary to what they expected. For those persons who by their obscenity had polluted the Cities, ‖ were taken off indeed. But the River *Nile*, as if that whole Region had been cleansed and purged for it, ran higher than it had ever done before; and overflowing with a rich stream, laid all the fields under water: whereby it effectually taught the unwise, that they ought to have an Aversion for impure persons; but, that the original Cause of Blessings and Success was to be ascribed to the only [God, the] Giver of every thing that is Good.

[a] Μαντεῖα The Translatour has rendred it ill *nec oracula curiosè sectarentur, nor should curiously follow Oracles.*

* Or, *Murders.*

* *Persons that were both Males and Females.*

† *Falsified, or, depraved.*

‖ Or, *Were not any more.*

[b] For the *Dæmons* had long before ceased from giving forth Oracles. Wherefore *Constantine*'s Law was superfluous, wherein he had forbidden the searching after Oracles. I had rather therefore understand here the *Diviners*, *Prophets*, *Astrologers*, and *Sootisayers*: the consulting of whom was prohibited by *Constantine*, in the *first* and *second Law*, *Cod. Theod. de Maleficis & Mathematicis.* Vales.

[b] Τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν δι' ἀνδρῶν ἐκτεθηλυμμένων θεραπεύειν. Amongst the Egyptians, *Androgyni* were the Priests of the *Nile*, as *Gregory Nazianzen* informs us in his *second Invective against Julian*; as also in his *Poem to Nemesius*. The same *Gregorius* (in the *Oration which he wrote in Sancta Lumina Epiphaniorum,*) does elegantly assert, that by this fact the *Egyptians* reproach'd rather than honoured the *Nile*. Concerning the same Rite of the *Egyptians*, there is an eminent passage in *Libanius's Oration Pro Templis*, which, in regard it makes very much for our purpose, and was not understood by the Translator, deserves to be set down here: ὁ τοίνυν τῇ ῥώμῃ μόνον ἐρυλάττει τὸ δύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σπέρματος, τῇ πολλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ, καὶ πλήθει κεκλημένῃ νεῶν, δι' ὧν κοινὴν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ποιεῖ τὴν τῆς αἰγύπτου φορὰν αὖθι δὲ ἔργον τὸ εἶλε. τὸν νεῖλον δὲ ἐστὶ, ἀναβαίνειν δηὶ τὰς ἀρούρας πείθοντα, ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς ὅτε τε χρὴ, καὶ παρ' ὧν, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθελήσειεν. ἆ μοι δοκοῦσιν εἰδότες οἱ καὶ ταῦτα ἂν ἰδέας ἀνελόντες, οὐκ ἀνελεῖν ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν εὐωχεῖσθαι τοῖς παλαιοῖς νομίμοις, ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ εἰωθότι. *Nor was a permission of Sacrificing reserved to* Rome *only, but to the City of* Sarapis *also, that great and populous City, which is possest of a multitude of Temples, by the assistance whereof it renders the plenty of* Egypt *common to all men. Now, this* [*plenty*] *is the product of the* Nile. *They entertain the* Nile *at a Banquet, and* [*those Sacred Rites*] *perswade it to rise and overflow the Fields; which* [*Rites*] *not being performed both at the stated and solemn time, and by those persons* [*appointed for that purpose,*] *the* Nile *would not* [*swell and overflow its Banks.*] *Which thing when they well understood, who would very willingly have abolished these* [*Rites*] *also; nevertheless, on second thoughts they would not abolish them; But suffered that River to be entertained at a banquet, according to the usage of the Ancients, because of the usual Reward it paid,* [*to wit, a plentiful Crop*] From this place of *Libanius* it plainly appears, that these *Androgyni* the Priests of the *Nile* were not abolished by *Constantine*: or if they were abolished by him, they were soon after restored. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The amendment of that Law made against the Childless, as also the * *alteration of that Law concerning Wills and Testaments.*

* Or, *Correction.*

BUT, in as much as the things of this Nature performed by the Emperor in every Province, are almost infinite; whoever shall attempt to record them accurately, will be furnished with plenty of matter [for such a subject.] Of the same sort herewith is this likewise, that, to the end he might reduce [many] Laws to a greater Sanctity; instead of the old, he made new ones. And 'tis easie to manifest * the manner hereof, * by one or two instances. The old Laws punished the [a] Childless with a deprivation of the inheritance of their Fathers. And this Law against the Childless was doubtless the Cruellest of Laws, in regard it inflicted a punishment on them, as if they had been guilty of some Crime. [b] But the Emperor abrogated this Statute, and turned it into an holy and religious Law. For he said, that those who commtited faults designedly and on set purpose, ought to be chastised with condign punishment.

* Or, *In few words.*

[a] See *Sozomen* book. 1. chap. 9. who, in regard he was a Lawyer belonging to the *Byzantine Forum*, does explain these knots of the *Roman* Laws, more perspicuously than *Eusebius*. Consult *Lipsius* also, in his *Comment* at the *Third Book of Tacitus's Annals*; where he discourses at large *de Lege Papia*. Vales.

[b] Λύσας δὴ συγχωρεῖ κληρονομεῖν τοὺς περισπῶντας τοῦτο. I read, λύσας δὴ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς, *But the Emperor*, &c. and do expunge these four words συγχωρεῖ κληρονομεῖν τοὺς περισπῶντας. which crept out of the margin into the Text. Further, this Constitution of the Emperor *Constantine*, is extant in the 8th *Book of the Theodosian Code*, in the *Title de Infirmandis Pœnis Cœlibatûs & Orbitatis*. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, instead of λύσας δὴ, the reading is τελοῦντας δὲ, &c. And so likewise 'tis written in the Copies of *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and *Christophorson*, as the *Geneva Printers* have told us. But I had rather read from *Sozomen*, μὴ συγχωρῶν κληρονομεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω περισπῶντας. Vales.

But,

But, Nature her ſelf hath * denied Children to many Perſons: who although they earneſtly deſired a numerous iſſue; nevertheleſs wanted Children, by reaſon of their infirmity of † body. Others lived without having any Children, not that they would not have had Children to ſucceed them; but becauſe they would avoid Carnal Copulation with a Woman; which [ſort of continency] they embraced, out of their moſt ardent Love to Philoſophy. Beſides, many Women conſecrated to the ſervice of God, were ſtudious followers of Chaſtity and ſpotleſs Virginity, having dedicated themſelves, in reference as well to their minds as bodies, to a chaſt and moſt holy Life. What then? Ought this to be accounted worthy of puniſhment, or rather of praiſe and admiration? For, the very inclination to this thing deſerves an high commendation: but, to perfect and bring it to effect, is a matter above the ſtrength of humane Nature. 'Tis fit therefore, that thoſe who (though very deſirous of Children, nevertheleſs) are deprived of them by the infirmity of Nature, ſhould be pitied rather than puniſhed. But he who is lead by the Love of a Sublimer Philoſophy, is ſo far from deſerving puniſhment, that he ought to be the wonder and admiration of all Men. In this manner the Emperour with the greateſt equity mended that Law. Further, proviſion had been made by the Old Laws, that dying Perſons, [c] who were at the very laſt gaſp as I may ſay, ſhould make their Wills with a great deal of exactneſs, in ſome certain words: and there were Set Forms and Solemnities preſcribed, and what expreſſions ought to be added. And hereupon many frauds were practiſed, in order to the diſannulling the Will of the dead. Which when the Emperour perceived, he corrected this Law alſo; affirming, that a dying Perſon ought to have a liberty of making his Will as he pleaſed, whether in bare words, or in any ordinary expreſſions; and, that he might declare his Laſt Will in [d] any written Form; or if he had rather do it by word of mouth, he might; provided it were done in the preſence of Credible Witneſſes, who were able to preſerve integrity with the Truth.

* Or, *Hath demonſtrated many perſons to be Childleſs.*

† Or, *Nature.*

[c] Ἐξ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐχάτης. The words are miſplaced here; but may eaſily be reſtor'd in this manner, ἐπ' ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς ἐξαιρέτως λογεῖος. This Law of *Conſtantine*, wherein he aboliſh'd the ſeverity of the Old Law, and the Forms of words in making Wills, is not (I think) now extant. But 'tis mentioned in the *Third Law of the Theodoſian Code de Teſtamentis.* In the *Fulv.* and *Savil. Manuſcripts*, ἐξ is wanting. *Valeſ.*

[d] There is indeed a Law of *Conſtantine*'s extant, (*Cod. Juſtin. Book* 6. *Tit.* 21. *qui Teſtamenta facere poſſint*, &c.) dated from *Nicomedia*, concerning the Teſtaments of Soldiers in expedition, or in preſent ſervice; by which they are diſcharged from the obligation of thoſe ſolemnities which are by the Law made neceſſary in the Wills of other Perſons; and their Wills are made good, if but written on the Scabbard of their Swords, or on their Targets with their Blood, or with their Swords in the duſt, at ſuch time as they died in Battle.

CHAP. XXVII.

That he made a Law, that a Chriſtian *ſhould not be Slave to a* Jew, *and that the Decrees of Synods ſhould be firm and authentick, and ſo forth.*

MOreover, he made a Law, that no *Chriſtian* ſhould ſerve *Jews*. For, it was [he ſaid] a thing not to be permitted, that thoſe who had been redeemed by our Saviour, ſhould be reduced under the yoak of Slavery to thoſe who were the Murderers of the Prophets and of the Lord. But if any Perſon profeſſing the *Chriſtian* Religion ſhould be found to be Slave to a *Jew*; [his order was,] that he ſhould be ſet at Liberty; but, that the *Jew* ſhould be puniſhed with a pecuniary mulct. He alſo confirmed thoſe [a] Decrees of Biſhops which were promulged in Synods, by his own authority: in ſo much that, 'twas not in the power of the Governours of Provinces to reſcind the Biſhops determinations. For the Prieſts of God [he ſaid] were * to be preferred before any Judge whatever. He iſſued forth to His Subjects a vaſt number of Laws of this nature: to comprize all which in a peculiar Volume, to the end an accurate inſpection may be made into the Emperour's prudence even in this particular, would require a greater leiſure. What neceſſity is there of our relating at preſent, in what manner he applied himſelf to the ſupream God, and was from Morning to Night ſollicitouſly inquiſitive, what ſort of Men he might do good to; and how, in reference to His Beneficence, He ſhewed himſelf equal and † obliging to all Perſons?

* Or, *More approved than any*, &c.

† Κοινὸς, *Liberal*; *Valeſius* renders it *Civil.*

[a] There is a Law of *Conſtantine*'s extant in *the cloſe of the Theodoſian Code*, under the *Title de Epiſcopali audientia*, wherein the Emperour commands that the ſentences pronounced by a Biſhop, even *in Cauſis Minorum*, ſhould obtain the force of a Law. The Tranſlator therefore has done ill, at this place to render ὅρους, *Regulas*, *Rules* or *Canons*. For the diſcourſe here is not concerning the Eccleſiaſtick Rules, which are promulged in a Synod by the Biſhops; but concerning Sentences pronounc'd between Perſons at Law, as 'tis apparent from the words which follow. Moreover, *Sozomen* underſtood theſe words of *Euſebius* no otherwiſe. But, that which occaſions the difficulty is, what *Euſebius* has ſaid in the following words, ὅρους τοὺς ἐν συνόδοις ἀποφανθέντας, *thoſe Decrees——— which were promulged in Synods.* But, σύνοδος is here uſed to ſignifie an *Eccleſiaſtick Seſſion*, to wit, of a Biſhop and his Presbyters. *Sozomen* has the very ſame term, in his *firſt book, chap.* 9. where he ſpeaks concerning *this Law* of *Conſtantine*. *Which Author's words* I do ſo much the more willingly produce, as often as the Laws are treated of, becauſe he was a Perſon incomparably well skill'd in the *Roman* Laws, as 'tis evident from his *Books*. His words therefore in the foreſaid *Book* and *Chapter* are theſe. Τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν κείσων ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς διαζομένοις, &c. *Moreover, he permitted Litigants to appeal to the Judgment of the Biſhops, if they had a mind to avoid the Civil Magiſtrates. And, that their* [the Biſhops] *Sentence ſhould be firm and valid, and of more force than the Sentence of the other Judges, as if it had been pronounc'd by the Emperour himſelf. And, that the Governours of Provinces, and their Officials, ſhould put in Execution the Sentences pronounc'd* [*by the Biſhops*] *And, that the Decrees of Synods ſhould be unalterable.* But, if any one will have the *Councils of Biſhops* to be meant by the term σύνοδος, then ὅροι will ſignifie the Sentences pronounc'd in a Synod againſt miſchievous Prieſts and Hereticks; which Sentences the Emperours do confirm in the *Second Law*, in the *ſame Title de Epiſcopali audientia.* Valeſ.

CHAP. XXVIII.

His Gifts [*beſtowed*] *on the Churches; and His Diſtributions of Money to Virgins, and to the Poor.*

BUT on the Churches of God He conferred innumerable Gifts, in a manner that was extraordinary and tranſcendent; ſometimes beſtowing Lands; at others, * *Annona*, for the maintenance of poor Men, fatherleſs Children, and † Widows. Laſtly, He took all imaginable care, that even infinite numbers of Garments ſhould be provided for the naked and ſuch as wanted clothing. But above all others, He vouchſafed them the higheſt honour, who had wholly ‖ addicted themſelves to the divine Philoſophy. Indeed

* Or, *Certain proportions of Bread*, or *Bread-corn.*

† Or, *Miſerable Women.*

‖ Or, *Dedicated their Lives to*, &c.

deed, he paid little less than a Veneration to the most Holy Quire of God's perpetual Virgins; in regard he was fully perswaded, that that very God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, had taken up his habitation within the minds of such Persons.

CHAP. XXIX.

*Speeches and * Discourses written by* Constantine.

* *Declamations.*

YEA farther, He spent whole nights without taking any rest, to the end He might accomplish his own mind by a meditation on divine matters. He likewise employed his vacant hours in [a] writing Orations, and [b] made frequent Speeches in publick: accounting it as a duty incumbent on himself, to Govern his Subjects by the precepts of reason, and to make * His own Government an Empire of Reason. Wherefore He himself would call a Meeting. Numerous multitudes of People flock'd into the place of hearing, that they might be Auditors of a Philosophizing Emperour. But if during his Speaking, any occasion was offered of treating concerning Divinity, he stood upright immediately, and with a † composed Countenance and low Voice, [c] seemed to initiate those that were present, in the Mysteries of the Divine Doctrine, with all imaginable piety and modesty. And when His Hearers applauded him with their Acclamations, He gave them notice by a nod, that they should look upwards to Heaven, and with pious praises highly admire and honour that One Supream King. Farther, he divided his Speeches in such a manner, that in the first place he would lay the Coufutation of the Errour of *Polytheism*, as the foundation [of his Discourse,] asserting by most evident arguments, that the Superstition of the *Pagans* was meer fraud, and the Bulwork of impiety. Then he discoursed concerning the Sole Empire of God. After this he treated about Providence, whereby as well all things in general, as every Individual is governed. From hence he proceeded to the *Salutary Dispensation*, and shewed *That* to have been done necessarily, and in an agreeable manner.

* Or, *His whole Empire rational.*

† Or, *Contracted.*

* Least any one should think, that our *Eusebius* does flatter *Constantine* here, the same is also attested by *Victor*, in *his Epitome*, in these words *Ipse assiduè Legere, Scribere, meditari.* Vales.

[a] Ἐπιείητο τὰς παρῳδάς. This term παρῳδὰς was not understood by the Translator. For thus he renders it; *frequentes cum suis mibat congressus*; whereas it ought to have been rendred, *crebras habebat conciones, he made frequent Speeches.* For παρῳδὸν ποιεῖσθαι imports *verba facere, to make a Speech*; which *Græcians* do more frequently term πρόσοδον ποιεῖσθαι. So *Isocrates* terms it in *the beginning of his Arcopagitick*; ὦ περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πρόσοδον ἐποιησάμην: and also *Pausanias* (*in Achaicis*) *pag.* 168. *Edit. Aldin*; as likewise in *the two Decreta Deliorum*, which are extant amongst *the Marmora Arundelliana*, *pag.* 42 *and* 43. ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πρόσοδος γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά. Which words are thus to be rendred: *ad Senatum quoque & ad populum verba faciendi expletis sacris primi omnium habeant facultatem. Polybius* (*book* 4. *pag.* 302.) uses ἔφοδον διδόναι in the same signification: διόμωμοι δεῖν, τῷ τε μαχατᾶ δεδόσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλούς, &c. Which place, in regard 'tis very faulty, we will by the by restore. Write thus therefore, οἱ μὲν νέοι ὥοντο δεῖν. &c. Which emendation is confirmed by *Polybius*'s next words, For it follows, οἱ δ' ἔφοροι δεδότες τὴν τῶν νέων συνεφῆν, &c. Thus much concerning the signification of the word. As to the thing it self; from this deed of *Constantine* seems to have been derived the usage of the *Byzantine Emperours*, who made *Catechetick Orations even concerning things sacred*, which Orations were termed *Silentia*, as you may see in *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word σιλέντιον. Vales.

[c] Μυεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτούς. In the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies*, the reading is μυεῖν ἐδόκει τοὺς παρόντας, *seemed to initiate*, &c. Which in my judgment is the truer reading. *Vales.*

Passing from that point, he began a discourse concerning the Divine * Judgment. In his treating whereof he gave the minds of His Hearers most sharp and severe Touches; reproving the Rapacious and † Deceitful, and those that had enslaved themselves to an insatiable desire of Money. He likewise whip'd as 'twere and scourg'd with his Expressions, some of His Confidents that stood round Him; and forc'd them, when stung by their own Consciences, to Gast down their Eyes. To whom he evidenc'd and declared with a loud voice, that they themselves should give God an account of their own undertakings [d]. For [he told them,] that the Supream God had given him the Empire of the World; but, that he, in imitation of the Deity, had committed the parts of His Empire to their Government: moreover, that all of them should at a fit opportunity render an account of their Actions to the Supream King. These things he attested continually; these things he suggested to them; with these Lessons he instructed them. And truly he himself, trusting in the sincerity of his own Faith, not only declared, but had his thoughts taken up with such matters as these. But they were unapt to learn, and deaf to all good Documents; applauding indeed his sayings with their Tongues and Acclamations; but in their practices they disregarded them by reason of their unsatiableness.

* Or, *Judicatory.*

† Or, *Covetous.*

[d] Τῶν ἐγχειρισθέντων αὐτοῖς. After these words, in the *Kings Copy and in R. Stephen's Edition* follow these, ὥς' ἤδη ποτὲ τῷ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, &c. which occurr at the beginning of the 30th *chap.* But in the *Geneva Edition*, Some body, who I know not, hath noted at the Margin, that there is a great imperfection here; which *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, *Gruterus*, and others supply in this manner: ὥστε ἤδη ποτὲ τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν φερομένην τῆς τοῦ κρείττονος ἀρχῆς, τὰς τε μέρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι δίκας, πάντας μὲν τῷ μεγάλῳ, &c. But first, those words ὥς' ἤδη ποτὲ, must be expunged. For the imperfection, if there be any in this place, begins before these words ὥς' ἤδη ποτὲ, which in the *Geneva Edition* appear corruptly repeated. Secondly, those words τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν, &c. are altogether void of sense. This imperfection therefore is better made up in *Moræus's Book*, thus: πάντας μὲν γὰρ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, τὸν καιρὸν τὰς εὐθύνας ὑφέξειν, &c. to the end of the chapter, as 'tis in the *Geneva Edition*. In the same Copy the reading is truer, thus, ταῦτα συνεχῶς διεμαρτύρετο, *These things he attested continually*. Sir *Henry Savil* in the lower Margin of his *Copy*, makes good this place thus; ὡς ἤδη ποτὲ τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρασχεῖν τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀρχῇ, τάς τε κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ ὑπηρέτας δίκας. πάντας μὲν γὰρ &c. But, from the footsteps of the written reading which I found in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, I have, as I think, very happily restored this place. The writing therefore of the *Fuketian Manuscript* is this: ἐγχειρισθέντων αὐτοῖς . . . τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρασχεῖν. αὐτὸν γὰρ κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ κρείττονος τῆς ἀρχῆς τάς τε κατὰ μέρος αὐτοῖς ὑπηρέτας δίκας . . . πάντα . . μὲν τῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ καιρὸν, &c. What is easier than to make up these imperfections in this manner? αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν, &c. And a little after, κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ κρείττονος, τῆς ἀρχῆς τάς τε κατὰ μέρος αὐτοῖς ὑπηρέτας διοικήσεις. πάντας γε μὲν τῷ τῶν ὅλων βασιλεῖ, &c. Nothing is plainer, nothing more certain. That is, *That the Empire of the World was delivered to Him by the Supream God: but, that He, by the Example of the Deity, had distributed the parts of His Empire to be governed by them.* Vales.

CHAP. XXX.

That He shewed a certain Covetous Person the measure of a Grave, to the end he might shame him.

WHerefore, one time He took one of those Persons about him by the hand, and spake these words to him. *How far* (*Hark ye!*) *Do we stretch our* * *Covetous desires?* Then marking out on the ground the † length of a Man, with a Spear, which he happened to have in his

* Or, *Unsatiableness.*

† Or, *Stature.*

his hand: *Although* (said he,) *you were possest of all the Riches of this World, and of the whole Element of the Earth, yet you shall carry away nothing more than this space of ground which I have mark'd out, if even* [a] *that be allowed you.* Notwithstanding this Blessed Prince said and did these things, yet he reclaimed no Person. But, 'twas manifestly evidenced by the very event of affairs, that the Emperours * Admonitions were rather like Divine Oracles, than bare words.

[a] For 'tis uncertain whether you shall be buried in the ground; in regard you may either be burnt, or drowned in the Sea, or devoured by wild Beasts. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is πύχοις, not πύχος, as 'tis here. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Predictions.*

CHAP. XXXI.

That he was laught at because of his too great Clemency.

* Or, *Death.*

FUrther, whereas there was no fear of * any Capital punishment, which might restrain ill Men from wickedness; (the Emperour himself being wholly inclined to Clemency, and the Governours in each Province wholly neglecting the prosecution and punishment of Crimes;) this thing exposed the publick Administration of Affairs to no ordinary blame and reprehension: whether justly, or otherwise, every one may judge according as he shall think good. Let me be permitted to record the Truth.

CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning Constantine's * Oration, *which He wrote to* The Convention of the Saints.

* Or, *Volume*, or, *discourse.*

*Or, *Gave the writing of his*, &c.

† Or, *Our tongue.*

[a] Under the disposition of the *Magister Officiorum* [*Master of Offices*] were the Interpreters of various Nations and Languages, as the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* informs us. *Constantine* therefore made use of their assistance in translating *his Orations* and *Letters* out of *Latine* into *Greek*. Vales.

MOreover, the Emperour * wrote his Orations in the *Latine* tongue. But they were rendred into † *Greek* by the [a] *Interpreters*, whose imployment it was to do this. One of these orations done into *Greek*, I will, for an instance, annex after the close of this present Work; to which [Speech] he himself gave this Title, *To the Convention of the Saints*, dedicating that His Discourse to the Church of God: [which Oration I will subjoin for this reason,] least any one should account our Testimony in reference to these matters, to be [nothing more than] Ostentation and Noise.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How He heard Eusebius's *Panegyrick concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour, in a standing posture.*

BUT that, in my judgment, is in no wise to be silently overpast, which this admirable [Prince] did, even in Our own presence. For, when we had one time besought him, being confident of his singular piety towards God, that he would be an Auditor of a Speech of Ours concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour; He gave us Audience with all imaginable willingness. And a great company of Hearers standing round, [a] within the Imperial Palace it self, He himself stood also, and together with the rest gave Audience. But when We entreated him to rest himself upon his Imperial Throne which was placed hard by, he would by no means be perswaded to Sit; But with an intent mind, weighed what was spoken, and by his own Testimony approved the truth of the * *Theologick Dogmata.* But when much time had been spent, and Our Oration was continued to a great length; We were desirous to break off. But he would not suffer that; but entreated us to go on till we had ended our Discourse. And when we again Sollicited Him to sit down, He on the contrary was urgent in His Refusal: sometimes affirming, *That it was unfit to hearken to Discourses which treated concerning God, with ease and remisness*; at other times saying, *that this was useful and advantageous to Him. For it was* [He told us] *a thing consonant to Piety and Religion, to hear Discourses about Divine matters in a standing posture.* After these things were finished, we returned home, and betook our selves to our usual Studies and exercises.

* Or, *Points of Divinity.*

[a] Ἔνδον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλείοις. The Translator renders it *in ipsa Basilica, in the very Church*, which I like not. For *Eusebius* notes this as a wonderful instance of Piety in *Constantine*, that the Emperor vouchsafed to hear *Eusebius*'s Oration, in a standing posture within the very Palace. Questionless, if the Emperour had heard the Speech standing in the Church, that would have been less strange, in regard the place it self requires reverence, and because in the Church the Emperour himself is one of the number of the Faithful. But, for the Emperour to stand in the Palace whilst a Bishop was speaking, that is a signal instance of Religion. See *chap.* 46. whence it may be manifestly, gathered, that the Palace is meant here Further, the *Christians* were heretofore wont in a standing posture to hear the Sermon of the Priest in the Church. For no body sate in the Church but the *Presbyters*, as *Optatus* informs us, Book 4. *Dum peccatorem arguit, & Sedentem increpat Deus, Specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat non ad populum, qui in Ecclesiâ non habet sedendi licentiam.* Vales.

CHAP. XXXIV.

That He wrote to Eusebius *concerning* Easter, *and about the Divine Books.*

BUT He, always [a] Sollicitously consulting the good of God's Churches, wrote a Letter to us, about providing [some Copies] of the Divinely inspired Oracles: as also [another Letter] concerning the most Holy Feast of *Easter.* [b] For, whereas we had dedicated a Book to Him, wherein the Mystick account of that Festival was explained; in what manner He rewarded and honoured us by His answer, any one may perceive, by perusing this Letter of His.

[a] Πεπεισμένον. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written πεπεισμένον, which is truer, if I mistake not. *Vales.*

[b] He seems to mean *the Book de Ratione Computi paschalis*, which *Beda* (in his *Book de Ratione Temporum, Chap.* 42.) asserts to have been made by *Eusebius.* Indeed, the Emperour *Constantine*, in his *Letter to Eusebius*, does attest, that that work of *Eusebius's*, which is here mentioned, was a Laborious work, and that it contained the whole account, Original, and perfection of the Paschal Feast. Concerning this Book of *Eusebius*, *Jerome* in his piece *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* speaks thus. *Hippolytus rationem paschæ, temporumque Canones scripsit, & sedecim annorum circulum reperit, & Eusebio qui super eodem pascha canonem decem & novem annorum circuli composuit, occasionem dedit.* Which words of St. *Jerome*, *Bede* hath transcribed in his *Book de Sex Ætatibus Mundi*; and in his *History*, Book 5. Chap. 22. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXV.

Constantine's [Letter] to *Eusebius*, wherein He commends his Oration concerning *Easter*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Eusebius*.

IT is indeed a mighty Attempt, and [a work] superiour to all the power of Oratory, to declare the mysteries of Christ agreeably to their dignity, and in a due manner to unfold the [a] *Reason and Ground of Easter, and its Institution, and its advantageous and laborious consummation. For, 'tis impossible even to Men that are able to understand things Divine, to declare those matters according to their dignity. Nevertheless, I do highly admire your excellent Learning, and your Extraordinary diligence and have my self most willingly perused your Book; and, according to your desire, have given order, that it should be put into the hands of many Persons who sincerely adhere to the observance of the Divine Religion. Whereas therefore you understand, with how great a delight of mind we receive such Presents as these from Your Prudence, take care to please us in future with more frequent Discourses* [b], *whereto you confess your self to have been by education accustomed. But (as the saying is,) we incite you who run, to your usual Studies. In as much as,* [c] *this so great an opinion does sufficiently demonstrate, that you have not found an unworthy Translatour of Your Writings, who can render Your Labours into* [d] *Latine: although 'tis impossible, that such a Version should express the dignity of Works that are so egregiously eminent. God keep You, Beloved Brother!* Such was his Letter in reference to this matter. But, that which he wrote about providing [some Copies of the Scriptures] to be read in Churches, runs thus.

[a] Τῆ παρ' ἀντιλογίαν, *The controversie of Easter.* It must be written ἀιτιολογίαν, *reason*, or *cause*, as I also found it mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*. Which emendation is confirmed by the following words. For he adds, καὶ γένεσιν, λυσιτελῆ τε καὶ ἐπίπονον τελεσιουργίαν, *and its institution*, &c. 'Tis certain, γένεσις cannot be said concerning the original of a controversie. You would do better therefore to render γένεσιν, *institution*. τελεσιουργία imports the consummation of the Paschal Feast, performed by Christ, who by the Miracle of his own Resurrection, instituted a true *Pascha* for *Christians*. Vales.

[b] Λόγοις ἐυρεθέντων. After these words in the *Greek*, in the *King's Copy*, and *in the Edition of Robert Stephens*, these words follow, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα τῆς καλῶν ἔργων, &c. *although 'tis impossible, that such*, &c. But *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and others have made up this place from I know not what Copies. The same supplement I likewise found in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Moræus's Book*. and indeed something more correct than it is in the *Geneva Edition*. For, in that the reading is, οἷς ἀντελεφθαι σωτὸν ὁμολογεῖς. But it must be written ἀναλετεφθαι, or ἐνετεφθαι. Vales.

[c] Ἡ τοσαύτη πεποίθησις, *This so great a confidence*, or *perswasion*. He means *his* boldness, who by *Constantine's* order had translated *Eusebius's* Book concerning *Easter*: or rather, πεποίθησις is the opinion and judgment of the Emperour himself. The Translator understood it as meant concerning the boldness or confidence of *Eusebius* himself, which can in no wise be agreeable here. Doubtless, πεποίθησις cannot here be taken otherwise, than for the judgment and perswasion, as well of *Constantine* Himself, as of other Men, who highly extolled *Eusebius's* Treatise concerning *Easter*, which by *Constantine's* order had been rendred into Latine. *This so great an opinion of all Men*, says he, *does sufficiently shew, that you have met with no unworthy a Translator*. Further, those words τῆς συγγραμμάτων may be construed two ways, either with the *adjective* ἀνάξιον, or with the term πεποίθησις. *Vales.*

[d] Καὶ τὸν εἰς τλὼ. After these words, in *Moræus's Copy* there is an empty space left. Questionless the word ῥωμαϊκὴν is wanting. The place therefore must be made good in this manner, τὸν εἰς τλὼ ῥωμαϊκὴν τοῦ σὸς πόνους μεταῤῥυθμίσοντα γλῶτταν, *who can render*, &c. or rather, εἰς τλὼ ῥωμαίαν, as *Eusebius* expresses himself above at chap. 32. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, εἰς τλὼ ῥωμ... τοῦ σὸς πόνους μεταρυθμίζοντα, &c. Vales.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Constantine's Letter to *Eusebius*, concerning the providing [some Copies] of the Divine Scriptures.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, To *Eusebius*.

IN That City which bears Our Name, by the assistance of God Our Saviour's Providence, a vast multitude of Men have joined themselves to the most Holy Church. Whereas therefore all things do there receive a very great increase, it seems highly requisite, that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore, do you most willingly receive that which I have determined to do. For it seemed fit, to signifie to Your Prudence, that you should order fifty Copies of the Divine Scriptures (the provision and use whereof you know to be chiefly necessary for the instruction of the Church) to be written on well-prepared Parchment, by artificial Transcribers of Books most skilful in the art of accurate and fair writing; which [Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable in order to their being used. Moreover, Letters are dispatch'd away from our Clemency to the [a] Rationalist *of the Diœcesis, that he should take care for the providing of all things necessary in order to the finishing of the said Copies. This therefore shall be the Work of your diligence, [to see] that the written Copies be forthwith provided. You are also impowered by the Authority of this our Letter, to have the use of two publick Carriages, in order to their Conveyance. For by this means, those which are transcribed fair, may most commodiously be conveyed even to Our Sight; to wit, one of the Deacons of your Church being employed in the performance hereof. Who, when he comes to Us, shall be made sensible of Our* * *Bounty. God preserve you, Dear Brother!*

*Or, *Humanity*.

[a] Διοικήσεως καθολικόν. At this place διοίκησις signifies the *Diocesis of the East*, so the *Romans* termed a certain number of Provinces, which jointly obeyed a *Vicarius* of the *Prætorian Præfecture*. For a *Præfectus Prætorio* had several *Diocesses* under his own dispose; but the *Vicarii* had but one *Diocesis*. Further, this word began to be used in this sense about *Constantine's* times, as we learn both from *Constantine's* Letters recorded above, and also from some Laws of the *Theodosian Code*. Vales.

CHAP. XXXVII.

In what manner the Copies were provided.

THese things the Emperour gave order for. Which Order of his was immediately followed by the completion of the work it self; we having sent him [a] *Ternions* and *Quaternions* in Volumes magnificently adorned. Which very thing another answer of the Emperour's will attest. In which Letter (information having been given him, that the City *Constantia* in our Country,

[a] Τεσσὰ καὶ τετρασσά. The Translator renders it right, *terniones & quaterniones*. For Parchment Copies were usually digested into *Quaternions*, that is, four Sheets were made up together, as *Ternions* are three Sheets made up together. And the *Quaternions* had sixteen pages the *Ternions* twelve. Further, in the last page of the *Quaternion* was set the number of the *Quaternion*, to wit, 1, 2, 3, and so on; as I have observed in the most ancient Copies, as well *Greek* as *Latine*. In a very old Copy of *Gregorius Turonensis*, which was written above nine hundred Years since, in the last page of the *Quaternion* I found this mark, q. 1. that is, *the first Quaternion*. Further, the Reader is to be advertized, that in these words of *Eusebius* there is an *Enallage*. For he hath said τεσσασὶ ἐν τεύχεσι whereas it ought rather to have been worded thus, τεύχη ἐν τεσσασὶς. Vales.

try,

try, heretofore consisting of Men notoriously superstitious, had by an [b] impulse of piety receded from their Pristine error of Idolatry;) he signified, that he rejoyced, and highly approved of that Action.

[b] Ὁρμῇ θεοσεβείας. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is read thus, ὁρμητήριον θεοσεβείας, τῆς ἔμπροσθεν μεταβεβληκυῖα εἰδωλικῆς πλάνης ἐγγύετο. And so I guess it was written in Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*, because Sir *Henry* hath under-mark'd these three words, namely, ὁρμῇ μεταβέβληκεν and πλάνης, with lines. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How the Mart-Town *of the* Gazæi, *by reason of* [*its embracing*] *the* Christian *Religion, was made a City, and named* Constantia.

FOR *Constantia* in the Province of *Palestine* having at this very time embraced the Salutary Religion, was vouchsafed a signal honour, both from God, and from the Emperour. For, it was both termed a City, which it had not been before; and likewise changed its name for a better appellation, to wit, that of the Emperour's most religious Sister.

CHAP. XXXIX.

That in Phœnice *there was a City made* [*termed* Constantina;] *and in other Cities the Idols were destroyed, and Churches erected.*

THE same thing was likewise done in many other places. For instance, in a City of the Province of *Phœnice*, which is called by the Emperour's name. The Inhabitants whereof having committed their innumerable Images to the flames, changed their worship of them, for the observation of the salutary Law. Moreover, in other Provinces, they came over in great companies, as well in the Country as in the Cities, to the saving knowledge [of God,] and destroyed their Images consisting of all sorts of matter (which before had been accounted sacred by them,) as if they were nothing: they also demolished their own Temples and places of worship, which were raised to a vast height, when no Person ordered them to do it. But they erected Churches from the very foundations, and made a change of their former opinion, or error rather. But, [a] to give a particular Narrative of all this pious Emperour's Actions, is not so much our business, as theirs who were vouchsafed a continual converse with him. After therefore we have in short [b] recorded in this work those matters which came to our knowledge, we will pass to the * later part of his Life.

* Or, *Last time.*

[a] Καθ' ἕκαστα γράφειν; In the *King's* and *Fuketian Copies* 'tis written καθέκαστα, in one word; which I rather approve of. For it follows, τῶν τῆ θεοφιλῆς πράξεων. But it would be better, were it thus written, τὰ καθέκαστα. Vales.

[b] Παραδόντες τῇ γραφῇ. The Translator renders this place thus: *nos verò quoniam breviter quæ nobis nota fuerunt, literarum monumentis, mandavimus; but because we have in short committed to writing those things which were known to us.* But I render it thus; *postquam ea quæ nobis nota sunt breviter exposuerimus, ad extremum ejus vitæ tempus Sermonem transferemus; after we have briefly declared those things which are known to us, we will turn our discourse to the last time of his Life.* Which rendition is doubtless truer, and more agreeable to the words and meaning of *Eusebius*. For, if *Eusebius* had meant so as the Translator thought he did, he would have said, ἤδη φθάσαντες. Vales.

CHAP. XL.

That having created his three Sons Cæsars *in the three ten years of his Reign, He celebrated the dedication of the* Martyrium *at* Jerusalem.

THIRTY * Years of His Reign were now compleated [a]. Wherein his three Sons had at different times been created Colleagues of the Empire. *Constantine*, who bore the same name with his Father, was the first that partook of that honour, about the tenth year of his Father's Empire. His second Son *Constantius*, grac'd with his Grandfather's name, was declared *Cæsar* about the time of the celebration of his Father's *Vicennalia*. His third Son *Constans*, who by his own name denotes *Presence* and *Stability*, was promoted to this honour about the thirtieth year of his Father's Reign. Thus therefore when (* according to a likeness of the Trinity as 'twere,) he had gotten † three Sons beloved by God, and had honoured them with the Colleagueship of his Empire, [b] at each period of ten years of his Reign; he thought his *Tricennalia* to be a [c] most opportune time, wherein he might give thanks to [God] the supream King. And he himself judged it best and most agreeable, should He celebrate the dedication of that *Martyrium*, which with all imaginable diligence and magnificence he had caused to be erected at *Jerusalem*.

* Or, *Periods of years.*

[a] Πεντεκαιδεκάτης τῆς βασιλείας. After these words, a whole line was left out in the *King's Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; which I make up thus, ἐν οἷς παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς κοινωνοὶ τῆ βασιλείας διαφόρως, &c. *wherein his three Sons had different*, &c. The repetition of the same word, namely βασιλείας, was the occasion that this whole line was omitted by the overhasty *Antiquarius* [*Transcriber of Books.*] In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, διαφόροις δ' ἀναδείκνυσι χρόνοις, excellently well. Thus by the addition of one small word, this place is perfected. But Sir *Henry Savil* supplied this place by adding three words, as did also *Scaliger* and *Christophorson* παῖδες ἦ τρεῖς διαφόροις, &c Vales.

* πειόδῳ λόγῳ; an odd Expression.

† Or, *A threefold issue of Sons.*

[b] Ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ πειόδῳ δεκαέτεις χρόνῳ. The translator has rendred it ill, *decimo quoque anno, every tenth year.* For *Constantine* did not create his Sons *Cæsars*, every tenth year of his Empire. For he made *Crispus* and *Constantinus*, *Cæsars*, in the Consulate of *Gallicanus* and *Bassus*, on the *Calends* of *March*, which was the eleventh year of his Empire. But *Constantius* was created *Cæsar*, in the third Consulate of *Crispus* and *Constantinus*, on the sixth of the *Ides* of *November*, that is, on the nineteenth year of *Constantine's* Empire. Lastly, *Constans* was proclaimed *Cæsar* by his Father, in the Consulate of *Dalmatius* and *Zenophilus*, on the eighth of the *Calends* of *January*, when *Constantine* was entred into the twenty eighth year of his Empire, as it appears from *Idatius's Fasti*. Wherefore *Eusebius's* words will be better rendred thus, *singulis decenniis, in each of his ten years.* But neither will what *Eusebius* hath said, be true, even this way. For *Crispus* and *Constantinus junior* were not created *Cæsars* in *Constantine's* first ten years, but about his first ten years Therefore, these words want a favourable interpretation. Which *Baronius* not in the least perceiving, has recorded *Crispus* to have been made *Cæsar* on the year of Christ 315. which is a *Prochronism* of two years. *Vales.*

[c] Εὐχαειστήριον χαιρὸν. I doubt not but it should be written εὐχαειστηρίων; which I wonder was not perceived by others. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written, εὐχαειστήριον χαιρὸν ᾗ εὐκαιρὸν; which reading I like not. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLI.

That in this interim He ordered a Synod to be convened at Tyre, *because of some controversies* [*started*] *in* Egypt.

BUT the envious Devil, that Enemy to all good, [a] like some dark cloud opposed against the most splendid Rays of the Sun, attempted to disturb the brightness of this Cele-

[a] Οἷον εἰς. It must be written in one word, margin of *Moræus's Copy* and a little after, the reading must be ὑπανίσσαν. Vales.

brity;

brity; and again disquieted the Churches in *Egypt* with his own contentions. But the Emperour, whom God himself took care of, having again armed a Synod of many Bishops resembling the Host of God, set them in array against the Malevolent Devil: an Order having been issued forth from him, that [the Prelates] of all *Egypt* and *Libya*, *Asia* and *Europe*, should hasten, in the first place to a determination of the Controversie, and from thence to make a dedication of the forementioned *Martyrium*. Wherefore he commanded them, that by the by they should compose the differences, at the *Metropolis* of *Phœnice*. For, it was [he said] unfit, to approach the worship of God with dissenting minds; in regard the Divine Law prohibits those that are at variance, from bringing their Gifts [to God,] [b] before they have embraced friendship, and are peaceably affected one towards another. These wholesome precepts [of our Saviour] the Emperour gave new Life to, by a continual meditation on them within his own mind; and advised them to set about the business with all imaginable consent and agreement of mind, by his Letter which runs thus.

[b] Ἡ φιλίαν ἀπασαμένους. Some body, who it was I know not, has noted at the margin of the *Genева Edition*, that it should be ἀπασαμένους. But I had rather read ἀπεσαμένους, *before they have entred into a League*. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* the reading is ἀπασαμένους, and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLII.

Constantine's Letter to the Synod at *Tyre*.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,

To the Holy Synod [convened] at *Tyre*.

IT was manifestly agreeable to, and highly befitting the prosperity of our Times, that the Catholick Church should be void of all disturbance, and that the Servants of Christ should now be free from [a] *all manner of reproach. But in regard some Persons, prick'd forward by the Spur of unsound Contention, (For I will not say that they lead a life unworthy of themselves;) attempt to confound all things; which [mischief] seems to Me more grievous than any Calamity whatever: for this reason I incite you, who (as the saying is) run of your own accord, that without any delay you would meet together, and make up a Synod; that you may give your assistance to those who want it; that you may administer a Remedy to the Brethren who are in danger; that you may reduce the dissenting members to an agreement; [and lastly,] that you may correct Faults, whilst opportunity does permit: to the end that, to so many and such large Provinces you may restore a befitting Concord, which (oh absurd!) the arrogancy of a few Men hath destroyed. Further, that this thing is highly acceptable to God the supream Lord, and more earnestly wish'd for by Us than any desire whatever; Lastly, that to your selves (if you shall restore peace,) it will be an occasion of no small honour, I suppose all Men do acknowledge. Delay not therefore: but henceforward raise your alacrity to the highest pitch, and make it your business to put an end to the present differences by a befitting* [b] *determination: [meeting together namely with all Sincerity and Faith, which that Saviour whom we worship, who lifts up his Voice* * *every where in a manner, does chiefly require* [c] *of us. But, as to what appertains to* ‖ Our Piety, *nothing shall be wanting to you. All things have been done by Me, which by your Letter you gave notice of.* [d] *I have written to those Bishops whom you desired, that they should come, and be partakers with you in the Common Care and Solicitude. I have sent* [e] Dionysius *the* Ex-Consularis, *who may both put in mind those Bishops that ought to come with you to the Synod, and may also be an Inspector of what is transacted,* [f] *but most especially of regularity and good order. But if any Person (which I don't in the least suspect,) presuming at this juncture to violate our precept, shall refuse to be present; One shall be forthwith dispatch'd from Us, who by an Imperial Order shall drive that Person into Exile, and shall teach him, that 'tis in no wise fit to resist the determinations of an Emperour, when published in defence of the truth. As to what remains, it shall be the business of* Your Sanctity, *neither with hatred] nor favour, but in a manner agreeable to the Ecclesiastick and Apostolick Rules, to find out a befitting remedy, whether for Crimes, or such things as have happened by mistake: to the end, you may free the Church from all reproach, may lighten Our Cares, and, having restored the pleasantness of Peace to those Churches now disturbed, may procure the eminentest Glory to your Selves. God preserve You, Beloved Brethren!*

[a] Πάσης λοιδορίας. At this place λοιδορία has a passive signification. And imports the same with the term βλασφημία, which occurrs at the close of this Letter. And thus *Christophorson* renders it in the *First Book of Theodoret's Eccles. Hist. chap.* 28. Vales.

[b] Τοῖς προκειμένοις ὅροις. It must be made ὅρον, from *Theodoret*; and the word καιρὸν which follows presently, must be expunged: which word occurs not in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales

* Ἐκάστοτε; *Valesius* renders it, *in omnibus negotiis, in every business.*

‖ Ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν; which *Valesius* renders, *religionem nostram, our Religion.*

[c] Παρ' ἡμῶν. So the reading is in *Theodoret*; from whose *first book, chap.* 29, this place is made good, which in the *Manuscript Copies*, and in *Stephens's Edition* was imperfect. But in *Moræus's Copy* I found another punctation of this place, which in my judgment is righter, thus, ἀπαιτεῖ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῶν· ἐστὶν ὃ φῶ, &c. *does chiefly require of us. But, as to what, &c.* Only I would rather read παρ' ὑμῶν, *from you.* Nevertheless, the common reading may be born with well as the *Turnebian Copy*, and in *Moræus's Book*. 'tis written; ἀπαιτεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν· ἐστὶν ὃ φῶ εἰς τὸ ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν ἡκόντων ὑμῶν ἐκδήσει; according to our Rendition *Vales.*

[d] Ἀπέσταλκα *I have sent.* It must be ἐπέσταλκα, *I have written*, as the Translatour seems to have read. Yet in *Theodoret* and the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, *I have sent to those*, &c. *Vales.*

[e] Διονύσιον τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπατικῶν. *Flavius Dionysius* is termed *Comes* by *Athanasius in his Apologetick to Constantius*, where he relates a great deal concerning *this Synod at Tyre*, which was held in the *Consulate of Constantius and Albinus*, in the months *August* and *September*. This *Dionysius* had before been *Consularis* of *Phœnice*, in the *Consulate of Januarinus and Justus*, as it appears from the *Fourth Law Cod. Theod. de Famosis Libellis.* Vales.

[f] Ἐξαιρέτως δὲ. So indeed the reading is in *Theodoret*. But in the *Fuketian Copy* this place is written thus, καὶ φῶ περιπεμένων δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐταξίας ὑξαιρέτως καταστοθ παρέσαι. Which reading *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and others found in their Copies. A little after I write, τῶ ἡμετέρω κέλευσιν καὶ νῦν διαχρήσασθε, from the *Fuketian Copy* and *Theodoret*. For there is no small *emphasis* in these words καὶ νῦν. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLIII.

That at the Feast of Dedication [of the Church] at Jerusalem, *there were Bishops present out of all the Provinces.*

AFter these Orders had been effectually put in execution, another Messenger from the Emperour arrived, who having brought [a] an Im-

[a] Σὺν γράμματι βασιλικῷ. In the *Old Sheets* the reading is συγγράμματι. In the *Fuketian Copy* there is an imperfection, and the last part of the word only occurrs, thus ματι. Therefore Sir *Henry Savil* supplied it in this manner. σὺν νεύματι, *with an Order*; and so did *Scaliger*, and the rest. *Vales.*

perial

perial Letter, moved the Synod, that without any delay they would forthwith haſten their journey to *Jeruſalem*. All of them therefore left the Province of the *Phœnicians*, and by [the aſſiſtance of the] *Curſus Publicus* went whither they had received orders to go. At which time that whole place was filled with a numerous * divine aſſembly, the eminent Biſhops out of every Province having met together at *Jeruſalem*. For the [b] *Macedonians* had ſent the [Biſhop] of the *Metropolis* amongſt them: and the *Pannonii* and *Mœſi* [had directed thither] the choiceſt flower of God's youth in their Country. There was likewiſe preſent the Ornament of the *Perſian* Biſhops, an holy Perſon and one that was incomparably well vers'd in the divine Oracles. [c] The *Bithynians* alſo and *Thracians* * by their own preſence adorned the Convention. Nor were the moſt eminent [of the Biſhops] amongſt the *Cilicians* abſent. Thoſe of *Cappadocia* likewiſe who excelled for Learning and Eloquence, ſhined in the midſt of this Congreſs. Moreover, all *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, *Phœnice* and *Arabia*, together with *Paleſtine* it ſelf; *Egypt* alſo and *Libya*, and thoſe who inhabit the Country of *Thebais*, all [met] together, and filled up that great Quire of God. Who were followed by an innumerable company of People out of all the Provinces. There was preſent together with all theſe Perſons, an [d] Imperial Attendance; and from the Imperial Palace it ſelf, approved Men were ſent, who, with Expences furniſhed by the Emperour, might illuſtrate the Feſtivity.

* Or, *Quire of God.*

[b] He means *Alexander* Biſhop of the City *Theſſalonica*, who was preſent at the Synod at *Tyre*, as *Athanaſius* witneſſeth. By the Biſhops of *Pannonia* and *Mœſia*, *Euſebius* means *Urſacius* and *Valens* leading Men of the *Arian faction*, who were ſent from the *Synod of Tyre* into *Egypt*, that they might there enquire concerning the Crimes wherewith *Athanaſius* had been charged, as *Athanaſius* relates in his *Apologetick*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Adorned the fulneſs of the Synod.*

[c] He means *Theogonius* Biſhop of *Nicæa*, and *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Perinthus*, which was otherwiſe termed *Heraclea*; which Prelates were preſent at the ſame Synod, as *Athanaſius* and *Theodoret* do inform us. Beſides *Theogonius*, two other Biſhops out of *Bithynia* were preſent at the *Synod of Tyre*; namely *Euſebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Maris* of *Chalcedon*. Valeſ.

[d] *Athanaſius* in his *Apologetick to Conſtantius pag.* 788, ſpeaking concerning this Synod, does atteſt, that *Conſtantine* ſent the *Palatine Soldiers*, who were to obey the commands of the Biſhops: His words are theſe, καὶ κόμης διοὺπ@ ἀποστέλλεται, καὶ γραπῶται δορυφόροι δίδονται πῶς ἐυσεβίον. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning their Reception by Marianus *the* Notary, *and concerning the Money diſtributed amongſt the Poor, and the ſacred Gifts of the Church.*

* That is, *The approved Men ſent from the Imperial Palace*

BUT, over * all theſe there was appointed as chief, a [a] Perſon highly acceptable and uſeful to the Emperour; one that was eminent for his Faith, Religion, and Skill in the Sacred Scriptures. Who having been famous for his confeſſions in defence of Piety during the times of the Tyrants, was deſervedly entruſted with the ordering of theſe matters. This Perſon therefore with all imaginable ſincerity paid obedience to the Emperours Commands, and honoured the Synod with a moſt Courteous Reception, entertaining them with ſplendid Feaſts and Banquets. But, amongſt the indigent and naked, [b] and amongſt infinite multitudes of Poor of both Sexes, who ſtood in great need of food and other neceſſaries, he diſtributed vaſt quantities of Money, and a great number of Garments. Laſtly, he variouſly adorned the whole Church with magnificent and royal ſacred Gifts.

[a] This was *Marianus* the *Tribune* and *Notary*, as 'tis ſaid in the *Contents of this Chapter*, and in *Sozomen*. He bore the ſame dignity under *Conſtantius*, as *Athanaſius* atteſts in his *Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuciæ*. Valeſ.

[b] Πενήτων δ' ἀνδρῶν. It muſt be written πενήτων τε ἀνδρῶν. There is the ſame errour in the *foregoing Chapter*; where the reading is ἄιγυπ@ ᾧ καὶ λιβύη, inſtead of ἄιγυπτός τε; in which manner 'tis written at both places in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

CHAP. XLV.

Various Diſcourſes of the Biſhops, in the Sacred Aſſemblies; as alſo of Euſebius *himſelf the Author of this Work.*

SUch was the Service performed by this Perſon. But the Miniſters of God adorned the Feſtival, partly with their Prayers, and partly by their Diſcourſes. [a] For ſome of them with Praiſes celebrated the [b] Benignity of the Religious Emperour towards the Univerſal Saviour, and in their Orations ſet forth the Magnificence of the *Martyrium*. Others * entertained their hearers with Theologick diſcourſes upon the divine *Dogmata*, fitted to the preſent ſolemnity, as with ſome ſplendid banquet of rational food. Others † interpreted the Leſſons of the divine Volumes, and diſcloſed the Myſtick meanings. But ſuch as were unable to arrive at theſe things, appeaſed the Deity with unbloody Sacrifices and myſtick Immolations, humbly offering up their Prayers to God, for the common Peace, for the Church of God, for the Emperour himſelf who was the Occaſioner of ſuch great Bleſſings, and for his pious Children. At which place we our ſelves alſo, who were vouchſafed ‖ Bleſſings much above our deſerts, honoured the ſolemnity with various diſcourſes uttered in publick; ſometimes making deſcriptions in writing of the ſtateline ſs and magnificence of the Royal Fabrick; at others, [c] explaining the meanings of the prophetick Viſions, in a manner befitting the preſent [d] Symbols and Figures. Thus was the Feaſt of Dedication celebrated, with the greateſt joy imaginable, [e] on the very *Tricennalia* of the Emperour.

[a] This whole paſſage, as far as thoſe words, *Others interpreted*, &c. was wanting in the *Kings Copy* and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: which words Learned Men have inſerted from ſome Manuſcript Copy, as I judge. For they ſeem to me to be genuine, and to proceed from *Euſebius's* own ſtile. They do indeed occurr in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*; but in Sir *Henry Savil's*, they are wanting. For, at this place Sir *Henry* hath made this Remark. *Chriſtophorſonus hoc loco*, &c. *At this place Chriſtophorſon has from his own Copies inſerted theſe following words, which to me ſeem ſcarce agreeable to this place*, ὁι μὲν τῦ θεοφιλῦς, &c. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τὴν εἰς τ' θ'ὸν ὅλων σωτῆρα δεξίωσιν. *Euſebius* does, not without reaſon, term that kindneſs and benignity which the Emperour *Conſtantine* made uſe of towards the Prieſts of God, a benignity towards Chriſt himſelf. For, kindneſs towards his Miniſters, redounds to the honour of the Lord himſelf. Therefore ſays Chriſt in the Goſpel. *He that receiveth you, receiveth me*: and, *that which you have done to one of them, you have done to me.* Valeſ.

* Or *Delivered to their hearers Theologick*, &c.

† Or, *Made interpretations of the divine readings.*

‖ Or, *Goods.*

[c] Τὰς φαν. φητικὰς ποιήμασι θεωρίας. Here the words ſeem to be tranſpoſed, a thing which, as we have told you, is frequently done in theſe Books. Above therefore it muſt be written, τὰς ἐκφράσεις ποιῦντες, *making deſcriptions*; and here the reading muſt be, ἑρμηνεύοντες θεωρίας, *explaining the meanings*, &c. But ſome body will perhaps ask, what thoſe Prophetick Viſions are, which *Euſebius* means here. He means, if I miſtake not, that place which occurrs in the *third chapter of Zephaniah*, verſe 8. διὰ τῦτο ὑπόμεινόν με, λέγει κύρι@, εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς με εἰς μαρτύριον. For *Cyril of Jeruſalem* alſo, in *his fourth Homily*, explains this paſſage of *Zephaniah* concerning the *Martyrium* or Church, which *Conſtantine* erected in the place of our Lord's Reſurrection. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τοῖς περικειμένοις συμβόλοις. He terms the *Jeruſalem Church*, and all its Members and Edifices, Symbols. See *Euſebius's Oration in the dedication of the Church at Tyre*, which is recorded in the *tenth book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory*: where he aſſerts, that every member of the Church imported ſomething that was myſtical. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, καιρίοις τοῖς περικειμένοις συμβόλοις, without the conjunction καὶ. *Valeſ.*

[e] Ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλέως τειακονταετηρίδι. The Tranſlator has rendred it right, *tricesimo imperii anno, in the thirtieth year of his Empire.* For the *Dedication-Feaſt* of the *Jeruſalem Church* was celebrated in the

the year of Christ 335, on the *Ides of September*, *Constantius* and *Albinus* being Consuls, in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. At which time *Constantine* was in the thirtieth year of his Empire Τειακονταέτηρις, does properly signifie *Tricennalia*, that is, *a festivity of sports which were performed on account of the thirtieth year of* an Emperours Reign. The *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, in the Consulate of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, has these words: τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ ὑπάτων ἦχθη τριακονταέτηρις ἐν κωνσταντινουπόλει πάνυ φιλοτίμως περὶ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν αὐγούστων; which in *Idatius's Fasti* occurr rendred into *Latine*, in this manner; *His Coss. Tricennalia edidit Constantinus Augustus die* 8. *Cal. August. in the Consulate of these Persons. Constantinus Augustus published his Tricennalia, on the eight of the Calends of August.* Yet sometimes τριακονταέτηρις, and *Tricennalia* are taken for the thirtieth year. So *Jerome* relates, that *Dalmatius* was created *Cæsar* in *Constantine's Tricennalia*, that is, on the thirtieth year of his Empire. But whereas I have said, that the *Dedication Feast* of the *Jerusalem Church* was celebrated on the *Ides of September*, of this matter I have *Nicephorus* my Author, in his *eighth book, chap.* 20. Indeed, *in Saint Saba's Typicon*, and in the *Greek Menology*, on the *thirteenth day of September* are placed τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως. So also *Sophronius* in his *Oration de Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis*; and this Festivity was observed every year, for the space of eight days. From these Authors the *Alexandrian Chronicle* must be corrected, wherein there is a mistake, as well in the day as the Consulate, in which these things were done. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVI.

That He afterwards recited his Description of our Saviour's Martyrium, *and his Oration upon* Constantine's Tricennalia, *before the Emperour himself.*

BUT, what the Form of our Saviour's Church is, what the fashion is of the Salutary Cave, * how great the Beauty and Elegancy of the Structure, and [Lastly] how [a] many the *Donaria*, made partly of Gold and Silver, and partly of pretious Stones; we have, as well as we could, comprized in a peculiar Treatise, and have dedicated it to the Emperour Himself. Which Book we shall make a seasonable publication of [b] at the close of this present Work: whereto we will annex that *Oration concerning his Tricennalia*, which, having not long after made a journey to *Constantinople*, we recited in the Emperours own hearing. This was the [c] second time that we celebrated the praises of God the supream King, within the Imperial Palace. Which [Oration] the Emperour, who was beloved by God, being an auditor of, seemed like one transported with joy. And this he himself manifested after the Speech was done, in regard he entertained those Bishops that were present at a Banquet, and bestowed on them all imaginable honour.

* Οἷαί τε αἱ βασιλέως φιλοκαλίαι, *and how great the Emperours attempts of Elegancy.*

[a] Amongst the other *Donaria* [*Sacred Gifts*,] which *Constantine* gave to the *Jerusalem Church*, there was a *Sacerdotal Pall* woven with threads of Gold, which the Bishop made use of in his performing the solemn Prayers, as *Theodoret* relates, *Eccles. Hist book* 2. *chap.* 27. Vales.

[b] Μετὰ τῶν παρόντων λόγους, *after this present Subject.* That is, at the close of this work. The Translator rendred it ill; *Quod etiam cum videbitur & absoluto opere edemus.* But our Rendition is confirmed by *Eusebius* himself in chap. 32. of this book. *Vales.*

[c] For *Eusebius* had before made a Speech in the Palace, as he himself attests above, at *chap.* 33. where see what we have noted. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVII.

That the Synod at Nicæa *happened on* Constantine's Vicennalia; *but the Dedication* [*of the Church*] *at* Jerusalem [*was performed*] *on His* Tricennalia.

THis Second Synod, the greatest that we have known, the Emperour convened at *Jerusalem*, after that first Synod, which he had assembled [a] at the most eminent City of *Bithynia*. That was a triumphal [Synod,] which in the *Vicennalia* of [*Constantine's*] Empire paid its [b] Vows for the Victory obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries, in that very City which had its name from Victory. But this [Synod] grac'd the period of his third *Decade*; when the Emperour Dedicated to God the Giver of all Good, [c] the *Martyrium*, as 'twere some Sacred Present of Peace, [erected] round the very Monument of our Saviour.

[a] Ἐπὶ τῆς εἰδυῶν διαφωνῶς. I had rather write διαφωνῶς, which reading I have followed in my Version; nor do I doubt but *Eusebius* wrote so. Further, in this place there is an ambiguity. For the words may be construed thus; ταύτῃ δ' ἀτέρᾳ μείζονι ὧν ἴσμεν σύνοδον μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐκείνην, &c. *This Second Synod, which we know to be the greatest after that First* [*Synod*] *which he had assembled at the most eminent City of Bithynia, the Emperour convened at Jerusalem.* Which sense *Christophorson* has followed. *Vales.*

[b] Εὐχὴν τῆς νικαίας. I embrace the emendation of Learned Men, which I found written in *Moræus's Copy* also; *viz.* εὐχὴν ἐπὶ τῆς νικαίας. Nevertheless, I would willingly add another word also, in this manner, εὐχὴν νικητήριον ἐπὶ τῆς νικαίας, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. Further, the term εὐχὴν must be rendred *vota, vowes.* For *Eusebius* alludes to the usage of the *Romans*, who in such Solemities made Vows for the safety and felicity of the Prince, as 'tis apparent from *Plinius's Epistle to Trajan.* Moreover, in old *Coins* we read such Vows as these thus expresst, *VOTIS XX. MULTIS XXX* But in other *Coins* 'tis thus, *SIC X. SIC XX.* That is, *So His Decennalia, So His Vicennalia.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis plainly written εὐχὴν ἐπὶ τῆς νικαίας, *Vales.*

[c] Τὸ μαρτύριον In the Letter of the Bishops of the *Jerusalem Synod*, (who by *Constantine's* Order met in order to the Dedication of this Church, which Letter *Athanasius* records in his *Apologetick*, *pag.* 801.) 'tis termed σωτήριον μαρτύριον, *the Salutary Martyrium. Jerome* also in his *Chronicon* terms it the *Martyrium*; as does likewise *Sozomen*, book 2. chap. 26. *Marcus in the Life of Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza*, and *Eucherius* in his *Book de Situ urbis Hierosolymitanæ.* See *Our Letter de Anastasi*, &c. wherein we have at large proved against *Jacobus Gretserus* and *Jacobus Sirmondus*, that there was only one Church erected by *Constantine*, which was termed *the Martyrium* and *Anastasis*. *Which Letter* we thought good to make a second publication of, *at the close of our Notes*, *pag.* 304, &c. *Vales.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

That Constantine *was displeased with One, who praised Him too highly.*

AFter the performance of all these things; when the Emperour's God-like Vertue was cry'd up in the Discourses of all Men, one of the Ministers of God was so bold, as to pronounce Him blessed to His very face: in regard he had both been vouchsafed the supream Empire over the whole *Roman* World in this Life present; and also, in that to come, should reign together with the Son of God. But he, much displeased at the hearing of this Expression, advised the Man, that he should not presume to utter such words; but, rather that by Prayer he would make his humble request to God, that as well in the Life present, as in that to come, * He might appear worthy of being reckoned amongst the servants of God.

[a] This whole clause, as far as the word ἀπέφυγεν in the *Greek*, or, *His very face* in the *English*, was wanting in the *Kings Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: Learned Men had inserted it, whether from some Manuscript Copies, or from conjecture, I know not. But at length, the *Fuketian Copy* has informed us, that these words were on a good account inserted, from the Manuscripts. *Vales.*

* *Constantine.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Marriage of Constantius Cæsar, *His Son.*

WHen the Thirtieth year of His Empire was ended, He celebrated the Marriage of his second Son, [a] having long before performed the same thing for his elder Son. Banquets therefore and Feasts were made; the Emperour Himself led His Son the Bridegroom, and in a most splendid manner, entertained and feasted the whole company, the Men apart by themselves, and the Women in separate places by themselves. * Rich Gifts were likewise bestowed, both on the People, and on the Cities.

[a] Παλαιτὰ. τῆς τὲ κἀπὶ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ. Question less it must be written thus, πάλαι ταὐτὸ κἀπὶ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ τῷ ἰλιτικῷ διαπεξαδώδυϑ, *having long before performed*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Rich distributions of gifts.*

CHAP. L.

The Embassie and Presents [*sent from*] *the* Indians.

AT the same time arrived Embassadours from those *Indians* who dwell at the rising Sun, and brought with them Presents. Which were various sorts of pretious Stones of an exquisite Lustre, and wild Beasts of a Nature different from those known amongst us. All which they presented to the Emperour, [thereby] declaring that his Empire reach'd [a] to the *Indian* Ocean it self; and that the * *Roytelets*, of the *Indians* Country honoured him with Pictures, and Statues erected to Him, and profest their acknowledgment of Him to be the Emperour and King. [b] Indeed, at the beginning of his Empire, the *Britains* [who dwell] at the setting Sun, were the first that submitted themselves to his Government: but now the *Indians* whose habitation is at the rising Sun, [did the same.]

[a] Εἰς αὐτὸν ὠκεανὸν, *to the very ocean it self*. It must, I think, be written, εἰς αὐτῶν ὠκεανὸν, *to their* [that is, *the Indian*] *Ocean* it self.

* *Leaders*, or, *Princes.*

Further, *Metrodorus* the Philosopher seems to have been the chiefest Person of this *Indian Embassie*; who from the King of the *Indians* brought to *Constantine* very many Gems and Pearls: and pretended that he had brought many more, had not the *Persian* King taken them from him in his passage thorough *Persia*. By which lye *Constantine* being prevailed upon, whilst with too much eagerness he pursues what had been taken from *Metrodorus*, raises the *Persian* War, as 'tis recorded by *Cedrenus* and *Amm. Marcellinus*. But *Cedrenus* relates that in a place wholly foreign and disagreeable, namely in *Constantine*'s twenty first year; whereas he ought to have placed it on the thirty first year of *Constantine*. For in this year the Peace between the *Romans* and *Persians* was broken. *Vales.*

[b] Ἀρχομένῳ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἀρχομένῳ μὲν γὲ τῆς, &c. But in the *Old Sheets* the reading is, ἀρχομένῳ μὲν ἦν, which I like better. *Vales.*

CHAP. LI.

That Constantine *having parted His Empire betwixt His three Sons, instructed them in the Art of Governing,* * *and Offices of Piety.*

* Or, *With Piety.*

WHen therefore he had reduced both the Limits of the whole World under His own power, He divided his whole Empire, distributing some paternal inheritance as 'twere to his dearest Relatives, amongst His three Sons. To the Elder, He gave his Grand-fathers allotment: to the Second, the Empire of the East: to the Third, that Portion which lay in the midst between these two. But being desirous to procure a good inheritance for his Children, and such as might be salutary to their Souls, he scattered the seeds of Piety in their minds: partly by [a] cultivating them himself with divine Precepts; and partly by appointing them Tutors, who were Persons of approved Piety. He likewise set over them Teachers of Secular Learning, such Persons namely as were arrived at the height of Literature. Others instructed them in the knowledge of the Military Art. Others were their Instructors in politicks, and matters Civil. And [lastly,] others rendred them knowing and expert in the Laws. Moreover, to each of His Sons was allotted an Imperial * Attendance, [namely] † *Scutarii*; *Hastati*; *Protectores*; *Legions* also, and Military Companies; and Officers that commanded them, [to wit,] *Centurions*, *Tribunes*, and ‖ *Duces*: of whose skill in warlike affairs, as likewise of their good affection towards them his Sons, the Father had had experience.

[a] Πεφάγων, *instructing*, or *furnishing them with*. *Eusebius* makes use of this word in the same sense again, in the next chapter. *Vales.*

* Or, *Furniture.*

† Or, *Soldiers armed with Shields*; *Spearmen*; *Guards of their Bodies.*

‖ Or, *Captains.*

CHAP. LII.

How, when they were arrived at Man's estate, He taught them Piety.

FUrther, during their being *Cæsars* as yet very young, they had (as 'twas requisite,) Ministers and Councellours present with them, who administred the publick affairs. [a] But when, afterwards, they grew up to be Men, their Fathers instruction only, was sufficent for them. Who sometimes incited 'em, when present with him, by private instructions to an imitation of himself; and taught them to become exact followers of his own piety: at other times, when they were absent, by his Letters he suggested to them Imperial Precepts. The first and chiefest whereof was this, that they should value the knowledge and worship of God the supream King, above all riches whatever, and before the Empire it self. But at length he gave them power, of themselves to do what might be of advantage to the publick: and before all things gave them this in charge, that they should take a particular care of God's Church, and commanded them openly to own themselves to be *Christians*. And in this manner he instructed his Sons. But they, incited not so much by Precept as their own alacrity of mind, exceeded the admonitions of their Father; in regard they had their minds always intent upon Piety towards God, and in the very Palace it self exactly performed and observed the Rites of the Church, together with all their Domesticks. For this was the work of the Fathers Care, to assign no Domesticks to his Sons, but such as were * worshippers of God. [b] The Commanders also of the First Companies, and they to whom the Care of the State was entrusted,

[a] Εἰς ἄνδρας τε λοιπόν. Any body may of himself perceive, that it should be written εἰς ἄνδρας δὲ, *But when*, &c. which I should not have taken notice of, had I not fear'd least any one should think that it had escap'd me. A little after, the word παροῤῥᾴδῃ seems to be superfluous. *Vales.*

* That is, *Christians.*

[b] Καὶ τῶν πρώτων ϑ ταγμάτων. So in the foregoing chapter *Eusebius* makes use of the word τάγματα to signifie *Military Companies*; and in many other places. So *Sozomen* book 1. chap. 8. ἐξ ἐκείνου ϑ καὶ τὰ ῥωμαίων τάγματα,

ματα, ἃ νῦν ἑιλαμὲς καλοῦσιν, ἕκαστον ἰδίαν σκηνὴν κατεσκεύασατο *from that time the Roman Legions, which they now term Companies, provided each of them a Tabernacle proper to themselves.* Further, this place seems to me to be imperfect, and must be made good in this mannner; καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἢ ταξιάτων ἡγεμόνες, καὶ οἱ τλὼ τῶν κοινῶν, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. For *Eusebius* says, that both the Commanders of the first Companies, and those also to whom the Care of the Republick was committed by *Constantine*, were Favourers of the Christian Religion. By those former Persons, he means the *Tribunes* and *Comites* of the *Scholæ*: but the latter are the *præfecti Prætorio*, the *Quæstors of the sacred Palace*, the *Masters of the Offices*, and the others who transacted *Civil affairs*. Vales.

* Viz. *Christians*

† Or, *Fortified himself with*, &c.

c Ἐπεὶ ὃ καὶ ταῦτα διέκειτο. I like not the conjecture of the Learned, who after the word ταῦτα have added καλῶς, thus, *well constituted*, &c. which addition I found written in *Moræus's Copy* also. But if any thing was to have been added, I would rather have put in ἔτως, *thus*. For καλῶς can have no place here, in regard in the following clause εὐδιατεθέντων occurrs. Otherwise it would be an idle repetition, nor would there be more said in the second member of the period, than in the first. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is καλῶς διέκειτο. *Vales.*

CHAP. LIII.

That after He had Reigned about two and thirty years, and lived above sixty, He had a Body that was sound and healthy.

a This passage of *Eusebius* hath led many Persons into a mistake. Amongst whom was *Dionysius Petavius*, who both in his *Annotations on Epiphanius's Book de Ponderibus*, and also in his *eleventh Book de Doctrinâ Temporum*, confiding in the authority of *Eusebius*, was of opinion that *Constantine* died in the thirty second year of his Reign. Most of the Ancients have likewise written the same thing: viz. *Philostorgius*, Book 2. *Theodorus Lector* in his *Collectanea*; *Epiphanius*, and the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*: and amongst the *Latines*, *Aurelius Victor*. But this opinion seems to me wholly absurd. For they who think thus, must of necessity affirm also, that the same *Constantine* began his Empire on the year of Christ 305, *Constantius* the fifth time and *Maximianus* being Consuls. And, that on the same year *Constantius Augustus* the Father of *Constantine* departed this Life. But, on the year following which is the year of Christ 306, *Constantius Augustus* was consul the sixth time with his Colleague *Maximianus*, as all the *Fasti* do constantly affirm. Wherefore *Constantine*'s Reign can be brought but from the year of Christ 306. Now therefore, whereas he died in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, that is on the year of Christ 337, on the twenty second of the Month *May*, as 'tis agreed on amongst all Writers, it is plainly made out, that *Constantine* Reigned thirty years, and ten Months, three Days only excepted. For he had been created *Cæsar* on the eighth of the *Calends* of *August*, as *Idatius* writes in his *Fasti*. *Eutropius* therefore and *Rufinus* are right in their affirming, that *Constantine* ended his Life in the thirty first year of his Empire. Our *Eusebius* also says true in his *Chronicon*, that *Constantine* Reigned thirty Years and tenth Months. Further, whence it has happened, that our *Eusebius* here, and most of the Ancients have attributed two and thirty years Reign to *Constantine*, this, as I think, was the reason. Two years before his death, *Constantine* had celebrated his *Tricennalia*, in the Consulate of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, as *Eusebius* has related above. They thought therefore, that the thirtieth year of *Constantine*'s Reign had been compleated when those Men were Consuls; which nevertheless is false, as I have noted above. Besides, from the beginning of *Constantine*'s Reign, unto his death, two and thirty Pair of Consuls are reckoned. Whence it might have happened, that they should believe him to have died in the thirty second year of his Empire. Further, some Chronologers have ascribed the years of his Father *Constantius*, because he Reigned but a very short time, to *Constantine*. But the Reader is to be advertized, that the most Learned *Petavius* has at length changed his Sentiment, and has embraced the Common opinion concerning the years of *Constantine*'s Reign, and concerning its beginning; as 'tis apparent from the *Fourth Book of the Second part of his Rationarium Temporum*. Vales.

CHAP. LIV.

*Concerning those who abused his eximious humanity, to * avarice and a pretence of Piety.*

* Or, *Insatiableness*, and *Hypocrisie*.

† Or, *Goods*.

a Ἀνεξικακίαν αἰτίαν. The last word is here added by learned Men from the Manuscript Copies; which word I likewise found in Mr *Fuker's Book*. But I had rather place this word before the Verb ἐπηγέφοντο. So *Eusebius* [expresses himself] at the close of *his Third Book concerning the Life of Constantine*. It would indeed be far more elegantly written thus, αἰτίαν ἐπεσέφετο τλὼ βασιλέος ἀνεξικακίαν. *Vales.*

HIS Mind also arrived at the heighth of humane perfection; being adorned with all manner of † accomplishments; but most especially, with humanity. Which, nevertheless, many Persons found fault with, by reason of the baseness of ill Men, who ascribed [the occasion of] their own badness to the Emperours a patience and clemency. Indeed, even we our selves beheld the mighty prevalency of these two Vices in those times; b the Violence namely of insatiable and ill Men, who infested almost all Mortals; and the unspeakable Dissimulation of those who craftily crept into the Church, and pretendedly took upon themselves the name of *Christians*. But the Emperours innate humanity and goodness, the sincerity of his Faith, and * Integrity of his Morals, induced him to credit the specious and outside piety of those Men who were thought to be *Christians*, and who with a crafty mind pretended to † bear a true and sincere benevolence towards him. His committing of himself to which Persons, did sometimes perhaps drive him upon those things that were unfitting; the Envy [of the Devil] bringing this Blot upon his other || praises.

* Καὶ τὸ τρόπε τὸ φιλάληδες, *and that Love and Truth which was in his disposition.*

† *Maintain*, or, *keep.*

|| Or, *Goods.*

b Ἐπιεικῆς ἁπλήστων. I embrace the emendation of Learned Men, which occurrs also in the *Fuketian Copy*, viz. ἐπιεικῆν. Further, the judgment of our *Eusebius* is here to be taken notice of, who in the Reign of *Constantine*, as in some most beautiful Countenance, took notice of this Blemish, that he chose the worst and most rapacious Men to be his friends, and to bear the publick Offices: and, that he was circumvented by the fraud and craft of certain Persons, who pretended themselves to be *Christians*. *Aurelius Victor* reproves almost the same thing, in these words: *Fiscales molestiæ severius pressæ. Cunctaque divino ritui paria viderentur, ni parùm dignis ad publica aditum concessisset. Quæ quanquam sæpius accidêre, tamen in summo ingenio, atque optimis Reip. moribus, quamvis parva vitia elucent magis. Amm. Marcellinus* also in his *sixteenth Book*, attests the same. *Nam proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus.* Vales.

c Ἐνεπείξετο. In the *Fuk.* and Sir *Henry Savil's Copy* the reading is ἐνεπιέζετο. *Vales.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

How Conſtantine *wrote Orations to the very laſt day of his Life.*

[a] I ſuppoſe amongſt others, *Ablabius* to be meant; who after *Conſtantine*'s death, in regard 'twas believed that he attempted a Rebellion, was ſlain by the order of *Conſtantius*, as *Eunapius* does at large relate in *the Lives of the Sophiſtæ*. Valeſ.

[b] Σωφρόνως ἢ τὰς περόδους ποιεῖτο. Above, at *chap. 29 of this book*, *Euſebius* has made uſe of the term παρόδους, where ſee what we have noted. You might alſo read περιόδους, as 'tis written at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*.

BUT Divine Vengeance ſeized [a] thoſe Men not long after. But the Emperour himſelf had in ſuch a manner furniſhed his mind with diſcurſive knowledge, that to his very death, according to his accuſtomed manner, he wrote Orations; and, [b] as his uſage was, made Speeches, and inſtilled into his hearers divine Precepts: He would likewiſe be continually making of Laws, ſometimes about Civil matters, at others, concerning Military affairs: in fine, he employed his thoughts about all things that were advantageous, and of uſe to the life of Men. But this is highly worthy to be recorded, namely that when he was at the point of death, he recited a certain Funeral Oration in the preſence of his uſual Auditory. And [c] having continued his Speech to a great length, he diſcourſed therein concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and concerning thoſe who had ſpent their Lives piouſly, and concerning the Bleſſings treaſured up with God himſelf for thoſe that love him. But on the other hand, he made it apparent by many and thoſe evident reaſons, what manner of end they would come to, who had lead a contrary courſe of life; and gave an accurate deſcription of the calamitous death of the impious. By his ſolid and weighty atteſtation to which truth, he ſeemed ſeverely to touch thoſe about him. In ſo much that, he asked one of them [d] who were puft up with a vain opinion of wiſdom, what his Sentiment was in reference to thoſe things which had been diſcourſed of. Who by his own teſtimony confirmed the truth of what had been ſpoken, and though much againſt his will, highly commended his reaſonings againſt the worſhip of many Gods. By making ſuch diſcourſes as theſe to his Confidents, before his death, he ſeemed to render his way to a better allotment, ſmooth and plain.

The Tranſlatour perſiſting in his miſtake, renders it here alſo, *Congreſſus cum amicis habere, to hold meetings with his friends*; whereas he ought to have tranſlated it, *conciones habere, to make Speeches*, as 'tis plainly confirmed by the words following. *Victor* in his *Epitome* ſays the ſame likewiſe concerning *Conſtantine*: *Commodiſſimus tamen rebus multis fuit: Calumnias ſedare legibus ſeveriſſimis: nutrire artes bonas, præcipuè ſtudia Literarum: legere ipſe, ſcribere, meditari.* Where *meditari* has the ſame import with μελετᾶν, that is, *declamare*, to *declaim*. Valeſ.

[c] Μακρὸν ἢ κατά τινας. Doubtleſs it muſt be written κατατείνας, *having continued*; as others have already remarked. *Valeſ.*

[d] Τινα τῶν δοκησσόφων. I had rather write τῶν δοκησιοσόφων. So *Euſebius* does uſually term the Heathens, and eſpecially the Philoſophers, who thought themſelves wiſer than others. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is δοκησιοσόφων. But the third ſyllable has a line drawn under it. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. LVI.

How, making an Expedition againſt the Perſians, *He took the Biſhops along with him, and* [*provided*] *a* * *Tent made in form of a Church.*

* Or, Tabernacle.

THIS alſo is worthy to be recorded, that about the forementioned time, upon his hearing of the motion of thoſe Barbarians [who dwell] at the Eaſt, having ſaid, that as yet there remained to him this Victory [to be obtained] over them, he reſolved upon an Expedition againſt the *Perſian*. Which when he had determined to undertake, he ſummoned together his Military Forces; and likewiſe conferred with the Biſhops that were about him, concerning the deſign of his Expedition; it being his chiefeſt care, that ſome Perſons ſhould always be preſent with him, who were of uſe in order to the worſhip of God. They affirmed, that they would moſt willingly follow him, nor would in any wiſe leave him; but with their inceſſant Prayers to God would ingage and fight together with him. At which news he was highly pleaſed, and deſcribed to them a way whereby they might go [a]. [b] Then he prepared a Tabernacle moſt richly furniſhed, made in the form of a Church, for the uſe of this War; wherein he reſolved, in company with the Biſhops, to pour forth his Prayers to God the Giver of Victory.

[a] Αὐτοῖς διέξυπε. Thoſe words which follow after theſe in the *Geneva-Edition*, unto the beginning of the 58th *Chapter*, (which paſſage we have incloſed within this mark [ ],) were wanting both in the *King's Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: and they have been added by Learned Men, from conjecture as I think. For the Chapters which follow are too ſhort, and contain nothing more than the very Titles of the Chapters; which is a thing altogether diſagreeable to *Euſebius*'s deſign. Wherefore 'tis credible, that Learned Men inſerted theſe words from the Titles of the Chapters, which occurr perfixt before the fourth Book. Further, in the *Geneva-Edition*, theſe words αὐτὸς δὲ, which occurr after the verb διέξυπε, muſt be expunged. For the imperfection begins before theſe words αὐτὸς, δὲ νεῶν, &c. We have taken notice of a like miſtake above. Our conjecture concerning this Supplement is plainly confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy*, which (though it faithfully ſhews the other Supplements which are publiſh'd by the *Geneva-men*, as we have noted in their places; yet) has not the Supplement of this place. Nor is this Fragment written in *Turnebus's Copy*, although all the reſt occurr written at the margin of his *Book*. Valeſ.

[b] *Socrates* (book 1. chap. 18.) relates the very ſame thing, in theſe words: πρὸς τοῦτῳ ἦν ὁ τῷ βασιλέως φρὴν τὸν χριστιανισμὸν πόθῳ, &c. *Moreover, ſo ardent was the Emperours Love for the Chriſtian Religion, that being about to ingage in a War with the* Perſians, *He provided a Tabernacle made of Linen, painted with divers colours, much reſembling a Church, even as* Moſes *did in the wilderneſs, and this he would have carried about with him, that ſo in the moſt deſert Regions he might have an Oratory ready.* Which words of *Socrates* I have the more willingly produced, becauſe I know that *Socrates* is wont moſt commonly to make uſe of the very words of *Euſebius*, in thoſe paſſages which he borrows out of *Euſebius*. Therefore, theſe words of *Socrates* may ſupply the place of *Euſebius's* words. For I can very hardly be induced to believe, that thoſe words which occurr in this imperfection, are *Euſebius's*. Further, before this, in the *Licinian War* namely, *Conſtantine* had a Tabernacle of the Croſs fixt without the Camp, into which he retired to faſt and pray, as *Euſebius* atteſts Book 2. But in his preparation for the *Perſian* War, *Conſtantine* did this further, that he built a Tabernacle in form of a Church. *Sozomen* relates, that from this practice of *Conſtantine* it was afterwards derived, that each Cohort in the *Roman* Army had its Tabernacle furniſhed like a Chappel, and peculiar Prieſts and Deacons, who might there perform Divine worſhip. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. LVII.

That having received the Embaſſy of the Perſians, *He watch'd all night, together with others, on the Feaſt of* Eaſter.

IN the interim the *Perſians*, informed of the Emperours preparation for a War, and being extreamly fearful of coming to an Engagement with him, [a] by an Embaſſy entreated him to make a Peace.

[a] *Ruſus Feſtus* writes the ſame thing in his *Breviarium*. *Conſtantinus rerum dominus*, &c. *Conſtantine ſupream in the Empire, at the latter end of his Life prepared an Expedition againſt the* Perſians. *For the Nations in the whole World being ſubdued; and he being rendred more glorious by a freſh Victory obtained over the* Goths, *went down againſt the* Perſians *with many Troops. At whoſe approach the Kingdoms of* Babylonia *trembled ſo much, that an humble Embaſſy from the* Perſians *met him, and promiſed the*

they would do what they were commanded. Nevertheless, they deserved not to be pardoned for the continual Eruptions, which they had attempted throughout the East, under Constantius Cæsar. But *Socrates* says only this: ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος τότε ὁ πάλαι, &c. *But this War went on no farther at that time: For it was immediately extinguished by the fear which the Emperour had put the* Persians *into.* Vales.

Wherefore, this most peaceable Emperour, gave the Embassie of the *Persians* a kind reception, and [b] readily entred into a League with them. The great Festival of *Easter* was now at hand: wherein the Emperour paid his Vows to God, and together with others watch'd all Night long.

[b] φιλικὰς δεξιὰς προθύμως σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐσπείσατο. You will here observe the Barbarism, not of *Eusebius*, but of him who has made up this Chapter. For it ought to have been said, πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐσπείσατο. Nor is this likely, that *Constantine*, who had drawn together all the Forces of the *Roman* Empire against the *Persians*, should have made a Peace with them. 'Tis certain, the contrary is affirmed by *Rufus Festus*, whose words we have produced above; as also by *Eutropius*, and *Aurelius Victor*. But *Socrates* intimates, that a Peace, or at least a Truce, was made with the *Persian*. Vales.

CHAP. LVIII.

Concerning the Building of that termed the Martyrium of the Apostles, *at* Constantinople.

[a] Who sees not, that this passage was made by another hand? For it does not in the least agree with the following chapter. In this chapter *Constantine* is said to have begun to build the *Church of the Apostles*, after *Easter* in the year 337. But in the following chapter, which 'tis manifest was written by *Eusebius*, that Church appears to be now finished. But from *Easter* to *Pentecost*, on which day *Constantine* died, the ground could scarce be dug up, in order to laying the foundation of the Temple. Wherefore that Church must necessarily have been begun to be built long before. See *chap.* 36. Vales.

[a] After this He began to build a *Martyrium* in that City which bore his own name, in memory of the Apostles.] And when he had raised the Church to an unexpressible height, he made it Splendid and Glorious by a variety of all manner of Stones, covering it with Crusts of Marble from the Foundation to the very Roof. He laid the inner-Roof all over with *Lacunaria* of very small work, and gilded it throughout with Gold. [b] Above, instead of Tyles, Brass was laid, which afforded the whole Structure a secure defence against showers. Which [covering] being likewise over-spread with Gold, shined gloriously: in so much that, it * dazled their Eyes who beheld it at a distance, [the Brass] † reverberating the Rays of the Sun. But the whole [c] Roof was encompassed round with chased Net-work, made of Brass and Gold.

[b] Ἄνω χαλκὸς μέν. It must be, ἄνω μὲν χαλκὸς. *Vales.*

* Or, *Sent forth brightnesses to them who, &c.* † *Beating back.*

[c] Τὸ δαμάσιον. Above, at book 3. chap. 36. *Eusebius* terms the outward Roof of a Church, τὰ ἐκτὸς δώματα. Therefore δαμάσιον seems here to be the Roof of the whole Church, or at least of the Altar. Such Roofs built in form of a Circle, we *French-men* do at this day term *Domata*. Further, concerning the magnificence of *this Church of the Apostles*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, in his *Poem de Insomnio Anastasiæ*, writes thus:

Σὺν τοῖς καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἕδος χειροῖο μαθητοῦ
Πλευρῇσι τετραφαῆ τετρηχὲς τεμνόμενον.

That is, *And likewise the magnificent Temple of Christs Disciples, distinguished by four sides in form of a Cross.* In this form Churches were heretofore built, as *Gretser* hath remarqued in his *Books de Cruce*, and *Marcus* in *the Life of St. Porphyrius*. Vales.

CHAP. LIX.

A further description of the same Martyrium.

In This manner was the Church it self beautified, by the Emperour's extraordinary Care and Munificence. But about the Church there was a most Spatious * *Area*, open to the pure Air. At the four sides whereof ran *Porticus*'s [joyned one to another,] which inclosed the *Area* Situate in the midst, together with the Church it self. Moreover, † *Basilicæ*, Baths, Rooms to lodge and eat in, and many other apartments built for their use who kept the place, were joined to the *Porticus*'s, and were equal to them in length.

* Or, *Open Court.*

† Οἴκους βασιλεικούς, *Imperial, or stately houses.*

CHAP. LX.

That in this [Church] *also, He built* * *Himself a Sepulchre.*

All These [Edifices] the Emperour * Dedicated [with this intent,] that He might consign to posterity the memory of our Saviour's Apostles. But he had another design in his mind, when he built this Church: which [purpose of his] was at first concealed; but in the end it became known to all Men. For he had † designed this place for himself ‖ after his death; foreseeing by a transcendent alacrity of Faith, that his own Body should after death be made a [a] partaker of the Apostles appellation:

* Or, *A Tomb for his own burial.*

* Or, *Consecrated.*

† Or, *Treasur'd up a place there.*

‖ Or, *At the fit time of his death.*

[a] Τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων μεταρσίως κοινωνόν. *Eusebius* alludes to that appellation of ἰσαπόστολος, that is, *equal to an Apostle*, which was given to *Constantine* after his death, as it occurrs in the *Menæa* of the *Greeks*. Which appellation I can't tell why *Scaliger* (in his *fifth Book de Emendatione Temporum*,) should so much envy him, as to say that much was detracted from the praise and glory of the Apostles, because their name is given to *Constantine*. Doubtless, whoever shall accurately look into those things done by *Constantine*, in order to the propagation of the Faith of Christ, will acknowledge that name to have been deservedly given Him. If *Thecla* could deserve that appellation, which Woman *Basilius Seleucensis* and others do term ἰσαπόστολον, how much more justly will it be given to *Constantine*, by whom 'tis effected, that we are now all *Christians*? Further, *Eusebius* makes use of the same words again, below at *chap.* 71. *The Author of the Synodicon* speaking concerning the *Nicene Synod*; Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ ἐν χριστιανοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀπόστολος, *Constantine, the Apostle among the Christian Emperours.* And so he is termed in the *Office of the Greeks*, at the 21st *of May*, as it occurrs in the *Typicon* of St. *Saba*. Vales.

* to the end that even after death, He might be esteemed worthy of the Prayers which should be performed there in honour of the Apostles. Having therefore raised twelve † *Capsæ* there, as some Sacred Columns, in honour and memory of the choire of the Apostles, he [b] placed his own ‖ Ark in the midst; on each side of which lay six *Capsæ* of the Apostles. And this, as I have said, he prudently considered of, [namely] where his Body might be decently deposited after he had ended his Life. Having in his mind ordered these matters

* Ὡς ἂν καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν ἀξιῶτο τῶν ἐνταῦθα μελλόντων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων σωτηρίων εὐχῶν. In *Robert Stephens's Edit.* 'tis likewise worded and pointed in the same manner.

† *Chests.* In the *Greek* 'tis θήκας.

[b] But *Chrysostome* (*Homil.* 26. *in* 2 *Epist. to the Corinthians, pag.* 741,) says *Constantine* was buried in the Porch of the Church of the Apostles, as their Porter; and that matter he magnifies according to his usual way. These things therefore must be so reconciled, as that *Constantine* himself would have had his dead body buried in the midst of the Apostles: but, that *Constantius*, or some body else, placed it otherwhere. Indeed *Zonaras* writes, that *Constantius* deposited his Father's Corps in the Church of the Apostles, in a peculiar *Porticus*, which he had built for that very purpose. *Vales.* ‖ Λάρναξα, *Coffin.*

long

long before, he conſecrated a Church to the Apoſtles; * believing, that their memory would be uſeful and advantageous to his Soul. Nor did God account him unworthy of thoſe things which by his Prayers he expected. For, as ſoon as the firſt [† Exerciſes of the Feaſt of Eaſter had been compleated by him, and when he had paſt over our Saviour's day, rendring it ſplendid to himſelf, and a Feſtival to all other Perſons; whilſt he was intent upon theſe things, and ſpent his Life herein to the very [c] Cloſe of it, God, by whoſe aſſiſtance he performed all theſe things, opportunely vouchſafed him a divine paſſage to a better allotment.

* Ὠφέλειν ψυχῆς ὁ νοσιφόρον τιμὴν τῶν πεδίων. And ſo 'tis in *Robert Stephens.*

† These words within this mark [], from *Exerciſes* to *Martyrs*, are wanting in *Robert Stephens*; nor has *Muſculus* taken any notice of them in his *Verſion.*

[c] Ἐν τέτῳ τέλῳ. In *Moræus's Book* the reading is τέλως, and an *Aſterisk* is placed before that word. I read therefore, ἐν τέτῳ μέχει τέλως τιῶ ζωὴν διανύοντα, *and ſpent his Life herein to the very cloſe of it.* Farther, this *Aſterisk* aſſures us, that this imperfection was ſupplied from ſome Manuſcript Copy. Nevertheleſs, I queſtion much, whether even theſe words alſo proceed not from the conjecture of ſome Learned Man. For this expreſſion ſeems to me ſcarce *Greek*, ἐν τέτῳ τιῶ ζωὴν διανύοντα καὶ ἐν τέλει ὄντα. And I had much rather write διανύσαντα. But the words which occurr at the end of the imperfection, are much more ſuſpicious; *viz.* κἀνταῦθα τῷ θεῷ μαρτύρων μαρτυρίῳ ἐνδιαιτήσας ὤικῳ. For firſt, μαρτυρίῳ ὤικῳ is a fooliſh expreſſion, in regard *Euſebius* always ſays μαρτύριον, in the neuter gender. Then, why has he ſaid μαρτύρων, in the plural number? Was that Church dedicated to many Martyrs together? There was a famous Church at *Helenopolis*, dedicated to the Martyr *Lucianus.* In this Church therefore *Conſtantine* abode on account of Prayer, when he returned from the warm Waters. Wherefore it ought to have been ſaid τῦ μάρτυρος, *of the Martyr*, not τῶν μαρτύρων, *of the Martyrs.* After I had written this Note, I procured the *Fuketian Copy*, which has retained the true writing of this place. For thus it is; τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων εὐκτηρίῳ ἐνδιαιτήσας ὤικῳ, *having made his abode for ſome conſiderable time in the Oratory of the Martyrs.* In the *ſame Copy* the reading is ἐν τέτῳ τέλως without a *chaſme*: alſo, θεὸς ᾧ ταῦτα συνεξετέλᾳ. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. LXI.

[*The Emperour's*] *Indiſpoſition of Body at* Helenopolis, *and his Prayers.* [*Alſo*] *concerning his Baptiſm.*

AT firſt an unequal temper of Body happen'd to him: together therewith a diſtemper ſeized him. Soon after which he went to the * warm Baths of his own City: thence he goes to the City which bore the name of his own Mother: where having made his abode for ſome conſiderable time, in the Oratory of the Martyrs,] he put up his Prayers and Supplications to God. And when he perceived that the end of his Life drew near, [a] he thought this was the time of purgation, of all thoſe ſins which he had committed throughout his whole Life: firmly believing, that whatever ſins as a Man he had faln into and committed, would be waſh'd from off his Soul, by the efficacy of myſtick words, [b] and by the ſalutary Laver. Having therefore conſidered this with himſelf, kneeling upon the pavement, he humbly beg'd God's pardon, making a confeſſion of his ſins in the very *Martyrium:* in [c] which

* Or, *Baths of warm Water*, &c.

[a] Δεῖν ὤετο. It muſt, I think, be written, διενοεῖτο, *he thought.* Valeſ.

[b] Λόγῳ λυτρῷ. I ſuppoſe it muſt be written, σωτηρίῳ τε λυτρῷ, *and by the ſalutary Laver.* For what can the meaning of λόγῳ λυτρῷ be, eſpecially when he had ſaid before, λόγων ἀπορρήτων δυνάμει, *by the efficacy of myſtick words.* In the *Old Sheets* the reading is σωτηρίῳ λόγῳ λυτρῷ, which plainly confirms our emendation. *Valeſ.*

[c] This place does chiefly call for the Reader's attentive diligence. For from it, that great queſtion concerning *Conſtantine's* Baptiſm may eaſily be determined. *Euſebius* ſays therefore, that the Emperour *Conſtantine* did then firſt of all receive impoſition of hands with ſolemn Prayer in the Church: that is in one word, was then firſt made a *Catechumen.* For *Catechumens* were made by impoſition of the hand by the Biſhop, as the *ſixth Canon of the Council of Orleans* informs us: *De his qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit eis debere manum imponi.* The ſame is eſtabliſhed in *Chap.* 39. *of the Eliberitane Council. Gentiles ſi in infirmitate deſideraverint ſibi manum imponi; ſi fuerit eorum ex aliquâ parte vita honeſta, placuit eis manum imponi, & fieri Chriſtianos:* Which *Eliberitane Canon* (that I may give notice of that by the by,) ſeems to be nothing elſe but an expoſition of the *Orleans-Canon*: which may alſo be ſeen in other Chapters of *that Council.* Concerning the ſame Rite there is a famous place in *Sulpicius Severus, Dialog.* 2. *concerning the Miracles of Saint Martin, Chap.* 3. *Poſtremò cuncti catervatim ad genua beati viri ruere cœperunt, fideliter poſtulantes, ut eos faceret Chriſtianos. Nec Cunctatus, in medio, ut erat, campo, cunctos impoſitâ univerſis manu Catechumenos fecit.* The *ſame Author, Book* 1. *Nemo ferè*, ſays he, *Ex immani illâ multitudine fuit Gentilium, qui non impoſitione manûs deſideratâ, in Dominum Jeſum relicto impietatis errore crediderit.* St. *Auguſtine* alſo, in *Book* 2. *de Pectatorum Remiſſione, Cap.* 26. *Non unusſmodi eſt Sanctificatio. Nam & Catechumenos ſecundùm quendam modum ſuum per ſignum Crucis & Orationem manus impoſitionis puto ſanctificari.* *Petrus Chryſologus* writes the ſame likewiſe in his 52d *Sermon. Hinc eſt quod veniens ex Gentibus, impoſitione manus & exorciſmis ante à dæmone purgatur; & apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere poſſit auditum.* So alſo in his 105th *Sermon. Namque ut incurvus peccatis Gentilis erigatur ad cœlum, prius à Gentili per impoſitionem manuum nequam ſpiritus effugatur.* To theſe Authors, is to be annext *Symeon Metaphraſtes*, who in the *Acts of the Holy Martyrs* Indes *and* Domna, *writes thus concerning* Cyrillus *the Biſhop. Ille autem cùm moderatè divinas ei cecinisſet Scripturas, & Venerandâ Chriſti cruce eam obſignaſſet, tunc quidem eam facit Catechumenam.* Laſtly, *Marcus in his Book concerning the Life of* Porphyrius *Biſhop of* Gaza: *Die ſequenti parentes mulieris & Cognati euntes ad B. Porphyrium, procidérunt ad ejus pedes, petentes Chriſti ſignaculum. Beatus verò cùm eos ſignaſſet, & feciſſet Catechumenos, dimiſit illos in pace, præcipiens eis ut vacarent Sanctæ Eccleſiæ. Et Paulò poſt cùm eos catecheſi inſtituiſſet, baptizavit.* From theſe Authors it appears, that *Catechumens* were heretofore made in the Church, no otherwiſe than by an impoſition of the hand. Whereas therefore *Conſtantine* is ſaid to have then firſt received impoſition of the hand in the Church, 'tis plain that as yet he was not a *Catechumen.* But ſome body will ſay: who can believe that the Emperour *Conſtantine* was not till this time a *Catechumen?* Whereas he had both been preſent at the *Nicene Council*, and had publiſhed ſo many Laws and Reſcripts in favour of the *Chriſtians*; had built ſo many Churches; had all manner of ways incited the Heathens to embrace the Faith of Chriſt; and had deprived the Hereticks and Schiſmaticks of their Churches. Indeed, *Euſebius* does atteſt, that he had performed all the Offices of a *Chriſtian.* For he writes, that he had buſied himſelf in faſtings and Prayers, and had obſerved Sundays, and the Feaſts of the Martyrs; and alſo, that he had watch'd all Night in the Vigils of *Eaſter.* All theſe things, and many more beſides, which might be produced, do prove *Conſtantine*, not to have been a Heathen; but they do not evince him to have been a *Catechumen.* 'Tis certain, in theſe four Books of *Euſebius*, wherein the Piety and Religion of *Conſtantine* is celebrated, it no where occurrs, that *Conſtantine* prayed in the Church with the reſt of the *Catechumens*, or that he partook of the Sacrament of the *Catechumens.* And although *Euſebius* does in expreſs words affirm *that*, of *Helena Auguſta* the Mother of the Emperour *Conſtantine*, that ſhe ſtood in the Church with the reſt of the Women; yet you will never find the ſame thing ſaid by him concerning *Conſtantine.* If it be objected, that *Conſtantine* made his abode at *Helenopolis* in the Church of the Martyrs, and pour'd forth his Prayers to God: in the firſt place I anſwer, that this paſſage occurrs not in our Copies, as I have obſerved a little before. Secondly, even Heathens had a liberty of going into the Churches, except only in the time of Prayers; how much more might the Emperour do that, who profeſt himſelf a *Chriſtian.* Whereas therefore *Euſebius* does plainly inform us here, that *Conſtantine* received impoſition of the hand from the Prelates firſt at *Helenopolis*; it evidently appears, that before that time he was not a *Catechumen.* I know, that *Athanaſius* (in the *Life of Saint Anthony*, where he ſpeaks concerning the Letters written by *Conſtantine* to *Anthony*,) and *Saint Auguſtine* (in *Epiſt.* 162. *and* 166,) do give *Conſtantine* the Title of a *Chriſtian Prince.* But it may be anſwered, that they have in this matter followed the vulgar opinion and Report of all Men; and, that they publickly termed *Conſtantine* a *Chriſtian* Prince, not becauſe he had as yet been initiated in the Sacraments of the *Chriſtian* Faith, but in regard he openly profeſt the worſhip of the *Chriſtian* Religion. Alſo, another far more weighty objection againſt our Opinion, may be brought from *Chap* 32. *Book* 1. the Contents of which Chapter run thus, ὅπως καταχθεὶς κωνσταντῖνος, &c. *That* Conſtantine *becoming a Catechumen*, &c. Whence it may be concluded, that *Conſtantine* was made a *Catechumen* ſoon after that Viſion of a Croſs in the Heavens. But my anſwer is, that *thoſe Contents* were not made by *Euſebius*, but by ſome more modern Perſon, as it is ſhown above. Beſides, καταχθεὶς is taken there for μαθητευθεὶς, *inſtructed*, or, *taught.* 'Tis certain, *Euſebius* does not ſay any where in that *Chapter*, that *Conſtantine* was made a *Catechumen*, but only, that the Biſhops being call'd for by him, open'd to him the reaſon of that Cœleſtial Viſion: and that thence forward he applied himſelf to the reading of the Sacred Volumes. *Valeſ.*

[a] Τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν. So in the *first book of his History* chap. 13.

place likewise he was first vouchsafed [a] imposition of hands with Prayer. Removing from thence, he goes to the Suburbs of the City *Nicomedia:* where he called the Bishops together, and spake to them in this manner.

these words occurr, εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαζὼν, *received a blessing by Prayer and the laying on of his hands.*—*Saint Augustine, Book* 2. *de Remissione Peccatorum, Chap.* 26. terms it *Orationem manûs impositionis, the Prayer of imposition of the hand.* Vales.

CHAP. LXII.

Constantine's request to the Bishops, that they would confer Baptism upon him.

THis was the time long since hop'd for by me, when I thirsted and prayed, that I might obtain Salvation in God. This is the Hour, wherein even We may also enjoy that Seal which confers immortality; the Hour, wherein We may partake of that [a] *Salutary Impression. I* [b] *had heretofore taken a Resolution, of doing this in the* [c] *streams of the River* Jordan, *where Our Saviour himself,* * *in a likeness to us, is recorded to have partaken of the Laver. But God, who best knows what is advantageous to Us, in this place vouchsafes Us a participation thereof.* [d] *Let therefore all doubt be removed.*

[a] Σωτηρίᾳ σφραγίσματι. A very foolish repetition, this; in regard he had said just before, τῆς ἀθανασίας σφραγῖδος, *that Seal which confers immortality.* Wherefore I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote σωτηρίᾳ χαίσματι, *the salutary gift,* For so the Antients termed Baptism also, as, besides others, *Gregory Nazianzen* informs us. *Vales.*

* Or, *According to our example*: So *Valesius* renders it.

[b] Ἐνενῶν ποτέ. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τοῦτ' ἐνενῶν πρὸ ποιῆσαι, *I had heretofore taken a resolution of doing this*; in which manner I found it written in *Turnebus*'s and *Moræus*'s Copy. *Vales.*

[c] Least any one should rashly find fault with *Constantine*, because he coveted to be baptized there, where the Lord had heretofore been baptized by *John*; notice is to be taken, that most *Christians* at that time coveted the same thing. Our *Eusebius*'s words in his *Book de Locis Hebraicis*, are these, Βηθαβαρὰ ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. καὶ δείκνυται ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πλείους τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἔτι νῦν τὸ λυτρὸν φιλοπόνως λαμβάνειν. Which place *Jerome* renders thus: BETHBAARA *trans Jordanem*, &c. BETHBAARA *beyond Jordan, where* John *Baptized to Repentance: whence even to this day many of the Brethren, that is of the number of believers, desirous to be born again there, are baptized in the vital Stream.* *Jerome* takes *Eusebius*'s words to be meant concerning *Catechumens* who earnestly desired that they might be baptized in *Jordan.* But the words of *Eusebius* may be understood concerning bare washing. Indeed, long after the age of *Eusebius* and *Jerome*, the Faithful were wont to wash in that very place, especially on the Festival of the *Theophania* [that is, either on the *first of February*, or the *sixth of January*, as *Scaliger* affirms in his *Notes on* 1 Cor. 15] after the Baptism of the little Children; as I have learnt from the *Itinerary of Antoninus the Martyr*, whose words are these. *Juxta Jordanem verò ubi baptizatus est Dominus Jesus, est tumulus cancellis circundatus. Et in loco ubi redundat aqua de alveo suo, posita est Crux lignea intus in aquâ, & ex utrâque parte rupes strata marmore. Et in vigilia Theophaniæ magnus ibi fit conventus populorum. Et quarta aut quinta vice gallo canente, fiunt Vigiliæ. Completis Matutinis, primo diluculo surgentes procedunt ad Sacra Ministeria celebranda sub divo. Et diaconi tenentes sacerdotem, descendit sacerdos in flumen. Et horâ quâ cœpit benedicere aquam, mox Jordanis cum magno rugitu post se revertitur; & stat aqua superior in se usque dum baptismus perficitur: inferior autem fugit in mare.* And a little after: *Baptismo autem completo, descendunt omnes in flumen pro benedictione, induti sindonibus quas sibi ad Sepulturam servant.* The same thing is likewise related in the *Hodœporicon of Saint Willibald* which *Canisius* published *Ad Jordanem, ubi Dominus fuit baptizatus, ibi nunc est Ecclesia in columnis lapideis sursùm elevata: & subtus ecclesiam est nunc crida terra, ubi dominus baptizatus fuit. In ipso loco & ibi nunc baptizant. Ibi stat crux lignea in medio, & parva derivatio aquæ stat illic; & unus funiculus extensus super Jordanem hinc & inde firmatur. Tunc in solemnitate Epiphaniæ infirmi & ægroti venientes habebant se cum funiculo, & sic demerguntur in aquam. Episcopus Noster Willibaldus balneavit se ibi in Jordane.* Vales.

[d] Μὴ δὴ ἂν ἀμφιβολία τις γενέσθω. The meaning of these words is sufficiently intricate. Had *Constantine* a mind to say this? *Let all Persons now cease from doubting concerning me, whether I be really a Christian; let no body in future suspect me to have embraced the Faith of Christ in words only, not from the inmost affection of my heart.* Ἀμφιβολία may also be taken at this place for ἀναβολὴ; that is, *Let all delay be removed.* Which sense does indeed agree better with what goes before. For in these words *Constantine* accuses himself, because namely he had too long deferred the Salutary Laver, and because he had been so long wavering as 'twere and doubtful, neither following the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Heathens*, nor embracing the worship of the *Christians.* Vales.

For if the Lord of Life and Death, will have Us continue our Life any longer here; and if it be [e] *once so determined* [concerning me,] *that I may in future be assembled with the People of God, and, being made a member of the Church, may together with all the rest partake of the Prayers: I will prescribe my self such Rules of living, as may* * *befit* [*a servant of*] *God.*

[e] Ἄπαξ ᾤεισαι. There may be a two-fold meaning given of these words: for either τῷ Θεῷ is understood with ᾤεισαι; which sense the Translatour of this Book has followed. Or else with ᾤεισαι ἐμοὶ is understood, which meaning is in my judgment truer. Indeed, in the *Kings Copy*, after the word ᾤεισαι a middle distinction is placed. Besides, that word ἅπαξ does plainly shew, that *Constantine* speaks concerning himself. Lastly, if these words were to be meant concerning God, *Constantine* would not have said τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαῷ, *with the People of God*, but τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λαῷ, *with his People.* Vales.

* Or, *Be worthy of God.*

These were the words he spake. They performed the Rites, and compleated the Divine Ceremonies; and, [f] having first enjoined him whatever was necessary, made him a partaker of the Sacred Mysteries. *Constantine* therefore, the only Person of all those that ever were Emperours, was by a Regeneration [g] perfected in the *Martyria* of Christ: and being dignified with the Divine Seal, [h] rejoyced in Spirit;

[f] Περιδιασελάμψοι. In the Books of *Turnebus* and *Moræus*, at the margin 'tis mended περιδιασελάμψοι, which pleases me better. This verb διασέλλομαι is frequently taken in this sense, in the Sacred Scriptures. *Vales.*

[g] Ἐτελεῖτο. I can't approve of the Version of the Translatours, who have rendred ἐτελεῖτο, *initiatus est, was initiated*; as if the reading ought to be, ἐτελεῖτο. But I have chose to render it, *consummatus est, was perfected.* So St. *Cyprian in his* 73 *Epist. to Jubaianus, pag.* 145. *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, præpositis Ecclesiæ offerantur, & per nostram Orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum Sanctum consequantur, & signaculo dominico consummentur.* 'Tis certain, the *Greek Fathers* do usually term *Baptism* τελείωσιν, that is, *Perfection* and *Consummation.* So *Athanasius in his third Oration against the* Arians; Ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἐν τῇ τελειώσει τοῦ βαπτίσματος συγκαλουμένου τῷ παιδὶ ὁ υἱός. And a little after; ἢ διὰ τὸ πεποιημένον σωτευθῆναι τῷ πιστεύσαντι εἰς τὸν τῶν πάντων τελείωσιν. Also, a little after he makes use of τελειοῦσθαι, for *baptizari, to be baptized*: Οὐ βαπτίζει ὁ πατὴρ, τοῦτον ὁ υἱὸς βαπτίζει· καὶ ὃν ὁ υἱὸς βαπτίζει, οὗτος ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ τελειοῦται. And in the following page he does again term Baptism τελείωσιν. In which places *P. Nannius* always renders it *initiationem, initiation.* Moreover, *Gregory Nazianzen in his first Oration against Julian,* gives Baptism the same name; ἄλλα μὲν ἐκ ὁσίου τὸ λυτρὸν ἀπορρύπτεται. τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς τελειώσει τὸν τελείωσιν τοῦ μύσους ἀνυπεύθυνος. Lastly, *Clemens Alexandrinus, Book* 1. *Pædagog.* writes, that Baptism is called by various names. For, sometimes, he says, 'tis termed χάεισμα; sometimes φώτισμα; sometimes λυτρόν. Then he annexes a reason why it should be termed τέλειον: *we term that* τέλειον, says he, *whereto nothing is wanting. What is farther wanting to him who knows God, and who possesses the grace of God, and now enjoys Life eternal.* Whence *Clemens* concludes thus; *that all Persons who have believed in Christ, and who have been dipt in the sacred Laver, are now perfect.* ὅτω τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον καὶ ἀναγνωνθῆναι, τελείασίς ἐστιν ἐν ζωῇ. Amongst the *Latines* also, they were termed *perfecti Christiani, perfect Christians*, who had received Baptism, although they had not received imposition of the Hand from the Bishop. The *Old Author de Hæreticis non rebaptizandis*, has this passage; *Quod hodiernâ quoque die non potest dubitari esse usitatum, & evenire solitum ut plerique post Baptisma sine impositione manûs Episcopi de sæculo exeant; & tamen pro perfectis fidelibus habentur.* And again afterwards, *at pag.* 135 *Edit. Rigalt.* he uses *a perfect Christian* for a *B. liever*; and, *an imperfect one* for a *Catechumen.* See the place—— *Vales.*

[h] Ἡγάλλετο τῷ πνεύματι. That which I have already remark'd to have happened in many places of *this work*, has, I conjecture, been committed here also; namely, that the words are transposed. I am of

of opinion therefore, that it must be read thus: ἠσάλλετο, ἀνεκαινᾶτο τε τῷ πνεύματι, *rejoyced, and was renewed in Spirit.* For he alludes to that verse of the known Psalm, *Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.* Further, from this place of *Eusebius* we may gather, that *Constantine* was not sprinkled in his Bed, as the sick were wont to be; but received Baptism in the Church. For *Eusebius* says, τοῖς χειροῖ μαρτυείοις ἀναγεννώμενος, &c. *was by a Regeneration perfected in the Martyria of Christ.* Soon after this, from the *Fuketian Copy and the Old Sheets* write φωτὸς ἐνεπίμπλατο, *was filled with light.* Vales.

and was renewed, and filled with the Divine Light. The joy of his mind was great, by reason of his transcendency of Faith; but he was stricken with an amazement at the manifestation of the Divine Power. After all things had been duly performed, He was clothed with [i] white and Royal Garments, which shined like the Light; and rested himself upon a most bright Bed; nor would he any more touch the purple.

[i] 'Tis a known thing, that it was heretofore the custom, that *Neophytes* [i. e. *Persons newly baptized,*] should be clothed in white garments, which they afterwards laid by, on the eighth day. *Zeno Veronensis in his fifth Sermon ad Neophytos. Primus vos qui in fonte credentem reprobat nullum, non aries sed agnus excepit: qui vestram nuditatem velleris sui niveo candore vestivit.* St. *Austin in serm.* 157. *de Tempore. Paschalis Solemnitas hodiernâ festivitate concluditur. Et ideò hodie Neophytorum habitus commutatur: ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu deponitur, semper in corde teneatur. Bede* attests the same in his *Book de Officiis. Septuagesima,* says he, *tendit ad sabbatum ante Octavas Paschæ, quando hi qui in Vigilia paschæ baptizantur, alba vestimenta deponent.* Which words occurr also in the *Roman Order.* In an *old Pontifical Book of the Church of Senona,* written out about six hundred years since, there is a solemn Prayer extant, which the Bishop made over the *Neophytes,* at such time as they laid aside *their Albes*; which I thought worth while to annex here.

Benedictio in Sabbato quando albas deponunt.

Deus qui calcatis inferni Legibus captivitatem nostram resolutâ catenarum compage dignatus est ad Libertatis præmia revocare, ipse vobis præstet ita hanc vitam transigere, ut in illam perpetuam ipso duce possitis intrare, Amen. Tantum præbeat vobis fervorem Catholicæ fidei, ut sancti adventus illius sitis expectatione securi, Amen. Ut quicunque hic meruerunt purgare unda Baptismi, ibi præsentari valeant pio Judici candidati, Amen.

Farther, the *Neophytes* celebrated those eight days after Baptism with all imaginable Religion: in so much that, during those days, which were also termed *Octavæ,* they look'd upon it as impious, to touch the earth with their naked feet, as St. *Austin* writes in *Epist.* 119. *ad Januarium.* Also, during those days they were wont to go bare-headed, which was a sign of Liberty. St. *Austin Serm.* 4. *in Dominica Octavarum paschæ. Hodie Octavæ dicuntur infantium: revelanda sunt capita eorum quod est indicium Libertatis. Habet enim Libertatem ista spiritualis nativitas,* &c. On the contrary, the *Catechumens* went in publick with their heads covered, in regard they were a Type of *Adam* expelled out of Paradise, as *Junilius* says *Book* 2 *Chap.* 16. Which I am of opinion is to be understood concerning the *Competentes* only, who covered not only their heads, but their faces also, as *Cyrill of Jerusalem* informs us in his *first Catechism.* But this covering was taken off of them in Baptism, or at least on the eighth day after Baptism. For this is rather intimated by those words of St. *Austin,* quoted by us a little above. And the same is likewise confirmed by *Theodorus Bishop of* Canterbury *in his Liber Pœnitentialis,* in these words. *In monachorum ordinatione Abbas debet missam cantare, & tres Orationes complere super Caput ejus; & septem dies velet caput ejus; septimo die abstollat velamen. Sicut in Baptismo Presbyter septimo die velamen infantum tollit: ita & Abbas debet Monacho, quia secundus Baptismus est juxta judicium patrum; & omnia peccata dimittuntur sicut in Baptismo.* Vales.

CHAP. LXIII.

In what manner he praised God, after he had received Baptism.

After this he lifted up his voice, and poured forth to God a Prayer of thanksgiving. Which ended, he added these words. *Now I know my self to be truly blessed: now 'tis evident that I am accounted worthy of an immortal life: now I have I am made a partaker of Divine Light.* Moreover, he termed them miserable, and said they were unhappy, who were deprived of such great * Blessings. And when the *Tribunes* and Chief Officers of the Military Forces came in, and with tears bewailed [their own misfortune,] that they themselves should be left desolate; and prayed for his longer Life: He answered them also, and said, that now at length he was vouchsafed true life, and that only He himself knew, what great Blessings he had been made a partaker of. Wherefore, that he hastned, and would by no delays defer going to his God. After this, he disposed of every thing according to his own mind. And to those *Romans* who inhabit the Imperial City, he bequeathed certain Annual Gifts. But he left the inheritance of the Empire, as 'twere some paternal Estate, to his own Children; ordering all things in such a manner, as he himself thought good.

* Or, *Goods.*

[a] Περιδεδῆσθαι ἄξιον πίστεως. The *Geneva-Printers* added the last word from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; which I likewise found added in *Moræus's Copy.* But 'tis wanting in the *King's Copy,* nor does it seem to me to be very necessary. In the *Fuketian, Turnebian,* and *Savilian Copies,* the verb πιστεύω is added after the word φωτὸς; therefore, there is a mistake both in *Moræus's Book,* and in the *Geneva-Edition.* Vales.

CHAP. LXIV.

The death of Constantine *on the Festival of* Pentecost, *about noon.*

Further, all these things were transacted in that great Solemnity of the most venerable and most sacred *Pentecost*; which is honoured with seven Weeks, [a] but is sealed with * the number one. In which Festival happened, both the Ascent of the Common Saviour into the Heavens, and also the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Men, as the Divine Scriptures do attest. In this Solemnity therefore the Emperour, having obtained those things we have mentioned, on the last day of all, (which should any one term the Feast of Feasts, he would not be mistaken;) † about Noon, was taken up to his God: leaving to mortals that part of Himself which was related to them; but joining to his God that part of his Soul which was endued with understanding, and the Love of God. This was the End of *Constantine's* Life. But, let us proceed to what follows.

* Or, *An unit*; *Valesius* renders it, *unitate.*

† Or, *The Meridian hours of the Sun.*

[a] Μονάδι τ' ὑποφεγγιζομένης. It must be written, μονάδι δ' ὑποφεγγιζομένης, as it occurs in the *Kings Sheets.* Farther, from this place 'tis apparent, that *Pentecost* is taken, not only for that day which is the fiftieth after *Easter-day,* but also for the seven Weeks which follow *Easter.* Thus 'tis every where used, as well by *Greek* as *Latine* Writers. St. *Jerome* in his *Letter to Marcella*; *Non quo per totum annum exceptâ Pentecoste jejunare non liceat.* Hence, amongst the Greeks there is a Festival termed μεσοπεντηκοστή, which is the twenty-fifth-day from the Feast of *Easter.* Besides other writers, *John Chrysostom* makes mention of this Feast, in his *Fifth Homily de Anna.* Vales.

CHAP. LXV.

The Lamentations of the Milice, and Tribunes.

THE *Protectors*, and the whole Body of his Guards, rent their clothes forthwith, and casting themselves prostrate on the earth, beat their heads against the ground; uttering [a] mournful expressions [intermixt] with Sighs and Cries; calling upon him their Master, their Lord, their Emperour; nor [did they invoke him barely] as a Master, but, like most * obedient Children, [they accounted him] as a Father. Moreover, the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* stiled him a Saviour, a Preserver, a Benefactour. And the rest of the Army, as 'tis usual amongst flocks, with all imaginable decency and becoming Reverence, desired and wisht for their Good Shepherd. The common People also ran up and down all over the City, and by Shrieks and Cries gave a manifest indication of their inward grief of mind. Others with dejected Countenances seemed like Persons astonished; and [b] each particular Man look'd upon this as his own Calamity, and bemoan'd himself, because the common Good of all Men was taken out of this their life.

[a] Κωκυτοῦ φωνάς. The last word must be expunged, although it occurrs in all our Copies: Presently, it must be written τὸν ἐνεργετὴν ἐπικαλοῦντο, from the *Fuketian Copy*. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is ἀπικαλοῦντο. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Genuine.*

[b] Ἐκάστου τε πένθος. It must doubtless be written, ἐκάστου τὸ πένθος ἴδιον πικρὸν. Concerning the publick mourning of all Persons, at the Funeral of *Constantine the Great*, *Aurelius Victor* attests the same, in these words. *Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis. Quod sanè populus Rom. ægerrimè tulit: quippe cujus armis, legibus, clementi imperio quasi novatam urbem Rom. arbitraretur. His dead body was brought into the City that bore his own name. Which the People of* Rome *were sorely troubled at: in regard, by his Arms, Laws, and mild Government, they supposed the City* Rome *renewed as 'twere.* I know indeed, that these words of *Aurelius Victor* may be understood concerning the Citizens of *Rome*, who took it ill, because *Constantine*'s Body had been interred at *Constantinople* rather than at *Rome*. Nevertheless I am of opinion that *Victor* thought otherwise; to wit, that all the Inhabitants of the *Roman* World were most sorely troubled at the death of *Constantine*. Which meaning is plainly confirmed by the following words: *Quippe cujus armis, legibus, clementi imperio, quasi novatum Orbem Romanum arbitraretur.* For so 'tis to be read, and not *urbem Romanam*. Valesius.

CHAP. LXVI.

That His Body was carried from Nicomedia *to* Constantinople, *into the Palace.*

AFter this, the Milice took His Body [out of the Bed,] and laid it into a Coffin of Gold; which they covered [a] with Purple, and carried it to the City that bore his own name. And there they plac'd it * on high, [b] in the stateliest Room of the Imperial Palace. Then they light up Tapers round it, which being put into Candlesticks of Gold, rendred the Sight admirable to those that beheld it, and such a one as had never been seen on earth, by any Person that was ever under the Sun's Rayes, since the World was first made. For within, in the very middlemost Room of the Imperial Palace, the Emperours Corps lay on high in a Golden Coffin; and being adorned with Imperial Ornaments, the Purple namely and the Diadem, was encompassed by many Persons, who watch'd with, and guarded it night and day.

[a] Ἁλουργικῇ ἁλουργίδι. The one of these words is useless. The *Fuketian Manuscript* has only the Latter; whereto agrees *Turnebus's Book*. Valesius.

* Ῥάθρων ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν, *upon lofty Benches or Seats.*

[b] Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παντὸς περιφερεστάτῳ. The reading in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copy* is truer, thus, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πάντων περιφερεστάτῳ τῶν βασιλείων οἴκων: but it must without doubt be made ὑπερῴῳ, as 'tis above, at *book* 3. *chap.* 10. Valesius.

CHAP. LXVII.

That even after his Death, he was honoured by the Comites *and the rest, in the same manner as when he was alive.*

MOreover, the * *Duces*, *Comites*, and the whole Order of the Judges and Magistrates, whose usage it had heretofore been to [a] *adore the Emperour*, made not the least alteration in their former Custom, but came in at set times, and on their knees saluted the Emperour when dead, and laid in his Coffin, as if he had been yet alive. After these Grandees, those of the Senate, [b] and all the *Honorati*, came in, and did the same. After whom, multitudes of all sorts of People, together with Women and Children, approach'd to the sight hereof. And these things were thus performed during a long space of time: the Milice having taken a Resolution, that the Corps should lie and be guarded in this manner, till such time as his Sons could come, who might honour their Father by * a personal attendance at his Funeral. [In fine,] this most Blessed [Prince] was the only Mortal who [c] Reigned after death; and all things were performed in the usual manner, as if he had been still alive: this being the sole Person, from the utmost memory of Man, on whom God conferred this. For, whereas he of all the Emperours had been the only one, who by actions of all sorts whatever had honoured God the supream King, and his Christ; he alone, and that deservedly, had these honours allotted him: and the supream God was pleased to vouchsafe him this, that even his dead Body should Reign amongst Men. Whereby God clearly shewed them, whose minds are not * totally stupified, that † the Empire of his Soul is endless and immortal. In this manner were these things performed.

* *Generals*, or *Commanders in chief.*

[a] Τὸν βασιλέα προσκυνεῖν. Concerning the manner of saluting the *Roman* Emperours, consult the Learned Dr. *Howells History, Second Part, pag.* 52. *This Adoration* was little more than what is now a days used to Princes, namely, a kneeling to them, and bowing the head.

[b] Ὅσοι τ' ἐπ' ἀξίας. That is, *the Honorati*. So the Latines termed those who bore honours, as I have at large remarked at the 14th *Book* of *Amm Marcellinus*. Whereto add a passage of *Gaudentius* Bishop of *Brixia*, in his *Letter to Benevolus*. *Nam sicut Honoratorum nostræ urbis, ita etiam dominicæ plebis, domino annuente, dignissimum caput es.* Valesius.

* Or, *Their own carriage of him.*

[c] After *Constantine's* death, there was *an Interregnum*, nor did any *Augustus* Reign in the *Roman* World. Which *interregnum* [i. e. *a time when there was no Emperour,*] continued not only till *Constantine's* Burial, but to the *fifth of the Ides of September*, as *Idatius* attests in his *Fasti*. So, for the space of three Months and an half, the *Roman* World was without the Empire of an *Augustus*. For during that whole time, which is between the *eleventh of the Calends of June* and the *fifth of the Ides of September*, his Sons were stiled only *Cæsars*. 'Tis certain, *Constantinus Junior*, in his *Letter to the Alexandrians*, which bears date after his Fathers death, in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, on the *fifteenth of the Calends of July*, has the Title of *Cæsar* only. This *Letter* is extant in *Athanasius*, in his *Second Apologie*, near the end. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Turned into stone.*

† Τῶν ἀγήρῳ, &c. in *Stephens* 'tis τὴν ἀγήρῳ, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

In what manner the Army resolved, that his Sons should be forthwith proclaimed Augusti.

IN the interim, the *Tribunes* dispatch'd away some choice men belonging to the Military Companies, who for their fidelity and good affection had heretofore been * acceptable to the Emperour; that they might make the *Cæsars* acquainted with what had been done. And these were the things which those men performed then. But the Armies in all places, as soon as they were acquainted with the Emperours death, incited thereto by Divine instinct as 'twere, with an unanimous consent resolved, as if their Great Emperour had been yet living, that they would acknowledge no other person as Emperour of the *Romans*, save only his Sons. And not long after, they determined to have them all henceforward, not stiled *Cæsares*, but *Augusti*; which [name] is the † *Cognisance* of supremacy of Empire. And these things were done by the Armies; who by Letters one to another, signified their own suffrages and Acclamations; and the unanimous consent of the Legions was in one and the same moment of time, made known to all persons whereever they dwelt.

* Or, *Well known.*

† Or, *Greatest Symbol of supream Empire.*

CHAP. LXIX.

Of The *Mourning* * *at* Rome *for* Constantine, *and the Honour* [*done Him*] *by Pictures after his death.*

* Or, *Rome.*

BUT the Inhabitants of the Imperial City, as well the Senate as people of *Rome*, when they were acquainted with the Emperours death, look'd upon that to be most doleful news, and more calamitous than any misfortune whatever, and therefore set no Bounds to their mourning. The Baths therefore and *Forums* were shut up, and the publick Shows [omitted;] as likewise whatever other Pleasures, as Recreations of Life, are usually followed by those who spend their time in mirth and jollity. Such also, as had heretofore abounded with delights, walk'd the Streets with dejected Countenances. And all in general stiled [the Emperour] Blessed; a person dear to God, and one that was truly worthy of the Empire. Nor made they these Declarations in bare words only: but proceeding on to actual performances, they honoured him when dead, with dedications of Pictures, as if he had been still alive. For, having exprest a Representation of Heaven in Colours on a Table, they drew him making his Residence in an Ætherial Mansion, above the Celestial Arches. Moreover, they proclaimed his Sons the sole Emperours and *Augusti*, without the Collegueship of any other person; and with humble supplications made it their earnest Request, that they might have the [a] Body of their Emperour with them, and might deposite it within the Imperial City.

[a] The same is attested by *Aurelius Victor*, in those words of his, which we quoted above, at *chap.* 65. *vide* (*l.*) Vales.

CHAP. LXX.

That his Body was deposited at Constantinople, *by his Son* Constantius.

IN this manner, even these [Inhabitants of *Rome*] grac'd this Emperour, who was honoured by God. But the [a] Second of his Sons, when he was come to the place where his Father's Corps lay, conveyed [b] [it] to the City [that bore his own name,] he himself going before the Hearse. The Companies of the Mice march'd before, Troop by Troop in a Military Order: and behind followed an innumeralbe multitude of people. But the *Hastati* and *Scutarii* surrounded the Emperour's Corps. When they were come to the Church of our Saviour's Apostles, they deposited the Coffin there. And thus the new Emperour *Constantius*, honouring his Father, as well by his presence, as other befitting Offices, in a due manner performed * his Funeral obsequies.

[a] *Constantius Cæsar*, whom his Father had made Governour of the East, upon hearing of his Father's sickness, had in great hast taken a journey, that he might see his Father before he died. But the vehemency of his disease frustrated the Son's desire. For when he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, he found his Father dead; as *Julian* relates in his *first Oration concerning the praises of Constantius*, *pag.* 29. With *Julian*, the other Writers of History do likewise agree. *Zonaras* is the only Author who relates, that *Constantius Cæsar*, who was then at *Antioch*, arrived whilst his Father was yet living; and that he honoured him, when dead, with a most magnificent Funeral. *Vales.*

* Or, *The things of a becoming Sanctity.*

[b] Τῇ πόλει τοῦτο προσωνόμαζεν. The last word save one is added by the Learned, from conjecture as I think. Nevertheless, there seems to be something more wanting: and perhaps *Eusebius* wrote thus τῇ ἐκείνου ἐπωνύμῳ πόλει *to the City that bore his own name.* Hence it appears, that *Constantine*'s dead Body was kept at *Nicomedia* with all imaginable honour and reverence, till the coming of *Constantius Cæsar*. Who, after he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, conveyed his Fathers Corps to *Constantinople*. Wherefore the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken, who relates, that *Constantius* came directly to *Constantinople*, and there celebrated his Father's Funeral. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXXI.

The * *performance of the solemn prayers in that termed the* Martyrium of the Apostles, *at the* † *Funeral of* Constantine.

* Σύναξις, *the sacred Assembly.*

† Or, *death.*

[a] BUT after he had withdrawn himself, together with the Military Companies; the Ministers of God, as likewise the Multitudes, and all the Congregation of the Faithful, came forth, and by prayers performed the Rites of the Divine Worship. At which time this Blessed [Prince,] lying on high * upon a lofty place, was celebrated with praise. Likewise, a vast number of people, together with those persons consecrated to God, not without tears and great lamentation, poured forth prayers to God for the Emperour's Soul, thereby performing a most grateful Office to this pious Prince. Further, herein also God demonstrated his singular Favour towards his Servant: because [after] his

[a] A twofold sense may be given of these word. For, either *Eusebius* means, that *Constantius Cæsar*, when he had deposited his Father's Ark or Coffin in the Church, went presently out of the Church with the Souldiers; or else this is his meaning only, that *Constantius* having done that, withdrew out of the middle of the Church, that he might give place to the Priests. Which meaning is in my judgment truer. For *Constantius*, although he had not as yet been baptized, was nevertheless a *Catechumen*, as *Sulpicius Severus* tells us in the *Second Book of his History*. Vales.

* Ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς κρηπῖδος. See *Gellius*, *B.* 13. *Cap.* 10.

his death [b] he bequeathed the Empire to his own dear Sons, who were his Successors; and because, [c] agreeable to his own most earnest desire, the Tabernacle of his thrice-blessed Soul was vouchsafed a place with the Monument of the Apostles; to the end namely, that it might be honoured in the same degree with the name of the Apostles; and that it might be joyned with God's People in the Church; and might be vouchsafed the Divine Rites, and Mystick Service; and might enjoy a Communion of the Holy Prayers: [d] but, that He himself, possest of the Empire [even] after death, managing the whole Government by a Return to Life as 'twere, [e] *Victor Maximus Augustus*, might in his own name still [f] Rule the *Roman* State.

[b] Translators thought that these words were spoken of God, who gave the Empire to *Constantine*'s Sons. But after a more attentive examination of the matter, I am of opinion that they are spoken concerning *Constantine* himself, who, even dead, delivered the Empire to his Sons. And this is confirmed by the following words. *Vales.*

[c] Καὶ τὰ σπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ. It must, I think, be written, ᾗ χῇ τὰ σπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ. *Constantine* had wish'd, that after his Death, he might not, like other Princes, be consecrated, and reckoned amongst the *Divi*: but, that being buried with the Apostles, he might be a partaker of the Prayers, which are wont to be offered to God by the Faithful in honour of them; as *Eusebius* has said above, at *chap.* 60. Whence it appears, that here it must be written χῇ, not as it is in *Moræus's Book*, and at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, διὰ τὰ σπεδασθέντα, *throw his own most*, &c. Nor will this place be perfect, even this way, unless these words be added, ἢν ἐπιτελεσμένων εὐχῶν σὺν τῇ, &c. Which *Eusebius* confirms in the foresaid 60th *chapter*. The point must also be blotted out, which is set a little after, as well in the *Kings Copy*, as in the Common Editions; and it must be read in one breath, thus, σὺν τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατηξίωτο μνήμῃ τὸ τῆς τεισμακαρίας ψυχῆς σκῆνος, &c. Than which there is nothing more certain; which makes me admire, that Translators saw not this. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; χῇ διὰ τὰ σπεδασθέντα αὐτῷ, τότε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καθηξιῶτο μνήμῃ, ὡς ὀρθὸν εἶσπη χῇ νῦν, τὸ, &c. Nor is it otherwise in the Books of *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil*: save only that Sir *Henry* has it τότε ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἁπ. &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* I found this place written thus; καταστεδασθέντα αὐτῷ, τότε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἁπ. &c. Which reading comes nearer to our Emendation. Further, those words, ὡς ὀρθὸν εἶσπη χῇ νῦν, are spoken in a *Parenthesis*; and this is intimated by that punctation in the *Fuketian Copy*, which I have shown above. *Vales.*

[d] Αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας, &c. I write, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς βασιλείας χῇ μὴ θάνατον ἐπειλημμένῳ; which reading the following words do confirm. And so I found it plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[e] Such was the Inscription, usually prefixt before the Laws and Letters of *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* does every where attest. *Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus*. He took the *Pronomen* [*forename*] of *Victor*, after his Victory obtained over the Tyrants. His Sons also, by an hereditary right as 'twere, retained that name, as their Letters inform us. Farther, from this place it appears, that after the death of *Constantinus Maximus*, for about three months space, that is during the whole time of the *Interregnum*, all Laws and Edicts were inscribed with the Name of *Constantine*, as if he had been living, in regard there was no other *Augustus* in the *Roman* world, as I have observed above. This place may also be meant concerning the Sons of *Constantine the Great*, who made use of the same Title and Name; and in whom their Father seemed to be revived. Which sense is confirmed by what follows. *Vales.*

[f] Ἡγεμονίας κεκοσμῆσθαι. I write ἐκρᾶτει, that it may answer the verb κεκοσμῆτο, which occurrs several lines above. Further, in the *Kings Copy*, at the margin of this chapter, the *Greek Scholiast* had written these words in honour of *Constantine*, εἰς αἰώνιον μνημόσυνον ὀφείλω τὸ ὄνομά σε, ἀποστόλων τεταγμένε. The same Writer does in this work often besprinkle him with praises and good wishes. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is κεκοσμεῖ. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXXII.

Concerning the Bird [*termed*] *the* Phœnix.

NOT like that *Egyptian* Bird: which being the only one of her kind, is said to die upon [an heap of] Spices, at her death making her self a sacrifice: and presently [as 'tis reported] is restored to life again out of those very ashes; and raising her self by her wings, appears the same in kind that she was before. But in the same manner with his Saviour rather; who, like wheat sown, from one Grain diffusing himself into many, by the blessing of God hath brought forth an Ear of Corn, and hath filled the whole world with his fruits. In a like manner hereto, this thrice-blessed [Prince,] by the Succession of his Children, from being one, has been made [a] many: in so much that, throughout all Provinces, Statues are raised in honour of Him, together with his Sons; and the usual name of *Constantine* * obtains even after his death.

[a] Πολυπλασίως. Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy remarkes, that the reading should be πολυπλάσιος; to whom I agree: yet I had rather read πολυπλασίων. *Vales.*

* *Is in use*, or *is embraced.*

CHAP. LXXIII.

In what manner they Stamp'd Constantine *on Coyns, ascending up into Heaven as 'twere.*

MOreover, * Coyns were Stamp'd bearing this impress: on the fore-side they expresst this Blessed [Prince] [a] with His Head covered: But, on the † Reverse [he was represented sitting] like a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, and taken up [into Heaven] by a ‖ hand stretch'd out to him from above.

* *Representations were stamp'd on Coyns*, or, *Money.*

† Or, *Other part.*

‖ *Right hand.*

[a] Ἐσχηματισμένον τῇ κεφαλῇ σχήματι. The last word is, in my judgment, to be blotted out; which in all probability crept out of the margin into the Text. For σχήματι had been written in the margin, which might explain the following word ἄρματι. But, that which occurrs in the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, namely διαδήματι, is in my judgment most egregiously foolish. For the propriety of the Greek Tongue admits not of that expression. Besides, in most Coyns *Constantine* appears with an Helmet on his Head. *Vales.*

CHAP. LXXIV.

That whereas God had been honoured by Him, He was on the other hand deservedly honoured by God.

THese [Miracles] the supream God laid before our very eyes, in [the person of] *Constantine*, who was the only [Prince] of all the preceding Emperors, that had openly profest himself a [a] *Christian*; whereby God manifestly declared, [b] How great a difference

[a] Χειστιανῶν. Questionless it must be made χειστιανῷ. It is also to be written, μόνῳ τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων, *the only Prince*, &c. or at least those words are to be understood. Further, *Eusebius* excepts none of the *Roman* Emperors, whilst he says, that *Constantine* was the first of them all, who was plainly and openly a *Christian*. Which doubtless is most true. For although the Emperor *Philippus* is by some reported to have been a *Christian*; yet he did not openly profess the *Christian* Religion, as *Constantine* did. *Orosius* (Book 7.) writes in a different sense concerning *Constantine*, in this manner; *Primus Imperatorum Christianus*, &c. *the First Christian of the Emperors, except* Philippus, *who in my judgment was made a Christian during a very few years, for this reason only, that the Thousandth year of* Rome *might be dedicated to Christ, rather than to Idols.* Vales.

[b] Ὅπου γὲ ἦν ἄρα αὐτῷ. I had rather read, ὁπόσον ἦν πρὸς αὐτῷ τὸ διάφορον, &c. that is, *How great a difference there was with him*, or, *how great a difference he made.* Vales.

he

he made, between thoſe who thought good to worſhip him and his Chriſt, and them that had embraced a contrary [opinion.] Who having brought a War upon God's Church, thereby rendred him their Enemy and * Oppoſer. And indeed, the diſaſtrous and unfortunate cloſe of every of their Lives, has produced a moſt convincing Argument of the greatneſs of the divine hatred towards them: in the ſame manner that the death of *Conſtantine* has rendred the pledges of God's favour in reference to him, manifeſt and apparent to all men.

*Or, *Adverſary.*

CHAP. LXXV.

That Conſtantine *was more pious than* [*any of*] *the foregoing* Roman *Emperours.*

WHO being the Sole Emperour of the *Romans*, that had honoured God the Supream King with a Tranſcendency of piety; and the only one that had freely and boldly * publiſhed the Doctrine of Chriſt to all men; and the only perſon (as I may ſay, that had raiſed his Church to ſuch a degree of Honour and Glory, as no one had ever done before; and the only perſon that † had totally deſtroyed the Errour of *Polytheiſm*, and confuted all the Rites and Modes of [ſuch a] Superſtition: is the only perſon alſo, that was vouchſafed ſuch [honours,] both in this Life, and after death, as no one, either amongſt the *Græcians* or *Barbarians*, is reported ever to have obtained; Nor can there be any one mentioned, amongſt the ancient *Romans* themſelves, from the Remoteſt Times to this preſent Age; who may be compared with this [our Prince.]

*Preach'd.

† Or, *Had overthrown all the errour of* &c.

THE

28 SE 60

THE EMPEROUR Constantines [a] Oration, [b]WHICH HE ENTITLED TO THE CONVENTION OF THE SAINTS.

[a] After his four Books concerning the Life and Piety of the Emperour *Constantine*, *Eusebius* had added *Two Orations*; the one whereof was the Emperour *Constantine's*, [Entitled] *To the Assembly of the Saints*, or *To the Church of God*: the other was written by himself, *concerning the Fabrick and Sacred Presents of the Jerusalem-Martyrium*, as *Eusebius* himself does atteſt in *Chap.* 32, and 46 *of his Fourth Book*. But the Latter Oration of *Eusebius* is now not extant. And that former one [namely *Constantine's*] abounds with ſo many faults, that it would almoſt be better if it were not extant. But whereas this is a ſingular monument of that Religious Prince, and an illuſtrious proof of his Studies and Diſpoſition, I ſhall, I think, do what will be worth while, if I ſhall imploy my care and diligence, in mending and explaining it. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ὃν ἔγραψε. In book 4. chap. 32. the reading is ἐπέγραψε, *he entitled*, which is in my judgment to be preferred. This therefore was the Title of this Oration, *νικητὴς, μέγιστος, σεβαστὸς κωνσταντῖνος τῷ τῶν ἁγίων συλλόγῳ, Victor, Maximus, Auguſtus Conſtantinus To the Convention of the Saints.* Valeſ.

CHAP. I.

The Preface makes mention of *Eaſter*; and, that * Chriſt, having been ſeveral ways beneficial to all Men, hath had plots framed againſt him by thoſe, on whom he has conferred favours.

* Or, *The Word of God.*

THE † more [*than uſual*] *Brightneſs and Splendour, both of the Day and Sun; the Preface of the Reſurrection; the new* ‖ *Reparation of Bodies long ſince diſſolved;* [a] *the Foundation of the promiſe, and the way leading to Life eternal, the day* [*namely*] *of the Paſſion is now come, Deareſt Doctors, and all the reſt of You* [*My*] *Friends!* [b] *Ye Multitudes of Believers are far more Bleſſed* [*than others*;] *Ye* [*who worſhip*] *God the very* [*Author*] *of Religion, and who, as well by an inward ſenſe of every particular Soul, as by outward Expreſſions, do without intermiſſion praiſe Him, according to thoſe Rules* [*contained*] *in the Divine Oracles. But, Thou Nature, Mother of all things! What of this ſort haſt Thou ever conferred upon the World? Or rather,* * *what is in any wiſe Thy work? In as much as He* [*who is the Author*] *of all things, was the* [d] *Framer of thy* [c] *Sanctity alſo. For He it is, who has adorned Thee:*

* Or, *what manner of workmanſhip is thine?*

† Or, *Brighter Splendor both*, &c.

‖ Or, *Joyning together.*

[a] Ὁρμαὶ θ' ὑπογράφουσιν. In *Moræus's Book*, as likewiſe in the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, 'tis mended ἔρμαιον; which word I do not remember to have met with any where. But in *Scaliger's Copy* 'tis corrected ἔρμαιον, which comes nearer to the Reading of the Manuſcript Copies. Indeed, in the *Kings Copy* 'tis ἑρμαὶ: whence I conjectured that it ſhould be written ἔρμα, that is, *the Foundation*. He does elegantly term the Reſurrection of our Lord, *the foundation of the promiſe*. Nor has *Chriſtophorſon* done ill in rendring it *pignus promiſſionis, the pledge of the promiſe*; which is in a manner the ſame. For a pledge is given for an aſſurance; whence 'tis by *Græcians* termed ἐνέχυρον. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* I found it written ἔρμαιον. *Valeſ.*

[b] Μαχαειώτεραι ὦ πολῶ πλήθη I aſſent not to Learned Men, who joyn theſe with the foregoing words, and read thus, μαχάειαί τε πολλαὶ πλήθη, &c. For if we read thus, it will be a fooliſh repetition, in regard *Conſtantine* had ſaid before, φίλοι θ' οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπανλες ἄνδρες. In which words *Conſtantine* ſalutes all the Catholick People, in ſuch a manner as Preachers are wont to do. Wherefore thoſe words μαχαειώτεραι ὦ πολλῷ πλήθη, are the beginning of another period, wherein *Conſtantine* ſets forth the happineſs of the Catholick People. Further, I would more willingly read πλήθη τυγχάνετε, *ye multitudes*, &c. that *Conſtantine* may be made to ſpeak to the People. Nevertheleſs, in the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, this place runs thus; μαχάειαί τε πολλαὶ πλήθη τῶν θρησκεύοντων, καὶ ἀυτὸν ἅ τῆς θρησκείας θεὸν διὰ τῶν ἐντὸς διαθέσεων ἔχετε, καὶ δι' ἐκφωνήσεων ἀδιαλείπτως ὑμνοῦντων καὶ τὰ ἐν θεσπίσμασι θεσμοθετούμενα. Valeſ.

[c] Τῆς σῆς οὐσίας, *of thy Sanctity.* At the margin of the *Geneva-Edition* there is a note ſet, that 'tis otherwiſe written οὐσίας, *ſubſtance.* But having look't into the matter more accurately, I am of opinion, that the common reading is to be retained. For *Conſtantine* ſays, that Nature is not the Framer of things, in regard She Her ſelf

was made by God; nor is he only the Origine of Nature Herself, but of that Sanctity also which is in Her. For 'tis God who hath adorned Nature. For the ornament of Nature, is a Life according to the Law and prescript of God. This is the meaning of this place, which *Christophorson* perceived not. For I say nothing of *Portesius*, whom I have found most unskilful, in a manner every where. Yet, in the *Fuk. Turneb.* and *Savil. Copies*, and in the *King's Sheets* 'tis ἑσίας, *substance*. Vales.

[a] Ἡ χ῀ φύσιν ζωὴ, *agreeable to God. a life agreeable to Nature.* It must be written, ἡ κ῀ θεὸν ζωὴ, *a life agreeable to God*, as 'tis apparent from the foregoing note. In one word θεοσέβεια, that is, *Religion, is the Ornament of Nature.* But, what sense there can be in the common reading, truly I can't perceive. So *our Eusebius* gave *his books concerning the Life of the Emperour Constantine* this Title, περὶ τῆς κ῀ θεὸν βίου In the *Kings Sheets* 'tis, ἡ κ῀ κόσμου ζωή. Vales.

[e] Ἐπικεκράτηκε δέ. It must be written ἐπικεκράτηκε ὃ ἐ μετείως ὃν περὶ φύσιν, &c. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἐπικεκράτηκε δὲ ἐ μελείως τὰ παρὰ φύσιν, τὸ τῶν ἀπίστων θεον, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Erroneous.*

† Or, *Divine inspiration by the Prophets, particularly,* &c.

‖ Or, *Wicked impiety.*

* Τὸ δυσέλεγκτον τῆς σκότους, *the incorrigibleness* (if I may so say) *of darkness.*

† *Sudden*, or, *unthought-on.*

‖ *Motion.*

* Or, *Their Will*; that is, *the Will of Princes.*

Beauty of Nature, is a [d] *Life* [e] *But, those things prevailed afterwards, which are directly contrary to Nature*; [*namely,*] *that no one should adore God* [*the Authour*] *of all things with a congruous worship*; *and, that it should be supposed, that all things were managed, not by Providence, but Chance, in a disorderly and* * *discomposed manner. And although* † *the Prophets inspired by the Divine Spirit, particularly and in express words foretold these things, to whom Credit ought to have been given*; *yet* ‖ *impious injustice made its Resistance by all manner of devices*; *hating and reproaching the very Light of Truth*; *and embracing* * *the impenetrable darkness of Error. Nor, was Force and Cruelty wanting*; *especially, when the Will of Princes gave assistance to the* † *rash and heady* ‖ impetus *of the Vulgar*; *or rather, when* * *they themselves headed an unseasonable Fury. Wherefore, this way of Life having been confirmed by the usage of many Generations, was the Occasion of dismal Calamities to the Men of those times. But, as soon as ever the presence of our Saviour shined forth, immediately, instead of unjust Actions, Justice* [*was advanc'd*;] *in place of a* † *most destructive Storm, arose a Calm*; *and all those things which had been predicted by the Prophets, were fulfilled. For, after* [*that Saviour of ours*] *was taken up on high to his Father's House, having* ‖ *enlightned the World with the Rays of Modesty and* * *Continence, He founded a Church on earth, like some sacred Temple of Virtue*; *a Temple* [*that is*] *eternal and incorruptible*; *wherein might be piously performed due* [*Acts of worship*] *both to God the supream Father, and likewise an agreeable* [*service*] *to Himself. But what did the mad wickedness of the Nations invent, after these things? It endeavoured to* † *reject the Benefits and Favours of Christ, and to ruine the Church, constituted in order to the Salvation of all Men*; *and in place thereof to substitute its own* [f] *Superstition.*

† Or, *Manifold.*

† Or, *Cast forth.*

* Or, *Sobriety.*

‖ Or, *Surrounded.*

[d] Ἄυτη μὲν. In *Moræus's Book*, and in the *Geneva-Edition*, it is at the margin mended, ἀλλ' ἄυτη μὲν, &c. excellently well, as those skilled in the Greek tongue do know. The word πονηρία, *wickedness*, is understood. The reading is ἀλλ' ἄυτη, in the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* also. *Vales.*

[f] Δεισιδαιμονίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ. In the *Kings Copy*, the two last words are wanting, and an empty space is left, capable of one word only. I doubt not but the reading should be, δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀντεισάγειν, *and in place thereof to introduce its own Superstition*; that verb ἀντεῖχεν being blotted out, which is wholly superfluous. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is written thus; Ἐκκλησίαν περιβαλὼν. ἀντέχεται τε τῶν ἰδίαν δεισιδαιμονίαν, νύττ῀ αὖ θεὸς, &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis τοῦτ῀ αὖθις, &c. Sir *Henry Savil* at the margin of his *Copy* hath mended it, ἀντέχεται ἤ τῶν ἰδίαν δεισιδαιμονίαν, *but it overturned its own Superstition.* Upon a more diligent inspection into the thing, I am of opinion, that this place is thus to be restored; ἐκκλησίαν περιβαλὼν. ἀντέτρεπε δὲ τῶν, ἰδίαν εὐδαιμονίαν. νύττ῀ αὖθις: that is, *The Nations, when they had resolved to ruine the Church of Christ, subverted their own felicity. Diseases* [*happened*] *again, Seditions*, &c. The term δεισιδαιμονίαν may also be retained, that so the meaning may be this; *the Heathens, whilst they persecuted the Church, ruined their own Religion.* For the Church of God being attack'd by the persecutions of the Heathens, vanquished the superstition and worship of false Deities. *Vales.*

Again [*happened*] *horrible Seditions, Wars, Fights,* [g] *Morosity,* [*a luxurious*] *Furniture of Life, and a love of Riches: which having its Being in Men contrary to nature (a thing that is the property of wickedness;) does sometimes recreate by false and specious hopes; at others, it astonishes with Fear.* [h] *But, let Her lie prostrate on the ground, being vanquished by Virtue: and (as 'tis fit She should,) let Her rend and tear Her self by reason of Her Repentance. But, at present we* [i] *must discourse of those matters which appertain to the Divine Doctrine.*

[g] Δυσρα-πλία. *Turnebus* at the margin of his *Book* hath mended it δυσραπλίας, *Morosities.* Indeed in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written δυσεραπλίας. But in the *Kings Sheets* the reading is δυσφίπλ῀; and then some lines are omitted. And perhaps it should be written in one continued clause, δυσφίπλ῀ βίᾳ φθορικὴ, that is, *a morose Furniture of Life.* For, unless we read so, what will be the meaning of those following words, βίᾳ φθορικὴ, which *Constantine* reckons amongst the ill things? *Musculus* seems to have read, βίαι῀ βίᾳ φθορικὴ; for he renders it, *violenta Victûs astructio.* Presently, the *Fuketian Copy* words it thus; ὅ κ῀ ἐ φυσικῶς ἴδιον πονηρίας ὂν τότε, &c. *which having its being in Men*, &c. as we have rendred it. *Vales.*

[h] Αὖτη μὲν. In *Moræus's Book*, and in the *Geneva-Edition*, it is at the margin mended, ἀλλ' ἄυτη μὲν, &c. excellently well, as those skilled in the Greek tongue do know. The word πονηρία, *wickedness*, is understood. The reading is ἀλλ' ἄυτη, in the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* also. *Vales.*

[i] Τρεπτέον. The correction of this place is due to the *Fuketian Copy*; wherein 'tis plainly written, ῥητέον, *must discourse.* Than which Emendation there is nothing more certain. *Vales.*

CHAP. II.

An * Address to the Church, and to his Hearers, that they would Pardon and amend his Mistakes.

* Or, *Precaution.*

HEar therefore, [a] *Thou Master of the Ship, who art possest of Chastity and Virginity! And Thou Church, that art the Nurse of immature and* † *unskilful Age! To whose Care and Charge, Truth and* ‖ *Clemency are committed: From whose everlasting Fountain, flows a Salutary* [b] *Stream. Be Ye Candid Hearers also, Ye who worship God with sincerity, and for that reason are His Care: be Ye attentive, not so much to the words themselves, as to the truth of what is delivered: and* [*respect*] *not Me that Speak, but the* * *Religious Office of Devotion rather.*

[a] Ναύκλη-ρε, *Thou Pilot*, or, *Master of the Ship.* So *Constantine* terms a Bishop, with no less elegant a Metaphor, than when they are termed *Pastours.* And, whereas the Church is usually compared to a Ship, the Bishops who govern it, are rightly termed *the Patrons* or *Masters of the Ship*; they being also the Apostles Successours, whom Christ, from being Fishers, made Governours of the Church. Farther, he terms Him one indued with Chastity and Virginity; because the Prelates of the *Christians* were such, ἁγνοὶ κ῀ παρθενίαι. *Vales.*

† Ignorant, or, *untaught.*

‖ Or, *Humanity.*

* *Piety of Devotion.*

[b] Σωτήριον νᾶμα. The *Fuketian Copy*, *Kings Sheets*, and *Turnebus's Book* have it written πῶμα, *Potion*, or, *water to be drunk.* Presently, where the reading is, προσέχοντες τὸν νῶν, *be ye attentive*; in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis προσέχετε τοίνυν, *attend therefore.* Vales.

For,

* Or, *Words.*

*For, what can the benefit and advantage of * an Oration be, when the mind of the Speaker remains undiscovered? Indeed, I do peradventure attempt Great things. But, that which occasions my Boldness, is the Love of God implanted in me: for, this [Love] puts a Force upon Modesty. Wherefore, my desire is, that Ye who are eminently knowing in the Divine Mysteries, should be joined with Me, as My Assistants; to the end that, if any mistake shall happen * during My Speaking, You may go along with Me and correct it. Expect not any Perfect and Consummate † Doctrine from Me; but rather, give a kind reception to the || attempt of My Faith. Farther, may the most * benign influence of the Father and Son, be effectually present with us, whilst we are uttering those things, which [c] it shall Command and Suggest to Our Mind! For, if any Person professing Rhetorick, or any other Art, shall suppose Himself able, without the Divine Assistance, with an accuracy to perfect His Work; He Himself, as also the Work He has undertaken, will be found ignorant, and imperfect. But, such Persons as have once obtained the Divine influence, must neither loiter, nor be careless. Wherefore, having beg'd Your Pardon for the length of this Our [d] Preface, We will enter upon the † Head and Principal matter of Our design.*

* Or, *About my words.*

† *Knowledge*, or, *Learning.*

|| Or, *Integrity of my attempt.*

* *Greatest*, or, *most powerful Inspiration.*

† Or, *Perfection.*

[c] Ἀπερ ἂν αὐτῷ φρά-σει It must be made αὐτῇ, and ἡ ἐπίπνοια τῆς παρὸς, *the influence* or, *inspiration of the Father*, must be understood; as *Christophorson* read. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written thus φθεγγομένοις ταῦτα, ἅπερ ἂν αὐτὴ φράσει καὶ διανοία παρόντι; *whilst we are uttering*, &c. as 'tis rendred. *Vales.*

[d] Τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀναβολῆς παραιτησάμενοι. *Christophorson* has rendred both this, and the preceding period, very ill. For he thought, that the import of ἀναβολὴ here, was *delay*, or *deferring*; whereas at this place, that word signifies *a Preface*. For *Constantine* excuses himself, because he had made use of too long a Preface. Ἀναβολὴ is properly *the beginning of a Song*, which the *Chorus* was wont to sing in the first place. *Aristophanes* in *Irene page* 685, *de Dithyrambicis*; ξυνελέγειτ' ἀναβολὰς πετόμφαι: where *the Scholiast* notes, that ἀναβολὰς are, τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ᾀσμάτων, *the beginnings of Songs*; and he cites a Verse of *Homer*. *Hecrates*'s words, in his *Panathenaïcon*, are these; ἃ μὲν ἦν ἠβουλήθην καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλων ὅστις χορὸς πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος παραναβάλλεται, ταῦτα ἐστίν. This word therefore was afterwards translated from Singers to Orators; and they used ἀναβάλλεσθαι instead of προοιμάζεσθαι, as *Hesychius* does attest. *Ulpianus* on *Demosthenes*'s *Oration de Chersoneso*; ἀναβαλόμενος ὃ δι' ἑνὸς λάμδα, ἀντὶ τοῦ προοιμασάμενος· καὶ ἀναβολὰς, προοίμια. So *Aristophanes*, in *Irene*, *page* 717, has used παραναβάλλεται and ἀναβαλεῖ in the same sense. Farther, from this place it appears, that the Preface of this Oration reaches as far as these words. *Vales.*

CHAP. III.

* Or, *The Word*, i. e. *Christ.*

† *Exist* or, *continue firm.*

That God is both the Father of * *The Logos*, and the Framer of the [whole] Creation; and, that it were impossible for things to † consist, if their Causes were diverse.

[a] Οὗπερ τῷ ὄντως. I think we must read thus, ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων Θεὸς God, *who is*, &c. For, the chiefest Good is nothing else but the supream God. So below, at chap. 9. πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑπηγήσαλο τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄντων. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*, 'tis ὅπερ; which is an ill reading. *Vales.*

[a] GOD, [a] *who is above every Essence, being always that Good which all things desire, has no Generation; and consequently no Beginning. But He Himself is the Origine of all things that are brought forth. But He who has His Procession from Him, is united with Him again: the disjunction and conjunction being performed in Him, not locally, but intellectually only. For,* * that Fœtus *exists not by any damage of His Father's bowels, as, for instance, those things do which are born of Seed: but, by the dispose of* [Divine] *providence. Our Saviour has appeared, that he might preside, as well over this visible World, as over all things and works framed therein. The Cause therefore, both of subsistence and Life, to all things which are contained within the Complex of this World,* [is derived] *from hence. Moreover, hence* [proceeds] *the Soul, and every Sense, and the* * *Faculties, by whose assistance those things which are signified by the senses, are perfected. What then does this Discourse* † *conclude? That there is one President over all things which are; and, that all things whatever are subject to his sole Dominion, as well things Celestial, as Terrestrial; both Natural, and also* [b] Organical *Bodies. For, if the Dominion over all these things, which are innumerable, should be in the hands, not of one, but of many;* [c] *Partitions and Divisions of the Elements, (as 'tis in the ancient Fables,) and Envy, and a desire of having more, powerfully contending to overcome, would disturb the harmonious Concord of all things: in regard those many, would* [d] *manage that portion allotted to each of them, in a different manner. But whereas this whole World does keep it self always in one and the same order, 'tis plain, that this is* [c] *not performed without Providence, and, that it has not proceeded from chance. But, who could ever have acknowledged a Framer of universal* * *Matter? To whom in the first place, or in the last, were Prayers and supplications* [*to have been assigned?*] *How could it be, that by my worshipping one of them* [f] *by choice, I should not have been impious towards the rest? Or, having perhaps requested something necessary for this life, shall I return thanks to that God who has given me assistance; but, revile him who was mine opposer? would be very little sollicitous, that the whole World should always keep it self in one and the same order. But, we see the Contrary. Therefore, there are not more Gods than one. This is Constantine's first argument against the Theology of the Heathens. I read therefore, τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ; καὶ τὰ αὐτά τε καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἀμελῶς ἐχόντων. Thus the sense is most evident and plain. But, whereas those words which I have set above, are found in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turnebian Copies*; there is no need of our Emendation. *Vales.*

* Or, *Offspring.*

* *Organs*, or, *instruments.*

† Or, *Manifest.*

* Or, *Generation.*

[b] Ὀργανικὰ σώματα. *Christophorson* has rendred it *artificialia*, such namely *as are made by some instrument, but are not begotten by Nature*: wherein nevertheless, I do not agree with him. For, whereas *Constantine* does Philosophize throughout this whole Oration; at this place also he has used *Natural and Organical Bodies*, in the same sense that Philosophers are wont to take them; namely, for Bodies that are endued with Organs or Instruments fit for operation. So *Aristotle* expresses himself, when he defines the Soul thus, *the Act of an Organical Body*. But, an *Organical Body* is more than a *Natural one*. For, there are some *Natural Bodies*, which want Organs, for instance, *Stones*, and other things of that sort. *Vales.*

[c] He alludes to the division of the World between those three Brethren, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*; which division the *Greek Theologie* do talk of. *Vales.*

[d] Διοικουμένων, *would continue to govern.* In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is, διοικημένων, *would administer*, or, *manage*. Vales.

[e] Οὐκ ἀμελῶς ἔχειν. The Negative particle hath been added by the Learned, from conjecture, as I think; as also, the words which follow next, καὶ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου γεγονῶς τοῦτον παύσηται. All which words occurr neither in the *Kings Copy*, nor in the *Old Sheets*, nor yet in *Robert Stephens's Edition*: neither do they in any wise agree with the preceding words. For *Constantine* does not now treat concerning Providence; but he asserts only this, that there is one Beginning of all things; which he proves thus; If there were more Gods than one, each God would govern his own allotment: but, they

[f] Ἐξ αἱρέσεως; that is, *according to mine own arbitrement.* It might also be read, ἐξαιρέτως, *chiefly*, or, *most especially*. Vales.

But, to whom shall I make my supplication, that he may declare to me the occasion of my Calamity, and may vouchsafe me a deliverance from it? Let us suppose, that an answer has been given us by Oracles and Prophecies: [g] *but, that these things are not in their power, but belong to another God. What is the Compassion then? Of what sort is the providence of God towards Man? Unless perhaps, some one of them, inclinable to be kinder, being more forcibly moved, shall give assistance against another, who is not in the least kindly disposed towards Men. Moreover, Anger, and Discord, and Railing; and in fine, a confusion of all things would follow from hence; whilst not one of them would perform his own part; but, through covetousness not satisfied with his own affairs, would invade those that belong to others. What therefore will be the consequence hereof? Questionless, this discord amongst the Celestial powers, would ruine things under Heaven, and things on earth; the Order and Vicissitude of Seasons and times would vanish, as likewise the delight and use of those fruits produced at the several seasons of the year; the day would be destroyed, and the Rest of the night which follows the day. But enough concerning these matters. Let us now return to those reasons which can in no wise be refuted.*

[g] Εἰ δὲ τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐξουσίας This passage seems to me very obscure. *Christophorson* renders it thus; *Facile responsa nobis per oracula dari: ista tamen fieri non propriâ ac suâ vi, sed ad deum aliquem pertinere.* But what the meaning hereof should be, truly I can't see. But, having examined all things with more of attention, at length I found out the true meaning of this place. This therefore is what *Constantine* says. If there be many Gods; when I shall fall into calamity, to which of them shall I address my self, that he may acquaint me with the cause of my Misery, and free me from it. Let us suppose (says he,) that for instance, *Apollo* has answered me, that 'tis not in his power to deliver me, but, that that belongs to another God. What is more plain than this sense? It must therefore be written, ἀλλῳ ὑ ταῦτα ἀνήκειν θεῷ, *but belong to another God.* Many such Oracles as these are extant in the Histories of the *Greeks*; where *Apollo* answers those who Consult him, that they must appease *Bacchus*, or *Saturn*, if they have a mind to be delivered from their Calamity. *Vales.*

CHAP. IV.

Concerning * their Errour who worship Idols.

* Or, *The Errour in reference to Idols.*

WHatever had a Beginning, must necessarily have an End also. Now, a temporal Beginning, is termed a † *Generation. But, the things produced by a Generation, are all Corruptible. Besides, Time defaces their Form and Beauty. How then can they, who* [*have their Original*] *from a corruptible Generation, be immortal? Now, such an Opinion as this hath been divulged amongst unthinking People, namely, that Marriages are usually made amongst the Gods, and Children begotten. But, if they who are begotten, be immortal; and if* [*new Gods*] *are always begotten,* [a] *their Kind must necessarily be excessively numerous: after which Accession made,* [b] *what Heaven, what manner of Earth must it be, that can be capable of Containing such a growing swarm of Gods? But what can any one say in reference to those Men, who join the Brethren-Gods in a Society of Marriage* [*with the Sister-Goddesses;*] *and who charge them with Adulteries, and Acts of Incontinency? We do confidently assert this also, that the very Honours and* * *Acts of worship, attributed to them by Men, are mixt with* † *uncleannesses and Lust.*

† Or, *Birth.*

[a] Ἀνάγκη τὸ γιγν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the first word, there is an Empty space, capable of one word. I write therefore, πλημμυρεῖν ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν τὸ γιγν. *exceir kind*, &c *Vales.*

[b] Τὶς ἦν οὐρανὸς, It must be, πῆς ἂν οὐρανὸς, as I found it mended at the margin of *Moræus's Copy* In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is πῆς οὐρανὸς. without the Conjunction *Vales.*

* Or, *Reverts.*

[c] *Now therefore, some skilful Person, and a Statuary, having conceived in his mind the Form* [*of his future work,*] *frames it by the Rules of Art, and* * *soon after, a forgetfulness falling* [*upon him,*] *as 'twere, he flatters his own work, and worships it in place of an immortal God: whereas notwithstanding, he himself,* [d] *the Father and Framer of that Statue, must confess himself to be mortal. Moreover, they themselves do shew the Sepulchres and* * *Arks of those Immortals, and honour the dead with* † *Divine Honours: being wholly ignorant, that that which is truly Blessed and* ‖ *Immortal, stands not in need of Honour from Mortals. For, that which can be discerned by the mind only, and comprehended by the understanding, requires neither a Form whereby it may be known, nor admits of a figure, as its image or Resemblance. But, all these things are done, in favour of the dead. For, they were really Men, whilst they lived,* * *and were endued with Bodies.*

† Or, *Whoredoms and Wickednesses.*

[c] Ἦδη γάρ τις. I had rather read ἤδη γὰρ τις, &c. A little after, where the reading is, διανοίᾳ φερολαβὼν; at the margin of *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended φερολαβὼν; and so 'tis corrected in *Gruter's Copy.* Vales.

* Or, *In the interim.*

[d] ἑαυτὸν πατέρα. 'Tis truer in the *Fuk. Copy*, ἑαυτὸν πατέρα, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Coffins.*

† Or, *Immortal.*

‖ Or, *Incorruptible.*

* Or, *Being partakers of the Body.*

CHAP. V.

That Christ the Son of God framed all things, and has appointed to every thing the term of its Existence.

BUT, why do I defile my tongue with impure expressions, when I am about to praise the true God? I am resolved in the first place to * *wash away that bitter potion as 'twere, with me that is pure. Now, this pure potion is drawn out of that* ‖ *ever-flowing Fountain of Vertues, of that God who is extolled by Us. Indeed, I account it my proper Business, to praise Christ* [*both*] *by* [*an holiness of*] *Life, and a thanksgiving also, which is due to him from us, for those his many and signal benefits. I assert therefore, that 'tis he who hath settled the Beginnings of this Universe, and who hath* * *Created Men, and* [a] *who hath established these things by a certain Law and Order. And immediately, when* † *they were newly brought forth, he removed them* [b] *into a certain blessed and flourishing*

* Or, *Purge.*

† Or, *Poured.*

‖ Or *Everlasting.*

* Or, *Invented the Creation of Man.* So *Valesius* renders it.

† That is, *Our first Parents.*

[a] Καὶ ὃ τ ταῦτα λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα. The three former words have been added by Learned Men from M S. Copies. Nevertheless, they occurr not, either in the *Kings Copy*, or in the *Old Sheets*. But I have set a point after the word νομοθετήσαντα from the authority of the *Kings*, and *Fuketian Copy*, and from the *Old Sheets*. Which *Christophorson* having not perceived, he joined this with the following period. Now, the meaning of this place, is this. *I affirm*, says he, *that as well Man, as the other things which are in the World, are his workmanship, who hath constituted all these things in order*; that is, *the workmanship of the Supream God.* It must therefore be written, φημὶ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν ἀρχὰς, &c. as 'tis in Sir *Henry Savil's Book*, and as *Christophorson* seems to have read. Then I read, τὸν κ ταῦτα λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα, *and who hath established*, &c. than which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is κ τὸν λόγῳ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντα. Therefore, λόγῳ νομοθετήσαντα has the same import with λόγῳ διατάξαντα, an expression which he makes use of hereafter. *Vales.*

[b] Here *Constantine* seems to place that Paradise, wherein God pu

put *Adam*, without the Bounds of the earth. Which was the Sentiment of very many of the Ancients. *Stephanus Gobarus*, *chap.* 11. had handled this problem; Ὡς ὁ παράδεισός ἐστι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, ἐστὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ τούτων μεταξύ, *that Paradise is neither in Heaven, nor on Earth, but between them.* And this was the Title of the *twelfth chapter, that Paradise is the Jerusalem above, and is in the third Heaven*: and, *that the trees which are there, are endued with understanding and knowledge*: and, *that Adam, after his transgression, was cast down from thence, into the Earth.* Then [follows] a contrary assertion, *that Paradise is not in the third Heaven, but in the Earth.* 'Tis certain, *Tatianus*, in *his Oration Contra Græcos*, does affirm, that that Paradise, wherein *Adam* was placed by God, was not in this earth which we inhabit, but in another far better. His words are these (which doubtless *Stephanus Gobarus* had quoted, in confirmation of that Opinion;) Μελαχίδαις οἱ δαίμονες, ἐξουσίαις οἱ περιπλανῆται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατεβλήθησαν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ γῆς μέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τούτου. κρεῖττον δὲ τῆς ἐνταῦθοι διακοσμήσεως. Besides, *Tertullian* seems to have thought the same. For thus he writes concerning *Adam*, in *his Book de Patientiâ*. *Innocens erat, & Deo de proximo amicus, & Paradisi Colonus. At ubi semel succidit impatientiæ, desivit Deo sapere; desivit cœlestia sustinere posse, exinde homo terræ datus, & ab oculis dei dejectus*, &c. The same may be made out from *his Second Book against Marcion, Chap.* 2 and 10; where he uses the same Metaphor with *Tatianus*.——Were that Book now extant, which *Tertullian wrote concerning Paradise*; it might be more plainly known, that this, which I have mentioned, was his Opinion. Lastly, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (in *Excerptis Theodoti*, or in his Books ὑποτυπώσ. *page* 341. *Edit. Commelin.*) places the terrestrial Paradise, wherein *Eve* was made, in the fourth Heaven. But *Origen* had placed Paradise, whereof *Adam* was an Inhabitant, in the third Heaven; as *Methodius* informs us in *his Book de Resurrectione in Epiphanius pag.* 572. And before all these, *Valentinus* placed that Paradise, wherein *Adam* dwelt, above the third Heaven; and had affirmed it to be intellectual; as *Irenæus* attests, B 1. *Vales.*

* Or, *Loaden.* [c] Καρπῶν τε διαφόρων, &c. The Rules of Grammar require, that we should write καρποῖς τε διαφόροις And so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[d] Ὅσον ποτὲ ἄνοσον. It must, I think, be thus; ὅσον τε ἄνοσον ὑπὸ τῆς ὠκεανοῦ περιοσήσεως διοριζόμενον οἰκῆσαι, *and, that all that*, &c. It might also be written in this manner, τοιγαροῦν ὅσον ποτὲ τὸ ἄνοσον, &c, *wherefore, all that healthy place*——*was inhabited*; and so there needs no alteration. *Vales.*

[e] After these words, Learned men have added these, καὶ ὁπόσα μαθήματα, *and Sciences*; which I found written also at the margin of *Moræus's Book*. Nevertheless, they are wanting, not only in the *King's Copy*, and in *the Sheets*, but in *the Fuketian* and *Savil. Copies* also. *Vales.*

* Or, *place, abounding with a* [c] *variety of fruits; and at first He would have them ignorant of Good and Evil. But at length He appointed a Seat upon earth, a Mansion befitting a rational Creature; and then, in regard they were Creatures endued with reason, He shewed them the knowledge of Good and Evil. Then also He gave order, that mankind should be increased;* [d] *and, that all that healthy space, terminated by the Circuit of the Ocean, should be inhabited. When Mankind was thus increased, Arts necessary for the use of Life* [e]*, were invented. In like manner, the Kinds of irrational Creatures increased also; a certain peculiar virtue and power being found planted by Nature in every Kind. In tame Creatures, a Gentleness and Obedience to man: but in those that are wild, strength and swiftness, and a certain natural providence, whereby they may preserve themselves from danger. And, to men* [God] *enjoyned a Care over all the tame Creatures: but, against the wild, he instituted a certain Strife and Combat as 'twere. After these things, He formed the Generation of Birds; in number, almost infinite; but in nature and conditions, very different,* [beautified] *with a great and gorgeous variety of Colours;* and [f] *naturally endued with a Musical Harmony. Also, when he had most beautifully* * *distinguished all other things whatever, which this world contains within its Compass; and had set the fatal Term of Life to them all; He* † *finished the Fabrick of the Universe, grac'd with all sorts of Ornaments.*

[f] Ἁρμονίας ἐμμούτου μεταχῶν. I write μέτοχον, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* Or, *Differenced.*

† Or, *Adorned the most perfect complement of the Universe.*

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Fate; that what is discours'd of it, is false; [and this] is demonstrated; both from humane Laws, and * things created; which are moved, not disorderly, but in a regular manner, by which order of theirs, they demonstrate the † Command of the Creator.

* Or, *These matters in reference to the Creation.*

† *Determination*, or, *Prescript.*

But very many men, not so considerate as they should be, make Nature the Cause that has given Beauty and Gracefullness to all these things: some others of them [*ascribe it*] *to Fate; or Fortuitous Chance;* [a] *assigning to Fate the power of these matters. Nor do they understand, that when they speak of Fate, they utter a name indeed; but declare no Act, nor any substance proposed as a Subject. For, what can Fate it self be,* * *in reference to it self, when Nature shall have produced all things?* [b] *Or, what shall Nature be thought to be, if the Law of Fate be inviolable? Moreover, whereas 'tis said to be a Fatal Law, 'tis plain (in regard every Law is the Work of some Law-maker,) that even Fate it self, if it be a Law, is the Work and Invention of God. All things therefore are subject to God, nor is there any thing that has no share of his power. We do also allow, that Fate both is, and must be thought to be the Will of God. But, in what manner do Justice, Temperance, and the other Vertues* [*derive their Being*] *from Fate? Or, whence* [*proceed the Vices*] *contrary to these Vertues, injustice namely, and Intemperance?* [c] *For, wickedness* [*has its Original*] *from Nature, not from Fate: and Vertue is* [*nothing else*] *but good performances and Offices, of the Disposition and Morals.* * *But, if those things (which from a good purpose of mind are done well, or which on the contrary are performed otherwise,) have a different issue, according as it seems good either to Fortune or Fate; how will* [d] *all Right, and a giving of every person his due* [*proceed*] *from Fate? But now, Laws, and discourses, which perswade to Vertue, and deter from Vices; praises also, and discommendations; punishments likewise, and all those things whatever, wherewith men are incited to Vertue, and drawn off from wickedness;*

[a] Τὴν τούτων ἐξουσίαν. Before these words *Musculus* has set a point. For thus he renders this passage. *Qui potestatem horum fato tribuunt, ne hoc quidem intelligunt*, &c. *Christophorson* has followed *Musculus*. Vales.

* Or, *By it self.*

[b] Ἢ τὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη ἡ φύσις. It must, I think, be written, ἢ τὶ ἂν εἴη φύσις νομίζοιτο; Or, *what shall*, &c. In the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* 'tis, ἢ τὶ ἂν ἡ φύσις νομίζοιτο. But in the *Kings Sheets* I found it written, ἢ τὶ μὲν εἴη ἤ, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Εἰπ τε γὰρ πονηρία. I read, εἰ γὰρ ἤτε πονηρία. &c. Further, this place is imperfect, as 'tis apparent; and it would be hard to supplie it without the Copies. Nevertheless, this seems to be *Constantine's* way of arguing. *If*, says he, *the Vertues be from Fate, then so are the Vices also. But, the Vices cannot be from Fate. For wickedness is either from Nature, or from the will. Therefore, 'tis not from Fate. But, if any one shall say, that Vertue indeed and Vice are of the Will; but, that the Will should do right, or otherwise, this is from Fate: in what manner then can justice, which is nothing else but a constant and perpetual desire of giving every one their due, be from Fate?* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ἢ τε γὰρ πονηρία. But Sir *Henry Savil* remarks at the margin of *his Book*, that perhaps it should be written, εἴτε γὰρ, &c; and presently mends it, ἔξεις κἀπορθώματα. *Vales.*

* Or, *But, either Crimes, or, on the other hand, brave performances, which are* [*the property*] *of a good and right purpose of mind, if they happen sometimes one way at others, another, according*, &c.

[d] Πάντα τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντα. The last word is added by Learned men from Manuscript Copies; which, nevertheless, I can in no wise approve of, though it does occurr in the *Fuketian Copy*. I write therefore, πάν τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονεμόμενον ἐκάστῳ, πῶς καθ' εἱμαρμένην, *How will all right*, &c. The meaning is the same with what I have said above. Nevertheless, the written reading may be born with, that by πάντα τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντα may be meant those things which are reckoned up by *Constantine*, to wit, Laws, Rewards, Punishments, Exhortations, and the rest of this sort, which contain justice in them. *Vales.*

how can theſe be ſaid to proceed from Fortune or Chance, and not from juſtice rather, which * Or, *Even is the property of the provident God? For,* * *He gives men thoſe things, which they deſerve for their following* [e] *this or that Courſe of Life: ſometimes Peſtilences* [*do rage,*] *and Seditions; and Scarcity and Plenty do by turns ſucceed one another; making Proclamation as 'twere in plain and expreſs words,* [f] *that all ſuch things as theſe do moſt fitly agree with our lives. For the Divine Eſſence rejoyces at the* * *probity of men; but abominates all manner of impiety. And, as it embraces a mind, whoſe Sentiments concerning it ſelf are moderate; ſo it hates boldneſs, and an arrogancy which raiſes it ſelf higher than is becoming a Creature. The* [g] *proofs of* [g] *all which matters, although they are very perſpicuous, and do lie before our eyes; are yet* [h] *then more apparently manifeſt,* [i] *as often as, making a deſcent into Our Selves, and as 'twere contracting Our minds, We weigh with Our Selves the Cauſe of them.*

that which is agreeable occurrs, on account of mens living in this, or that manner.

[e] Τὸν ποῖον. Make it ποιὸν, with the accent in the laſt ſyllable, as I found it ſet at the margin of *Moræus's Copy*. I read alſo, καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀταξίαν, from the Manuſcript. 'Tis certain, the *Fuketian Copy* gives us this reading; διὰ τὸν ποιὸν τῆς ἀνθρώπων βίου καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἅπαντα. Valeſ. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis, τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπαρτᾶν.

[f] Τὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. I read ὅπ πάντα, &c, *that all ſuch*, &c; as I found it mended in *Moræus's Book*, at the margin. So indeed 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Good inclinations.*

[g] Ὧν εἰ καὶ proofs of all which matters, although they τὰ μάλιστα. After the firſt word I found a *Selves*, blank in the *Fuketian Copy*, capable of one word. It muſt, I think, be made up thus, ὧν πάντων εἰ καὶ, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[h] Τηνικαῦτα μὲν ποσάκις. The laſt word muſt be blotted out; in regard 'tis not to be found, either in the *Kings Copy* or in *the Sheets*, or *Stephens's Edition*. The place was rather to have been mended in this manner; ὅμως τηνικαῦτα ἡμῖν φανερώτερον ἐκλάμπειν: That is; *Although it be certain, and evidenced by many inſtances, that Famine, Peſtilence, and ſuch ſort of Calamities, are ſent from Heaven in order to the puniſhing of mens wickedneſs; yet, that does much more manifeſtly appear, as often as theſe Calamities happen. For then we come to Our Selves, and underſtand the Cauſes of thoſe things.* Nevertheleſs, the reading in the *Fuketian Copy* is, τηνικαῦτα ποσάκις. *Valeſ.*

[i] Ὁσάκις δὲ. It muſt, I think, be ποσάκις, or, if you had rather, ποσαυτάκις. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὁσάκις ἄν.... συναγείραντες. And in the end of the period, λογιζόμεθα; excellently well. It muſt therefore be written, ὁσάκις ἂν ἡμεῖς συναγείραντες, *as often as, recollecting our ſelves.* Valeſ.

Wherefore, 'tis my aſſertion, that we ought to lead lives that are * *ſober and calm, not raiſing Our* † *thoughts above the condition of Our Nature; but taking this into Our ſerious conſideration, that God the Inſpector of all Our Actions is continually preſent with Us. Moreover, let us another way examine, whether this aſſertion be true, namely, that the diſpoſe of all affairs* [k] *does depend upon Fortune and Chance. Whether therefore, the Celeſtial Bodies, and the Stars, the Earth and the Sea, the Fire and the Winds, the Water and the Air, and the Viciſſitude of times, and the ſeaſonable Returns of Summer and Winter; whether* [*I ſay*] *it ought to be believed, that all theſe have happened* * *without reaſon and fortuitouſly, rather than were created. 'Tis certain, ſome perſons, wholly void of underſtanding, do affirm, that men have found out many of theſe for their own uſe and advantage. And truly, whereas Nature does plentifully ſupply us with all manner of riches; we may grant, that, in reference to things which are terrene and corruptible, this Opinion* † *wants not ſomething of reaſon. But, are then things immortal and immutable, the Inventions of men alſo? For, of theſe, and of all other things of this nature, (which are removed from our ſenſes, and can be comprehended by the mind only;)* [l] *not man, a Creature made of matter, and Eternal Eſſence of God is the Framer. Beſides, the Courſe and Order of that Conſtitution, is the work of providence alſo;* [*namely,*] *that the day is bright, being enlightened by the Sun; that the night ſucceeds the ſetting of the Sun; and, that, when it has ſucceeded it, it is not left wholly* [m] *void* [*of Light,*] *by reaſon of the Quire of the Stars. But, what ſhall we ſay concerning the Moon; which, when at the greateſt diſtance from the Sun, being in a direct oppoſition to him, is at the Full; but, is leſſened,* * *as often as 'tis in a Conjunction with the Sun: do not theſe things manifeſtly declare the* † *knowledge of God, and his ſagacious wiſdom? Farther,* [n] *the uſeful and ſeaſonable warmth of the Solar Rayes, whereby the Fruits are brought to maturity; the Blaſts of the winds, which are of great uſe in making the year fruitful and healthy; the refreſhment of ſhowers, and the admirable Harmony of all theſe, according to which they are all managed in a due and well-ordered manner:* [*laſtly,*] *that perpetual Order of the Planets, which at fit and ſtated times make their Returns to the ſame* * *point; is not the Command of God hereby manifeſted, and likewiſe the perfect and entire dutifullneſs of the Stars, which pay an Obedience to the Divine Law? Moreover, the Tops of Mountains, and the hollow depths of Vallies,* [o] *and the ſmooth Levels of far-ſpreading Fields; do theſe ſeem to exiſt without the providence of God? The proſpect whereof is not only* [p] *grateful, but the uſe alſo is delightful and pleaſant. The* * *Spaces likewiſe and* † *Breaks of the Waters and the Earth, (which are of uſe partly for tillage,* [q] *and partly for conveyance of thoſe things we ſtand in need of from foreign Regions;) do they not moſt clearly demonſtrate the accurate and exact care of God? For, the Mountains contain water within their Bowels; which when the Plain has received, and* ‖ *by the moiſture thereof has ſufficiently re-*

[k] Ἐκ τύχης καὶ τῶ ἀὐλομάτω σύνεσιν. I had rather read, συνέσεκεν, or συνέσει, *has had a dependence upon*, &c. Further, in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, the reading of this place runs thus, ὡς εἰ ἡ πάντων πρ.... διάταξις ἐκ τύχης, &c. *Valeſ.*

[l] Οὐκ ἔνυλον ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Write, οὐκ ἔνυλον ζῶον ὁ ἀνθρωπος, *not man*, &c; But *Chriſtophorſon* read, οὐκ ἔνυλος ζωὴ ἀνθρώπων, *not the life of man, which conſiſts of matter*; which reading I condemn not, but the former Emendation pleaſes me beſt. —— Nevertheleſs, the *Fuketian Copy* does plainly favour *Chriſtophorſon's* Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[m] Μὴ ἄμοιρον αὐτήν. Underſtand τὸ φωτὸς, *of light.* Wherefore there is no need of *Chriſtophorſon's* conjecture; nor of Sir *Henry Savil's*, who mends it ἀμαυρὸν, *dark.* Valeſ.

* Or, *By reaſon of its Converſe with him at a nearer diſtance.*

† Λόγον ἐνδιάθετον Θεοῦ, *God's conception of mind*; *Valeſius* renders it *intelligentiam.*

[n] Τὸ, τ' ὀπηλιώδειον. I read τὸ ὃ ὀπηλιώδειον, as 'tis mended at the margin of *Moræus's Book*. Preſently, make it ἀνέμων τε πνεύματα. And again, a little lower, τό τε εἶδος τῆς διατάξεως εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκαθισαμένων τόπον. And thus I found it plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy* ſave that there it is ἀνέμων ὃ. *Valeſ.*

[o] Ὁμαλότης δὲ. It muſt be ὁμαλότης τε, as that Learned man had remarked in *Moræus's Book*. And ſo the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valeſ.

[p] Ἐπιτερπὴς ἡ θέα. The word ἐπιτερπὴς ſhould be expung'd here. For at this place 'tis more elegantly underſtood. Sir *Henry Savil* has mended it at the margin of *his Book*, in this manner, ἡ χρεία ἐυτρεπὴς. *Valeſ.*

[q] Καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἐν χρείᾳ παρκομιδῆν, &c; than which, nothing is more certain. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis, καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς χρείας παρκομιδῆν. Further, I have rendred διαστάσεις, *diſcidia*, following the authority of *Amm. Marcellinus*, who ſomewhere expreſſes himſelf ſo. *Chriſtophorſon* has likewiſe rendred it well, *divortia Terrarum, the divorcements of the Earth.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Raſhly.*

† Or, *Mind.*

† Or, *Parakes of ſome reaſon.*

* Or, *Moderate and quiet.*

† Or, *Spaces.*

‖ Or, *Has ſufficiently moiſtened the ground in order to a refreſhment.*

freſh'd

freſh'd the Ground; it pours forth the reſidue of it into the Sea: and the Sea tranſmits it to the Ocean. And, dare we yet affirm, that all theſe things come to paſs fortuitouſly, and by accident? Whenas notwithſtanding, [r] we are in no wiſe able to declare, with what Shape or Form Chance is endued: a thing which has no ſubſiſtence, either in the underſtanding, or ſenſe; but is only the empty ſound of a name ‖ without the thing, which makes a noiſe about our Ears.

[r] Οὐ δυνάμεθα. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* this place is thus worded, οὐ νοοῦντες ἐν ποίῳ τινὶ σχήματι ἡ μορφῇ χαρακτηρίζεται τὸ αὐτόματον, *we underſtand not in what manner of form and ſhape chance is characterized.* Valeſ.

‖ Or, *without a ſubſiſtence.*

CHAP. VII.

That, * in things which we can't underſtand, we ought to glorifie the Creator's Wiſdom; nor muſt we ſuppoſe Chance, or any thing elſe [ſave God,] to be the cauſe [of them.]

* Or, *As to things incomprehenſible.*

FOR Chance, 'tis moſt certain, is a Term [invented] by Men, whoſe thoughts are raſh and inconſiderate; and who cannot † underſtand the cauſe it ſelf: but, by reaſon of their weakneſs of apprehenſion, ſuppoſe that all theſe things, whereof they are unable to give a reaſon, have been framed and ordered without any thing of reaſon. There are indeed ſome things endued with an admirable nature, the certain and evident knowledge of the Truth whereof, lies deep: of which ſort is the Nature of warm Waters. For no Perſon can readily aſſign the reaſon of ſo great a Fire. And 'tis ſtrange, that [that fire,] though encompaſſed round with cold Water, nevertheleſs, ſhould not loſe its Native Heat. And theſe things are found to be very rare, and few in number throughout the whole World; for this reaſon, as I perſwade my ſelf, that Men might eaſily know the power of [Divine] providence; which has ordered two moſt contrary Natures, Heat namely and Cold, to ſpring from one and the ſame Root. Indeed, the things are many, and almoſt innumerable, which God hath beſtowed on Men, in order to their Comfort and Delight; but, the Fruit of the Olive-tree and of the Vine, are chiefly [to be accounted ſuch.] Of which two [a] this has a power of recreating and exhilarating the mind. But the other is fit not only for delight: but of uſe in order to the curing of Bodies. The perpetual and everlaſting courſe of Rivers deſerves likewiſe the higheſt Admiration; which, by their flowing Night and Day, give a Repreſentation of an eternal and never-ceaſing Life. Alſo, the continual viciſſitude of Night and Day, is in the ſame manner admirable.

† Or, *Apprehend their own opinion.*

[a] Ἐπέχειν λόγον. Learned Men have mended this place thus; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναπτήσεως ψυχῆς καὶ φαιδρότητος ἐπέχειν λόγον. But, whereas the particle γὰρ occurrs neither in the *Kings Copy*, nor *Robert Stephens's Edition*, I had rather read ἐπέχον; which is plainly confirmed by the ſucceeding words. For it follows, τὸ δ' ἕτερον πρὸς τῇ ἀπολαύσει καὶ θεραπείᾳ τῶν σωμάτων χαπάλληλον. Nevertheleſs, the *Fuk. Sav.* and *Turneb. Copies* do plainly confirm that Emendation of Learned Man. The ſame *Fuketian Manuſcript* ſets two points after the word ἀπολαύσει; right. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. VIII.

That God does plentifully ſupply Men with thoſe things that are uſeful; but, with ſuch as are for delight, [He furniſhes them] in an indifferent manner only; beſtowing both ſorts, ſo as may be agreeable to their profit and advantage.

** ALL Theſe words have been ſpoken by Us, in confirmation of this Truth, that nothing has been done without reaſon, or without underſtanding: but, that Reaſon it ſelf, and alſo [a] Providence, are [the Works] of God. Who has likewiſe † produced the ſeveral kinds of Gold, Silver, Braſs, and of the other Metals, in a manner and meaſure that is fit and agreeable. For with thoſe things, the uſe whereof was like to be manifold and various, [Men] are by his order plentifully furniſhed: but, ſuch things as are of uſe [b] for the delight of the World, and for Luxury only; [them he hath beſtowed,] both liberally, and alſo ſparingly; [obſerving a Mean] between a parcimony and a profuſeneſs. For, if the ſame plenty of thoſe things which were made for ornament, had been granted; the Searchers after Metals, by reaſon of their overmuch avarice, would have deſpiſed thoſe [Metals] that are of uſe for Huſbandry, and Building, as well of Houſes, as Ships; Iron namely, and Braſs; and would have neglected the gathering of them together: but would have made it their whole buſineſs, to provide ſuch things as ſerve for delight, and a vain and fruitleſs ſuperfluity of Riches. Wherefore, there is (they ſay) more of Difficulty and Labour, in finding Gold and Silver, than in finding all other Metals whatever: for this reaſon namely, that the ſoreneſs of the Labour may be oppoſed to the vehemency of the Deſire. How many other works of Divine Providence may beſides be reckoned up; whereby, in all thoſe things which it has plentifully conferred on us, it does plainly incite the Life of Men to Modeſty and the other Vertues, and draws [them] off from unſeaſonable and importunate deſires? To find out the reaſon of all which things, is a greater Work than can be performed by Man. For, how can the underſtanding of a corruptible and infirm Creature, [c] arrive at the Accuracy of Truth? How can it apprehend the pure and ſincere Will of God from the Beginning.*

* Or, *Let all theſe words be, &c.*

[a] Τὴν πρόνοιαν θεόν. In *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended θεῶν; as *Chriſtophorſon* read; and as we have rendred it. And ſo 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy.* Valeſ.

† *Reſerved*, or *treaſured up the nature of Gold*, &c.

[b] Πρὸς τέρψιν καὶ σωμάτων χάριν καὶ ἀφθονίαν, *for the delight of the World, and for plenty only.* The word ἀφθονίαν is corrupted; in the place whereof I would rather put ἀσωτίαν, *Luxury.* Yet, the ordinary reading may be born with. *Valeſ.*

[c] Ἀφίκοιτο. It muſt be ἐφίκοιτο, as I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, after I had long before conjectured, that it was ſo to be written. Moreover, I point the whole place thus; πῶς γὰρ ἂν τῆς περὶ ἐκείνου ἀληθείας ἐφίκοιτο ἡ, &c. Πῶς ἂν τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Philosophers, who, because they desired to know all things, erred as to their Opinions; [a] and some of them were exposed to dangers. Also concerning the Opinions of *Plato*.

[a] In the very Title of the chapter there is a fault. For what can these words mean, ᾗ κινδύνευς ἔνιοι περιπεσόντες ἦσι πλάτωνος δόγματων. But I think the place must be made good in this manner; ᾗ περὶ τῶν πλάτωνος δόγματων. *Also, concerning the Opinions of Plato*; and so 'tis plainly written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But, both in the *Fuketian Copy*, and also in the *Kings Sheets*, this chapter is begun from these words, πόσα δ' ἄλλα τῆς θείας περιοίας, *How many other works*, &c. *Vales.*

WHerefore, we ought to attempt those things that are possible, and which exceed not the capacity of Our Nature. For, the Perswasiveness [b] *of such matters as are found in Dialogues and Disputations, does usually draw away most of us from the truth of things. And this befel many of the Philosophers, whilst they* [c] *exercise their wits in discourses, and in finding out the Nature of things. For, as often as the Greatness of things transcends their enquiry, they* * *involve the Truth by various methods of arguing. Whence it happens, that their Sentiments are contrary, and that they oppose one anothers Opinions: and this* [*they do*] *when they would pretend to be wise. From whence* [*have been occasioned*] *Commotions of the People, and severe Sentences of Princes* [*against them*;] *whilst they think, that the usages of their Ancestors are subverted by them. And their own Ruin has very frequently been the Consequence hereof. For* Socrates, *proud of his Knowledge in disputing;* [d] *when he would undertake to render Reasons that were weaker, more strong; and would frequently make Sport in contradicting; was killed by the Envy of those of his own Tribe, and of his Fellow-Citizens. Moreover* Pythagoras, *who pretended highly to the Exercise of Temperance and Silence, was taken in a Lye. For, he declared to the* Italians, *that* [e] *those things long before predicted by the Prophets, which he had heard whilst he was a Traveller in Ægypt, were revealed by God to him as 'twere in particular.*

[b] Τῶν ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις γινόμενον. In the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies* 'tis truer written, γινομένων. But in the *Kings Sheets* that word is omitted. I had rather write also, τὸ γέτοι πιθανὸν τῶν ἐν τοῖς, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[c] Ἀδολεσχῆσι. In the Sacred Scriptures this verb is used in such a sense as to signifie, *to exercise his Wit*; as *Jacobus Tusanus* has long since observed. *Vales.* See *Psal.* 119. 15. where this word occurs.

* Or, *Hide.*

[d] Καὶ τοὺ γελοίους λόγους βελτίους ποιῶν. The sense requires, that these words should be added, ᾗ τοὺ βελτίους γελοίους, *and the stronger, more weak.* This was the device of *Protagoras*, who promised young Men, that he would make that reason which was stronger, more weak; and on the contrary, that which was weaker, more strong; τὸν κρείττονα λόγον ἥττω ποιεῖν, ᾗ τὸν ἥττονα κρείττω. Against the *Sophists* who promised these things, *Socrates* disputed continually, that he might convince them that they knew nothing; and he pursued them with their own Weapons, that is, Arguments of Logick. *Vales.*

[e] Πάλαι τότε. It must be made πάλαί ποτε from the *Fuketian Copy*. ——What *Constantine* says (namely, that *Pythagoras*, after he was come into *Egypt*, and had heard what the Prophets had heretofore predicted; divulged those things afterwards all over *Italy*, as if God had revealed them to him;) seems to me scarce probable. Indeed, that *Pythagoras* came into *Egypt*, and there received from the Priests, the Mystick Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; this, I say, is attested by *Porphyrius* in his *Life*, and by many others. Moreover, we are told by *Aristobulus*, *Clemens*, and *Eusebius*, that *Pythagoras* had many things out of the *Books of Moses*. But, that he had learned the Prophecies of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and had afterwards divulged them amongst the *Italians*; is a thing affirmed by none of the Ancients, that I know of. And perhaps this place is to be understood, not concerning the Prophecies of the *Jews*, but those of the *Egyptians*. For there were Prophets amongst the *Egyptians*, as I have observed in *my notes on Eusebius's Eccles. Hist.* See book 4 chap. 8. *note* (c.) Which thing perhaps led *Constantine* into a mistake. Who having read, that *Pythagoras* had learned many Secrets from the Prophets of the *Egyptians*, that is their Priests; understood that as meant concerning the Prophets of the *Hebrews*. Vales.

Lastly Plato, *the mildest and sweetest tempered Person of them all, and the first Man that drew off Mens Minds from the Senses, to things intelligible, and such as always continue in the same State; accustoming Men to look upwards,* [f] *and instructing them to raise their Eyes to things sublime; in the first place taught, that God was above every* * *Essence, wherein he did well. To Him he subjoyned a Second; and in number distinguished the two Essences, although the Perfection of them Both be one; and notwithstanding the Essence of the Second God,* † *proceeds from the First. For, He is the Framer and Governour of the Universe; and therefore transcends* [*all things.*] *But He who is the Second from Him, ministring to His Commands,* ‖ *ascribes the Constitution of all things to Him, as to the Cause. Therefore, according to the most accurate way of Philosophizing, there will be but One who takes the Care of all things, and consults their Good;* God The * Logos *namely, who has beautified all things. Which* Logos *Himself being truly God, is also the Son of God. For, what other Name shall any one impose upon Him, besides the appellation of a Son, who at the same time shall not commit a Sin of the deepest Dye? For, He who is the Father of all, is deservedly esteemed the Father of His own Word also. Thus far* Plato's *Sentiments were right. But, in those things which follow, He is found to have wandred far from the Truth; whilst he both introduces a multitude of Gods, and also ascribes different Forms to each of them. Which was the occasion of a greater mistake amongst unthinking Men: who do not consider the Providence of the most High God; but pay a veneration to Images framed by themselves, made according to the likeness of Men, and some other Creatures. And thus it hapned, that that excellent* [g] *Wit, and that Learning worthy of the highest Commendation, being mix'd with some such errors as these, had in it less of Purity and Perfection. The same Person seems to Me, to reprove Himself, and to correct that discourse; whilst he attests in express Words, that the Rational Soul is the Spirit of God. For,* [h] *He divides all things into two sorts, intelligible namely and sensible:* [*the Former sort is simple and uncompounded,*] *the Latter consists of a Frame of Body. And, that is apprehended by the understanding; but* this *is perceived by Opinion with Sense. Therefore, that which partakes of the Divine Spirit, in regard 'tis unmix'd and immaterial, is also eternal, and has for its Allotment an endless Life. But, that which is sensible, because 'tis dissolved the same way whereby it was at first framed, has no Portion in an endless Life. But, the Doctrine which* * *he delivers in the following words, is highly admirable; that those who have lived well, the Souls namely of holy*

[f] Καὶ διδάξας. The conjunctive particle is wanting in the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, I write therefore, ἀναβλέψαι τ' ἐπὶ τὰ μετάρσια διδάξας, *and instructing*, &c. as Sir *Henry Savil* read. Vales.

* Or, *Substance.*

† Or, *Has its being.*

* Or, *Remits the Cause of the Constitution of all things to Him.*

* Or, *Word.*

[g] He means *Plato* himself, whose excellent Wit, all the Ancients, yea the *Christians* also, were admirers of. *Vales.*

[h] Διιρῶν δὲ πάντα. *Christophorson* seems to have read διιρῶν τε. The Place in *Plato*, which *Constantine* means, occurs in his *Timæus pag.* 28. Vales.

* *Plato.*

holy

holy and good Men, after their departure out of the Body, are consecrated in the most beautiful [Mansions] of Heaven. [Which Assertion of his does not only deserve Admiration,] [i] but is also highly useful. For, what person giving credit to him, and expecting such a Felicity, will not order his Life in the best manner, will not exercise Righteousness and Temperance, and will not have an Aversion for Wickedness? Agreeably to these Words also, he has subjoyned, that the Souls of wicked Men are tossed up and down in the Streams of Acheron and Pyriphlegon, floating [k] like the Remains of a Shipwrack'd Vessel.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ βιωφελῶς. Before these words, after the verb κατασείουσι in the *Geneva*-Edition these words are inserted, τοῦτο δὲ ὃ μόνον θαυμαστὸν, *which assertion*, &c. *Christophorson*, *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and *Gruter* put in these words, as 'tis remark'd at the margin of *that Edition*. I likewise found the same emendation in *Moræus*'s *Book*, in *Turnebus*'s Sir, *Henry Savil*'s, and in the *Fuketian Copy*; in which Copies also 'tis βιωφελές. *Vales.*

[k] Ναυαγίων τρόπον. I have rendred it, *Navis fractæ reliquias*, *the Remains of a Shipwrack'd Vessel*; that is, *The Tackle* or *Furniture of the Ship*. For after a Shipwrack, these provisions and utensils of the Vessel, are tossed up and down in the Sea. But *Christophorson* renders it *Merces*, *the Wares or Goods of the Merchant*; a rendition that can in no wise be agreeable here. For when a Vessel is lost at Sea, most commonly the Goods sink to the bottom. *Vales.*

CHAP. X.

[a] Concerning those Men, who do not only reject the *Dogmata* of the Sacred Scriptures, but them of the Philosophers, also: and, that we either ought to give the Poets credit in all things, or in nothing.

[a] Περὶ τῶν μὴ μόνον τὰ γεγραμμένα. It must be μὴ μόνον, *not only*, as the Learned man, at the margin of *Moræus*'s *Book*, had conjectured it should be And thus *Christophorson* read; nor is it otherwise written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

NEvertheless, *there are some Men so depraved as to their Minds, that, when they read these very discourses, neither care, nor are abashed with any thing of Fear: but, as if they heard some forged Stories and Fables, they contemn and laugh* [at them.] *They highly extol a Variety and Fluency of Expression; but abominate the Solidness and Severity of the* * Dogmata. [b] *But, yet the same Men give credit to the Fables of the Poets; and fill all* Greece *and the* Barbarous Regions *with vain and* [c] *false Stories. For the Poets affirm, that some Men, Sons of the Gods, do judge Souls after death; and they constitnte them the Inspectors and Triers of those departed, and celebrate their Sentences, and Judiciary proceedings. But these very Poets commemorate the Fights of the* Dæmons, *and* † *Rights of War amongst them. They of the same* [Gods] *also. some of them are by nature cruel and austere; that others of them are strangers to all Care over Men; and, that some of them are morose. Moreover, they bring in* [the Gods] *lamenting the slaughter of their own Sons; as if they were unable to give relief, not only to Strangers, but to them also whom they love most entirely. They also feign them lyable to the same Passions and Troubles with Men whilst they sing their Wars and Wounds, their Joys and Mournings. And they seem worthy of credit, when they affirm these things. For, whereas they attempt Poetry, incited thereto by some Divine Motion; 'tis fit we should believe, and be perswaded by them, in reference to those things which they utter,* † *when moved by a Divine Spirit. They likewise relate the Calamities of the Gods and* Dæmons. *Indeed, their Calamities are* [d] *wholly agreeable with Truth. But some body will say, that 'tis lawful for Poets to lye. For this* ['tis *asserted*] *is the Property of Poetry, to recreate the Minds of the Hearers: but,* [that *is said*] *to be Truth, when what is spoken, is in it self no otherwise, than so as 'tis delivered. Let this be the property of Poetry, sometimes to conceal and withdraw the Truth. But, they who lye, never lye in vain and for nothing. For they do this, on account either of Gain and Profit; or else, being (as 'tis likely) conscious to themselves of some ill practice, they hide* [the *Truth,*] *out of a fear of that danger which the Laws threaten them with.* [e] *But doubtless, it might (in my judgment) be possible for them, when relating nothing save the Truth concerning the Divine Nature, neither to lye, nor act impiously.*

* That is, *The more sublime and hidden Doctrines and parts of the Christian faith.*

[b] Μύθοις τε πεδ'ὧν. I read μύθοις δὲ, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Ψευδέσι φήμαις. *Christophorson* renders it ill, *Præconiis celebrant.* Φῆμαι here imports nothing else, but the Fables, wherewith the Poets filled the world. So a little lower, speaking of the same Poets, he says, εἱμαρμένας τε αὐτῶν διαφημίζουσι, *They divulge the Fates of the same* [Gods] *also*; and so in the *eleventh chapter*, where he inveighs against Blasphemy or Impiety. *Vales.*

† Or, *Laws.*

divulge the Fates And affirm, that some of the same [Gods] *also. some of them are by nature cruel and austere; that others of them are strangers to all Care over Men; and, that some of them are morose. Moreover, they bring in* [the Gods] *lamenting the slaughter of their own Sons; as if they were unable to give relief, not only to Strangers, but to them also*

† Ἐνθουσιάζοντες, *when acted by a fanatick fury.*

[d] Παντοίας ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεται. It must, I suppose, be παντοίως ἀληθείας; which I have followed in my Version. *Vales.*

[e] Ἦν γὰρ δυνατὸν. I had rather read, ἦν δὲ ἄρα δυνατὸν, and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

CHAP. XI.

Concerning our Lord's Coming in the Flesh what it was, and for what reasons it has hapned.

IF *therefore there be any Person unworthy of* [*an acquaintance with*] *the best way of living,* [a] *and be conscious to himself, that he hath lived wickedly and in a disordered manner; may he repent and look towards the Deity, having first clear'd the eye of his Mind, and being made a Stranger to his former most vitious courses. Nevertheless, he ought to rest satisfied, if even in his declining Age he may* [b] *attain wisdom. But no Learning* [that *has proceeded*] *from Men, was ever any assistance to Us. But, whatever things are commendable in Mens Lives and Morals, amongst those that have understanding*

[a] Σύνοιδέ τε τῷ. It must be written σύνοιδέ τε ἑαυτῷ, and be conscious to himself; which I admire the Learned did not think of.

Further, from the beginning of this period, that is, from these words ἐκ τοῦ εἰ τις ὀρθὴν ἀνάξιος, the *eleventh chapter* begins, both in the *Sheets*, and in the *Fuketian Copy*. And in *this Manuscript*, wherein the Contents are prefixt before each Chapter, this is the Inscription of this Chapter; περὶ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας, τίς καὶ ὅπως γεγένηται, καὶ περὶ τῶν μὴ γνόντων τὸ μυστήριον, &c. *Concerning Our Lord's coming in the Flesh, what* [*it was*] *and for what reason it has hapned. And concerning those who knew not this Mystery*; &c. But in the *Kings Sheets*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, which *Christophorson* has followed, this chapter is divided into two, and *concerning those who knew*, &c. is the title of a new chapter. *Vales.*

[b] Τὴν σοφίαν ἐυτυχῶσιν. Doubtless it must be ἐυτυχήσῃ, or ἐυτυχήσειεν, *may attain*; which I wonder neither *Christophorson*, nor *Scaliger*, nor others perceived; who have mended it τῆς σοφίας ἐυτυχήσωσιν. But 'tis not Greek to say ἐυτυχεῖν τῆς σοφίας, but ἐυτυχεῖν τινὶ σοφίαν. Yet in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is τῆς σοφίας ἐυτυχήσωσι. *Vales.*

are

are all accounted the Gifts of God. Moreover, against those poysoned darts which the Devil has framed, I have no mean Buckler which I may oppose; the Knowledge namely, of those matters which are acceptable to God. [d] Out of which [Knowledge] having selected those things that are suitable to the discourse in hand, I will attempt to laud the Father of all things. [e] But, be Thou Thy Self (O Christ, Thou Saviour of all!) favourably present with this design of Our Devotion, and do Thou adorn Our discourse concerning Thine own Power, prescribing to us the way and method of uttering praises.

[e] Δηλησήειον ἄνπκρυς. Questionless it must be written δηλησηείων ἄνπκρυς, that is, against those poysoned darts. Where ἄνπκρυς is a preposition; which Scaliger, Bongarsius, Curterius, and others saw not. So Constantine expresses himself in the fifteenth Chapter. near the beginning, πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδαξας, ἀνπκρὺ τῆς ἐκ τῆς ἀντικειμένης φύσεως φθόνε. Yet in the Fuketian Copy, and that of Turnebus, 'tis ὡς κατ' δηλησηείων ἄντικρυς. Vales.

[d] Ἐξισᾶ πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον. Who would not admire, that Scaliger, Bongarsius, and the rest (out of whose Copies the emendations are taken, and set at the margin of the Geneva Edition,) shou'd not have seen the true emendation of this place; which nevertheless, is very obvious and easy. For, the words being parted, which had grown together into one, it must be written thus, ἐξ ἧς τὰ πρὸς τὸν, &c. The word γνώσεως, knowledge, is understood; which word was made use of a little before. But Christophorson renders this place thus; *Hæc igitur commodè ad eum sermonem qui à me institutus est, delegi.* Whence it appears, that either he has followed that emendation which occurrs in the Books of Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruter; (which amendment I also found in Moræus's Book,) or else that Scaliger and the rest, having followed Christophorson's Version, mended it in this manner: which latter I think truer. But, that amendment can't be born with. For, it departs too far from the footsteps of the vulgar reading, if instead of ἐξισᾶ, you write τὰ πίνυ. Yet in the Fuketian and Savil. Copies, 'tis τὰ πίνω, &c. Vales.

[e] αὐτῆ τε συναιρόμενος. In Moræus's Book the Learned Man had at the margin mended it, αὐτὸς. I think this whole place is to be read in one breath, thus; αὐτὸς ὢ συναιρόμενος τῇ τῆς καθισιώσεως ἀρχῇ παίδι χαίρε, &c. *But, be Thou,* &c. Which amendment the Kings Copy does confirm: wherein a point is set before the word αὐτῆ. From those words therefore the *twelfth chapter* is to be begun; although in the Kings Copy, and in Robert Stephens's Edition, a new chapter is begun from the word παίδι. The Fuketian Manuscript does plainly confirm our conjecture; wherein the reading is, αὐτός τε συναιρόμενος τῇ τῆς καθισιώσεως ἀρχῇ, παίθι, &c. But in the Kings Sheets I found it written, αὐτῆ τε συναιρεμένε, as Christophorson read. In the same Sheets a new chapter is begun from those words which follow presently, φασὶ δὴ τίνες, &c. *Some inconsiderate,* &c But, there is no need of beginning a new chapter here; in regard one is begun a little before, at, *If therefore there be,* &c. both in the Sheets, and in the Fuketian Copy. Vales.

† Or, *Names and things beautified with a certain delectableness.*

Farther, let no person expect, that he shall hear † *an Oration garnished with a singular elegancy of Words. For I know accurately well, that that Oration which is soft and loose, and composed to please and allure, will be unacceptable to the prudent; when they who speak, make noise and applause, rather than a sober and modest discourse, their Care and Business. Some inconsiderate and impious Men do affirm, that Our Christ was deservedly condemned to punishment; and, that he who is the Author of Life to the Living, was himself deprived of Life. But, 'tis not in the least strange, that* [f] *those who have once dared to be impious, and who have* * *taken a Resolution neither to be afraid, nor conceal their own wickedness, should assert this. But, that has exceeded the utmost degree of folly and madness, which they seem to have persuaded themselves of; that the immortal God underwent Force from Men, and did not* [*suffer,*] *meerly out of his own benignity and kindness* [towards them.] *Nor do they consider, that magnanimity* [g] *and patience, is neither to be* * *changed by ignominy, nor removed from its natural constancy and firmness by reproach; but, by consideration and an height of mind, does always break and beat back their fierceness, who invade and assault it. The Clemency of God had indeed resolved, wholly to destroy injustice, and to advance Modesty and Equity. And therefore, having gathered together the* [h] *wisest of Men,* †† *it instituted a most beautiful and most advantageous doctrine to mankind; to the* [i] *end it might make the Good and Blessed, to emulate and admire his own providence, in reference to worldly affairs. Than which, what can be termed a greater Good? God Himself* ‖ *prescribing the Laws of Justice, and rendring those, who shall deserve to be his Disciples, like himself: to the end that, Goodness and Virtue being diffused amongst all persons, an everlasting Felicity might be procured for Men. This is a Glorious Victory; this is true Power; this is a mighty work, and most befitting* [*God;*] *the amendment namely of all People, and the reducing them to a better Temper. And to Thee O Thou Saviour of all, with Praises and Acclamations we ascribe the Glory of this Victory!* [k] *But, Thou, O wicked and infamous Blasphemy, who dost advance Thy self by Lyes, Reports, and Rumours every where published; Thou* [*I say*] *deceivest young Men; and by Persuasion dost impose upon Youths, and those Men who are endued with a childish disposition; drawing them off from the worship of Him who is* [l] *truly God; and erecting Images, to which they may pray, and pay an Adoration!*

* Or, *Disturbed.*

† That is, *God's Clemency.*

‖ Or, *Administring justice.*

[f] Τὰς ἀσεβῆσαι ἅπαξ τολμήσαντας. Doubtless it must be written, τοὺς δ' ἀσεβῆσαι ἅπαξ τολμήσαντας, καὶ μήτε δεδιέναι μήτ' ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πονηρίαν καταγνόντας, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο λέγειν; *But 'tis not in the least strange,* &c. as 'tis written in the most excellent Fuketian Copy; whereto agree Sir Henry Savil's and Christophorson's Copy. Vales.

[g] Καὶ ἀντεξίκακον τῷ Θεῷ. The two last words are added from Gruter's Book; which do likewise occurr written at the margin of Moræus's Copy. But, whereas they are not either in the Kings or Fuketian Copy, or in Robert Stephens's Edition, there is no reason which may compel us to add them here. And perhaps it must be written, τὸ ἀνεξίκακον τῆς φιλανθρωπίας; that term being brought hither which occurrs in the foregoing line. Farther, this Disputation of Constantine is, in my judgment, designed against Porphyrius, or some other Grecian Philosophers; who objected this against the Christians, because they asserted that Christ was crucified, and put to death by Men. For thus they argued against the Christians. If Christ be God, how could Force and Violence have been made use of against Him by Men, in regard 'tis plain, that Men are able to do nothing against God. Vales. In this Edition of Valesius's, the term ἀνεξίκακον is left out, by a mistake of the Press I suppose; for 'tis in Stephens.

[h] Τὰς σοφωτάτας τῶν ἀνδρῶν. So Constantine calls the Apostles; who nevertheless, 'tis manifest, were illiterate and unskilful persons. So also lower in this chapter, he terms the same persons εὐπεφυκότας, that is, *Men endued with an Excellent Wit.* It was indeed Constantine's Sentiment, that we were to think honourably of the Apostles, whom the Church had so high a veneration for. But the holy Fathers speak far otherwise concerning the Apostles, and especially John Chrysostome; who confesses, that the Apostles were persons wholly ignorant and unskilful; and from thence fetches a most cogent argument in confirmation of the Christian Faith; that illiterate Men [had prevailed upon] the Philosophers; that the meanest sort of Fishermen of Judæa had perswaded the Romans, who were Conquerours of the World, to worship a person that was Crucified. Constantine repeats the same thing hereafter. Vales.

[i] Ζηλῶσα. This term seems to be used instead of ζηλῶσαι ποιῆσα; [and we have rendred it accordingly.] The meaning of this place is to be fetch'd from a passage which occurrs hereafter in this chapter where Constantine expresses himself thus; τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐξαίρεσον, ἐν τῷ τοὺ εὐπεφυκότας τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεὸν καὶ μακαρίᾳ ζηλωτὰς ποιῆσαι βίᾳ, &c. *But, this is the eminentest gift of Thy Clemency, that Thou hast rendred Men, indued with a good,* &c. For these two places borrow light one from the other. In the Fuk. Turneb. and Savil. Copies, the reading is ζηλῶσαι, not ζηλῶσα. Vales.

[k] From these words a new chapter is begun in Robert Stephens's Edition, and in the Kings Copy; wherein these words are set at some little distance from the words foregoing. But in the excellent Fuketian Manuscripts, and in the Sheets, there is no distinction made here. Vales.

[l] Τῷ ὄντως θεῷ. I had rather write it adverbially, τῷ ὄντως; [and have rendred it so.] And thus I found it plainly written in the Fuketian Copy. Vales.

That

That ſo, being deceived, the Reward of their own ſenſeleſſneſs may [m] *await them. For they accuſe and caluminate Chriſt the Authour of all Good, who is both God, and the Son of God. Is not this God deſervedly worſhipped by the* * *Sobereſt and moſt prudent Nations and People? Who being poſſeſt of all manner of Power; and always continuing firm to his own purpoſe, has not made the leaſt abatement of his innate Clemency. Be gone therefore, Ye impious! (For that is permitted to You, in as much as no puniſhment is now inflicted on Your wickedneſs;) Be gone, I ſay, to your ſlaughters of Victims, and to Your Banquets, Feſtivals, and Drunken Debauches. Whercin, under the Mask of Religion, you make pleaſures and intemperance your Buſineſs. You pretend indeed to perform Sacrifices; but in reality you ſerve your own Luſts. For you know nothing of Good, not ſo much as the firſt Command of the Great God; who has both preſcribed Laws to mankind, and alſo given it in charge to his Son, that he ſhould form and govern the Lives and Morals of Men: to the end that they who ſhall lead their Lives well and ſoberly, may, according to the Judgment of His Son, have a ſecond Life allotted them, which will be bleſſed and happy. I have declared* [n] *God's Decree concerning the Life of Men, neither wandring in ignorance, as many do; nor yet led by gueſs, or conjecture. But ſome body will perhaps ſay, whence is this appellation of* a Son; *or, what is the manner of* this Begetting; *For there is but One only God, and He is wholly a Stranger to all Mixture and Copulation. But, it ought to be conſidered, that Generation is twofold; the one from* † *Conception, which is known to all Men; the other, from an Eternal Cauſe. The manner of which [Generation,] by the favour of Divine Providence that Perſon ſees even amongſt Men,* [o] *who is dear to God. For any wiſe Man knows the Cauſe of the Diſpoſition and order of the Univerſe. There being nothing therefore which has not a Cauſe; 'tis neceſſary, that before all things which are, their Cauſe ſhould exiſt. Whereas then the World, and the things therein, do exiſt; and whereas the preſervation of thoſe things does exiſt alſo; 'tis neceſſary, that before all things which are, the Preſerver ſhould exiſt. So that, Chriſt Himſelf is the Cauſe* [p] *of Preſervation] of things,*

[m] Μένειν τὰ ἐπίχειρα. At this place μένειν is taken in the ſame ſenſe, wherein *manet* amongſt the *Latines* is ſometimes uſed; as when 'tis ſaid, *te manet Capitolina palmata*, that is, *is provided for Thee*. *Græcians* take the verb μένειν in the ſame ſenſe. So in *Conſtantius's Letter to the Alexandrians*, which *Athanaſius* records in his *Apologetick to the Emperour Conſtantius*; ἀλλ' ὁ ἡμῶν καὶ λαμπρὸς, εἰδὲ πεῖσον ἔμεινε κατ' αὐτὸ. Nevertheleſs, the Learned have from their own Copies long ſince mended it ἀναμένειν, *may expect*, or, *wait*: which emendation I found in the Books of *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil*. The *Fuketian Copy* has ἀναβαίνειν, *come upon them*. Valeſ.

* Or, *Modeſteſt.*

[n] He means the Decree of God concerning the aſſuming manhood, or concerning the Incarnation, by which the life of Men was repaired. 'Tis apparent therefore, that the Chapters are well digeſted by us; unleſs any one ſhould have a mind, to make the *tenth chapter* reach to theſe words; which I ſhould willingly yield to. *Valeſ.*

† Or, *Birth.*

[o] Ὡς ἐκείνῳ φίλῳ ὑπάρχῃ. *Robert Stephens*, in thoſe various Readings which he has remarked at the cloſe of his *Edition*, gives notice, that in ſome Copies this place is read thus; ὃς ἐκείνῳ φίλῳ ὑπάρχῃ, *who is dear to him*, that is, *to God*. Which doubtleſs is the true writing. For *Conſtantine* ſays, that the manner of a Natural Generation is know to all; but, that very few known the way of the Divine Generation; thoſe namely whom God ſhall have a peculiar affection for. In the *Kings Copy* the reading is φίλος. But in the *Sheets* 'tis written, ὃς ἐκείνων φίλως. But the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb. Copies* give the true reading. *Valeſ.*

[p] Τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας. The *Geneva-men* did ill, in admitting the two laſt words into the Text from the conjecture of *Scaliger*, as 'tis noted at the margin. But 'tis plain enough, that they are to be rejected. For, they both diſturb the whole meaning of this place, and alſo occurr not in the *Manuſcript-Copies*. Valeſ.

[q] *and Preſervation, the Effect. In the ſame manner as the* [r] *Father is the cauſe of the Son; and the Son, the Effect. Now, that Chriſt Himſelf exiſted before all things, we have already proved ſufficienty. But in what manner came he down to Men, and [why deſcended He] into the World? The Intent and purpoſe* [s] *of his Coming, as the Prophets have predicted, proceeded from His care over the Univerſe.*

[q] Τὴν δὲ σωτηρίαν τὸ αἴτιον. *Chriſtophorſon* ſaw nothing at this place. But 'twas obvious to have been obſerved, that the reading here ought to be τὸ ἀΐδιατὸν. For here *Conſtantine* compares the Son with *preſervation*, and the Father with the *Preſerver*. As therefore the Father is the Cauſe of the Son, but the Son, the Effect, or τὸ ἀπατὸν: So the preſerver is the Cauſe of the ſafety of all things; but ſafety is the Effect, or τὸ ἀπατὸν of the Preſerver. *Valeſ.*

[r] The ancient Divines, thoſe eſpecially amongſt the *Greeks*, affirmed, that one perſon in the Trinity, God the Father namely, was the Cauſe; but, that the other Two, to wit the Son and Holy Spirit, were the *Cauſata*, i. e the *Effects*. So *Athanaſius in Quæſtion Second*, Chap. 11. and 12. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς οὐκ ἔστιν αἴτιος, ἀλλ' αἰτιατὸς, *But the Son is not the Cauſe, but the Cauſatum*. So alſo *Johannes Damaſcenus* in his *firſt Book de Imaginibus*, not far from the Beginning. *Imago*, ſays he, *Dei inviſibilis eſt ipſe Filius*, &c. *The Image of the inviſible God is the Son Himſelf, who bears the Father in Himſelf, and is in all things the ſame with Him, ſave in this one, that He is from Him, as from the Cauſe. For the Natural Cauſe is the Father, from which the Son proceeds.* Alſo, *Gregory Nazianzen*, in *Orat.* 29, which is *de Dogmate*, does in expreſs words aſſert, that the Father is the Cauſe of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. But, amongſt the *Latines*, *Marius Victorinus* has expreſt himſelf in the ſame manner, in his *firſt Book againſt Arius*. ——— Valeſ.

[s] Ἡ μὲν προαίρεσις τῆς καθόλκ. Our Copies vary not here. Yet I would rather read τῆς καθόδ8, that is, *of the Lord's Advent*. Valeſ.

For 'tis requiſite, that the Framer ſhould take care of His own Works. But, when he was about to * *aſſume a terrene Body, and to ſtay upon Earth for ſome time, (neceſſity requiring this;) He deviſed for Himſelf a new way of being born. For the Conception [was] without a Marriage; and the* † *Child-birth of a pure Virginity; and a Virgin the Mother of God; and a Temporal Beginning of an Eternal Nature; and a* ‖ *Perception of an intelligible Eſſence; and a* [t] *matter of an incorporeal Brightneſs. All things therefore, which then were ſeen, were agreeable hereto.* [u] *A bright Dove, [ſuch a one as heretofore] flew out of* Noah's *Ark, deſcended into the Boſome of the Virgin. Thoſe other things are likewiſe conſonant, that were the conſequences of this* * *unſpotted* [w] *Marriage, which is purer than all Chaſtity, and*

* Or, *Approach to a worldly Body.*

† Or, *Birth.*

‖ Or, *Senſe.*

* Or, *untouch'd.*

[t] Ἀσωμάτε φωτὸς ὕλη. It muſt, I think be written φωτὸς, as *Chriſtophorſon* read. For *Conſtantine* alludes to that place of Saint *Paul*, wherein *Chriſt* is termed *the Brightneſs of the Glory of God the Father*. See *Hebr.* 1. 3. In the *Fuk.* and *Savil. Copies*, 'tis φωτὸς. *Valeſ.*

[u] Ἀϊδλήεσα πτεισερᾷ. In the *Kings Copy* at the margin, the word λαμπρᾷ is written, which is an explanation of the term ἀϊδλήεσα. The Emendation therefore of *Scaliger* and the reſt is needleſs, who read ἀϊθρήεσα. Farther this ſtory of *Conſtantine's* is taken out of the *Apocryphal Books*, wherein 'twas related, that the Holy Ghoſt, under the ſhape of a Dove, deſcended into the Boſom of *Mary*, according as the Angel had foretold to her. And perhaps theſe things were related in this manner, in the *Goſpel of the Hebrews*. But *Chriſtophorſon* ſuppoſes that Dove to be meant here, which *Noah* heretofore ſent out of the Ark: and that that Dove was a figure of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards to come upon the Virgin *Mary*. But I would rather read here ἀϊδλήεσα πτεισερᾷ οἷα ἡ πάλαι ἐκ τῆς νῶε λάφυκτον ἀποπταμένη, &c. *a Bright Dove*, &c. Thus the ſenſe is plain and elegant. *Valeſ.*

[w] Ὑμέναιον. After this word, as plac'd in the Greek Text, I have ſet a point, from the authority of the *Kings Copy*: which *Chriſtophorſon* having not perceived, corrupted the meaning of this whole place, by adding ſome words. For thus he read; ὑμέναιον, οἰκονομοῦσα ἡ ἐκ παρθένων σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ θαυμαστρεφεῖ. Nevertheleſs, the *Fuketian Copy* does plainly confirm this reading and punctation of *Chriſtophorſon*; ſave that it has, τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία. As it is alſo in *Turnebus's Book*. Valeſ.

more

more excellent than Continency it self. The [wonderful] Wisdom of God from his very Cradle: and Jordan, [the River] which afforded Him Water for Baptism, receiving Him with a Reverence. Besides this, a Royal Unction * joyned with the knowledge of all things. A Doctrine also, and power which performed wonderful things, and healed incurable Diseases.

* Or, Agreeable.

† And a swift and unhindred Assent to Humane Prayers. And his whole Life in general was beneficial and useful to Men. But, his Preaching [was such as might] not instill prudence, but wisdom: For his Disciples did not learn those termed the [x] Civil Vertues, but the paths which lead to an intelligible world; and laboured in the Contemplation of that Nature, which always continues in one and the same State; and made continual researches into the notion of the Supream Father. Now, as to his Favours and Acts of kindness, they were in no wise mean. Instead of [y] Blindness, sight; instead of faintness and a weakness of body, a sound and healthy Constitution; Lastly, instead of death, a Restoration to Life. I omit that plentiful provision of Necessaries for food in the Wilderness, and that abundance of all sorts * raised from small quantities of Victuals, wherewith numerous multitudes were for a long space of time sufficed. This Thanksgiving, according as we are able, we render to Thee, Christ Thou God and Saviour, the Supream Providence of the Great Father! Thou who savest us from Evils, and teachest us a Most Blessed Doctrine. For I speak not these words, that I might praise Thee, but in order to my giving Thee thanks. For who is he amongst Men, that hath ever praised Thee according to Thy worth? For Thou art He, who art said to have created things of nothing; [z] and to have given them light; and with Order and Measure to have beautified the † confused heap of the Elements. But this is the eminentest Gift of Thy Clemency, that Thou hast rendred Men, endued with a good Disposition, [a] emulatours and Admirers of a Divine and Blessed Life; and hast taken order, that, [a] having been made Merchants of those things which are truly good, they should impart their own wisdom and happiness to many others; and that they themselves should reap the immortal fruit of Vertue; being freed from Intemperance, but made partakers of Clemency; having mercy before their Eyes, but hoping for the * Promises of Faith; Lastly, [b] embracing Modesty and all manner of Vertue, [instead of injustice,] which the former Life of Men had cast upon their Morals, [that it might be cut off] from him who makes provision for all things. For no other person could be found, who might be a fit Physician for the curing such great Evils, and that injustice, which had prevailed in that Age. Providence therefore coming even to the Earth it self, easily composed and beautified all things, which by wickedness and intemperance had been disordered. Nor [did Christ perform] this secretly and in a concealed manner. For he knew, that there were some Men, who with prudence and understanding would [c] contemplate his own Power: but, that others, in regard as to their Nature they were like irrational creatures, would * relye upon their own senses rather. [d] Wherefore, that no person, whether good or ill, might be in doubt; [he performed it] openly, and hath exposed this Blessedness and admirable Cure to publick view: restoring again to Life, those that were dead; and commanding, that such as had been deprived of their senses, should again recover their former soundness of sense. But that he rendred the Sea solid, and in the midst of a Storm ordered a Calm to arise; and in fine, that (after he had performed wonderful works, and from an incredulity had brought Men over to a most strong Faith;) He † ascended up into Heaven; whose work was this, save God's, and [a performance] of a most transcendent power? Nor did that time, which was nearest to his Passion, want those Sights that were highly admirable; when the darkness of night obscured the brightness of day, and * totally eclips'd the Sun. For, a terrour had seized all the People every where, [who believed] that the end of all things was now come, and that a Chaos, such a one as had been before the Composure of the World, would now prevail. Moreover, the Cause of so great a Calamity was inquired into, and what horrid impiety that might be, which had been committed by Men against the Deity. [e] Till such time as, with a pleasing greatness of mind, God had with

* Or, Expectation.

* Or, Stick to.

† Or, Flew away to, &c.

* Or, Blotted out the Sun.

---

† Καὶ ἐυχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τυχεῖα καὶ ἀνεμπόδιστος βεβαίωσις; which *Valesius* renders thus, *Mira denique celeritas in hominum precibus audiendis, Lastly, a wonderful swiftness in hearing mens prayers.*

[x] Τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρετάς. Philosophers make two sortt of Vertues; the one πρακτικὰς, *practical*; which *Constantine* does here term πολιτικὰς, *Civil*; the other θεωρητικὰς, *contemplative*, which lead our minds to the contemplation of God. Whence, some of *Pythagoras*'s disciples were termed πολιτικοὶ, others θεωρικοὶ, as the *Old Author concerning the Life of Pythagoras*, in *Photius*'s *Bibliotheca chapt.* 259. informs us. Farther in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading of this place runs thus; διδάσκουσα τοὺς φοιτητὰς ὁ τὰς πολιτικὰς λεγομένας ἀρετὰς διδάσκει ἐκμανθάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον ἀτεραπὰς ἀΐδουσας καὶ τε τῷ τῶ ἀεὶ καὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντι, &c. The same also is the reading in the Books of *Turnebus* and Sir *Henry Savil*. But I agree with Sir *Henry*, who, after he had written this reading at the margin of his own Book, blotted it out again, having added this note; *Lectio vulgata retineri potest, paucis immutatis; the common reading may be retained, a small alteration being made.* Vales.

[y] Ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς ῥώσεως, *instead of soundness*. Doubtless it is to be written, τῆς πηρώσεως, *Blindness*. Presently, from the *Kings Copy* I have mended it, ἀντὶ δὲ παρέσεως, *instead of a faintness and weakness of body*. And so it is in Sir *Henry Savil's Copy*. A little before. I had rather write, τὰ γέ τοι ὑπὲρ εὐεργετημάτων, &c. instead of τὰ γάρ τοι, &c. *Vales.* In *Robert Stephen's*, instead of παρέσεως, the reading is παραυτέσεως.

[z] Τὸ δὲ φῶς αὐτοῖς ἀνάψαι. I read, τὸ τε φῶς, &c. *and to have given*, &c. In the *Kings Sheets*, and in Sir *Henry Savil's Book*, the reading is σὺ δὲ φῶς &c. But the *Fuketian Copy*, has it, σέ τε. *Vales.*

[a] Καλαοεῖν θ'. *Christophorson* does here understand the verb ποιῆσαι in common. Which though I condemn not, yet it does not seem necessary. In the *Fuketian Copy*, this place is thus read, ἀρετῶ ἀσπαζόμενοι, ἣν ὁ θεσπότης βίος ἀνθρωπίνων ἠδῶν ἐυδεελήκης ἀδὲν γὸ, &c. without those words τῶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ποιμένι θεῷνοιαν. Vales.

[b] Ἀσπαζόμενοι. After this word in the Greek, something seems to be wanting. Nor can it be made sense, unless you add these words, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδικίας ἣν ὁ θεσπότης βίος, &c. Which writing I have followed in my Version.

[c] Τὴν ἑαυτῶν θεωρῆντας δύναμιν, *would contemplate their own power*. I doubt not but it should be read τῶ ἑαυτῶ δυνάμει, *his own power*, Which is plainly evidenced from the following words. For *Constantine* gives the reason, why Christ, who had come to cure the Diseases and Vices of Men, and to bring news of a blessed and happy life in heaven, would perform so many Miracles on earth, by restoring eyes to the blind, health to the sick, life to the dead. This therefore, he says, he did, in favour of those whose understandings are more slow and heavy; that they might not doubt of his virtue and power, in regard they saw him perform so many Miracles. These are they, whom a little after he terms φαύλους, *ill men*. Vales.

[d] Διὰ φανέρωσιν ἁπάντων. I have, as I think, restored this place very happily; although *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and others, whose amendments occurr at the margin of the *Geneva-Edition*, saw nothing in it. But I have restored this place to its former Lustre, and have in a manner made no alteration at all; thus; διὰ φανερῶς, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀμφιβάλλοι, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. There is nothing more certain than this reading. Indeed, the *Fuketian Copy* agrees with the reading of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*. But I have found from many places, that the authority of this *Copy* is sometimes weak. Which thing is evident enough, even from this one place. *Vales.*

[e] Ἕως ὅτε ἠπίως. I write ἕως ὅτε ἠπίω μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

with contempt look'd upon the contumely of the Impious, and had reſtored all things, and beautified the whole Heaven with the uſual * *courſe of the Stars. The Face therefore of the World, which* [f] *in a manner had been wholly covered with Mourning and Sadneſs, was again reſtored to its* † *Native beauty.*

* Or, *Daunce.*

† Or, *Own.*

[f] Τοιγάρ τοι ποσῷ. There was no need of the Emendation of the Learned, who make it ποσῶς; in regard ποσῷ may alſo be uſed adverbially, inſtead of ὁπηνίποσόν. Yet in the *Fuk.* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis ποσῶς. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XII.

Concerning thoſe who knew not this Myſtery; and, that their ignorance is voluntary; and, what great bleſſings await thoſe who know it, and eſpecially them who have died in Confeſſion.

[a] BUT, *ſome one of thoſe, with whom 'tis uſual to blaſpheme, will peradventure ſay, that God was able to have made the will of Men better? and more tractable and mild.* [*I demand*] *therefore, what better method, what more effectual attempt in order to the amendment of ill Men, than God's own ſpeaking to them? Has not He, when preſent and rendred viſible to all, taught them modeſty and ſobriety of Life? If therefore the Command of a God who was preſent, hath availed nothing; how could* [*the admonition*] *of one abſent and un-heard, be of force? What therefore was the Obſtacle of that moſt Bleſſed Doctrine? The perverſe, untractable, and fierce humour of Men. For, when with an angry and diſpleaſed Mind we receive thoſe things which are well and fitly enjoyned, the* * *acuteneſs of our underſtanding is dull'd as 'twere, and clouded.* [b] *Beſides, it was pleaſure to them, to neglect the commands; and in a loathing and diſdainful manner to give ear to the Law that was made. For, had they not been negligent and careleſs, they had received rewards befitting their Attention, not only in this Life preſent, but in that to come alſo, which is really and truly* The Life. *For the reward of thoſe who obey God, is an immortal and eternal Life. The attaining whereof is poſſible to them only, who ſhall know God, and ſhall propoſe their own lives, as* † *Pattern, ſome perpetual* † Exemplar, *for their imitation,* [c] *that have reſolved to live by way of Emulation with a deſire of excelling. On this account therefore the Doctrine was delivered to the wiſe, that what they ſhall command, might* [d] *in a pure mind be preſerved with care, by their companions; and that the obſervance of God's Command might thus continue true and firm. For, from ſuch an obſervance, and from a pure Faith, and a ſincere Devotion towards God, ſprings a fearleſneſs and contempt of Death.* [*Such a mind as this*] *therefore, gives a reſiſtance to the Storms and Tumults of the World,* [e] *being fortified in order to Martyrdom, by an inexpugnable ſtrength of Divine Vertue. And when with a magnanimity it has conquered the greateſt Terrours, it is vouchſafed a Crown from Him,* [f] *to whom with courage and conſtancy it hath born witneſs. Nevertheleſs, it does not boaſt in reſpect hereof. For it knows I ſuppoſe, that even this is the Gift of God, that it has both endured Tortures, and hath alſo chearfully fulfilled the Divine Commands. Farther ſuch a Life as this is followed by an immortal Memory, and an Eternal Glory; and that moſt deſervedly. For, both the Life of a Martyr is found to be full of Modeſty, and of a Religious obſervance of the Divine Commands; and* [g] *his Death likewiſe* [*appears*] *full of magnanimity and* * *Gallantry. Wherefore, Hymns, Pſalms, Commendations, and Praiſes are after this ſung to God the Inſpector of all things; and ſuch a* [h] *Sacrifice of thanksgiving as this is performed in memory of theſe Perſons:* [*a Sacrifice*] *not polluted with Blood, and void of all manner of Violence. Neither is the Odour of Frankincenſe required, nor a kindling of the Funeral-pile: but a pure Light only, as much as may be ſufficient for the enlightning them, who pray to God. Sober* [i] *Feaſts and Banquets are likewiſe celebrated by many, made for the relief and refreſhment of the indigent, and to help them who have been deprived* [*of their Eſtates and Country.*] *Which* [*Banquets*] *ſhould any one think to be burthenſome and inconvenient, his Sentiment would be repugnant to the Divine and moſt Bleſſed* † *Diſcipline.*

* Or, *Sobriety of the mind is ſpoyled and defac'd.*

† Or, *Doctrine.*

[a] From theſe words the *twelfth chapter* is to be begun: *Concerning thoſe who knew not this Myſtery*; &c. For hitherto *Conſtantine* has treated about the Coming of Our Lord, and on what account Chriſt deſcended to the Earth. But now he treats of thoſe perſons, who have been ignorant of this Myſtery. *Valeſ.*

[b] Τί δὲ ὅτι φιλοσοφίλες ἦν. I had rather write, ἔτι δὲ ὅτι &c. *Beſides*, &c. For *Conſtantine* brings two reaſons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Chriſt. *Valeſ.*

[c] Τοῖς πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ζῆν προηρημένοις. 'Tis an elegant Greek-phraſe, this, πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ζῆν; ſpoken concerning thoſe who frame their lives in order to the imitation of every thing that is beſt. For they who have a mind to make a great progreſs in Vertue, ought to ſet ſome perſon before their eyes, whom they may imitate. Thus the Emperor *Julian* framed his own Actions and Morals, in imitation of Prince *Marcus*, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates. *Valeſ.*

[d] Παραφυλάσσηται καθαρᾷ ψυχή. It muſt be written καθαρᾷ ψυχῇ, *in a pure mind*; as the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Where in likewiſe it is, ἀληθής τε ἦ, excellently well. *Valeſ.*

[e] Περιεσφυρώμενοι πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον. In the *Books of Scaliger*, *Bongarſius*, and *Gruter*, this place is worded thus; ἀναντα-γωνίστῳ θείας ἀρετῆς μάχῃ φέρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον: which writing I likewiſe found in the *Fuketian Copy*. But Sir *Henry Savil* in his *Copy* has mended it thus ἀναντα-γωνίστῳ τε θείας ἀρετῆς μάχῃ φέρεται πρὸς, &c. And ſo *Chriſtophorſon* read. But the common reading, which I found in the *Kings Copy*, and in the *Sheets*, is in my judgment far better; and therefore we have followed it in our Verſion. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ὃς γνησίως ἐμαρτύρησε. I doubt not but it ſhould be, ὃν γνησίως, &c. *to whom*, &c. which I wonder *Chriſtophorſon* and the reſt perceived not. *Valeſ.*

[g] Ἡ τελευτὴ πλήρης. Queſtionleſs it muſt be written, ἡ τε τελευτὴ πλήρης *and his death*, &c. that the ſenſe may be compleat. Farther, this place concerning the Martyrs, is a moſt elegant one. *Valeſ.*

[h] And this paſſage is very remarkable, concerning the Sacrifice of thankſgiving, which was offered to God in memory and honour of the Martyrs. For ſo theſe words θυσία τοῖς ἀνδρείοις ἀποτελεῖται are to be explained, which *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood not. For the *Chriſtians* did not offer ſacrifice to the Martyrs; but only to God; giving him thanks, that he had conferr'd on them a Crown of Martyrdom, as St. *Auguſtine* writes, Book 8. *de Civitat. Dei, Chap. the laſt.* And this is what *Conſtantine* does here term θυσίαν τῆς εὐχαριστίας, *a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving*. But becauſe the *Chriſtians* offered to God this unbloody Sacrifice, at the Monuments and Sepulchres of the Martyrs, that they might give him thanks for the rewards of the Martyrs, and for their Crowns and Victories; therefore *Conſtantine* ſays this honour was given to the Martyrs. *Valeſ.*

[i] Concerning theſe Banquets and Feaſts of the *Chriſtians*, which were made at the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, mention is made by St. *Auſtin*, at *the book and chapter now cited*, in theſe words. *Quicunque etiam epulas ſuas eò deferunt*, &c *Alſo, whoever carry their Banquets thither, which is not indeed done by the better Chriſtians, and in many parts of the world there is no ſuch Cuſtom: Yet, Whoever do that when they have ſet them* [*there,*] *they pray, and take them away that they may eat them; or diſtribute alſo of them to the indigent; they will have them ſanctified there, by the merits of the Martyrs, in the name of the Lord of the Martyrs.* Farther, at firſt theſe Feaſts were ſober and moderate. But afterwards, when licentiouſneſs was arrived at a greater height, they were perverted to Drunkenneſs and Laſciviouſneſs. And therefore in moſt places they were wholly

abolished, as St. *Austin* attests, *Epist.* 64. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is σωφρονέστατα δὲ πολλῷ καὶ συμπόσια, &c. not πολλῶν, as 'tis in the ordinary Editions. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIII.

That a difference of the Parts of the Creation is necessary; and that a propensity to Good and Evil, springs from the will of Men: and therefore, that the Judgment [of God] is necessary, and agreeable to Reason.

BUT *now, some Persons do boldly and inconsiderately presume, to find fault with God* [a] Καὶ ἐν τοῦτῳ *even in this matter. What was his meaning* μέμφεσθαι. *[say they,] that he has not framed the nature of things, one and the same; but has commanded, that even most things should be produced different, and therefore should be endued with a nature and disposition that are contrary? Whence springs a diversity of the Morals and Wills of us Men. It had peradventure been better, both as to what respects an obedience to the Commands of God, and as to an accurate * Contemplation of Him, and in reference to a confirmation [b] of the Faith of every particular prrson; that all Men had been enduced with one and the same Disposition. But [we answer,] 'tis altogether ridiculous to desire, that all Men should be of one and the same humour and disposition: [and 'tis absurd] not to consider and remark this, that the [c] constitution of the whole World is not the same, with that of those things which are in the World: or this, that Natural things are not of the same substance with those that are Moral: Or Lastly this, that the Affections of the Body are not the same with those of the Mind. [d] For, [the rational Soul does far excel] this whole World; and is so much more blessed than Creatures that are earthly and lyable to Corruption, by how much it is nobler and more divine: neither is mankind void of the divine goodness. Nevertheless, all Men are not promiscuously and without any thing of difference [partakers of the Divine Goodness:] but those only, who have search'd into the Divine Nature, and who have proposed to themselves this, as their chief purpose of Life and primary Study, the knowledge namely of things Divine.*

I had rather write, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, *even in this matter*; as I found it mended in the margin of *Moræus's Book*. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* *Knowledge*, or, *Comprehension.*

[b] Κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου πίστιν. It must, I suppose, be τὴν καθ' ἑκάστου πίστιν, *of the faith of every particular person.* Vales.

[c] Οὐκ ἡ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου διάταξις. I had rather make it, οὐχ ὅπερ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου διάταξις, αὕτη καὶ τῶν κοσμικῶν; which we have expresst in our Version. *Vales.*

[d] Τὸν μὲν γὰρ σύμπαντα κόσμον. After these, there are many words wanting, as 'tis apparent from the Contents of the Chapter. We chose to get out any sense from a corrupt and imperfect place, rather than with *Christophorson* to expunge the whole passage. Sr. *Henry Savil*, in his *Copy*, has also expunged this whole period, as far as those words, τῆς δὲ θείας ἀγαθότητος, &c. *Neither is Mankind*, &c. Indeed in the *Fuketian Copy* that whole period is wanting. *Vales.*

CHAP. XIV.

That a created Nature is at a vast distance from an Essence which is uncreated: and, that Man * approaches nearest to God, by a virtuous Life.

* Or, *Is made a neighbour to it*; that is, *to an uncreated essence, by a life according to Vertue.*

MOreover, to compare things that are made, with them which be eternal, is questionless the highest degree of madness. For these have neither beginning, nor end. But those, in regard they are brought forth and begotten; and because they have received a beginning both of their existing, and of their living for some set time; must consequently of necessity have an end also. But, how can those things which are [a] *begotten, be any ways compared with him, who hath commanded them to be begotten? [b] For, if these things were equal to him, the Command whereby he ordered them to be produced, would in no wise fit and be agreeable to him. But, neither can things celestial be compared with him; in the same manner that the sensible world [is not to be compared] with the Intelligible; nor Images, with the Originals, [c] But, is not the confusing and mixing of all things, a thing wholly ridiculous? in regard the dignity of the Divine Nature would be * clouded, [d] by a comparing of it with Men, or with Beasts. And, is not a desire of power, which might strive to equal the power of God, is not [I say such a desire] to be esteemed as peculiar to Mad-men and such as abhor a sober, modest, and vertuous course of Life? For if with earnestness we strive to attain divine felicity, we ought to lead our lives according to the Command of God. For by this means, when we shall have lived in Conformity to that Law appointed by God; being made superiour to all Fate, we shall take up our Residence in immortal and eternal Mansions. For, this is the only strength in Man, which is like to the divine power, [namely] a sincere and unfeigned worship paid to God; and a Conversion to him; and a Contemplation and knowledge of those things which are acceptable to the Deity: not to be enclined towards the Earth; but as far as we are able, to raise our minds to things sublime and celestial. For by such an endeavour*

* Or, *Covered.*

[a] Τὰ δὲ γενόμενα. *Christophorson* seems to have read γεννώμενα, *begotten*; which reading pleases me best. *Vales.*

[b] Εἰ γὰρ μανία. I am of opinion, that this place is to be corrected thus; εἰ γὰρ ὅμοια ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲ πρέπουσα τοῖς γενητοῖς, προσηκόντως ἂν ἐκείνῳ ἁρμόζοιτο; *For if*, &c. That is, *if the things which are made, be equal to God, that Command whereby he has ordered them to be made, would not be agreeable to him. For, an equal can't have authority and empire over an equal.* Away therefore with the Emendation of Learned Men, which I found in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Moræus's Book*; namely this, εἰ γὰρ μανία ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ παρεξισάζειν, ἢ πρέπουσα τοῖς γενητοῖς, &c. *For if it be madness to liken these things to him, the Command*, &c. But if you read thus, there is no sense; nor will the following words cohere with the foregoing. *Christophorson*, had indeed found it so in his Books, as 'tis visible from his Version. But the common reading is supported by the authority of the *Kings Copy*, and the *Old Sheets.* Vales.

[c] Ἡ δὲ σύγχυσις πάντων. *Musculus* seems to have read σύγκρισις, which I am extraordinarily pleased with; For he renders it; *Quomodo autem omnium comparatio non ridicula est*, &c. *But, how is not the comparing of all things ridiculous*, &c. Certainly, 'tis either thus to be read, or to be understood thus. For *Constantine* terms *that equalling of all things*, a confusion. *Vales.*

[d] Εἰ τὰ γε θεῖα συγκείνοτ. Without doubt it must be συγκείνοιτο. For thus *Constantine* argues. *Even things Celestial*, says he, *cannot be compared with God. Much less things Terrestrial, and Brutes.* This is the meaning of this place. But the *Manuscript Copies* of *Christophorson*, Sir *Henry Savil*, *Gruter*, and Mr. *Fuket*, word this place thus; ἀποκρυπτομένης τῆς θείας τιμιότητος τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ γε θεῖα συγκείσει, *in regard the dignity of*, &c. Which reading seems to me better, and more elegant. *Vales.*

endeavour as this [e] *a Victory is procured for us,* * *of equal value with many Bleſſings. The cauſe therefore of the diſſimilitude of things,* † *which is plac'd in a diſtance both of dignity and power, has this reaſon. Wherein they who are wiſe, do willingly acquieſce, and are eminently thankful. But the ingrateful, and the fooliſh, receive a puniſhment* [f] *befitting their Arrogance.*

[e] Τὸ νικᾶν ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν φησί. He ſeems to allude to thoſe paſſages we meet with in the *ſecond and third Chapter of the Revelations*; where God ſays: *Vincenti dabo* Coronam, &c. *To him that overcometh I will give a Crown, &c.* Indeed, the life of a *Chriſtian* Man is wont to be compared to Champions, as it frequently occurrs in St. *Paul's Epiſtles.* But the word φησὶ is redundant, after the uſual manner of *Græcians*, as 'tis well known to thoſe skill'd in the *Greek Tongue.* Valeſ.

* Or, *In place of many goods.*

† Or, *Both as to dignity, and in a diverſity of power.*

[f] Τὴν εὐεργεσίαν. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis τῷ εὐεξίαν, as *Robert Stephens* has alſo remarked in his *Various Readings.* I read therefore, τῷ ἀξίαν, *befitting*, or *agreeable to*; with *Chriſtophorſon, Scaliger, Gruter*, and others: or τῷ ἐπαξίαν, which comes nearer to the footſteps of the written reading. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, καὶ τῷ ἀξίαν. Valeſ.

CHAP. XV.

What Precepts Our Saviour delivered, and what Miracles He wrought; and how beneficial He hath been to thoſe who own a ſubjection to Him.

FArther, *the Son of God exhorts all Men to Vertue, and conſtitutes himſelf a Teacher to ſuch as are prudent,* [*inſtructing them*] [a] *in the Father's commands. Unleſs we forget our ſelves, being wretchedly ignorant, that for the ſake of our advantage, that is, on account of Mens bleſſedneſs, He travelled up and down on Earth; and having called together to himſelf the beſt Men of* [b] *thoſe times, he delivered them a moſt uſeful Doctrine, the preſervative as 'twere of a ſober life; teaching them Faith and Juſtice, againſt the Envy* * *of the* * *Malitious Devil, whoſe delight it is to* [c] *allure and deceive the unskilful. Therefore, he viſited the ſick; and eaſed the infirm of thoſe ills, wherewith they were ſurrounded. He likewiſe adminiſtred comfort to thoſe, who were reduced to an extremity of poverty and indigency. He highly extolled* [d] *a ſober modeſt and quiet temper of mind, joyned with reaſon; and gave command, that with a Courage and Patience of Mind we ſhould bear all manner of injury, and every ſort of contempt: teaching us, that the* [e] *Viſitation of his Father is of this ſort: ſo that, they who could magnanimouſly endure accidents, might always obtain the Victory. For he affirmed, that this is the moſt ſuperlative degree of ſtrength,* [*namely*] *a conſtancy of Mind joyned with Philoſophy; which is nothing elſe but a knowledge* [f] *of what is True and Good, accuſtoming thoſe who get riches fairly and juſtly, to impart what they poſſeſs, by a kind and liberal diſtribution to the poorer ſort. But he wholly forbids maſterſhip, and bearing ſway over others; openly declaring, that as he came to give aſſiſtance to the humble, ſo he would deſiſt from favouring thoſe, who ſhould diſreſpect the humble. Having therefore made Tryal of the Faith of thoſe People ſubject to him, by ſuch and ſo powerful an Experiment, he rendred them not only Contemners of the terribleſt and moſt formidable things, but moſt genuine diſciples alſo of an hope and confidence in himſelf. Moreover, he once ſharply rebuked, and by his words repreſt one of his Companions, who had* * *been over much heated with anger. That* [*Diſciple*] *had* [g] *with a drawn ſword made an aſſault upon ſome body; expoſing his own life, that he might aſſiſt our Saviour. But* [*his Lord*] *commanded him to be quiet, and to put up his Sword; reproving the Man ſeverely, becauſe he had deſpaired of a defence and refuge in Him Himſelf. And he enacted a Law in expreſs words, that* [h] *whoever ſhould begin an aſſault upon another with the hands of Violence, or ſhould attempt to injure him who had begun, or* [*whoever in general*] *ſhould make uſe of the ſword, ſhould periſh by a violent Death. This is moſt undoubtedly the Celeſtial wiſedom, to chooſe to be injured, rather than to injure; and, as often as neceſſity ſhall require, to be in a readineſs to undergo, rather than do evil* [i] *For, whereas the miſchief of being injurious is very great; not he who ſuffers the wrong, but he that does it,* * *incurrs the heavieſt Puniſhment. Farther,* [k] *'tis in the power of him who pays an obedience to God, neither to do, nor ſuffer an injury; provided he places his confidence in the protection of God, who*

* Or, *Adverſe Nature.*

* Or, *Is encompaſt with.*

* Or, *Given place to anger.*

[a] Τῶν τῆ σωτῆρος ἐντολμάτων, *in the Saviour's Commands.* It ſhould I think, be made, ἐν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐντολ. *in the Precepts of Salvation*; as 'tis noted in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition.* You may alſo write, ἐν τῆ πατρὸς, &c. *in the Father's Commands.* For the miſtake ſeems to have riſen from a contracted way of writing. In the *Kings*, and *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Sheets*, at this place 'tis thus written, σες. Valeſ.

[b] Τῶν τηνικαῦτα βιωφελῶν, &c. *Chriſtophorſon* has rendred this place thus: *Et ex illis qui id temporis hominum vitæ adjumento fuerunt, longè optimos advocaſſe ad ſe, and had called to himſelf, by far the beſt of thoſe Men, who at that time were an aſſiſtance to the life of Men.* But, who ever exprett himſelf in this manner, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν βιωφελῶν, *the beſt Men of the moſt uſeful?* Wherefore, I doubt not, but this place is thus to be mended and pointed; καὶ καλέσας ὡς ἑαυτὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν τηνικαῦτα. βιωφελῆ παιδείαν ἐπαίδευτε, *and having called together unto, &c.* as we have rendred it. In the *Fuketian and Turnebian Copies*, the reading is τῶν τηνικάδε. Valeſ.

[c] Ὧ δελεάζειν μέν. In *Turnebus's*, and *Moræus's Book*, 'tis mended δελεάζειν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, &c. *to allure and deceive*, &c. But the *Fuketian Copy* has it truer written, ἢ δελεάζειν καὶ ἐξαπατᾷν. Valeſ.

[d] Τὸ μετ' εὐλόγε. In *Robert Stephens's Edition* it was Printed, τὸ μὴ λόγε τῆς φρονήσεως μέτειον; which reading is confirmed by the *Kings and Fuketian Copy*, and by the *Sheets.* But in *Moræus's Book* I found it mended μετ' εὐλόγε; and I don't underſtand why the *Geneva men* admitted this emendation into the Text. Τῆς φρονήσεως μέτειον has the ſame import with μετεωφρονεῖν. St. *Paul* calls it *Sapere ad ſobrietatem, to think ſoberly*, or, *to ſobriety.* Valeſ.

[e] Ἐπισκοπὴν] τινα τῆ παρόντος. I had rather write ὁμοίαν, as 'tis noted in the margin of the *Geneva-Edition.* For, 'tis our common uſage to term ſuch Calamities as theſe, which do ſometimes happen to good Men, *the Viſitations of God.* But *Chriſtophorſon* has followed the common reading, and renders it *Mandatum, the Command.* Valeſ.

[f] Τῆ ἀληθῆς καὶ τῆ ἀγαθῆ. In *Moræus's Book* the Learned Man has mended it at the Margin, παραθῆ, which diſpleaſes not. For there are many *Platonick* Expreſſions in this Oration. Valeſ.

[g] Ξιφήρη τινα ὁπροιτῶν. I read ξιφήρης, as 'tis in *Moræus's Book*; wherein 'tis alſo mended τινὶ ὁπροιτῶν, not ill. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis likewiſe ξιφήρης, τινὶ ὁπροιτῶν, and we have rendred it accordingly. Valeſ.

[h] Πάντα τῶν ἀδίκων χειρῶν καταάξαντα. This place is thus to be reſtored from the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, νομοθετῶν διαῤῥήδην, πάντα τῶν ἀδίκων, &c. As to the following clauſe, ἢ πρὸς τὸν καταρξάμενον ἀδικεῖν ὁπχειρήσαντα, I had rather write thus, ἀντιδικεῖν ὁπχειρήσαντα, *or ſhould attempt to reſiſt him*, &c. Valeſ.

[i] Μείζης γὰρ ὄντος τῆ ἀδικεῖν κακῶς. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned Man hath ſet theſe words at the margin, σωφρατικὸν ἀεὶ ἀδικίας. There are indeed many paſſages in this Oration, taken out of *Plato's* Philoſophy; which the Learned Reader will of himſelf acknowledge. Valeſ.

[k] Τῷ δ' ὑπηκόῳ τῆ θεῆ ἐξὸν. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, the reading is ἐξόν. Valeſ.

who is present with, and gives him Assistance; to the end no one of His Subjects may receive any harm. But, how should he [*endeavour*] [1] *to assist himself, who puts his trust in God? For, by this means a* [m] *Fight betwixt two would ensue, and a doubtful and uncertain Victory. But, no Man of understanding preferrs dubious matters, before those that are fixt and certain. But, how will he make any scruple about God's presence and assistance, who has had experience of so many perils, and has always been easily delivered from dangers, by the* [n] *sole will and pleasure of God; who has walk'd thorow the Sea, which by our Saviour's command was paved, and afforded a solid and firm way to the People that passed over it. For this, as I suppose, is the most evident and firm* * *Basis of faith, this is the Foundation of Confidence; when we behold these admirable and incredible things performed and perfected by the command of the provident God. Hence likewise it happens, that* [o] *when any one falls into the trial of Calamities, he does* [p] *not repent himself of his Faith and retains his hope in God firm and unshaken. Which habit being once firmly fixt in the mind, God takes up his Habitation in the inmost thought. And whereas he is invincible; that mind also, which in its inmost thought* [q] *possesses him that is thus invincible, can never be vanquished by those dangers that surround it.* [r] *Besides, we have learn'd this very thing from God's own Victory; who, whilst he was making provision for the good of all Men, when reproach'd and insulted over by the impious and unjust, received no damage from his Passion, but obtained a most Glorious Victory over Wickedness, and was encircled with an immortal Crown: having brought to effect the design and purpose of his own Providence and Love, towards the Just; but, trampled upon the Cruelty of the unjust and Impious.*

* *Groundwork.*

CHAP. XVI.

That the Coming of Christ is foretold by the Prophets; and, that He was appointed for the destruction of Idols, and Idolatrous Cities.

MOreover, *his Passion was long since foreshewed by the Prophets; and his Corporal Nativity foretold. The very time likewise of his Incarnation was predicted,* [a] *wherein the Shoots springing from injustice and intemperance, which are hurtful to just Actions and Morals, might be destroyed; and* [wherein] *the whole World might be made partaker of Prudence and Modesty; that Law namely, which our Saviour has promulged, prevailing upon the Minds of almost all Men; the worship of the Deity being confirmed and establish'd; and Superstition wholly abolished. On account of which* [Superstition,] *not only slaughters of irrational Creatures, but Sacrifices of humane Bodies also, and detestable pollutions of Altars were exercised: for according to the* Assyrian *and* Egyptian *Laws,* * *innocent Men were Sacrificed to Brazen or Earthern Images. Wherefore, the Fruit they reapt, was agreeable to such a Religion.* Memphis [*says he*] *and* Babylon *shall be made desolate; and both of them, with the Gods of their Countries, shall be left uninhabited. Nor do I relate these things from report and hear-say; but I my self was present and saw them;* [b] *and was made an Eye-witness of the miserable and calamitous fortune of those Cities.* [c] Memphis *lies desolate, that Pride and Glory of the then most powerful* Pharaoh. Constantine says, that he himself had been a spectator of the ruin and destruction of those two Cities, *Memphis* namely and *Babylon*, which had heretofore been most potent. We must therefore make enquiry, at what time *Constantine* might go to those places. Whilst he was but a youth he went into *Egypt*, at such time as he had a Military Employ in the Court of *Diocletian*, by whom he was kept as an Hostage. For *Diocletian* waged a War many years in *Egypt*, against *Achilleus* who had rebelled in *Egypt*, as *Eutropius* relates. Out of *Egypt*, *Constantine* went afterwards, in company with *Diocletian*, into *Syria*, and past through the Province of *Palestine*, where he was first seen by *Eusebius*, as he himself attests. Now *Diocletian* had made a journey into *Syria*, that with his own Forces he might assist *Galerius Cæsar*, who waged a War with the *Persian*. And he made a long stay in *Syria*, in order to his making a Peace with the *Persians*, as we are informed from *the History of Petrus Patricius*. At that time therefore *Constantine* might take a View of the Rubbish and Remains of the City *Babylon*. Vales.

* *Or, just Souls.*

[1] Αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ βοηθεῖν. *Scaliger*, *Gruter*, and others have mended it, βοηθεῖν θεῷ παρῶν, which emendation I likewise found written in *Moræus's Book*. It might also be written, βοηθεῖν ἔμελλε, the two last words being left out; which, as every one sees, are not very necessary here. But the *Fuketian Manuscript* agrees with those Books of *Scaliger* and *Gruter*. Vales.

[m] Μάχη δ' ἦν. I doubt not but it should be written, ἵνα μάχη μοὶ ἦν μεταξὺ δυοῖν. Where ἦν is made use of instead of εἴη, or ἔμελλεν εἶναι. But the Translator who rendred this Oration of *Constantine* into Greek, had but little skill in the Greek tongue, and was careless enough, as 'tis apparent from many places. *Constantine* gives a reason here, why the worshippers of the supream God would never revenge themselves, nor resist force by force. For, should they do that, saith he, they must fight with their adversary, but they would be uncertain of the Victory. But, if they shall in no wise defend themselves, then they have a most certain Victory; for God fights for them. This is the meaning of this place, which (I admire at it,) neither *Christopherson* nor *Musculus* understood. *Vales.*

[h] Μόνῳ θεῷ νεύματι, *by the will of the only God.* It must be made μόνῳ, &c. *by the sole* &c. as I found it mended in *Moræus's Book*. And a little after I read παραχωρούσης ὁδὸν as 'tis in the same Book. For θαλάσσης is understood. In the *Fuketian Copy* and *Old Sheets*, the reading is μόνῳ θεῷ νεύματι. *Vales.*

[o] Ἡνίκα ἂν τις περιπίπτει πείρᾳ κακῶν. I would rather write πεῖρα, in the *Nominative Case*. For that seems to me far more elegant. Presently, the reading must doubtless be, ἡ τὸ ἀτρεπτον ἔχειν, &c. For the verb καθαίνεται is understood, which is used a little before. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Sheets*, the reading is, ἡνίκα ἂν τις περιπίπτει πείρᾳ κακῶν, ἡ τὸ ἀτρεπτον ἔχῃ, &c. *when any trial of Calamities falls out*, &c. *Vales.*

[p] Μὴ μεταμέλειν. In the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι. *Vales.*

[q] Τὸ ἀήττητον. At the margin of the *Moræan Copy* 'tis mended, τὴν ἀήττητον ἔχουσα, *possesses him*, &c. Which reading *Christopherson* has followed. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. Vales.

[r] Παρὰ δέ. I read περὶ δέ, ἔστι μεμαθήκαμεν, *Besides, we have*, &c. where περὶ is taken *adverbially*, for περισσῶς. *Vales.*

[a] Καὶ τῆς ἀδικίας. In *Moræus's Book*, at the margin 'tis mended, ἡ ὡς τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, &c. which reading *Christopherson* has expresst in his *Version*. To me this Expression seems scarce *Greek*. Therefore I had rather write, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, *wherein* &c. Yet in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, ἡ ὡς τὰ τῆς, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Ἐποπτης τε γενόμενος τῶν ἐκείνων πόλεων ἡ δυστυχεστάτης μέμφις· ἠνέμωσε δὲ μωσῆς κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θείαν περάξιν πᾶσαν τὴν δυναστεύσαντος τότε φαραὼ χώραν, &c. And thus 'tis plainly read in *Turnebus's* and *Gruter's* Book; save only, that that punctation we have made use of, is peculiar to the *Fuketian Copy* only; wherein, after the word μέμφις, a point is set. *The Translator* therefore of this *Oration* has used ὠέμφις, in the *Genitive Case*, whereas he ought to have said μέμφεως. Moreover, ἐκείνων is put instead of ἐκείνης. This then is the import of this reading; *and was made an Eye-witness of Memphis the miserablest and most unfortunate of Cities. But Moses, according to the Divine Command, has laid waste the Country of the then most powerful Pharaoh*, &c. Farther, according to this reading, *Constantine* affirms, that *Memphis* only was seen by him; which I do indeed look upon to be truer. For he could never see *Babylon*, in regard

regard he had never gone into *Assyria*. In the *Kings Sheets*, the reading of this place runs thus; τῆς διαλεχθείς τῶν πόλεων τύχης· μέμφεις ἠρήμωσε, &c. as in the ordinary Editions. But in the *Kings Copy* 'tis ἠρήμωται, as *Stephens* has publish'd it. Sir *Henry Savil* in his *Book* has mended this place thus; πόλεων τύχης· μέμφεις ἠρήμωται· ἠρήμωσε δὲ μωσῆ, &c. But that expression μέμφεις ἠρήμωται would be foolish and trifling, nor would it agree with the following words. Besides, neither has *Christophorson* retained those words in his *Version*. Vales.

[d] Ὃν ὑποψίᾳ κατέδραμε. *Christophorson* renders it, *quem insciâ elatum perfregit*, *whom raised with insolency he broke in pieces*. Whence it appears, that he put in ἐπαρθέντα, or some such word. But there is no need of this Emendation, in regard ὑποψία may be taken in the *Nominative Case*, Indeed, in all *Our Copies*, *the Kings*, *the Fuketian*, and *the Sheets*, this word occurrs without the ἰῶτα *subscripe*. So he expresses himself below, *chap.* 19. ἡ ἀγνοία τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθραυε, &c. *Vales.*

[d] *Whom* Moses *ruined according to the Divine Command: and destroyed his Forces (which had gained the Victory over many, and the greatest Nations,) whilst well fortified* [e] *and compleatly furnished with Arms; not by the shooting of Arrows, or the throwing of Darts; but by an Holy Prayer only, and a quiet Supplication.*

[e] Καθοπλισμένον. It must I think be made καὶ καθοπλισμένον, *and compleatly furnished with Arms.* Presently, where the reading is ἠρέμῳ λιτανείᾳ, *a quiet supplication*; I had rather write ἠρεμαίῳ, *humble.* In the *Fuketian Copy* and the *Kings Sheets* the reading is πεφραγμένον τε καὶ καθοπλισμένον. Nor does Sir *Henry Savils's* conjecture displease me, who has mended it, πεφρασμένῳ καὶ καθοπλισμένῳ. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Wisdom of *Moses*, which was emulated by the Wise Men amongst the Heathens; also concerning *Daniel*, and the *Three Children*.

* *The Israelites.*

† Or, *A disordered People.*

FArther, *no People ever were, or could have been blesseder than* * *that* [*Nation*;] *had they not voluntarily alienated their Minds from the Divine Spirit. But what Man is he, that can speak concerning* Moses *according as he deserves? Who having reduced* † *the confused multitude of the* Jews *into Order, and beautified their Minds with Obedience and Modesty; instead of Captivity, conferred on them Liberty; instead of their Sadness, rendred them Joyful. Who raised those Mens Minds to such an height, that by reason of the* [*unhop'd-for*] *change of their Affairs for the better, and because of their fortunate Successes and Victories, they became puff'd up with Pride and Insolence. Who in Wisdom so far excelled those that had lived before him, that those Persons which are most celebrated by the Gentiles, whether Wise Men* [a] *or Philosophers, have been Emulators of His Wisdom. For* Pythagoras *having imitated his Wisdom, has been so highly fam'd for his Modesty, that that most* * *prudent and sober Person* Plato, *proposed his abstinence as a pattern for his own imitation.* [b] Daniel *also, he who foretold things future, who shewed a* * Specimen *of a most transcendent greatness of Mind, and who was egregiously eminent for the* * *Sanctity of his Morals and his whole Life; what and how rigorous a Cruelty did he vanquish, of that Tyrant which then reigned in* Syria? *His Name was* Nabuchodonosor; *all whose Race being now extinct, that vast and formidable power is transferred to the* Persians. *The Riches of that Tyrant, were, and to this very day are, much spoken of in all Mens Discourses; as likewise his unmeet and foolish Care about a misbecoming worship; and* [c] *his great plenty of Metals of all sorts, for the making of Gods; and the tops of Temples* [*which he erected,*] *reaching as high as Heaven it self; and lastly, his horrid Laws about Religion, made and designed for Cruelty. All which* [d] Daniel *despised, on account of his sincere Piety towards him who is truly God; and foretold, that that inconvenient Earnestness of the Tyrant, would be the occasion of some great and sore Mischief. Nevertheless, he prevailed not with the Tyrant. For an affluence of Riches is a mighty hindrance to sober and good Thoughts. But, at length the King manifested the Cruelty of his own mind; having given order, that this just and guiltless Person should be cast to the wild Beasts, that he might be torn in Pieces. Moreover, the Consent of those Brethren in undergoing Martyrdom, was highly Couragious: whom Posterity afterwards imitated, and procured transcendent Glory, on account of their Faith towards our Saviour. Who appearing unhurt by the Fire, and Furnace, and by those other Tortures appointed to consume them; by the approach and Touch of their pure Bodies repelled the Fire contained within the Furnace. But after the ruine of the* Assyrian *Empire, which was* [e] *destroyed by Thunder-bolts;* Daniel *by* [*the direction of*] *Divine Providence, betook himself to* Cambyses *King of the* Persians. *But, Envy,* [*vexed him*] *here also; and, besides Envy, the destructive Treacheries of the* * Magi; *and a continued Succession of many, and those the greatest Perils. Out of all which he was easily delivered, by Christs assisting Providence, and flourish'd, being the* * Exemplar *of all manner of Vertue. For, whereas he poured forth his Prayers to God thrice a day, and performed great and* [f] *unusual Miracles,* † *and Works highly memorable; the* Magi, *induced*

* Or, *Beauty.*

[c] At this place these words [εἰς τιμὴν τῶν θεῶν κατασκευὴν ἀλυσίλεια, καὶ ναῶν] are wanting in the *Greek Text* of *Valesius's Edition*; omitted I suppose by the carelessness of the Printer; though *Valesius* has taken no notice of this mistake in his *Errata.* They occurr in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; from whom we have inserted them into our Version. Nor has *Valesius* omitted them in his *Translation.*

[d] Ὁ Δανιὴλ καταφρονήσας. After these words, the *Antiquarius* who transcribed the *King's Copy*, offended at the multitude of Faults wherewith the Copy abounded, here made an end of writing. And he has attested this in these words set at the bottom of the page: ..... ὑσας πρὸς τὸ πέλας τῶν σφαλμάτων τῆ βιβλίῳ, ἐπέχον τιὼ γεῖρα τῆ γεάφειν, ὅτι μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐνῆν τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ, καθὼς ἐκ τῆν γεαφέντων ἔστι τεκμήεασθαι τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντας; .... *to the Sea of faults of this Book, I stop'd my hand from writing, because there was nothing sound in the original Copy, as the Readers may conjecture from what is written.* Valef.

[e] Ἀναιρεθείσης κεραυνῶν βολῇ. I can't imagine whence *Constantine* had this, his affirming namely, that the kingdom of the *Assyrians* was destroyed by the casting of Thunder; which I don't remember, to have read any where else. Neither do I well understand that. For, Men, Towers, and Cities may be destroyed by Thunder-bolts, as the Poets have told us concerning the *Phlegyæ.* But, truly I can't see, how a kingdom could be ruined by Thunder. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is κεραυνῶν βολαῖς. *Vales.*

[a] Καὶ φιλοσόφως. A particle seems to be omitted here, which, if inserted, the passage would be made far more elegant. I write therefore, ἤτοι σοφὸς ἢ καὶ φιλοσόφως, that is, *whether wise Men or Philosophers.* Vales.

* Or, *Modest.*

[b] After he has spoken * *Pattern*, concerning the *Egyptians*, and concerning the Destruction of *Memphis*; he passes to the *Assyrians*, and to the desolation of *Babylon.* And on occasion of the *Egyptians*, he has inserted the praise of *Moses.* But now treating concerning the *Assyrians*, he prosecutes *Daniel's* Praises, who lived a Captive amongst the *Assyrians* or *Babylonians.* *Vales.*

* *Magicians*, or *Wise Men.*

* *Pattern.*

† Or, *Of Works*, &c.

[f] Ἐξαισίους ἀρετάς. *Constantine* had in *Latin* termed it *Vertutes*; which word is in the sacred Books usually taken to signifie *Miracles*, as every one knows. The Translator of this Oration has done ill, in rendring it ἀρετάς; whereas he ought rather to have translated it δυνάμεις. *Vales.*

thereto by Envy, calumniated the very prevalency of his Prayers; making the King acquainted, that that great Power of the Man [e] was very dangerous: [h] and [at length] they perswaded him, that this very Person, who had been the Occasioner of so many, and such eminent Blessings to the State of the Persians, should be condemned to be devoured by fierce Lyons. Daniel therefore, [in this manner] condemned, not that he should be destroyed, but in order to his eternal Glory; was shut up in the Den. And whilst he was conversant amongst the Wild-beasts, found them more gentle and tamer, than those by whom he had been shut up. [i] For, a Prayer of Modesty and Soberness, giving Assistance by its powerfulness, tamed all those Beasts, though by their own nature they are fierce and raging. Which things being made known to Cambyses, (For 'twas impossible, that the performances of so great, and such a Divine Power should lie conceald;) he was stricken with an Amazement at the wonderfulness of what was told him; and he repented himself, because he had been so easily prevailed upon by the Calumnies of the Magi. Nevertheless he * had a desire to be an Eye-witness of that spectacle. [k] And when he beheld Daniel praising Christ, both his Hands being lifted up on high; but [saw] the Lyons couching, and as 'twere worshipping the Footsteps of the Man; immediately [he condemned] the Magi, who had perswaded him hereto, [to the very same Punishment, and shut them up in the Den of the Lyons.] But the Wild-beasts, which a little before had fawned upon and made much of Daniel, set upon the Magi, forthwith, and, agreeable to their own fierceness of Nature, tore all of them in Pieces.

e Ἐπικλύδωνος σφόδρα. In the *Fuketian Copy* this place is thus pointed; δὲ ἕτερον ὄφιν δυόμενον. σφόδρα δὲ τῷ τοσαύτῳ, &c. *calumniated the very prevalency of his prayers, as dangerous: and sorely accused in the Kings presence, that great power of the Man.* Valesius.

h Ἔπεισαν αὐτόν. I write, ἐπείσαν αὐτὸν, *and [at length] they perswaded him*; as 'tis mended at the margin of *Moræus's Book*, but this relation contradicts the Sacred Scripture. For, the *Magi* are not in the Sacred Volumes said to accuse *Daniel*, But the *Presidents and Princes*: Nor is he called *Cambyses*, who ordered *Daniel* be to cast to the Wild-beasts, but *Darius the Median*; concerning whom the Opinions of *Chronologers* are various. For most of them will have him to be *Cyaxares*, Son to *Astyages*. But *Scaliger* affirms him to be *Nabonnidus*; to whose opinion our *Petavius* agrees. The consent of which two Persons I value highly. For, whereas they are wont to dissent in most things; wherever we see them agree, it is the greatest Argument of Truth. Nevertheless, *Abydenus* in his *History of the Assyrians*, seems to contradict their Opinion. For he writes, that *Nabuchodonosor*, inspired by God a little before his Death, foretold the *Babylonians*, that not long after, their City should be ruined. For, that *Mulus* the *Persian* should come, who should put the yoak of slavery on them. But, that *Medus*, the glory of the *Assyrians*, should be his Assistant in the besieging of that City. For so I render these words of *Abydenus*, ἕ δὴ σωαίπ῾ ἔσω μήδης. 'Tis certain, the Greek words have no other import, than that which I have mentioned. Now, if *Medus* was *Cyrus's* Companion and Assistant in besieging *Babylon*, and in reducing it to slavery; then *Medus* is not *Nabonnidus*. But *Scaliger*, who will have *Darius Medus* to be *Nabonnidus*, does thus explain *Abydenus's* words, that by *Medus's fault that Calamity would befal the Babylonians*. But *Abydenus* has not said ἕ δὴ ἄιπ῾, but σωαίπ῾; by which term is signified *a Society and Communion of some fact, with another Person*. So the Son of God is termed σωαίπ῾ because together with the Father He is the Author of all things. 'Tis therefore plain from *Abydenus's* words, that *Medus* is not *Nabonnidus*. Valesius.

* Or, *Attempted.*

i Πάντας γὸ ἐυχῆ. I had rather write it in the *Nomnative Case*, thus, πάντας γὸ ἐυχὴ κοσμιότητ῾ καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀρετῆ συναρμόττη, πθάσους ἀπειρχάζετο, *For, a Prayer, &c. The meaning is, so great is the power of Prayer, that it tameth the most savage Beasts.* Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, ἐυχὴ κοσμ. καὶ σωφ. ἀρετὴ σωαιρμόττη, &c. *Valesius.*

k Καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἄνθρ. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Sheets* 'tis, καὶ ἰδεῖν. *Valesius.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning *Sibylla Erythræa*, who prophesied in an *Acrostick* of Verses manifesting [Our] Lord and [His] Passion. The *Acrostick* is this; JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS.

BUT, *I am* * *desirous likewise of mentioning* [a] *some Testimonies concerning the Divinity of Christ, taken from Foreigners. For by this means, even they whose usage it is to speak reproachfully of Christ, will also acknowledge Him to be God and the Son of God; if they will give credit to the Discourses of* Sibylla Erythræa *therefore, who says that She lived in the Sixth Age after the Flood,* [b] *was the Priestess of Apollo: She wore a Crown on her Head, in the same manner with that God who was worshipped by Her; and kept a* Tripod, *about which a Serpent was twisted; and gave forth Oracles to those who consulted Her: having* [c] *by the folly of Her Parents been enslaved to this Worship, from which nothing that is decent and vertuous, but immodest Fury only is produced; agreeable to those very things which are related concerning* Daphne. *This Woman therefore, entring in great hast one time into the* * Adyta *of Her unseasonable Superstition, and* [d] *being really filled with Divine Inspiration, uttered a Prophecy in Verses, containing all those things which should happen in reference to God: plainly setting forth the History of the Advent of* Jesus, *by those Letters which stand in the front of every verse; which sort of Poem is termed an* Acrostick. *Now, the* Acrostick *is this,* JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS. *And Her Verses are these.*

* Or, *Ready to mention*, &c.

a Τῶν ἀλλοδαπῶν τι μαρτυριῶν. The *Fuketian Copy* and *Kings Sheets* have it written μαρτυρειῶν, *Testimonies*; which is righter. For *Constantine* does not produce only one Testimony, but two. *Valesius.*

b Ἱέρειαν τῦ ἀπόλλωνο῾. I embrace the amendment of Learned Men, which I also found in *Moræus's Copy*; ἱέρεια ἦν τῦ ἀπόλλωνο῾, *was the Priestess of Apollo.* So indeed 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Sheets*. Valesius.

c Τῇ ἠλιθιότητι. He had better have said, διὰ τῶν ἠλιθιότητα. *Valesius.*

* *Places in Heathen-Temples, which nobody went into, but the Priests.*

d Καὶ θεὸς ἐνθουσιάσας ὄντως ἠυεμόνη μεσή. Whatever persons amongst the *Christian* Writers, produced the Oracles of the *Sibyls* in confirmation of the *Christian* Faith, they were constrained to say the same concerning the *Sibyls*, which *Constantine* does here; namely, that being inspired by a Divine Spirit, they uttered predictions concerning Christ. So *Justin* in his *Paræneſis to the Græcians*; ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν ῥᾳδίως τῶν ὀρθὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ μέρους ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς σιβύλλης ἐκ πνο῾ δυναστῆς ὁπηνοίας διὰ χρησμῶν ὑμᾶς διδασκόσης, μανθάνειν, &c. *But, 'twill be easie for us, to learn the true worship of God, in part from the Old Sibyl, who from some powerful Inspiration, teaches us by Oracles, &c.* Agreeably whereto St. *Augustine* writes, in his *de Civitate Dei B.* 18. *Chap.* 23. and St. *Jerome* in his *first Book against Jovinianus.* For he says, that Divination was by God allowed to the Sibyls, as a reward of their Virginity. *And* St. *Austin* is not afraid of enrolling them in the City of God. But *Gregory Nazianzen* in his *Poem to Nemesius*, says that *Hermes Trismegistus* and *Sibylla*, whatever they predicted concerning God, *did not foretel those things by Divine Inspiration, but had them out of the Sacred Books of the Hebrews*, which they had incidently perused.

Οὐ θεόθεν, βίβλων δὲ παρεγκλέψαντες ἐμεῖο.

Indeed, *Gregory of Nazianzum*, and those most Holy Fathers of the Church did believe, that those verses were really composed by the *Sibyls*; whereas notwithstanding, they were made by idle People, and published for the *Sibyl's* Verses, about the times of the Emperor *Hadrian*. 'Tis certain, no writer ancienter than *Justin*, has made mention of them. And *Celsus*, who, as we have shown above, lived in the Empire of *Marcus Antoninus*, affirms that the *Christians* had forged and inserted many passages into the *Sibylline Verses*. *Origen* records his Words, in B. 7. νῦν δὲ παρεγγράφειν μὴ εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα εἰκῆ δύναται. I know indeed, that *Origen* denies this,

For

For thus he answers *Celsus*; that he ought to produce ancienter Copies of the *Sibylline Verses*, wherein those verses, which he said had been inserted by the *Christians*, were not in any wise to be found. It might doubtless have been easie for *Celsus* to do that, and by this argument to have evinced the falsity of those verses. But, there are other arguments, whereby this may be proved. For, if the *Sibyl*'s Predictions concerning Christ had been so clear, why has not St. *Paul* made use of Her Testimony, in his Epistles, and when he spoke to the *Athenians*; especially, in regard he disdained not to cite *Aratus*, and other Heathen-Poets. Doubtless, if the *Sibyl* had written this *Acrostick* concerning Christ, there is no reason, why we should scruple to reckon Her amongst the Prophets, and even in the first place. For, none of the Ancient *Hebrew-Prophets* wrote so clearly and distinctly of Christ, as are these verses of the *Sibyl*, produced by *Constantine*. And yet, neither *Origen*, nor any of the Holy Fathers ever allowed this, that the *Sibyls* should be reckoned amongst the Prophets: yea, they esteemed those who believed thus, to be Hereticks; and termed them *Sibyllistæ*, as *Origen* informs us in *his fifth Book against Celsus*. Where he answers *Celsus*, who had objected, that the *Christians* were divided into several Sects; for, that some of them were *Psychici*, others *Spiritales*; that some of them worshipped the God of the *Jews*, others did not; that some, were *Sibyllistæ*, &c. His words are these; Εἶπε δέ τινας εἶναι καὶ σιβυλλιστὰς· τάχα φράσας πῶν ἐγκαλέντων τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις προφῆτην γεγονέναι τὴν σίβυλλαν, καὶ σιβυλλιστὰς τοὺς τοιούτους καλεσάντων. Vales.

* I had at first resolved, to have put these *Greek Verses* into an *English Acrostick*, that is, to have made every verse being with one of the Letters of these words [*Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross*] in their due order; as they do in the Original: agreeably whereto *Valesius*, *Musculus*, *Christophorson*, and *Curterius* have done them into *Latine Verse*. But, on tryal I found it a thing very difficult (at least to me) to be well performed in our Language. Besides, I judged it a matter of less consequence to omit the *Acrostick*, than to give the Reader a lame and imperfect Version of the Original. Which must necessarily have been done, had I been tied up to begin every Verse with one of those particular Letters.

* When the Great Day of Judgment shall appear,
The melting Earth shall then dissolve with fear.
A King Immortal shall from Heav'n descend,
At whose Tribunal the whole world attend.
Both Just and Wicked shall, when Time grows old,
Their mighty God in flesh array'd behold;
Armies of Saints on His Right hand shall come,
Whilst Humane Souls expect their final doom.
Th' Universe shall be a dry Barren Strand,
And Thorns shall flourish on the scorched Land.

Men shall with indignation cast away
Their Wealth, and Idols in that dreadful day.
The parching Earth, and Heaven in flames shall fry,
And [e] searching fire drain the Ocean dry:
All flesh which in the Grave imprison'd lay,
Shake off their Fetters, and return to Day.

[e] Ἰχνεύων. This verse was omitted; from *Moræus's Book*, the *Fuketian Copy*, the *Kings Sheets*, and from *that Edition of the Sibylline Verses, which Seb. Castalio published*, it is to be supplied in this manner,

Ἐκκαύσει ὃ τὸ πῦρ γῆν, ἐρεμνὸν ἢ δὲ θάλασσαν
Ἰχνεύων·

Although I had rather read ἰχνεῦον, in the *Neuter Gender*. Now, that this verse was omitted, we are informed from the *Old Version* in Saint *Austin*, *de Civit. Dei*, B. 18. *Chap.* 23; which runs thus:

Exuret terras ignis, pontumque polumque
Inquirens.

Further, they had expunged this *Greek Verse*, for this reason, because the *Acrostick* seemed to be entire without it. Nor did they perceive that in the *Acrostick*, the name of *Christ* is written with a *diphthong*, thus, χριστὸς: the reason of doing which I don't understand. Yet the *Latine Acrostick* in Saint *Austin* has retained it. Indeed, the *Old Greeks* made the name of *Christ* to consist of eight Letters, writing it χρεστὸς, with a *diphthong*, as *Irenæus* informs us, *Book* 1. *Chap.* 10. Vales.

Fire 'twixt Good and Bad shall diff'rence make,
And filthy Dross from purer Metal take.
Mens secret Deeds shall all be open lay'd,
And th' obscure Mazes of their Hearts display'd.
Gnashing their Teeth, they shall their Fate bewail:
The Stars harmonious daunce, and th' Sun shall fail.
[f] The Orbs roll'd up, shrink into darkest night,
The Labouring Moon shall lose her borrow'd light.

[f] Οὐρανὸν ἐλίξει. So the reading is in the ordinary Edition of the *Sibylline Verses*. The *Old Version* does likewise confirm this writing; for thus it runs, *Volvetur Cœlum*, &c. Yet I doubt not but it should be made εἰλίξεν. For ἐκλείψει is understood, which occurrs a little before. *Vales.*

Mountains with Plains on the same Level lye;
Vallies shall gape no more, nor Hills be high.
On the proud Billows Ships shall ride no more:
And Lightning the Earth's Face shall shrivel sore.
The [g] crackling Rivers with fierce Fire shall burn,
Which shall their streams to solid Chrystal turn.

[g] Ποταμοὶ καχλάζοντες. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*, the reading is, ποταμοί τε καχλάζοντες, &c. *Vales.*

The Heav'nly Trump shall blow a doleful sound,
[h] And th'worlds destruction, and its sin resound.

[h] Ὠρύσει τὸ μέλλον.

In *Castalio's Edition* this verse is written thus,

Ὠρύσει μύσῳ μελεὸν καὶ πήματα κόσμῳ

which reading the *Old Version* in Saint *Austin* confirms; where 'tis thus rendred

Sed Tuba tunc sonitum tristem dimittet ab alto
Orbe, gemens facinus miserum variosque Labores.

In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὠρύσει μέλῳ καὶ πήματα κόσμῳ. Vales.

The yawning Earth [1] Hell's vast Abyss shall show;
All Kings before God's just Tribunal go.

[1] Ταρτάρεον χάος. In the Edition of the *Sibylline Verses*, the reading is truer, thus

Ταρτάρεον ὃ χάος τότε δείξει γαῖα χανοῦσα.
Vales.

Then Liquid Sulphur from the Sky shall stream,
God shall pour down Rivers of vengeful flame.
All men shall then the Glorious Cross descry,
That wish'd-for sign unto a faithful eye:
The Life of pious Souls, their chief delight;
To Sinners an offence, a dismal sight:
[k] Enlightening the called with its beams,
When cleans'd from sin in twice six limpid streams.

[k] Φωτίζων πιστὰς, *enlightening Believers.* In the *Edition of the Sibylline Verses* the reading is κλητὰς, *the call'd*; which I am better pleased with, both because the term πιστὰς is made use of a little before, and also in regard it cannot be rightly said of the Faithful, that they are illuminated by Baptism. For the faithful are not enlightned by Baptism, but the Gentiles rather who are called to the Faith. But, after they shall have been illuminated by the Sacred Laver, then they are termed the Faithful. Farther, the twelve Streams denote, as I suppose, *the twelve Apostles.* Vales.

His Empire shall be boundless, and that God
[1] Shall Rule the Wicked with an Iron Rod.
This God, Immortal King, describ'd in Verse,
Our Saviour, dying shall man's doom Reverse.

[1] Ῥάβδῳ ποιμαίνουσα. *Betuleius* has well remarked, that the *Sibyl* does allude here to the *second Psalm*, ποιμαίνεις αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ, *Thou shalt rule* [*or, feed*] *them with a Rod of Iron.* Whence it appears, that what we have observed above from *Gregory Nazianzen*, is true; namely, that the *Sibyl*, or whoever wrote the *Sibylline Verses*, hath borrowed many passages out of the Sacred Scriptures. Therefore, in my opinion 'tis plain, that these Verses (as *Cicero* has long since told us,) were not published by a *Sibyl* possest with a Prophetick Fury; but were written with a considerate and composed mind, by some body under the Cover of a *Sibyl*'s name. *Vales.*

And these things were predicted by the Virgin, who ('tis likely) was divinely inspired. But, I judge Her to be blessed on this very account, because our Saviour has made choice of Her to be a Propheteſs of his own Providence and Care in relation to us.

CHAP. XIX.

That this Prophecy concerning Our Saviour, was not forged by any of the *Christians*; but was written by *Sibylla Erythræa*, whose Books *Cicero* rendred into Latine Verse, before the coming of Christ. And, that *Virgil* makes mention of this *Sibyl*, as also of a Virgin delivered of a Child: but He sang of this Mystery, * obscurely; out of a fear of those then in power.

* Or, *In Riddles.*

[a] In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Old Sheets*, *this chapter* is begun from these words; ἐν ταῦτα τῇ παρθένῳ, &c: *And these things were predicted*, &c; after the End of the *Acrostick*. Vales.

[a] BUT, *many persons (although they confess* Sibylla Erythræa *to have been a Prophetess, yet) disbelieve* [*this prediction.*] *For they suspect, that some body of our Religion, not unskilled in the Art of Poetry, made these Verses, and put a false Title to them, and affirmed them to be the Predictions of the* Sibyl; *in regard they contain Sentences that are of great use to the Life of man, whereby both the immoderate use of pleasures is restrained, and a way also is opened to a sober and temperate Life.* [b] *But, the Truth it self is apparent and exposed to the view of all men; in as much as the diligence of* * *those who professs our Religion, hath made so accurate a Collection of the* Series *of Times, that no body can now suspect, that that Poem was composed after the Coming and Condemnation of Christ;* [*nor can it be now supposed,*] *that the common Report is false, namely, that these Verses were long before by way of Prophecy uttered by the* Sibyl. *For,* [c] *'tis by common consent acknowledged, that* Cicero, *after he had read this Poem, translated it into* Latine, *and inserted it into his own Works. This* Cicero *was taken off by* Antony, *whilst he was in power. Again,* Antony *was vanquished by* Augustus, *who reigned six and fifty years. His successour was* Tiberius: *in which time the presence of our Saviour shined upon the World, and the Mystery of the Most Holy Religion began to flourish, and a* [d] *new Progeny and Succession of people was* † *established. Concerning which, 'tis my Sentiment, that the* Prince of the Latine Poets *speaks, in these words.*

[b] Ἐν θεοφανεῖ δ' ἀληθείᾳ. I embrace *Christophorson's* Emendation, who read ἐν θεοφανεῖ δὲ ἡ ἀληθεία, *But, the truth it self*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Our men.*

[c] The passage in *Cicero*, which *Constantine* means, is extant in *his second Book de Divinatione*, where he makes mention of some Verses of the *Sibyl*, and of an *Acrostick*. But, that *Acrostick* spoken of by *Cicero*, can no way be proved to be the very same with this which *Constantine* produces here. Yea, the contrary may be gathered from *Cicero's* words. For, in that *Acrostick* mentioned by *Cicero*, the *Romans* were warned, that they should choose themselves a King, if they would be safe; as *Cicero* does there attest. Therefore, the first Letters of these Verses shewed, as 'tis probable, the name of *Julius Cæsar*. But in this *Acrostick* produced by *Constantine*, there is no such thing extant. Wherefore 'tis not to be doubted, but *Cicero* meant an *Acrostick* different from this, though *Sebastianus Castalio* thought otherwise, as did likewise several other persons. Besides, what *Constantine* adds is false; namely, that *Cicero* rendred this *Greek Acrostick* concerning Christ, into *Latine*, and inserted it into his own Books. *Vales.*

† *Begun*, or, *instituted.*

[d] Νέα τῷ ἥμιν διαδοχή. Here also we must acknowledge the unskilfullness of the Translatour, who has made use of ἥμιν instead of ἔθνος. For ἥμιν χειστιανῶν is no good expression; but it should be ἔθνη χειστιανῶν. *Vales.*

[e] Νέων πλησὺς ἀνθρῶν ἐφαάνθη. Now from high Heaven springs a [e] new progeny. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets*, I found it written νέα πλησύς. *Vales.*

And again, in another [f] *place of* His Bucolicks.

[f] Βουκολικῶν τίπου. 'Tis apparent that it must be made τόπῳ, *place*. And so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Further, neither the *Fuketian Manuscript*, nor the *Old Sheets*, begin a new chapter here. *Vales.*

Sicilian Muses, Sing we one Note higher.

What is plainer than this? For He adds.

Last times are come, *Cumæa's* Prophecy.

Meaning namely Sibylla Cumæa. *Nor is he content herewith; but has proceeded farther; as if necessity it self required His Testimony. What says He therefore?*

And Time's great Order now again is born.
The maid Returns, *Saturnian* Realms return.

Who therefore is that Virgin which returns? Is it not She, who was full of, and great with child by the Divine Spirit? And what hinders, but She who is great with child by the Divine Spirit, should always be a maid, and continue a Virgin? [*The wish'd-for King*] [g] *shall also return again, and by His coming shall comfort the world. For the Poet adds.*

[g] Ἐπανήξει καὶ ἐκ δευτέρων. Add these words ὁ ἐρατὸς βασιλεύς, *the wish'd-for King*; of whom mention is made in the last Verse

Ἦκει παρθένῳ οὗτος, ἄγεσ' ἐρατὸν βασιλῆα.

Nevertheless, in *Virgil's* Verse there is no such expression as this. But *Constantine*, as it may be supposed, had altered *Virgil's* Verses a little; and had designedly expunged *Saturn's* name, that he might serve his own design. *Vales.*

[h] To th' infant, chast Lucina, favouring be,
Who ending iron ages, through all lands
Shall golden plant: ——
If any prints of our old Vice remain'd
By Thee they're void, [i] and Fear shall leave the land.

[h] Τὸν ὑ ρεωσι πω. The last word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *the Sheets*. But *Turnebus* had noted at the margin of his Book, that perhaps it should be written πάϊν. *Vales.*

[i] Καὶ σοναχαί τε. This verse is in my judgment to be restored thus;

Ἀλγεά τε σοναχαί τε καλινάσουται ἀλιτρῶν.

But the verse which precedes this, wants no mending. Yet, in the *Fuketian Copy* and *Turnebus's Book*, 'tis written thus,

Τῶ μὴν γὸ ἀρχονθ- τὰ μὴν ἕλκεα πάντα βεβήκει.

Vales.

Which words we perceive to be spoken plainly, and also obscurely by way of Allegory. *For* [k] *to those who make deeper Researches into the force and meaning of the Verses,* [*to them I say*] *they give a clear prospect of Christ's Divinity.* [l] *But, least any one of the* Grandees *in the Imperial City, might take occasion to accuse the Poet, because he had written* [*what was*] *repugnant to the Laws of his own Country, and had overthrown the Opinions concerning the Gods, which had in former times been delivered by their Ancestours;* [*on this account*] *he designedly obscures the truth. For he knew, I suppose,*

[k] Τοῖς μὴ καδύτερον. I read τοῖς μὴ γὸ καδύτερον, &c; or rather καδυτέρως And a little after, where the reading is τῆς τῶ χειστῶ θεότ. πλ- Christ's *Divinity*; these words seem necessary to be added ἄγει τὴν παρουσίαν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis written, τὴν τῶ χειστῶ θεότητα ἄγοντα; and so 'tis in Sir *Henry Savil's Book*. Vales.

[l] Ὅπως τε μὲ τὶς. I write, ὅπως ὃ μή τις, &c. *But, least any one*, &c; which is an amendment wholly necessary, and 'tis strange to me, that neither *Scaliger*, nor any of the other Correctors saw it. For whereas these words, τοῖς μὲ καδύτερον, &c, went before; of necessity it must follow here, ὅπως ὃ, &c; that the sense may be compleat. For *Constantine* says that *Virgil* spoke both plainly, and obscurely. And, that he had obscurely intimated the Divinity and Advent of our Saviour: but, had spoken plainly and openly after the manner of the Heathens, and had named Altars and Temples. The *Fuketian Copy* confirms our conjecture; wherein 'tis written exactly so, as I had long before guess'd it should be. *Vales.*

suppose, the Blessed and Salutary [m] Mystery of our Saviour. Therefore, to the end he might avoid the outragious Cruelty [of Men,] He led the minds of His hearers, to an usage whereto they were accustomed: and says, that Altars must be erected, and Temples built, and Sacrifices performed to the New-born Child. The other words which He has subjoined, are likewise agreeable; [in favour] to those who might entertain such Sentiments. For he says,

[m] Ἐπώνυμον τῦ σωτῆρος τελετῶ. I read τελετῶ, Mystery; as Christophorson likewise read. He has made use of ἐπώνυμον, instead of σωτήριον. In the Fuketian Copy 'tis τελετήν. Vales.

CHAP. XX.

Other Verses of *Virgilius Maro*'s concerning Christ, and the interpretation of them; in which 'tis shown, but obscurely, as the usage of Poets is, that *The Mystery* is disclosed.

HE a God's life shall take, with Gods shall see
Mixt *Heroes*, and Himself their Object be:

Namely the just.

Rule with paternal power th' appeased earth,
Which shall to Thee (sweet Child) undrest, bring (forth
Berries, [a] wild Ivy, and shall pay First-Fruits
Of mixt *Acanthus*, with *Egyptian* Roots,

[a] Κειθὴν. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned Man had mended it at the margin, κισσὸς; that it might answer to *Virgil*'s Verse, *Errantes Hederas*, *Wild Ivy*. But the *Greek Rendition* is looser and less bound up to the Original; and in many places 'tis far wide of *Virgil*'s meaning. *Vales.*

Farther, this admirable Person, a Man that was accomplish'd with all manner of Literature; in regard he had an accurate knowledge of the Cruelty of those times; [has added these words;]

(bear:
[b] The Goats themselves shall home full Udders
Nor shall the Herds the mighty Lyons fear.

[b] Σοὶ δὲ ὦ παῖς. I doubt not but it should be written,

Σοὶ δ' ἄιγας θαλερᾶς μαστὸς κατιδείδυΐαι.

Which emendation is so necessary, that without it the sense is not plain. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies* the reading is, σοὶ ᾧ παῖς θαλερά ὀπσι, &c. But in the *Kings Sheets* 'tis, σοὶ ᾧ παῖς θαλερὸν φησὶ μαστὸν, &c. *Vales.*

Wherein he speaks very true. For Faith will not be afraid of the Grandees of the Imperial Palace.

[c] Flowers shall thy cradle sprout; the Serpent shall,
And the deceitful herb of [d] Venom fall:
In each place * Roses of *Assyria* grow.

[c] Ἄνθεα αὐτά. The *Fuketian Copy* instead of these words, has these ἄστε ἐνιπὴν: *the Sheets*, ἄσιτ' ἐνιπήν. *Vales.*

* Or, *Amomum.*

[d] Ὄλλυται πίσσης. With *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*, I read ποίη. For it answers to those words of *Virgil*, *& fallax herba veneni*. But in *Moræus's Book* 'tis mended at the margin, ὄλλυται ἄτη. But, if you had rather read ποίη, then it must be made ὄλλυτε, that the verse may stand good. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ποιήσως. In *the Kings Sheets*, ποίσης. Vales.

[e] *Than which nothing truer, nothing can be said more agreeable to our Saviour's Excellency and Vertue. For the power of the Holy Ghost hath presented the very Cradle of God, as 'twere some most fragrant flowers, to a [f] new Generation. But the Serpent is destroyed, and the poison of that Serpent [is taken away,] who first deceived our First Parents, seducing their Minds from their innate [Temperance] to the enjoyment of pleasures;*

[e] Τῶν τ' ἀρίστων. At my peril write, τάστων ὃ ἄριστον ἀληθέστερον, &c. in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis τάστων ἄριστον. *Vales.*

[f] Νεολαῖα. In *Moræus's* Book 'tis mended, νεολαία ὥπασε γῆνα.

And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But in *the Sheets* 'tis νεολεία. Further, the meaning of this place is very intricate. *Musculus* renders it thus; *Ipsis namque Dei Cunabulis Spiritûs Sancti Virtus fragrantes quosdam flores, novam scilicet progeniem dedit. For, to the very Cradle of God, the power of the Holy Spirit hath given some fragrant flowers, to wit a new progeny.* But *Christophorson* translates it in this manner; *Ipsa enim Dei Cunabula Spiritûs Sancti Virtute fragrantes flores novæ soboli extulerunt; For the very Cradle of God by the power of the Holy Spirit, hath brought forth fragrant flowers to a New off-spring.* *Musculus* therefore read ἀύσοῖς ἀπαρσάνοις νεολαίαν γῆναν. But *Christophorson* only read δωάμις instead of δύναμις; which I rather approve of. By νεολαίαν γῆναν he means the new People of the *Christians*: concerning whom *Virgil* hath spoken above, in this Verse;

Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.

Vales.

[g] *that they might [not] understand the destruction which hung over them. For, before the Coming of our Saviour, [that Serpent] had * Subverted the minds of Men, which were blinded with an ignorance of the immortality of the Just, and † Buoy'd up with no hope that was profitable and advantageous. But after His Passion, when the Body wherewith he was clothed, had for some time been separated, [from His most Holy Soul;] [h] by the Communication of the Holy Ghost, the [i] possibility of a Resurrection was discovered to Men: and if any spot of humane impieties were left remaining, it was wholly wash'd off in the Holy Laver. Then 'twas, that [Christ] ordered His Subjects to take courage; and from His adorable and most illustrious Resurrection, commanded them to hope for the like things. On a good account therefore it is spoken, that the Nature of things venomous is destroyed. Death it self is likewise destroyed; and the Resurrection is * confirmed.*

* Broken, or, *discouraged.*

† Held up, or *sustained.*

[k] *Moreover, the Stock of the Assyrians is destroyed also, who were the first beginners and chief promoters of a faith in God.*

* Or, *Sealed.*

[g] Ὅπως γνοῖεν. I have added a Negative particle here; thus, ὅπως μὴ γνοῖεν, *that they might not understand*; which emendation the following words do mightily confirm. But if any one shall have a mind to defend the ordinary reading, I shall not much gainsay it, in regard both may be maintained. *Vales.*

[h] Ἐκ τῆς τῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κοινωνίας. *Constantine* had made use of the term *Spirit*, instead of *Soul*. But the Translatour seems to have taken it as meant of the Holy Spirit; as if *Christ* had had His Divinity in place of a Soul, which was the Heresie of *Apollinaris*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, after the word χωρισθέντος, *separated*, a *Comma* is placed. Wherefore it is to be considered, whether those words, ἐκ τῆς τῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κοινωνίας, ought to be joined with these which follow, ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, &c. or rather to be parted from them by a *Comma*; that the meaning may be this; *that by the communication of the Holy Spirit, which Christ after His passion poured upon Men, the possibility of a Resurrection was manifested.* Vales.

[i] Τὸ δύνασθον τῆς ἀναστάσεως. I don't approve of *Christophorson*'s Version, who has rendred this place thus, *Resurrectionis vis hominibus patefacta est, the power of a Resurrection was made known to Men.* Nor has *Johannes Portesius* rendred it otherwise. But, I question not, but τὸ δύνασθον has the same import with that expresst in my Version. *Constantine* says therefore that 'twas made known to Men after Christ's death, that 'twas possible for Bodies to rise. For before, the faith of a Resurrection was dark and obscure, even amongst the *Jews*. Which was the reason, that they feared death so much. *Vales.*

[k] Ἀπώλεσθο ὃ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀσυρίων ῥιζῶθ. *Christophorson* hath interpolated this place, by blotting out the two former words. Sir *Henry Savil* also in his Book has expunged these words, ἀπώλεσθο δὲ, in the same manner with *Christophorson*. But both those Persons are much mistaken. For *Constantine*, whose skill in Grammer was but mean, had construed *Virgil*'s Verse in this manner;

Occidet Assyrium: *Vulgò nascetur* Amomum.
The Assyrian [*Stock*] *shall fall*: Amomum *shall grow every where.*

And this is evident, both from this place, and also from the Version

of

of the Greek Translatour, who renders this Verse of *Virgil* thus, ἀσθενὲς τ' ὀλχεται· ἀλλὰ σὺ χρὴ τέμνειν ἀμώμον. For so this Verse is worded in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, and exactly according to *Constantine*'s mind. Farther, as to this whole *Eclog* of *Virgil*'s, the *Christians* always affirmed, that it was translated out of the *Sibylline Verses*, and ought to be understood concerning *Christ*'s Birth. Nor can these words be spoken of any body else, but of *Christ*,

Hoc duce, si quæ manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.

Thus, besides *Constantine*, St. *Austin* understood these words, in his *Epistle* to *Volusianus*, and in his 155 *Epist.* In his *Epistle* to *Volusianus*, he gives this interpretation of the *Assyrian Amomum*, namely that thereby is meant the Opinion of *Pherecydes* the *Assyrian*, who was the first that asserted the Immortality of the Soul. But this interpretation of St. *Austin* can't be born with, in regard *Pherecydes* was not an *Assyrian*; but, a *Syrian*, that is, of the Island *Syros*. Wherefore, *Constantine*'s explanation is to be preferred, who says, that by the name *Amomum the Faithful* or the *Christians* are meant; because they are ἄμωμοι, that is *without fault*. But, that 'tis therefore termed *Assyrium*, because from the *Assyrians* sprang the first beginning of Faith. For *Abraham* an *Assyrian*, was the first who believed in God; whence he had the Name of *the Father of Believers*. Vales.

* Or, *Our Ladies rose.*

1 Πλῆθος ... θρησκεύοντων θεοσεβεύς. I embrace Sir *Henry Savil*'s conjecture, who at the margin of his Book has noted, that perhaps it should be θεοσεβεύς. *Vales.*

And whereas he says, that * Amomum *shall grow every where*; 1 *he gives the multitude of the* Christians *that appellation. Which* [*multitude.*] *like a vast number of branches flourishing with most fragrant flowers, springs from one and the same root. Most Learnedly spoken, O* Maro, *Thou wisest of Poets! And all the following words are likewise agreeable hereto.*

As soon as Thou the *Hero*'s praise shalt know
And read Thy Father's Acts,
And unto Vertue's knowledge can'st attain:

By the praises of the Heroes, *he means the Works of just Men: and he terms the Constitution of the World and its accurate composure which is to last for ever, the Vertues or Acts of the Father. Perhaps also* [*he means thereby*] *the Laws, which the Church, beloved by God, does make use of*; * *directing to such a Course of life as is correspondent to* [*the Precepts of*] *Justice and Temperance. But, the* † *raising of the Life of Men (who stand in some middle rank between the Good and Bad,)* m *to things more sublime, is worthy of admiration also; when as notwithstanding,* [*such a life*] *admits not of any sudden alteration.*

* Or, *Following.*

† Or, *Enlargement.*

m Τὸ ἀνημμένον παραύξησις. The *Præposition* must be added, which by mistake was omitted in *Robert Stephens*'s *Edition*; thus, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνημμένον. For so 'tis written in the *Kings Sheets*, and in *Turnebus*'s, and *Moræus*'s *Book*. But I am better pleased with that reading, which is proposed from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; which I likewise found in the *Fuketian Copy*; viz. ὅτι τὸ ἀνηγμένον. For, ἀνάγειν is a Verb proper to the *Platonick Philosophy*, out of which several passages in many places of this Oration are taken. Hence comes the *Sensus Anagogicus*, *the Mystick Sense*, which occurrs frequently in *Proclus*; and that saying of *Plotinus*, extolled by *Synesius*, δεῖ ἀνάγειν τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν θεῖον πρὸς τὸ ὅλως θεῖον. *Vales.*

The Fields shall mellow wax with golden grain.

That is, the Fruit of the Divine Law shall be produced for the use [*of men.*]

The blushing grape shall hang on Thorns, unset;

Which things were not at all visible in the wicked and depraved life [*of men.*]

And th' hardned Oaks with dewy honey sweat.

[*In which words*] *he describes the folly and hardned temper of mind, of the Men who then lived. And perhaps he likewise shews, that those who on God's account have* n *been exercised with Labour, shall receive some sweet fruit of their own patient sufferance.*

n Τῶν τῷ θεῷ πόνων ἀνεσομένων. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ πόνον ἀνεσομένων. I write therefore, τὸν εὐπερ τοῦ θεοῦ πόνον ἀσκεῦσας, *those who on God's*, &c. which emendation is most undoubtedly certain. *Constantine* explains that Verse of *Virgil*'s;

Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella.

He says therefore, that by this Verse is meant those who undergo most sore labours for God's cause, or on God's account, shall receive most sweet fruit of their Labours. *Vales.*

Some steps of ancient fraud shall yet be found:
Thetis to tempt with Ships, and to surround
Cities with Walls, bids Earth in furrows tear.
A second *Typhis*, a new *Argo* bear
Choice *Heroes:* and another War, imploy
Again a Great *Achilles* sent to *Troy*.

Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets! For Thou hast * *advanced* ° *Poetick Licence as far as it was becoming. For, it was not Thy design to utter Oracles, in regard Thou wert not a Prophet. I suppose likewise, that the present danger was an hindrance, which danger hung over their heads, who would go about to confute those Rites instituted by their Ancestours. As warily therefore, and as safely as 'twas possible, He has represented the Truth to those who are able to understand it, whilst he lays the blame upon Towers and Wars, which at this very present are really visible in the Life of Men; and describes our Saviour going to the* Trojan *War. Now, by* Troy [*He means*] *the whole World.* p *For* [*Christ*] *waged a War against the opposed Forces of wickedness; His Mission into the World being occasioned partly from the good will and pleasure of his own providence, and partly from the Order of the Supream Father. But, what says the Poet after these words?*

* *Exercised*, or, *made use of.*

° Τὴν ᾠδὴν ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν. I like *Portesius*'s *Version*, (who renders it *Poeticæ Licentiam*,) better than *Christophorson*'s, who translates it *poeticam facultatem*, as *Muscu-lus* had likewise rendred it. For *Græcians* term that ἐξουσίαν, which the *Latines* call *Poeticam Licentiam*, *Poetick Licence*; as I remember, it frequently occurrs in *Themistius*. Further, the *Old Sheets* begin a new Chapter here, from these words, εὖγε ὦ σοφώτατε ποιητά, *Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets!* Which in my judgment is better. Here therefore the *twentieth chapter* is to be placed. *Vales.*

p Ἐπολέμησεν ἀντικρὺς τῆς ἀντικειμένης. In the *Fuketian Copy* and *Turnebus*'s *Book*, this place is written thus; ἐπολέμησε γὰν ἀντικρὺς μὴ τῆς ἀντικειμένης ἢ πονηρᾶς δυνάμεως. But Sir *Henry Savil* had mended it in his *Copy*, ἐπολέμησε γὰν ἀντικρὺς χρὴ τῆς ἀντικειμένης. Vales.

Here when full years shall make Thee perfect Man,

That is, when, after Thou art arrived at Man's Estate, Thou shalt have pluck'd up by the roots those Mischiefs, which infest the Life of Men; and shalt have adorned the whole World with Peace,

q The Sailor shall forsake the Ocean;
Nor navigable pines shall traffick Ware;
But each part of the World shall all things bear.

q Οὐχ ὅσοι ἀυτοῖσιν. Who sees not, that it should be written, ἐχ ὅσοι ναύτησιν, &c. In the third verse from hence, I read ἀυτὴ δ' ἄσπαρτος: for γαῖα is understood. *Vales.*

* Nor earth feel harrows, nor the vine the hook;

* After this verse, there is one of *Virgil*'s Verses left out, in this quotation of *Constantine*'s; this namely; *Robustus quoque jam tauris juga solvet Arator*; that is, *Nor shall his Steers the brawny Tiller yoak.* Besides this, some other verses are left out hereafter, in this quotation.

Nor

Nor wool with various colours ſhall deceive.
But in the meadows Rams [r] ſhall ſcarlet have;
And changing, ſometimes golden fleeces wear.
And feeding Lambs ſhall native purple bear.—
Attempt great honours, for the time draws near,
Dear Race of God's, great Stock of *Jupiter!*
Behold! The world ſhakes on its ponderous axe,
See, Earth, and Heavens immenſe, and th' Ocean's (tracts;
How all things at th' approaching Age rejoyce!
Oh that my [t] Life would laſt ſo long, and voyce,
As would ſuffice Thy Actions to rehearſe:
Not *Orpheus* then ſhould vanquiſh me in Verſe,
Nor *Linus*, though their Parents preſent be;---
Should *Pan* ſtrive with me, by *Arcadia's* doom,
Although a God, *Pan* ſhould be overcome.

[r] Παρατρέψει λιγάδεσσιν. I had rather write παραπρέψει; as 'tis in *the Sheets*. For πρέπειν τῇ ἕδῃ is an elegant phraſe. I alſo write παρὰ, in a word by it ſelf, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. A little after, I would rather read ὄρα εὔπικτα δίμεθλα, in the *Imperative*. For 'tis a rendition of this Verſe of *Virgil's*, *Aſpice convexo nutantem pondere mundum*. Valeſ.

[t] Ζῶντά τ' ἔχε νήδυμος ἰοχὼς. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned man hath mended it, ζῶντά γ' ἔχε. But, neither is the Verſe made good this way. Wherefore, I ſhould rather read ζῶντα χῇ. For theſe words are ſpoken in the *Optative Mood*. In the following Verſe write σὴν ἀρετὴν, from *Moræus's Book*. This Amendment admits of no doubt. But, concerning the former we muſt think further. For that place may, I think, be reſtored with leſs trouble, if you alter the puctation only, in this manner,

Γηθόσυνόν τ' αἰῶνος ἀπείρεσίν λάσιον κῦρ
Εἶδέ με γηραλέον, ζῶντά τ' ἔχε νήδυμος ἰοχὼς.
Σὴν ἀρετὴν καλαδεῖν, &c.

Nothing more certain. Ἔχε is put for ἔχοι. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ζῶντά γε νήδυμος ἰοχὼς. σὴν ἀρετὴν, &c. without the Verb ἔχε. Further, the Reader is to be acquainted, that all theſe Verſes of *Virgil*, as well in the *Fuketian Copy*, as in the *Sheets*, are not written from the head; but the firſt words only of every Verſe are ſevered ſome little ſpace from the preceeding. Which is therefore done, becauſe theſe Verſes are not recited without intermiſſion, but with frequent interlocutions of *Conſtantine's*. Valeſ.

* Or, Immenſe.

*Behold, ſays he, the Joy of the * tottering World, and of all the Elements.*

CHAP. XXI.

That 'tis impoſſible for theſe things to be ſpoken concerning a meer Man: and, that unbelievers, by reaſon of their ignorance of the divine Worſhip, know not even whence they have their being.

SOme one of their number, whoſe Sentiments have leſs of Prudence in them, will perhaps ſuppoſe, that theſe things are ſpoken concerning the Birth of a Man. [a] *But, what reaſon can there be aſſigned, that upon the Birth of a Son of Man, the Earth ſhould be unſown and unplowed; and, that the Vine ſhould not need the edge of the Hook, nor any other care or cultivation? How can theſe things be thought to be ſpoken concerning the Off-ſpring of a Man?* [b] *For Nature is the Handmaid of the Divine Will, and does not execute humane Commands. Beſides, the Joy of* [all] *the Elements denotes the Advent of God, not the Birth of any Man. And this, namely the Poets praying that the term of his Life might be prolonged, is a certain Evidence of Divine Invocation. For, 'tis our uſage to ask life and ſafety of God, not of Men. Thus therefore* Sibylla Erythræa [*ſpeaks*] *to God. Why, O Lord, ſays She, doſt Thou lay upon Me a neceſſity of Propheſying; and not rather keep Me raiſed on high from the Earth, until the day of Thy Moſt Bleſſed Coming? But* Maro *adds theſe Verſes alſo, to thoſe we have quoted above.*

[a] Πῶς δὲ ἔχει λόγον. I had rather write, πῶς ἂν ἔχοι λόγος; and have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[b] Ἥκιστα γὰρ ἡ φύσις. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, 'tis ἥκιστα γὰρ φύσις, For Nature, &c. *Valeſ.*

[c] Begin Sweet Child, with ſmiles Thy Mother (know:
Who ten long Months did with thy burthen go.
Sweet Child begin: [d] cheer'd by no parents look,
To's Board no God, t' Her Bed no Goddeſs took.

[c] Ἄρχε μειδιόωσαν ἀνοήτων. *Robert Stephens* was the firſt that publiſhed this Verſe in this manner, from conjecture as I ſuppoſe. For in the *Kings Sheets* and the *Fuketian Copy*, it is written thus, ἄρχε μειδιόων ὡς ἂν ὀρῶν, &c. From which words it was moſt eaſie to reſtore the true reading of this place. Thus therefore I mend it;

Ἄρχε μειδιόωσαν ὀρῶν τὸν μητέρα καὶ νιν
γνωρίζειν.

Than which emendation, there is nothing more certain. *Valeſ.*

[d] Σοὶ δὲ γονεῖς ὁ πάμπαν. Neither *Conſtantine*, nor the *Greek Tranſlator* apprehended the true meaning of *Virgil's* words. For, he underſtood them in this manner, as if *Virgil* had ſaid that the Parents had not ſmiled on the child; nor, had a God taken him to his Table, nor a Goddeſs to her Bed. *Conſtantine* ſuppoſed, that that verſe of *Virgil.*

Incipe, parve puer, cui non riſere parentes, &c.

was to be read in one breath, without any diſtinction or ſtop: whereas nevertheleſs, after the word *puer*, a point is to be ſet; a thing which even Boys know. *Chriſtophorſon*, becauſe he perceived not this, interpolated *Conſtantine's* following words, by adding a Negative, againſt the mind of the Authour, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies. Farther in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἐφημείως ἐγέλασαν; which is truer, if I miſtake not. Indeed, in the *Sheets* 'tis ἐφημείως. *Valeſ.*

For how ſhould his Parents have ſmiled on him? [e] *For God, who is His Father, is a Power void of Quality. And He Himſelf wants all figure, but* [exiſts] *in the Circumſcription of others; nor is he endued with an humane Body. Who likewiſe is ignorant, that* [f] *the Spirit of God is* * *unconcern'd in a Marriage Bed? For, what deſire, what* † *Appetite* [can there be] *in the affection of the chiefeſt Good, whereof all other things are deſirous? What can be wholly common to Wiſdom and Pleaſure?* [g] *But, it may be permitted them to ſpeak theſe things, who* [feign *to themſelves*] *a certain humane* [*Generation of Chriſt:*] [h] *and who make it not their buſineſs, to cleanſe their mind from every ill fact and word.*

* *Void of*, or, *has no part in.*

† *Love*, or, *longing.*

[e] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν. 'Tis apparent to any one, that it ought to be written, ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πατὴρ θεὸς, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, ὁμὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὢν θεὸς, ἄποιός ἐστι δύναμις. Valeſ.

[f] Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. By the Holy Spirit *Conſtantine* ſeems to mean *the Divinity*, or *the Divine Nature*, as we have already remarked in the foregoing chapter. For he explains thoſe words tranſlated out of *Virgil*, ἃ δ' ἤψω λεχέων; which are ſpoken of Chriſt, not concerning the Holy Spirit. Therefore, at this place I choſe to render it *the Spirit of God*; rather than *the Holy Spirit*, as *Porteſius* and *Chriſtophorſon* have done. *Valeſ.*

[g] From theſe words it appears, that that miſtake, which we have taken notice of above, was not committed by *Conſtantine* himſelf, but by the *Greek Tranſlatour*, who miſunderſtood *Virgil's* laſt Verſes. For *Conſtantine* himſelf took thoſe Verſes of *Virgil* in their true ſenſe, as 'tis viſible from hence. For, when he had quoted *Virgil's* words; (which run thus;

Cui non riſere Parentes,
Nec Deus hunc Menſâ, Dea nec dignata cubili eſt.)

preſently, finding fault with the Poet as 'twere, he adds theſe words. *How*, ſays he, *could his Parents, ſmile on him, in regard His Father is God, who wants both a body, and figure alſo. Beſides, how can a Bed and a Table be any ways agreeable to God, who, 'tis manifeſt, is wholly void of a Marriage-bed, nor is he affected with the pleaſures of meats.* Then he adds theſe words, (whence what I have ſaid, plainly appears, namely that *Conſtantine* underſtood *Virgil's* Verſes excellently well;) *Verùm illis qui humanam quandam Generationem exponunt, concedamus ut ita loquantur; But, let us permit thoſe, who ſet forth a certain humane Generation, to ſpeak thus.* In which words he excuſes *Virgil*, in regard he was ignorant of Chriſt's Divine Generation. But in the *Greek tranſlation*, wherein *Virgil's* Verſes are expounded ill, this period has no coherence with the foregoing words. *Valeſ.*

[h] Οἱ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν. I embrace the conjecture of Learned Men, which I likewiſe found noted in Sir *Henry Savil's Book*; ἢ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, &c. *and who make it not*, &c. *Valeſ.*

I here

I here appeal to Thee, O Piety! I implore Thy Assistance in reference to those things which are spoken: Thou, who [i] *art* [nothing else but] *the Law of Chastity* [*and Holiness;*] *the most desireable of all Goods; the School-mistriss of a most Holy Hope; the most certain and unfeigned Promise of immortality! Thee I adore, O Piety, and Clemency! To Thee we owe eternal Thanks, for the benefit of thy Cure,* [k] *which we stood in need of! But, the Generality of Men, void of Thy Assistance, by reason of their innate hatred towards Thee, have an Aversion for God also. Nor do they understand, that the very Cause, as well of their Life and Being, as of all other Persons who are impious, depends upon that Service and Worship,* [*which is paid*] *to the Deity. For the whole World, and whatever is contained therein, is* [l] *His Possession.*

[i] Ἁγνόν τινα νόμον ὑπάρχουσα. The Rules of Grammar enjoyn it to be written ὑπάρχουσαν, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Further, this is a most elegant definition of the *Christian* Religion; but 'tis basely corrupted by an ill punctation. I read therefore; πάντων τε ἁγαθῶν εὐκταιοτάτην, ἐλπίδος ὁσιωτάτης διδάσκαλον, ἀθανασίας ὑπόχεσιν ἀκίβδηλον; *the most desireable of all Goods*, &c. Nothing certainer than this reading, nothing more elegant. *Constantine* terms Religion the School-mistriss of a most Holy Hope, in regard She teaches us to hope for things Celestial, and to place all our hope in God, not in earthly and frail Goods. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὁσιότητος διδάσκαλον. ἀθανασίας ὑπόχεσιν ἀκίβδηλον. There is the same punctation in the *Sheets*. Valet.

[k] Οἱ δεηθέντες, *we stood in need of*. It must questionless be written, οἱ ἰαθέντες, *whereby they were healed*. For 'tis elegantly said σοῖς θεραπείαις ἰαθέντες, That is, *healed by Thy Remedies*. Valet.

[l] Ἐκείνε κτῆμα. I had rather write, ἐκείνε κτίσμα, *His Work*. or, *workmanship*. Valet.

CHAP. XXII.

The Emperour's Thanksgiving, wherein He ascribes His Victories, and all His other Blessings, to Christ; also a Reproof of *Maximinus* the Tyrant of those times, who by the severity of his Persecution had increased the Glory of the *Christian* Religion.

INdeed, I my self do ascribe mine own Felicity, and all that I am possest of, to Piety, as to the Cause thereof. Whereto the Event of [a] *all things, which have been answerable to My desires and wishes, does bear witness. My Battles, My Victories over mine Enemies, and my Trophies* [*are an Evidence hereof.*] *The* [b] *Great City knows these things, and celebrates them with praises. The same likewise is the Sentiment of the Inhabitants of My most beloved City; although, deceived by false hopes, She hath chosen a Prince unworth of Herself. who forthwith underwent a Condigne punishment, and such as was agreeable to his own audacious impieties. But, I look upon these things as unfit to be mentioned now; by Me especially, who am directing My Discourse to Thee,* [*O Piety!*] *and who do make it my whole Care,* [c] *how I may address my self to Thee, in discourses that are* * *pure and seemly. Nevertheless, I will say something, which shall neither appear foul nor indecent. A fierce and implacable War, abounding with* [*instances of*] *Madness and Cruelty, was by the Tyrants* [*waged,*] *both against Thee, O Piety!* [d] *and against all Thy most Holy Churches. Nor, were there some Persons wanting in the City* Rome, *who rejoyced in such great and publick Mischiefs. A* [e] *Field was likewise pitch'd in order to an Engagement. But, Thou cameſt forth, and didst voluntarily* [f] *deliver up Thyself, being supported by a Faith in God.* [g] *Then the Cruelty of the impious, having, like some furious fire, without intermission preyed upon all things which it met with, procured for Thee an admirable, and ever-to-be-celebrated Glory. For, on this account* [*it was,*] *that a veneration* [*of Thee*] *seized the very Spectators themselves. You might indeed have seen the Executioners and Tormenters, wearied out with torturing the* [h] *Bodies of the Pious, and sorely perplext at the Labour and Trouble they met with: but the Bonds* [*you might have beheld*] *broken; and the Engines of Torture loosed; and the fires which were brought, extinguished: but,* [*on the contrary,*] *the Constancy and Boldness* [*of the Pious*] *not in the least weakned or abated. What advantage therefore hast Thou made, by attempting these things,* [i] *O Thou wickedest of Men? What was the occasion of this thy outragious Fury; Thou wilt peradventure say, that* [*thou performedst these things*] *in honour to the Gods. What Gods were those? Or what Notion conceivest thou in thy mind, that is worthy of the Divine Nature? Didst Thou suppose the Gods to be angry in the same manner with Thee? If therefore they were such, it was expedient to wonder at their Resolution, rather than obey their impudent Commands, whereby they* * *ordered* [k] *just Men to be unjustly slain.*

[a] Τῶν κατ' εὐχὰς ἁπάντων. Any one might with good reason guess, that it ought to be written, πάντων καθ' εὐχὰς ἁπάντων, But whereas the sense is plain without this Emendation, I think no alteration is to be made here. *Valet.*

[b] Μεγαλόπολις. So the *Greeks* are wont to call *Rome*, as may be made appear by innumerable instances. Thus *Tatianus* terms it, in his *Oration adversus Græcos*, where he speaks concerning the worship of *Jupiter Latiaris*; as also *Porphyrius*, in his *Book de Abstinentiâ*. Moreover *Eusebius*, in his *Tricennalian Oration concerning Constantine's praises*, terms *Rome* thus, as we shall see there. *Valet.*

[c] Πῶς ἂν εἴρναις. I had rather write, ὅπως ἂν εἴρναις &c. *that I might address*, &c. *Valet.*

* Or, *Chast and good.*

* Or, *Perswaded.*

[d] Καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις. Before these words there is an *Asterisk* plac'd in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, whereby 'tis shown, that some words are wanting here in the *Manuscript Copies*. But the *Geneva-Edition* has taken out those *Asterisks* which had been diligently noted by *Robert Stephens*, especially in the end of this book. Further some words are wanting here, which I made good thus; σοί τε καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις σε ἐκκλησίαις; *Both against Thee*, &c. For, he speaks to the *Christian* Religion. *Valet.*

[e] He means the field, wherein the Martyrs underwent their last punishment. For, it was the usage, as well amongst the *Grecians*, as *Romans*, that Criminals should have punishments inflicted on them, without the Gates; as I have at large remarked in *my notes on Amm. Marcellinus*. Whence it was, that Offenders led to punishment, were said *ad campum duci, to be led to the field*. So Saint *Austin* in his *first Book against the Epistle of Parmenianus, chap.* 8. Valet.

[f] Ἐπέδωκας ἑαυτὸν ἐπερειδομένην. It must be, σαυτὸν ἐπερειδομένην, &c. That is, *and didst voluntarily deliver up thy self, being supported*, &c. *Constantine* alludes to the courage of the Martyrs, who voluntarily offered themselves to the Judges, and ran to death on their own accord, without compulsion. Indeed, ἐπιδίδοναι is not said, but concerning *Him, who does any thing voluntarily*; as for instance, concerning Christ, who of his own accord delivered Himself for the Salvation of Mankind. *Christophorson* therefore has rendred this place ill, thus, *teipsum adversariis opposuisti, thou hast opposed thy self against the Adversaries*. Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy*, wherein 'tis written, ἐπέδωκας σεαυτὸν ἐπερειδομένην. *Valet.*

[g] Θνητῶν δυσεβῶν ὠμότης, *the cruelty of impious Mortals*. In mine own judgment I have happily found out the emendation of this place. For, whereas before these words, the term πίσει occurrs, the two last Letters of this word being repeated; I have restored the place thus; ἔθ' ἡ θνητῶν δυσεβῶν ὠμότης, &c. *Then the cruelty of the impious*, &c. Nothing more certain. Away therefore with *Gruter's* and *Christophorson's* conjecture, who read, θνητῶν δὲ δυσεβῶν, &c. Yet the *Fuketian Copy* confirms that reading of *Gruter's*. But I have observed before, that many ill corrections are found in that *Copy*. Valet.

[h] Τὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν σώματα. After these words *Christophorson*, *Scaliger*, and others add ἦν εἰδεῖν, *you might have seen*; as I also found it in *Moræus's Book*, and in the *Fuketian Copy*. But there is no need of adding these words here, in regard the term θεωμένους precedes, whereto all these words, ought to be referred. Nevertheless, I do acknowledge, that the discourse would be far more perspicuous, if you should add these words. *Valet.*

[i] He speaks to one of the persecutors; *Maximinus* namely, as 'tis in the Title of this Chapter. For he persecuted the *Christians* with more of Cruelty and Malice, than the others. *Valet.*

[k] Δικαίων ἀνδρῶν σφαγάς. The reading, I think, ought to be σφῶν δικαίων, &c. unless there be a fault in the word ἐπιδόντων. *Valet.*

But,

But, Thou wilt perhaps affirm, [*that these things were done by Thee,*] *on account of the institutions and establishments of Thy Ancestours, and by reason of the Opinion of Men. I pardon Thee. For those institutions are exactly like to the Actions done by Thee, and* [*flow from*] *one and the same* [*Fountain of*] *ignorance. Thou thoughtest perhaps, that there was some excellent power and virtue in Images made in the shape of a Man, by Workmen and Artificers. Wherefore, Thou paidst a worship to them; making it Thy whole business, that they should not at any time be polluted with filth; those Great and Eminent Gods, forsooth! standing in need of humane* [1] *Care.*

[1] Ἐπιμελείας ἐδεήθη. The last word must be blotted out, in adding which, *Christophorson*, *Scaliger*, and *Gruter* did ill. I found the same term added likewise, in the *Fuketian* and *Moræan Copies*. But it is not at all necessary; only, after the verb ῥυπωθῆναι, or *polluted with filth*, a *Semicolon* must be placed. And thus *Portesius* understood this place; who has indeed rendred these words more happily than *Christophorson*, in this manner: *Omnis illa Cura tua, Omne studium ne sordibus opplerentur. Ita Magni primariique Dii humanâ se ope sustinebant; istam diligentiam requirebant.* And so *Musculus* also. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Polity of the *Christians*: and, that the Deity rejoices in those who lead Vertuous lives: and, that we ought to expect a Judgment, and a Retribution.

COmpare Our Religion with Your [*Rites.*] *Is there not amongst Us a genuine Concord, and a lasting Humanity and Goodness of Nature? Is there not amongst Us such a Reprehension for a fault, as may produce amendment, not ruine?* [a] *And a cure, which* [*may bring forth*] *Safety, not Cruelty? Is there not amongst Us, a* [b] *sincere Faith also, in the first place towards God; and then, towards the Natural Community of Men? Do not We exercise a Compassion towards those, against whom Fortune has waged a War? Is there not an honest, plain and sincere life, and such as does not cover wickedness with* [*the mask of*] *any subtil fraud; and a knowledge of him that is truly God, and of his Monarchy? This is true Piety; this is a Religion that is sincere, and wholly uncorrupt. This is the most prudent course of life; and they who have embraced it, tend directly to an eternal life, making their passage through some splendid High way as 'twere. For no person, who enters upon such a course of life, and who purifies his mind from* [*all pollution of*] *his Body, does wholly die: but he must be said to perform the Office appointed him by God, rather than to die. For he who has confessed God,* [c] *does not give place, either to Contumelie, or Rage. But, couragiously enduring necessity, has the Trial of his sufferance as his* [d] Viaticum, *in order to his procuring himself the Divine Clemency.* [e] *Nor is it to be doubted, but the Deity gives a kind reception to* * *Men endued with Vertue. For it would be most absurd, that as well* [f] *Persons in great power, as Men of an inferiour Rank, should shew themselves grateful towards those, and should compensate their favours, by whom they are either reverenced, or have kindnesses shown them: but, that he who is above all, and who is the Ruler over all, and is the Chiefest good it self, should be negligent in making a Retribution.* [g] *Who does accompany us thorowout all Our Lives, and is present with us, as often as we do any good. And forthwith commends and rewards Our Fortitude and* [h] *Obedience: but defers the complement and perfection* [*of that Reward till another time.*] *For, the whole Account of Our lives shall then be cast up. And if all things be found well and right, the Reward of an Eternal life shall follow: but, a condign punishment shall be inflicted on the wicked.*

* Or, *The Vertue of Men.*

[a] Θεραπείαν δ', I read θεραπείαν τε, *and a Cure*. The word φέρειν is understood, which is made use of a little before. The reading might also be, θεραπεία τε; and a little after, καὶ πίστις εἰλικρινὴς; which perhaps is lighter. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ πίστιν εἰλικρινῆ. It appears from the following words, that instead of πίστιν, *faith*, it should be διάθεσιν or ἀγάπην, *Love*. For Love is in the first place towards God, then towards our Neighbour. But Faith is not but in the one and only God. Therefore πίστιν can't in any wise be agreeable here. Besides, in regard he treats at this place concerning Reprehension; on that account Charity or Love is a fitting term. For a kind rebuke begets Charity. But, 'tis better to read here, καὶ πίστις εἰλικρινὴς, as I have said already. And so *Musculus* read, as it appears from his Version. *Vales.*

[c] Οὐ χίνεται πάρεργον ὕβρεως. What the import of this term πάρεργον is, we have observed in the foregoing *Books of Constantine's Life*; (*See Book* 1. *Chap.* 27. *note* (*b.*) and Book 2. Chap. 52. note (*a.*) For Translatours have in no wise hit the meaning, of this term; which nevertheless, was easie to have been done here. *Christophorson* renders it thus. *Qui deum ingenuè confitetur, non contumeliæ, non iracundiæ sponte succumbit.* From which words, there is no body but would extract this sense, *that He who confesses God, is not angry, is not Contumelious.* But, the meaning of the Greek words is far different; namely, *that he who confesses the Name of Christ before the Judge, does not yield to the Reproach and fury of the persecutors.* Vales.

[d] Ἐφόδιον τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐμενείας. *Christophorson* seems to have read εὐνοίας, *Benevolence*; which I don't approve of. For, no sense can be gotten out of this reading. Farther, ἐφόδιον may be rendred *instrumentum, aid, or, assistance*; as *Amm. Marcellinus* expresses himself, Book 29. *pag.* 393. *Cæsar Dictator aiebat, miserum esse instrumentum senectuti, recordationem crudelitatis.* Where see what I have long since remarked, at *pag.* 389. *of my notes.* I have rendred it *Viaticum, Voyage-Provision*, or, *all things necessary for a journey.* Nor has *Musculus* rendred it unfitly, in this manner: *tolerantiæ experientiam compendii vice habet ad consequendam Dei Benevolentiam, He has his sufferance, in place of an advantage, in order to his obtaining God's favour.* Vales.

[e] Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀμφίβολον. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned Man had set these words at the margin; παλαιωνικὸν ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας; that is, *a passage of* Plato's *taken out of his Common Wealth*, B. 10. Indeed, in that Book, *Plato* disputes concerning those Rewards, which are given, by God to just Men, both in this life, and after death. But the argument whereby *Constantine* proves that, occurrs not in *Plato*; at least I don't know that it does. *Vales.*

[f] Τῶν ἐξουσίας ἐπειλημμένων. I doubt not but it is to be written thus; τοῦ μὲν ἐξουσίας ἐπειλημμένους καὶ ὑποδεεστέρους, εἰ θεραπευούσης τυγχάνοιεν ἢ εὐεργετήσης αὐτοῦ τινὲς, εὐχαρίστως κατιδεῖν, &c. That is, *For, it would be most absurd, that as well Persons*, &c. In which words, the term *reverenced* is referred to *Persons in great power*; and likewise, *have kindnesses shown them*, has a reference to *Men of an inferiour Rank*; which *Christophorson* perceived not. In the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, and in Sir *Henry Savil's*, the reading is, κἂν θεραπευούσης μὴ τυγχάνοιεν οἱ εὐεργετήσαντες; which reading I like not. But *Musculus* read, εἰ καὶ θεράπευσες τυγχάνοιεν οἱ εὐεργετήσαντες; not ill. *Vales.*

[g] Ὁ συμπαραμένει. Doubtless it must be written, ὃς συμπαραμένει. For, 'tis referred to τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντας, *He who is above all*, that is *the Supream God*. Whom though he has termed τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ, *the Chiefest Good it self*; yet, ὃς in the *Masculine Gender*, ought to follow. *Vales.*

[h] Εὐδοκίας. *Christophorson* renders it *Propensam Voluntatem, ready will*. *Musculus* translates it *Benevolentiam, Benevolence*. I chose to render it *obedientiam, obedience*. For, this is the import of the Verb εὐδοκεῖν, *morem gerere, obsequi Voluntati Divinæ, to follow, to obey the Divine Will*. Εὐδοκία therefore, to render it exactly, is *allubescentia, a willingness to please*. In which sense 'tis taken in Saint *Luke*, in that Anthem of the Angels, after our Lord's Birth; ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. This term occurrs frequently, in both Testaments, as others have already observed. In the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis, εὐδυδικίας. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning *Decius*, *Valerianus*, and *Aurelianus*, who ended their lives [a] miserably, because of their Persecution of the Church.

[a] In the very Title of the chapter there is a fault, but such a one as may easily be mended. For, instead of ἀθλήσεως, it must be written ἀθλίως, *miserably*; as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Vales.

I *Ask Thee now*, Decius! *who heretofore didst insult over the Labours of the Just; who hatedst the Church; and didst inflict punishments on those who had lived holily:* [b] *what dost Thou now do, after this life? With what, and how afflictive Miseries art Thou now prest? Indeed, that interval of time, which was between Thy Life and Death, has sufficiently demonstrated* * *Thine Infelicity: when, having been overthrown with Thy whole army in the* Scythick *Fields, Thou didst expose the* Roman *Empire, so highly celebrated in all places, to the contempt and scorn of the* † Goths. *Thou also,* Valerian! *After Thou hadst declared the same Bloodiness and Cruelty towards God's Servants, hast made a manifest discovery of God's Holy and Just Judgment; being taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and carried up and down in Bonds, drest in thy purple, and thine other Imperial Attire; but at length, by the* [c] *order of* Sapor *King of the* Persians, *Thy skin was pull'd off, and preserved from corruption by salt, whereby Thou wert made an Eternal Trophy of Thine own Calamity. And Thou* Aurelian! *The* * *chief promoter of all impieties, by how manifest a Stroke of Divine Vengeance,* [d] *whilst raging with fury Thou rannest thorow* Thracia, *wert Thou slain in the midst of the High-way, and filledst the Tracks of the publick Road with Thine impious Blood?*

[b] Τὶ δεινὸν πεφύσεις. At my peril write, τί δὲ νῦν πεφύσεις, *what dost Thou now do*; in which manner I also found it mended in *Moræus's Book*, at the margin. Nor is it otherwise written in the *Fuketian Copy*. But in *the Sheets* 'tis, τί δὲ νῶ. *Vales.*

* Τὴν σὴν εὐτυχίαν, *Thy success.*

† Or, *Getæ.*

[c] Ἐκδαρῆναι κελδδεὶς. In *Moræus's Book*, 'tis well mended, thus, κελδδείς. Further, concerning the Emperour *Valerian's* skin, which was flea'd off by the *Persians*, and salted; other Writers do likewise speak. *Petrus Patricius* mentions it, in his *Excerpta Legationum*, in which Author *Galerius* upbraids the *Persians*, because they detained *Valerian* Prisoner, he having been circumvented by fraud, to the last period of his old age; and because after his death, they most wickedly preserved his skin, and thereby fix'd an immortal Brand of infamy upon his dead Body. *Vales.*

* Or, *Flame of*, &c.

[d] Διαδρέχων καὶ ἐμμανῶς. The *Geneva men* did ill in inserting the particle καὶ, from the Books of *Scaliger*, *Bongarsius*, and *Gruter*; as they tell us: which particle I likewise found added in *Moræus's Copy*. But, whereas that conjunction does disturb the sense, and occurs not, either in the *King's Sheets*, or in *Stephens's Edition*; I am of opinion, that 'tis to be removed. Yet the *Fuketian Copy* retains it. *Vales.*

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning *Diocletian*, who with infamy resigned the Empire; and, by reason of his persecuting the Church, was stricken with Thunder.

BUT Diocletian, *after that Bloody Cruelty of his Persecution, being condemned by a sentence which he pronounc'd against himself*; [a] *because of the harm he received by the loss of his wits, was punished by being shut up in one despicable House.*

[a] For what reason *Diocletian* resigned the Empire, is a thing not agreed on amongst Writers. Some tell us, that *Diocletian* (in regard he was a Curious Searcher into things future, when he had found by the Answers of the Soothsayers, that most sore Calamities hung over the *Roman* State;) voluntarily relinquish'd the Empire. This is attested by *Aurelius Victor*. Others write, that *Diocletian* being grown old, when he perceived himself to be less fit for the management of the Government, both by reason of his age, and on account of his unhealthiness; took this Resolution. Thus *Eutropius*, a most faithful, and most elegant Writer. The same is recorded by *that unknown Author*, in the *Panegyrick* which he spoke to *Maximianus Herculius* and *Constantine*. *Sed tamen*, says he, *utcunque fas fuerit, eum principem quem anni cogerent, & valetudo deficeret, receptui canere. Te verò in quo adhuc sunt istæ integræ solidæque vires.* &c. There are those who write, that *Diocletian*, when he saw the *Christians* could not be overcome by him; by reason of grief and impatience, resigned the Empire; as we may read in *Zonaras*. But *Constantine* does affirm in express words here, that *Diocletian* voluntarily removed himself from the Empire, on account of the loss of his wits. And who is he, that dares contradict *Constantine's* Testimony, in regard he had lived in *Diocletian's* Court; nor could any of these affairs be unknown to him. *Eusebius* relates the same also, in the *Eighth Book of his History*. But, there are many things, which may make us doubt concerning this matter. For first, although *Diocletian* survived his Resignation of the Empire a long while, yet he never gave any indication of a distracted mind. Even that very one saying of his, (which was his answer to *Herculius* and *Galerius*, inviting him to re-assume the Empire) how much of wisdom is there in it? *Utinam Salonæ possetis visere olera nostris manibus sata, I wish you could come to see the Pot-herbs sown with our hands at Salona.* Therefore, in that Retirement he was always honoured by all the Emperours of that time, who paid a dutiful observance to him, as to a Father. Hear *Eumenius* in the *Panegyrick* which he spoke to *Constantine*. *Atenim divinum illum virum*, &c. *But, that Divine Person, who was the first that was a partner of and resigned the Empire, repents not of his own Resolution and Deed. Happy and truly Blessed Man, to whom now a private Person, your dutifulness, who are so great Princes, doth pay an honour!* Would *Diocletian* have been so highly honoured by four Emperours that were *Augusti*, had his Intellectuals been depraved? Or, would *Eumenius* have termed him *a Divine Person*, on this account especially, because he was the first that had resigned the Empire, if that had been done by him, by reason of his madness and dotage? Lastly, *Diocletian* had taken a Resolution of resigning the Empire, long before the Persecution; then namely, when he triumphed over the *Persians* and other Barbarous Nations, at *Rome*. For there, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he required an Oath of his Colleague *Herculius*, that they should both resign the Empire on one and the same day. This *Eumenius* informs us of, in the *Panegyrick* now cited. *Hunc ergo istum qui*, &c. *This Man therefore was ashamed to imitate that Person, who had been made a Brother* [*in the Empire*] *by him; it repented this Man, that the other had sworn in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.* Now, *Diocletian* triumphed at *Rome*, with his Colleague *Herculius*, on the *eighteenth year of his Empire*, as *Jerome* relates in *the Chronicon*; that is, on the year before the Persecution was raised against the *Christians*. 'Tis certain, the *Author* of the *Panegyrick* spoken to *Maximianus* and *Constantine* does attest, that that Resolution was taken by *Diocletian*, and communicated to *Herculius*, long before his Resignation: his words are these. *Tale est Imp. quod omnibus nobis incluso gemitu mœrentibus facere Voluisti: non quidem tu Reip. negligentiâ, aut Laboris fugâ, aut desidiæ cupiditate ductus, sed consilio olim, ut res est, inter vos placito constantiâ*, &c. Which things being so, how can that which *Constantine* says, stand good, that *Diocletian* ran mad after the Persecution of the *Christians*, and for that reason voluntarily removed himself from the Empire? Indeed, I might be easily induced to believe, that *Diocletian* was seized with a sickness, after the Persecution was begun, and was for some time distracted; especially, in regard *Constantine* and *Eusebius* do constantly affirm that. For this usually happens to sick People, and specially to melancholick Persons; of which sort *Diocletian* was, as may be guessed from *his Coyns*. But, I deny, that for this reason he resigned the Empire. Further, in the *Fuketian* and *Turneb. Copies*, the reading of of this whole place runs thus. Ἑαυτὸν καταψηφισάμενος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς παραφρεσύνης βλάβην μιᾶς ἐυκαταφρονήτου οἰκήσεως κατειρξμῶ ἑαυτὸν πεύσας· ἵν' δίμαι τὴν τὸ κεραυνὸς βολὴν δεδιὼς διαγάγοι τὸν ὑπόλοιπον βίον. τί, δὴ τέτῳ συνήνεγκε θεὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιχειρῆσαι; λαλεῖ, &c. *Vales.*

What was the advantage therefore which he got, by his raising a War against our God? This, I think; that he might finish the remaining part of his Life, in a continual fear of being Thunder-struck. The City Nicomedia *does attest this: nor, are they silent, who saw the thing with their own eyes; of which number I my self am one.* [b] *The Palace was destroyed, and* Diocletian's *own* * *Room; Thunder, and a fire from Heaven ruining and devouring it.*

[b] He means the Palace of *Nicomedia* which was consumed by an accidental fire, a little after the Persecution against the *Christians* was raised by *Diocletian*. And [the Emperours themselves,

* Or, *House.*

ſelves, and the reſt of the Heathens, blamed the *Chriſtians* as the Authours of this fire, and therefore raged againſt them with ſevere puniſhments: as our *Euſebius* relates in the *Eighth Book of his Eccleſ. Hiſtory, Chap.* 6. about the cloſe of the Chapter. But *Conſtantine* atteſts, that that Palace was conſumed by fire ſent from Heaven. Whoſe teſtimony has ſo much the more authority, becauſe he himſelf was preſent, when theſe things were done at *Nicomedia*. And *Diocleſian*, aſtoniſhed by this clap of Thunder, ſeems till his death to have continued ἐμβεβρονημένος, always fearing he ſhould be ſtruck with Thunder. 'Tis certain, this Narrative of *Conſtantine*'s ſeems to intimate this. From hence it appears, how egregiouſly miſtaken *Chriſtophorſon* is, in tranſlating the Title of this Chapter. For he thought, that *Diocleſian*'s Palace had been burnt, after his reſignation of the Empire: whenas, nevertheleſs that happened whilſt *Diocleſian* as yet held the Empire, and made his Reſidence in the Palace of *Nicomedia*. Valeſ.

Indeed, the event of thoſe things had been predicted by prudent Perſons. For they were not ſilent, nor did they conceal their lamentation of affairs, which were managed with ſo much of indignity: but with freedom ſpake their minds openly and in publick, and diſcourſed one with another [*in this manner.*] *What outragious fury is this? How extravagant is this arrogancy of power, that Men ſhould dare to wage a War againſt God; and ſhould reſolve to inſult over and reproach the moſt holy and moſt righteous Religion; and* [*ſhould not ſcruple*] *to Plot and Contrive the Ruine of ſo numerous a multitude, and of ſuch juſt Men, when there is not the leaſt fault in them?*

[c] Σωφρονιστὴν διδάσκαλον. The laſt word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Valeſ.*

[c] *O Rare Inſtructer of the Modeſty of all Subjects! O* [*Excellent Teacher*] *of that care which the Army bore towards their own Citizens! The Breaſts of their own Countrymen were wounded by thoſe,* [d] *who had never ſeen the backs of their Enemies in a fight. But at length, Divine Providence inflicted on them the puniſhment of ſuch impious facts; and yet, not without damage to the Empire.* [e] *'Tis certain, the ſlaughters committed were ſo numerous,* [f] *that had they been made* [*in Battels*] *againſt the Barbarians, they might have been ſufficient to have procured us a perpetual Peace.*

[d] Either he ſpeaks theſe words concerning the *Tyrones*, who having been newly enrolled amongſt the *Militia*, had never yet engaged with an Enemy; or elſe concerning thoſe cowardly and faint-hearted Soldiers, whoſe uſage it was to flee out of the Fight, and had never conquered their Enemies. Indeed, *Diocleſian*'s Army is ſaid to have done nothing memorable, ſave only the taking of the *Achilleum* at *Alexandria*, by a long Siege. Farther, 'tis very hard to underſtand what *Conſtantine* ſhould mean, when he ſays, that thoſe Soldiers had wounded the Breaſts of their own Cirizens, that is, of the *Chriſtians*. 'Tis probable, that *Diocleſian*, in regard he was incenſed againſt the *Chriſtians*, by whom he ſuppoſed his Palace to have been fired, had given his Soldiers order, that whatever *Chriſtians* they could find in the City or in the Fields, they ſhould ſlay. 'Tis certain, many thouſands of *Chriſtians* are related to have been ſlain at *Nicomedia*, under *Diocleſian*, and *Maximian*: the memory of which Perſons thus murdered, is by the *Greeks* celebrated, on the *fourth of September*, and *on the twenty eighth of December*. Valeſ.

[e] Τοσοῦται γὰρ ἐγένοντο σφαγαί. This period is removed out of its place, For, it ought to have been placed immediately after the word διασάλπιστος in this manner: μεταφρασα διασάλπιστος· τοσοῦται γὰρ ἐγένοντο σφαγαὶ, ὅσαι εἰ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγένοντο, ἱκαναὶ ἦν πρὸς αἰωνίαν εἰρήνην τέλος γᾶν &c. That is, —— *who had never ſeen the backs of their Enemies in a Fight. 'Tis certain, the ſlaughters committed were ſo numerous, that had they been made* [*in Battels*] *againſt the Barbarians, they might have been ſufficient to have procured us a perpetual peace. But at length, Divine Providence inflicted on them the puniſhment of ſuch impious facts; and yet, not without damage to the Empire. For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperour*, &c. What can be clearer than theſe words, what more plain? Queſtionleſs, he muſt be very obſtinate, who ſhall deny, that theſe words are thus to be reſtored. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ὅσαι εἰ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐγένοντο. There may be a double meaning of this place. For, either it may be rendred thus, as *Porteſius* has turn'd it. *Sanè cædis & ſanguinis tanta vis fuit, ut ſi Barbarorum eſſet, ad fœdus ſempiternum ſufficeret. Indeed, ſo great was the abundance of ſlaughter and blood, that had it been of the Barbarians, it might have ſufficed for a perpetual League.* Or, elſe, with *Chriſtophorſon*, it may be tranſlated in this manner. *Tot planè factæ ſunt cædes, quot ſi in barbaros factæ fuiſſent, ſatis multæ ad æternam pacem conſtituendam videri potuiſſent. So many ſlaughters were committed, that had as many been made againſt the Barbarians, they might have ſeemed enough to have eſtabliſh'd an Eternal Peace.* And this latter ſenſe pleaſes me beſt. *Lucan*'s opinion is wholly the ſame, in the beginning of his *Pharſalia*, when he ſays;

Heu quantum potuit terræ pelagique parari
Hoc quem civiles hauſerunt ſanguine dextræ!

Yet, inſtead of ὅσαι, it would be better written, ὅσα. For it follows, ἱκαναὶ ἦν. *Valeſ.*

For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperour, when afterwards it came under the Command of a [g] *worthleſs Perſon, who by force had ſeized upon the Empire of the* Romans, (h *Divine Providence having at length ſet at Liberty that great City;*) *was totally ruined in many and thoſe* * *Bloody Battels.* [i] *Moreover, the Cries to God of thoſe that were oppreſt, and who ardently deſired their Native freedom; the Praiſes alſo and Thanksgivings paid to God, after a deliverance from thoſe Miſchiefs, when Liberty* [k] *and contracts with Juſtice were reſtored to them; do not theſe things all manner of ways declare the Providence of God, and his Paternal Love towards Men?*

[g] He means *Maxentius*, as 'tis apparent from the following words Now, how *Diocleſians*'s Army ſhould come under the Command of *Maxentius*, is not difficult to gueſs. After the Reſignation of *Diocleſian*, *Galerius Maximianus* received his Forces; part whereof he delivered to *Severus Cæſar*, for the defence of *Italy*. Some little time after, when *Maxentius* had ſeized the Empire of *Rome*, *Galerius* ſent *Severus* with his Forces againſt him. But *Maxentius* having corrupted *Severus*'s Army by fraud, and with promiſes, brought them over to his own ſide. After this, when *Galerius* had made an Expedition againſt *Maxentius* with a greater number of Forces, he alſo was deſerted by a like Revolt of his Soldiers. Thus *Diocleſian*'s Forces came under the Command and Power of *Maxentius*. Valeſ.

* *Manifold*, or, *Fights of all ſorts.*

[h] φροντίσας δὲ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Turnebus*'s *Book*, this place is read thus, φροντίσας τε δὲ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ὠκ εὐμοίρησα. Valeſ.

[i] Ἀλλὰ μὲν χὴ. It muſt be ἀλλὰ μὲν αἱ φρὴς τὸν θεὸν ἐπφωνήσεις &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἀλλὰ μὴν χὴ αἱ. *Valeſ.*

[k] Καὶ τῶν μὴ δικαιοσύνης συμβολαίων. *Conſtantine* does glory becauſe, having cruſh'd the Tyranny of *Maxentius*, he had reſtored to the *Romans*, Liberty and Contracts with juſtice. For, after the ſlaughter of the Tyrant, whatever things had been done, either by Him or his Judges, were null'd. Therefore, if any one had been preferred to a dignity by him, he was reduced to his former condition, and was forc'd to bring in the *Codicills* [or, *Patent*] of the dignity he had obtained, to the Lawful Prince. The Sentences alſo, and Decrees, which the Judges had made in thoſe times, were taken away out of the *Publick Scrinia* and *Offices of Record*. Laſtly, that whole time of the Tyranny was accounted for nothing, in the ſame manner as if it had never been. Wherefore, neither was it of advantage for the preſcription of a long time. Compacts alſo and Bargains, and Contracts of what ſort ſoever, which had been made between private Perſons during that ſpace of time, were in like manner null'd, and that even with the ſtricteſt authority and power. But lawful Princes, after they had gotten the Victory over Tyrants, and had reſcinded all their Acts; were wont to confirm Bargains, Sales, Donations, Manumiſſions, and ſuch like Acts of private Perſons, by granting an indulgence of a publick conſtitution: leaſt, if all theſe ſhould be made null, the quiet and ſecurity of private Perſons might be diſturbed. Hereof we have information, from the Emperours Laws in the *Theodoſian Code*, B. 15. *De infirmandis his quæ ſub Tyrannis geſta ſunt.* Whence we underſtand, why *Conſtantine* ſays, that he had reſtored Contracts to the *Romans*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is συμβόλων, not συμβολαίων. To this uſage *Rufinus* ſeems to allude, in the end of his *ninth Book*, when he ſays, *Edictis namque frequentibus per omnem locum propoſitis, non ſolùm tyrannicas adverſus Chriſtianos depulerat leges, juſque civile reddiderat*, &c. *Valeſ.*

CHAP. XXVI.

That God is the Cauſe of the Emperour's Piety; and that we ought to ſeek proſperous Events from God, and to impute them to Him; but muſt aſcribe faults to our own ſloth and negligence.

BUT, when they commend my Labour and Service, which took its riſe from the Inſpiration of God; do they not plainly avouch, that God is

[a] Πάντων γε μαλιστα, It must be πάντως; and before this word an interrogation is to be set, as Christophorson seems to have read. Vales.

[b] Τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν χειρῶν ἀγιωτάτην λειτουργίαν. I can't approve of Christophorson's Version, who renders it, *Manuum ad cœlos sublatarum cultum, the worship of hands lift up to Heaven.* I doubt not, but λειτουργία here has the same import with *Ministerium, Ministery.* For *Constantine* says, that Men ought to give the Ministery or Service of their own hands to God; and that, with a pure and sincere Faith. He has made use of διακονίαν and ὑπηρεσίαν above, in the same sense. Truly, I can't perceive, how χεῖρες can be taken in such a sense, as to signifie *hands lift up to Heaven*, or, *Prayers.* Besides, the following words do most apparently refute *Christophorson's Version.* For *Constantine* adds, ἡ σὺν ταῖς χερσὶν, &c. *and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of Men, by Prayers and Supplications joined with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected.* For, after *Constantine* hath said, that Men ought to give the Service of their hands to God, he adds, that not only the hands are to be lent to God, but Prayers also and Supplications are to be used, that the affairs which we have undertaken to perform, may succeed happily. This is what *Græcians* are wont to say in a common proverb, σὺν εὐχῇ καὶ χεῖρα κίνει; whereby they shewed, *that together with prayer the hand was to be put to the work.* Farther, when *Constantine* says τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν χειρῶν λειτουργίαν, he speaks concerning himself, in the same manner that *Æneas* does in *Virgil.*

——*Si Pergama dextrâ*
Defendi possent, dextrâ hâc defensa fuissent. Vales.

[c] Πρὸς γενομένης ὠφελείας. It must be written in one word, προσγενομένης; which I admire *Scaliger* and the rest did not perceive. So 'tis certain, the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

the *Authour of my Valorous Actions?* [a] *Nothing more certain. For, 'tis God's property to do whatever is best: but, 'tis the property of Men, to pay an obedience to God. Farther, this is, I suppose, the best and most excellent Ministery; when a Man, before his taking an affair in hand, makes such provision, that all things be done with the greatest safety. Indeed, all Men know, that the* [b] *most Holy Ministery of these very hands, is owing to God, together with a pure and most sincere Faith; and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of Men, by Prayers and Supplications joined with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected: in regard, so much of utility has* [c] *redounded to all Persons, both privately and publickly, as each Man could have desired, not only for himself, but for his dearest Relatives. They have likewise seen Fights, and have been Spectatours of a Battle, when Divine Providence* [d] *bestowed Victory on the People: and they have beheld God favouring and assisting our Prayers. For righteous Prayer is a thing invincible; and no Man ever mist of his design, who besought God holily. For, there is no* [e] *pretence left for a Repulse; save only where Faith is wavering. For God is always favourably present, and gives a gracious Reception to the probity of Men. Wherefore, sometimes to slip and stumble, is a thing common to Men: but God is in* [f] *no wise the Author of humane Lapses and Mistakes. All Persons therefore whatever, who are followers of Piety, ought to give thanks to the universal saviour,* [g] *both for our and their own safety, and for the flourishing posture of the publick affairs: and with holy Prayers, and continual Supplications, to render Christ propitious to us, that he would preserve and perpetuate his own Favours. For he is the invincible Assistant and Defender of the Just: He is the best Judge; the Prince of immortality; the Donour of Eternal life.*

[a] He means the People of *Rome*, who in regard they were oppress by the Tyranny of *Maxentius*, put up their Prayers for *Constantine* against *Maxentius.* And this sense may be born with. But having look'd more narrowly into the thing, I have a suspicion that there is something of a fault here. And perhaps the reading should be, τῷ νίκην τῷ ἐμῷ στρατεύματι βραβεύσας, *bestowed Victory on my Army.* Vales.

[d] Περιλείπεται κόσμος. At this place κόσμος is made use of to signifie *prætextum, a pretence* or *colour*; which term in *Constantine's Latins Oration* being not understood by *the Translatour*, he rendred it in this manner: but, would have done better, had he made use of the word πρόφασις. *Christophorson* therefore, and *Portesius* have done ill, in rendring it *mundum, the World.* Vales.

[e] Ἀναίτιος δὴ ἀνθρωπίνων πταισμάτων. It must be written πταισμάτων, *Errours*, or *mistakes*; as I found it mended in *Moræus's Book.* And this the *Geneva-men* have already put us in mind of, from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; whereto agrees the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

[f] Τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας. I am not of the same mind with *Scaliger, Bongarsius*, and *Gruter*, who mend this place thus, τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, *for our own safety.* I had rather read, τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας which reading I have followed in my Version. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written, τῆς τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. But in the *Sheets* 'tis, τῆς τε ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν. *Vales.*

28 SE 60

Eusebius Pamphilus's ORATION IN PRAISE OF THE EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE, SPOKEN AT HIS Tricennalia.

The [a] Prologue [to the Oration] in Praise of *Constantine*.

[a] It was heretofore the usage of the *Sophists*, before their Orations to make a kind of a Flourish as 'twere, in a short Preface; after the manner of Harpers, who before the Song, sing some thing for Tryal sake. This Preface was commonly termed προοιμία. So in *Themistius's fifteenth Oration*, and in *Libanius's Declamations*, it often occurrs. Hence, προοιμία is by *Theodoret* taken to signifie a *Prologue*. Vales.

I Come not hither with a Composure of Fables, nor with an Elegancy of Expressions framed to captivate the Ears; that by the Voice of Syrens *as 'twere, I might charm* [*my Hearers:*] *nor, that in Golden Cups, namely the beautiful flowers of words bedeck'd with the most exquisite art of Rhetorick, I might present the delicate potions of pleasure, to persons in Love with those things. But rather, paying an Obedience to* [*the Precepts of*] *the Wise, I perswade all men, to shun and avoid the publick Roads; and entreat them, that they would not herd with* The Many. *I am come therefore, that I might* [b] *begin amongst You a* * *New Song of the Emperour's Praises. And although numerous persons have attempted to tread the same* † *path with me, yet* [c] *I will decline the Foot-steps of men, and will go in an untrodden way, into which 'tis impious to enter with unwash'd feet. Indeed, they who affect Vulgar Discourses, and Expressions worn with the* ‖ Witticisms *of Lads, and who Court a pleasing and popular Muse; may daub mens Ears with humane Narratives; whilst they submit the Arbitrage* [*of all things*] *to pleasure. But such as be initiated in the Mysteries of Universal Wisdom it self, (in regard they are Masters of the knowledge of things Divine and Humane;) accounting the choice of what is better, to be the highest felicity;* [*such I say*] *esteem and preferr the God-lov'd Vertues of our Emperour, and his Pious Actions, before his humane accomplishments and Deeds, leaving those His Secondary Excellencies, to be celebrated by inferiour persons. For, whereas the Emperour's mind is endued with a knowledge of matters Divine and Humane; and whereas* those *have a reference to God; but* these, *to Men: Let them,* [d] *whoever namely are fit for the performance of this*

* Or, *Newer.*
† Or, *Dance.*
‖ *Sophisms, or, Subtilties.*

[b] Ἐπαρξάμην. Write ἐπαρξόμην, from the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[c] Πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων. It must be made πάτον ἀνθρώπων, *the path*, or *foot-steps of men*. For 'tis a noted half-verse of *Homer's* concerning *Bellerophon*, which *Cicero* renders in the very words I have made use of in my Version, namely, *Hominum Vestigia Vitans*. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis plainly written, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων. Farther, *Eusebius* has designedly besprinkled this Prologue, with many pieces of verses taken out of the Poets, as with flowers; that by this kind of Elegance he might allure and please the minds of his Hearers. So above, χρυσίοις δεπάεσσιν is a poetick expression. *Vales.*

[d] Ὅπη ὅπερ δὴ ἐπιτήδειοι. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ὅσοι δήπερ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι, *whoever namely are fit*, &c. The Verb εἰσὶν *are*, must be understood. But *Christophorson* the Translatour of this Oration, in regard he perceived not these things, has confounded the whole meaning of this place, in his Version. In the *Fuketian Copy*, these words ὅπη ὅ are wanting; excellently well. *Vales.*

Office, suggest things Humane to such as stand without the Sacred Rails. For, even these things are both illustrious and transcendent, and of great use to mankind. Yea, all the perfections visible in our Emperour, are eximious; [e] *nevertheless, they are far outdone by His Diviner Excellencies. But, let those persons, who are within the Holy Sanctuaries, and who have entred into the* Adyta *and invious Recesses* [*of the Church;*] *(after they have shut the doors against prophane and impious Ears,) unfold the secret Mysteries of the Emperour, to those men only who are initiated therein. Farther, when they have cleansed their Ears in the Fountains of Piety, and mounted their understanding upon the sublime wing of the mind it self, let them lead a dance about* [*God Himself*] *the Supream King, silently learning the Divine* [*Mysteries.*] *And let the Oracles, not those which are the products of Divination,* [f] *or rather of rage and madness; but them that are uttered by the illumination and inspiration of the Divine* [*Spirit,*] [g] *be our Instructers in the Sacred Rites:* [*let them give us information*] *concerning the Kingdom it self; and concerning the Supream King; and concerning that Divine Guard which surrounds the Universal Governour: as also, concerning that Copy of Royal Power which is amongst us, drawn from that Original of the Celestial Kingdom; and concerning that other false one, which does counterfeit the Impress thereof: and lastly, concerning those things which do accompany* * *each sort of Empire.* [h] *Having therefore learned the Divine Mysteries from these* [*Oracles,*] *as from some* Hierophantæ, *we will thus begin our Divine* [i] *Discourses.*

[e] Πλὴν ὅπ λειπόμενα. So also the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*; yet I had rather reade, πλὴν ὅτι, *nevertheless.* Vales.

[f] Μᾶλλον ἢ μανίας. A transposition of words usual with *Eusebius*, instead of ἢ μᾶλλον μανίας.

* Or, *Both the one and the other Order; that is, the true Royal-power; and the counterfeit, or, false one.*

Presently, the reading in the *Fuketian Copy* is ὁπηνοίαις, not ὁπηνοίας.

[g] Τῶν τελείων ἡμῖν ἡγήσασθαι διδάσκαλοι. Doubtless it is to be written, τῶν τελετῶν, *in the Sacred Rites*, or *Mysteries*; which emendation is confirmed by these words which follow presently, οἷς δὴ τὰς διοπτευθεῖς τελετὰς ἱεροφαντήσαντες, *Having therefore learn'd the Divine*, &c. For *Eusebius* says, that the Sacred Books, wherein are contained the Divine Oracles, are our Teachers of the Sacred Mysteries, and are as 'twere some *Hierophanta*. Vales.

[h] Ἱεροφαντήσαντες. It has the same import with what he has said above, namely τελεσθέντες, *learning the Divine Mysteries.* For ἱεροφαντεῖν signifies the same with τελεῖν. Wherefore ἱεροφαντεῖσθαι will import the same with τελεῖσθαι. The Chief-Priests of the *Eleusinian Sacra* were, at *Athens*, termed *Hierophantæ*, who delivered and consigned the Rites of *Ceres.* Whom, persons initiated did so highly Revere, that they would never call them by their own names. *Eunapius* tells us this, in *His Life* of *Maximus the Philosopher*, in these words: τὸ δὲ ἱεροφάντης κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἢ χρόνον, ὅστις ἦν τὸ νῶμα, ἔξεστι δῆτα λέγειν, &c; *But, what his name was, who at that time was Hierophanta, it is unlawful for me to declare: for, he had initiated me who write these things; and had enrolled me amongst the Eumolpidæ. Lucian* (or whoever else is the author of it) attests the same *in Lexiphane*; where one *Megalonymus* an *Athenian* says, that when he had gone out one day to visit the Magistrate, he found the *Daduchus* [*Torch-bearer,*] and *Hierophanta*, and some other Ministers of the Sacred Rites, who haled one *Dinias* before the Magistrate, accusing the man because he had called them by their own names; whereas it was unlawful to call them by their own names, after they had been consecrated: ἔγκλημα ἐπάγοντας, ὅτι ὠνόμαζεν αὐτούς. καὶ ταῦτα εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι οἷς ἔξεστιν ὠσιώθησαν, ἀνώνυμοί τέ εἰσι, καὶ ἐκεῖθι ἀνομασοί. Although *Lucian* says more than *Eunapius.* For *Eunapius* has told us, that it was unlawful only for those who had been Consecrated at *Eleusina*, to call that *Hierophanta* by his proper name, from whom they had received initiation. But *Lucian* affirms, that that was forbidden to all persons in general. Hence 'tis, that amongst *Libanius's Epistles*, some occurr with this Title, τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, *to the Hierophanta.* And in the *Fifth Book of Symmachus's Epistles*, the first three are inscribed, *To the Hierophanta.* For, in regard both those persons had been initiated at *Athens*, they look'd upon it as a thing unlawful, to call the *Hierophanta* by his own name. *Vales.*

[i] Θείων ἐφαψώμεθα. The *Geneva-Printers* had left out a word, which we have supplied from the *Fuketian Manuscript* thus, θείων ὀργίων ἐφαψώμεθα, *we will begin our Divine Discourses*, or *Mysteries.* Vales.

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S
[ORATION IN PRAISE OF] THE
EMPEROUR CONSTANTINE,
SPOKEN AT HIS TRICENNALIA.

CHAP. I. THIS *is the Great Emperour's Solemn Festival; wherein We who are the Servants of the Emperour, inspired with the Instructions of Sacred Discourses, do rejoyce. He who gives beginning to, and Rules this Our Festival, is the Great Emperour Himself. Him I term The Great Emperour, who is truly Great. Him I mean, (nor will the Emperour, who is here present, be offended thereat, but will rather, together with Us, highly approve of this Our Discourse concerning the Divinity;)* * *who is beyond the Universe; the Supream over all; the Highest; the most Immense. The Thrones of whose Empire, are the Celestial Arches; and the Earth, the Footstool of His Feet.* [a] *Nor can any one* † *perfectly comprehend Him in His mind. For, the Glorious Light which surrounds Him, by the unspeakable Splendour of its Rays, drives off all persons, and hinders them from beholding his Divinity.* ‖ *Him the Celestial Hosts do encompass:*

* Τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὅλων. These words are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

† Or, *Worthily.*

[a] Οὐδ' ἔστις ἐπαξίως. It must, I think, be written, οὐδ' ἂν τις; *Nor can any one*, &c. Nevertheless, something seems to be wanting here. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, οὐδέ τις ἐπαξίως νοῆσαι τῶν δύναιτ' ἄν; which is right. *Vales.*

‖ Or, *About him the Celestial Hosts make their Rounds.*

*compass: His Guards are the Supernal Powers; Him They acknowledge their Master, Lord, and Emperour. The innumerable multitudes of Angels, and the Companies of Arch-Angels, and the Quires of Holy Spirits, * deriving [their Splendour] from the Rays about Him, as 'twere from some everlasting Fountains of Light, are illustrated. Likewise, all the Lights, and especially those Divine and Intellectual Kinds of incorporeal Lights, which have their place beyond Heaven; do celebrate this Great Emperour with the highest and most Divine Hymns. The vast Firmament, like some azure Curtain, is drawn between, which separates those without, from them who are conversant within the Palace. Round this [Firmament,] in the same manner with the* [b] *Light-Bearers in the Imperial* Porticus's, *run the Sun and Moon, and those other Luminaries of Heaven: which do both highly honour the Emperour Himself and also at his beck and word, afford the Splendour of an inextinguishable Light, to those who are without Heaven, and who inhabit a Gloomy Region. Whereas therefore I do presume, that Our Victorious Prince himself also, does with praises celebrate* [c] *this Greatest Emperour; therein, in my own judgment, I* [d] *seem to do very well: in regard I am truly sensible, that * all power amongst us is derivative from him. Him also the Religious* Cæsars *do acknowledge to be the Fountain of all † Blessings: having received this Command from their Father. Him, the Milice; the numerous multitudes of the people, as well in the Countries as Cities: and the Governours of Provinces assembling in the Church, do Religiously adore: being instructed by Our* [e] *Great Saviour and Master. Lastly, all mankind in general, all sorts of Nations, Tribes, and Languages; and all persons, as well collectively and in one Body, as severally and apart; although in other matters they differ in their Sentiments, yet agree in this very one confession; invoking this One and Only God, by natural reason, by notions self-learnt, and which proceed not from the instruction of any Teacher. What, does not the whole * Mass of the Earth acknowledge him Lord? By the Plants and Living Creatures produced out of it, does it not evidently demonstrate its submission to* [f] *his command who is far superiour in power? The Torrents also of Rivers overflowing with their waters, and the plentiful streams of Fountains, perpetually issuing* [g] *out of the unknown and immense depths of the Earth, do profess him to be the Author of this inexplicable and miraculous performance. The Gulfs of the Sea, inclosed within unfathomable depths, and the swollen Waves* [h] *which are raised to a vast height, and strike the adjacent Earth with terrour; as soon as they approach the Shores, dread Him, being bound by the Command of his Divine Law. Moreover, the * Determinate Quantities of Winter Showers; and the astonishing noise of the Thunder; and the flashings of the Lightning; and the variable and inconstant blasts of the Winds; and lastly, the aerie † Tracks of the Clouds, do plainly exhibit his presence* [i] *to those, who can in no wise take a view of him with their own eyes. The all-enlightening Sun also, who hath * finished so vast a number of ages, acknowledges him only as his Lord; and, in entire obedience to his command, never dare, go beyond his fixt Bounds. The Moon likewise, (*[k] *which for the splendour of her light is far inferiour to the Sun,) being lessened and again increased at set periods of Times, obeys the Divine Commands. And the Beauty of Heaven, which glisters gorgeously with the Dances of the Stars, and * moves with Order and Harmony, and measures over its own Circles; proclaims God to be the Donor of all manner of Light. Likewise, all the other Celestial Luminaries, having by his Beck and Word made up one harmonious Consort, finishing their long Course by the Circles of so vast a number of ages, like Charioteers run over the Rounds of their Ætherial Stages. The successive Returns of nights and days, the changes of Seasons and Times, and the Order and Harmony of the Universe, do celebrate the manifold wisdom [1 of his infinite and immense power.] Those invisible Powers, which fly about the Plains that lie stretch'd through the Air, do render to this God, due and befitting praise. The whole World therefore with a joynt consent doth laud this Great Emperour. The Heavens above, and those Quires which are higher than the Celestial Arches, do reverence him: the Hosts of Angels praise him with inexpressible Hymns: and the Spirits which are*

---

* Or, Drawing.

[b] Δαδουχοῦντες. *Eusebius* does elegantly compare the Sun and Moon to the *Light-Bearers* or *Footmen*, who were wont to go before the Emperour with Torches and Lights, as I have noted at *Amm. Marcellinus*. Vales.

[c] Τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα χειστὸν, *this Greatest Emperor Christ*. The last word must be blotted out. For what *Eusebius* has said hitherto, he has spoken not concerning Christ, but of God the Father; to whom the antient Divines did properly assign the Monarchy. Besides, the following words do plainly shew, that these are not spoken concerning Christ. Nevertheless, if any person be scrupulous of expunging any thing, he must set a distinction after the word βασιλέα, that the meaning may be this; that God the Father, the highest King of all, is celebrated with Hymns, both by *Christ*, and by *Constantine*. For *our Eusebius* does a little lower say the same thing concerning *Christ*. Vales.

* Or, *He only* [i. e. *God*] *is the Author of Empire to us.*

† Or, *Goods.*

* Or, *Element.*

[d] Εὖ μάλα δοκῶν ποιεῖν. It must, I think, be written, δοκῶ ποιεῖν; which reading I have followed in my Version. But some words are undoubtedly wanting here, which may be supplied in this manner; τοῦτον ἡμῖν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, χειστὸν καὶ αὐτὸν καλλίνικον ἡμῶν βασιλέα ἀνυμνεῖν συμπαθῶς, ἀνυμνεῖ ὁ ἡμέτερος βασιλεὺς, εὖ μάλα δοκῶν ποιεῖν, &c. That is, *Our Emperour well knowing, that this Greatest King is with Hymns celebrated by Christ, who himself also is our most invincible King; He Himself likewise extols him with Praises and Hymns, thereby doing that which is right and well; for he understands, that he only is the origin of Empire to us.* Thus the sense is most plain; nor do I think, that *Eusebius* either wrote, or thought otherwise. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis written, εὖ μάλα δοκῶ μοι ποιεῖν. *Vales.*

[e] The Translatour thought these words were spoken concerning *Constantine*; which truly I don't condemn. Yet, they may also be meant of *Christ*. *Vales.*

[f] Τὴν πρὸς τὸν σὺν μάλα τοῦ κρείττονος ὑποταγήν. This place is corrupted, which nevertheless you might easily mend. At my peril therefore write, τὴν πρὸς τὸ νεῦμα τοῦ κρείττονος ὑποταγήν, *its submission to the command of the Deity*; which amendment is most undoubted. *Vales.*

[g] Ἐξ ἀϊδίων ὑδάτων ἀπείρων. These four words are, in my judgment, to be blotted out, as being superfluous, and but little agreeable to this place. But if any person shall have a mind to retain them, they must be transposed in this manner; πηγῶν τε τῶν ἀενάων ἐξ ἀϊδίων ὑδάτων ἀπείρων πηγάζουσαι ῥύσεις. Although another participle would be substituted. For, πηγῶν πηγάζουσαι ῥύσεις is no good expression. It would be better, were it made ἀναμυζεῖσθαι, as *Eusebius* expresses himself lower; or rather ἀναμυζᾶσθαι. *Vales.*

[h] Εἰς τέλος διεξώμενα. The last word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* Or, *Measured Falls.*

† Or, *Paths.*

[i] Τὴν αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀνατύπωσιν. It must I think, be, τοῖς πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀνατυπῶσιν ἀδυνάτοις, *to those, who can, &c.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τοῖς τὸν αὐτοῦ θέαν αὐλοπῶσιν; right. *Vales.*

* Or, *Goes on.*

[k] Ὑποχωροῦσα τῷ φέγγει τοῦ ἡλίου. The Translatour renders this place thus: *Lunam quoque, cujus Lumen multò obscurius est quàm Solis; the Moon likewise, whose light is far more obscure than that of the Sun.* But I think it should be written, τὸ φέγγος ἡλίου; that is, *the Moon which goes under the light of the Sun.* Vales.

[1] Τῆς ἀπειρομεγέθους δυνάμεως. I had rather write, τῆς ὑπερμεγέθους δυνάμεως. Instead of σοφίαν ἀναπέμπουσιν, another verb must be substituted; viz. ἀνυμνοῦσιν *do extol*, or ἀνακηρύττουσιν *do proclaim*. For that verb ἀναπέμπουσιν is not at all agreeable here, and has crept in hither by mistake, out of the following period. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τὴν πολυποίκιλον σοφίαν χαίρουσιν, *do celebrate his manifold wisdom*; without those words τῆς ἀπειρομεγέθους δυνάμεως, *of his infinite and immense power*; nor do these words occurr in the *most ancient Palatine Manuscript*. Vales.

*the Off-springs of Intellectual Light, do pronounce Him their Parent and their God. Those Ages * unlimited by Time, which were before this Heaven and this World; and besides, infinite other Ages, before all constitution of things visible, do acknowledge one sole and supream Master and Lord. Lastly, He Himself, who is in all, before all, [m] and after all, His only-begotten Son and præexisting Word; the Great High-Priest of the Great God; ancienter than all Time and all Ages; [n] devoted and consecrated to the worship of His Father, is the First and Only Person who makes Supplication to Him for the Salvation of all men. Who enjoys a prehemінence in the Government of the world; [o] but possesses an equal share of Glory with His Father, in His Father's Kingdom. For, He is that Light which transcends all things; which dances about the Father, and which by its intervention Separates that Nature which is without a Beginning and without a Generation, from the substance of things begotten. Which Light also, streaming from above, from the Deity which wants both beginning and end, * diffuses it self without, and illustrates the Region above heaven, and all things that are within heaven, with the Rays of Wisdom, which are far more Glorious than the splendour of the Sun. This is he, who is the Leader of the whole World; the Word of God who goes before all, and through all, and is in all things, as well Visible as Invisible. By whom and through whom, Our Emperour dear to God, bearing a resemblance of the Celestial Empire, in imitation of the Deity, directs and manages the Helm of Government over all things upon the Earth.*

* Or, *Which were before all Time.*

[m] Καὶ μετὰ πάντας. I don't see how this expression can be made use of, in reference to *The Word*, that *that is before all things, and after all things*; unless we mean it concerning *The Word incarnate*. In which sense there is a passage in *The Revelation*; *I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last.* It may also be meant concerning *The Word*, who, although He was begotten before all ages, is nevertheless continually begotten by the Father. And this is what is said in *the Psalms*; *Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee*, &c. Thus *The Word* is before all things, and after all things, and in all things, not by a succession of time, but by reason of an eternal Generation. For, he is the Origin and End of all things who begins and terminates all things which are, or which can be. Nevertheless, *Eusebius*'s words may be understood otherwise, if they be construed with the verb ἱλαρίλαόκεται. So, the meaning will be this; *The Word does appease God the Father before all persons and after all persons.* But the former exposition is truer. For in this manner *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in *his Epistle to Hermammon*, speaks concerning the Son of God; οὐδὲ τὼ κείσιν ὑπεῖδετο τῶ περὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, *Neither had he regarded to the judgment of Him who was before all, is in all, and above all.* Which passage is quoted in the *Seventh Book of the Eccles. Hist. Chap.* 10. *Novatianus* likewise, in *his Book de Trinitate, Chap.* 14. says Christ is before all things, and after all things; before all things, *as God*; but after all things, *as Man.* Vales.

* Or, *Proceeds forth on the outside.*

[n] Τῇ τῶ παλεὸς καθωσιωμένῳ πμῇ. The Translatour has rendred it ill, *dignitatis paternæ participeps, partaker of His Father's dignity*; whereas it ought to have been rendred, *devotus ac dicatus cultui patris, devoted*, &c. 'Tis an expression like that inscription, which is commonly extant on the Base of Statues which they had dedicated to the Emperours, DEVOTUS NUMINI MAJESTATIQUE EJUS. But, these words smell rank of *Arianism*. For whoever asserts, that God the Word is devoted to the worship of God the Father; doubtless that person speaks too meanly of The Word, and seems not only not to equal The Word to God the Father, but rather to make Him subject to the Father. Of the same stamp is that expression which *Eusebius* adds, *that The Word makes supplication to the Father for the Salvation of all men.* Which, if it be meant concerning God the Word, as He is the Word, can no wise be born with. But, if it be understood concerning Christ, that is, concerning the Word after He had assumed the humane Nature, it is most true. The same opinion is extant in *his Second Book against Marcellus Chap.* 7. where *Eusebius* says, that the Son doth worship, adore, and glorifie God the Father. Farther, a little before, the reading in the *Fuketian Manuscript* is, ὁ παῖδος χρόνε, καὶ πάντων αἰώνων πρεσβύτατῳ. *Vales.*

[o] Ἴσοις δὲ τῆς πατρικῆς βασιλείας, *but, possesses an equal share*, &c. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, δευτέροις δὲ τῆς, &c; *But, holds the second place in His Father's Kingdom:* which expression the publishers being not able to endure, they thought it was to be changed into ἴσοις, that so the Son might be made equal to the Father. But, that *Eusebius* wrote as I have said, is apparent, first from the very Series of his Oration. For, at this place *Eusebius* distinguishes the Government and Regiment of the Universe, from the Kingdom of God the Father. And in the Government of the Universe, he does indeed say, that the Son holds the principal place: but, that he has the Second place in the Kingdom of His Father: πρωτείοις μὲν τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς, δευτερείοις δὲ τῆς πατρικῆς βασιλείας ἐνδοξάζομένῳ. You see, that τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν, that is, *the Kingdom of the Universe*, is opposed to the Kingdom of God the Father. To πρωτείοις therefore, τὰ δευτερεῖα ought also to be opposed. Secondly, τὰ ἴσα τῆς βασιλείας is not *Greek*. Lastly, *Eusebius*, in *his Books of Demonstrat. Evang.* does always term the Son, the *Second Cause*: And, in *Book* 5. *Chap* 4. *Demonstrat. Evang.* he says τῶν δευτερείων ἀξιῶν. *Vales.*

AND That Only-begotten Word of God, *Reigns together with his Father, from ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But this Our Emperour,* [a] *always dear to him, being supplyed with some Imperial Emanations from above, and fortified* [b] *with the Surname of a Divine appellation, governs upon earth during many and long periods of years. Farther, that Universal* * *Preserver renders Heaven, and the whole world, and the Celestial Kingdom, fit for his Father. But this* [*Our Emperour,*] *who is his Friend, brings all those persons living upon Earth, that are the Subjects of his Empire, to the Only-begotten Word and Saviour, and makes them fit* [c] *for his Kingdom. And, that Common Saviour of all, by an invisible and divine power, drives off at the greatest distance from his Fold (in the same manner that a good Shepherd does wild-beasts,) those Rebellious Powers, which flew up and down thorow this Air that is nearest the Earth, and * brooded the Souls of Men. But this* [*Our Emperour,*] *his friend, adorned from above by him, with Trophies erected against his Enemies; by the Law of War subdues the open Adversaries of Truth, and chastizes them. That person, existing* † The Logos *before the world was framed, and the preserver of all things; delivers rational and saving Seeds to his Companions, and renders them reasonable, and instructed in the knowledge of his Father's Kingdom. This* [*Our Emperour,*] *his Friend, as 'twere some Interpreter to the Word of God, recalls all mankind to the knowledge of God: crying out in the hearing of all men, and with a loud voice promulging the Laws of* [d] *true Piety and Verity, to all persons living upon the Earth. That Universal Saviour opens the Celestial Gates of his Father's Kingdom, to those who remove from hence thither. This* [*Our Emperour,*] *following the Example of the Deity, after he hath cleansed his Empire on earth, from all the filth of impious Errour, invites the* * *Assemblies of Holy and Pious men, into the Sacred Houses and* † *Basilicæ; making it his chiefest care, that the whole Navy, with the Command*

CHAP. II.

[a] Ὁ διαχὴς ᾧ τέτῳ φίλῳ. This place is, in my judgment, thus to be restored; συμβασιλεύων ἐξ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείρους καὶ ἀπελευτήτους αἰῶνας διαρκεῖ. ὁ ᾧ τέτῳ φίλῳ, &c; *continues to Reign together with His Father, from ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But, Our Emperour, dear to Him*, &c. *Vales.*

[b] Τῷ τῆς θείκῆς ἐπωνυμείας ἐπωνύμῳ. 'Tis not clearly enough made out, what this Surname of a Divine appellation should be, wherewith *Constantine* was honoured and signalized. Does *Eusebius* mean the name of *Victor*, which was given to *Constantine*, as we have remark'd above? Or rather, the surname of *Maximus*, which is proper to God? The very Name *Constantine* may also be meant, the import whereof is, *He that is.* Now the Sacred Scriptures do inform us, that this is the proper Name of God. Lastly, we may here understand the surname of *Christianus*, *Christian*; an appellation which *Constantine* loved most entirely. *Vales.*

[c] Πρὸς τὸ αὐτὴν βασιλείαν. I read with the Translatour, πρὸς τὸ αὐτῇ βασιλείαν, *for His Kingdom.* Vales.

[d] Τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the word ἀληθοῦς is wanting; which is the truer reading. *Vales.*

* Or, *Saviour.*

* Or, *Stuck upon the*, &c.

† Or, *The Word.*

* Or, *Quires.*

† Or, *Churches.*

Command and management whereof He is entrusted, should be preserved together with the People on Board. And He is the only Person of all those that ever yet governed the Empire of the Romans, *who having now been honoured by God the Supream King, with* * *thirty years Reign, celebrates this Festival, not to terrene Spirits, as the usage of the Ancients was, nor to the Apparitions of* Dæmons *which seduce the unskilful multitude, nor yet to the frauds and* [e] *feigned Narratives of impious Men: but, pays his thanks to that God, by whom he has been honoured, being truly sensible of those Blessings which He has conferred on him. Not polluting his* † *Palace with blood and gore, agreeable to the Rites of the Ancients; nor appeasing terrene* Dæmons *with smoke and fire, and with sacrifices of Beasts wholly consumed by fire on the Altars; but consecrating a most grateful and acceptable sacrifice to the Supream King Himself, His own Imperial Soul namely, and His Mind which is most worthy of God. For this is the only Sacrifice wherewith God is well pleased: which Our Emperour has learnt to offer, with the purified thoughts of his mind, without either fire or blood* [f]*: giving confirmation to his piety by those unerring Sentiments and Opinions treasured up in his mind; setting forth the praises of God in lofty and magnifick Orations, and by Imperial Actions emulating the Clemency of the Deity: and wholly devoting himself to God, and, like some great Gift, making a present of himself to Him, the First-fruits as 'twere of the World, with the Administration whereof he hath been entrusted. This greatest Sacrifice therefore, the Emperour in a due manner Offers,* [g] *before all other. But he Sacrifices like a Good Shepherd, not*

Offering glorious Hecatombs of Firstling-Lambs:

but rather, bringing over the minds of those rational flocks, which are fed by Him, to the knowledge and worship of God.

* Or, *Three periods of Decads.*

[e] Ἀκρίτοις ἀνδρῶν. The word ἀκρίτοις is corrupted; in place whereof, what term should be substituted, I don't know. Unless the word ἀκρεάτοις will please. For he praises *Constantine*, because he would not admit the *Ethnick Orators* to his *Decennalia*. Vales.

† Or, *Imperial Houses.*

[f] Ζηλῶν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀναχείμενος. These words ought to be expung'd; which are not set in their due place here, but must be put in lower, in this manner; ἀδιάφευστοις λόγοις δόξασι, τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας κρατύνων. λόγῳ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ χαρίζων τῷ θεολογίαν, πεφέξοι τε βασιλικαῖς τῷ κρείττονος ζηλῶν φιλανθρωπίαν. ἀναχείμενος αὖτῷ, καὶ μέγα δῶρον, &c. *giving confirmation to his piety, &c.* There is nothing more certain than this Emendation; nor did the Translator read otherwise, as 'tis apparent from his Version. Wherefore this seems to be a mistake of the Printer. This our Emendation was long afterwards confirmed to us by the *Fuketian Copy*; wherein 'twas exactly written as I had conjectured; save only, that 'tis there worded, ὅλος τε ἀναχείμενος *and wholly devoting himself*, &c. *Vales.*

[g] Πρὸς τῶν ἁπάντων. It must be made πρὸ τῶν ἁπάντων, or πρῶτος, *before all other*, or, *first*. Vales.

CHAP. III.

BUT *God, highly pleased with such a Sacrifice as this, and with delight accepting this Gift offered to Him; praises the* * Hierophanta *of this venerable and eximious Sacrifice, and makes an addition of* † *many periods* [*of years*] *to his Reign; augmenting his favours towards him, in a manner correspondent and proportionate to those Acts of Piety, wherewith He is worshipped by the Emperour. And He has permitted him to celebrate all these Festivals with the highest prosperity of the Monarchy; at each period of the* Decennalian Festivity, *advancing one of his Sons to the Colleague ship of the Imperial Throne* [a].

* *See the Prologue to this Oration, note* (h.)

† O, *Large.*

[a] Καὶ ὥσπερ εὐθαλῆ.

These words, as far as δωρέμενος, are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the most ancient *Palatine Copy*, as the *Geneva-men* have told us. *Vales.* *Valesius* takes no notice of this clause, either in the *Greek Text of his Edition*, or in his *Version*. In *Curterius's* Translation of this Oration (for I have not the *Geneva-Edition* by me.) it is worded thus; *Et velut plantæ florenti virentisque temporum incrementa donata.*

For, [b] *in the first* Decennium *of his Empire, he proclaimed his eldest Son, who bears the same name with his Father, a Partner of the Imperial* * *Realm: after that, his second Son, who was the next to him in age, at his second* Decade: *and in like manner his third, at his third* Decade, *which we now celebrate.* [c] *And, whereas his fourth period* [*of ten years*] *is now current; in regard the spaces of times do more and more extend themselves, he encreases the Empire by a Copious* † *Colleagueship of his Stock,* [d] *and by Creations of Cæsars; fulfilling the Oracles of* [e] *the Divine Prophets, which they long since proclaimed in this manner:* And the Saints of the most High shall take the Kingdom. *Thus therefore, God Himself the Supream King confers upon the most Pious Emperour,* * *an Increase both of years and Children, and renders his Government of the Nations upon Earth, fresh and flourishing, as if it had been but now begun.*

[b] Κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον τῆς βασιλικῆς περιόδου δεκάδα, *in the first Decade of his Imperial period.* If we make a more exact enquiry into the thing, it will be found false, that *Constantine Junior* was created *Cæsar* by his Father, in the first *Decennium* [*ten years*] of *Constantine's* Empire. For *Constantine Junior* was created *Cæsar* by his Father, in the Consulate of *Gallicanus* and *Bassus*, on the *Calends of March*, in the year of Christ 317. This was the *eleventh year* of *Constantine's* Reign. Wherefore, *Constantine Junior* was not created *Cæsar* within the first *Decennium*, but within the second rather. This place of *Eusebius* must therefore be favourably interpreted, and κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον δεκάδα, must be taken for ἀμφὶ τὸν, &c. *about*, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Heritage.*

† Or, *Society.*

* Or, *Increases of Times*, &c.

[c] Ἤδη δὲ τῆς τετάρτης ἀνακυκλεμένης περιόδου. The Emperour *Constantine* published his *Tricennalia* in the Consulate of *Constantius* and *Albinus*, on the *eighth of the Calends of August*, which day began the *thirtieth year* of his Empire. From this day therefore, in the foresaid Persons Consulate, on the year of Christ 335, began the *fourth Decennalian* period of *Constantine's* Empire, according to the computation of *Eusebius*: whereas nevertheless, it ought rather to begin from the following year, namely, *his thirty first year*. But these things are not wont to be so exactly cast up, by Orators. *Vales.*

[d] He means *Dalmatius* and *Hannibalianus*; the former of whom was declared *Cæsar*, the other *King*, by *Constantine*, in the thirtieth year of his Empire, on the *fifteenth of the Calends of October*, as it occurrs in *Idatius's Fasti*. Saint *Jerome* (in the *Chronicon*) tells us, that *Dalmatius* was made *Cæsar*, in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. Where he has made use of the term *Tricennalia*, instead of *the thirtieth year of his Empire*: whereas nevertheless, *Tricennalia* is properly the *first day of his thirtieth year*. For the *Roman* Emperours celebrated their *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, and *Vicennalia*, on the *first day of the fifth*, *tenth*, and *twentieth year* of their Empire. For these words signifie nothing else, but the *Natalis* [*Birth-day*] of the Empire, which was celebrated with the greatest Pomp and Festivity, every recurring fifth and tenth year. Now, this Festivity lasted one or two days, in which time the *Ludi Circenses* and *Theatrales* were exhibited. Therefore, whereas *Dalmatius* was not created *Cæsar* on the *eighth of the Calends of August*, which day began the thirtieth year of *Constantine's* Empire; Saint *Jerome* has expresst himself improperly, who has told us, that that *Cæsar* was created in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. Our *Eusebius* does here more truly place that, after his *Tricennalia*, the *fourth Decennalian period* of *Constantine's* Empire now beginning. For, after the celebration of the *Tricennalia*, they began a new period; as if the thirtieth year, which was but just begun, had been now finished. And, as *Lawyers* are wont to say, that in dignities, a begun-year is accounted for a compleat one: so also they were wont to do, in the *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, and the other Festivals of this sort. Thus, the place in *Amm. Marcellinus's fourteenth Book* is to be understood; where he speaks concerning *Constantius's Tricennalia* in these words. *Arelate hyemem agens Constantius, post Theatrales Ludos atque Circenses ambitioso editos apparatu die 6. idus Octobris, qui Imperii ejus annum tricesimum terminabat, &c.* For *Amm. Marcellinus* has undoubtedly made use of *the thirtieth year compleated*, instead of *the thirtieth year begun*, on account of that very reason which I have mentioned. *Vales.*

[e] Περφητῶν θείων. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis θείων θεσπετῶν. And, a little after, ὅτω δῆτα χρόνων, &c. This place, which *Eusebius* cites out of the Divine Prophets, occurrs in the *seventh Chapter of Daniel*. Vales.

And

* That is, God.

† Or, *Splendors.*

And * *he himself solemnizes this Festival* [*in honour*] *to Him; having made Him the Conqueror over all his Enemies and Adversaries; and exhibiting Him as the Pattern of true Piety, to all Persons upon the Earth. But our Emperour, like the Light of the Sun, illustrates Men, whose habitations are in places most remote from one another, with the glorious* † *Presence of His* Cæsars, *as 'twere by some Rays transmitted from himself to the greatest distance. And on Us who inhabit the East, He hath bestowed a* [f] *Shoot truly worthy of himself: another of his Sons* [*he hath assigned*] *to another portion of Men: and again, another* [*He has placed*] *otherwhere; like so many Lamps and Lights, which derive their Brightness from that Light diffused from Himself. Farther, having joined together for himself, the Four most valiant* Cæsars, *like so many young Horses,* * *and fix'd them under one Set of Harness belonging to the* [g] *Imperial Chariot, and fitted them with the Reines of Divine Concord and Unity; He Himself sits above, like the Charioteer, and puts them on; and drives over the whole World, wherever the Sun makes his Visits; and is personally present in all places, and inspects all affairs. Lastly, being adorned with a representation of the Celestial Empire, having His eyes fix'd upon Heaven, He directs and manages the affairs of Mortals, in a conformity to that Original Draught; and is encouraged and strengthened by a resemblance of the Monarchy of God. For, this the* [*sole*] *King over all, hath bestowed on the Nature of Men only,* [h] *of all those Creatures which are on Earth,* [*that it should express a likeness of his Divine Monarchy.*] [i] *For, He is the Law of Imperial power, whereby 'tis Decreed, that all should be subject to the Empire of One. Moreover, Monarchy does far excel all other Constitutions, and Forms of Government whatever. For* Polyarchy, *which is opposed to it, being a sort of Regiment wherein many Govern with an equality of power and honour, ought rather to be termed* Anarchy *and Confusion. On which account, there is one God, no, two, nor three, nor yet many. For, to assert a multitude of Gods, is plainly to affirm, that there is no God at all. One King: and* [k] *his Word and Imperial Law, One: which* [*Law*] *is not declared by words and syllables; nor is it written in Paper, or cut upon Pillars, that it should be consumed by length of time: but it is the living and self-subsisting* * *God the Word, who disposes and orders his Fathers Kingdom, to all those who are under Him, and after Him. Him the Celestial Hosts do surround, and* Myriads *of Angels which are the Ministers of God; and innumerable Troops of the Milice plac'd above the World, and of invisible Spirits; who residing within the Inclosures of Heaven, use their utmost diligence about the Order and Administration of the whole World. Over all whom, the Royal* † Logos *is the Captain and Prince, as 'twere some Præfect of the supream Emperour. The Sacred Oracles of Divines term Him, The Master of the Milice, and The Great High-Priest, and The Prophet of the Father, and The Angel of the Great Council, and The Brightness of His Father's Light, and The Only-Begotten Son; and* [*give Him*] *innumerable other such Titles as these. Whom when the Father had Constituted The Living Word, and The Law, and The Wisdom, and The Complement of all Good; He made a Present of* [l] *This Greatest Blessing, to all those who are Subject to His Empire. But, He pierces thorow all things, and goes every where, and in a plentiful manner displays His Father's Favours to all Persons; and has stretch'd forth the Resemblance of the Imperial Power, even as far as those rational Creatures which live on earth; having adorned the mind of Man, which is framed according to His Own Likeness, with Divine* * *Faculties. Hence 'tis, that in the mind of man there is a participation of the other Virtues also, derived from a Divine Emanation. For, He only is wise, who is also the Sole God: He only is essentially Good: He only is strong and powerful. And He is the Parent of Justice: the Father of Reason and Wisdom; the Fountain of Light and Life; the Dispenser of Truth and Vertue; and lastly, the Author of Empire it self, and of all Dominion and Power.*

[f] Τὸν ἐπάξιον αὐτῆ καρπόν, He means *Constantius Cæsar.* For he had at first been sent by his Father, to Govern the *Gallia's.* But afterwards he was removed into the *East*; as *Julian* informs us in his *first Oration de Laudibus Constantii*, and *Libanius* in *his Basilic.* Vales.

* Or, *To one Yoke of the Imperial Chariot*; so *Valesius.*

[g] The Translatour saw nothing here; he has rendred this place, thus, *Porro imperii quadrifariam dispertiti jugum, quasi quatuor equis, id est sibi, & tribus filiis Cæsaribus Fortissimis imponens.* But *Eusebius* does expressly name four *Cæsars*, whom he compareth to four Horses, who being coupled together in one Yoke, drew the Imperial Chariot; over which *Constantine* presided, as Charioteer. Now, the four *Cæsars* were, *Constantinus Junior*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*, Sons of the Emperor *Constantine*; and *Dalmatius* the Son of *Dalmatius*; concerning whom we have spoken above. *Vales.*

[h] Τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς, μόνον. This place tortured me a long while. But at length I have found out the most undoubted Emendation of it. I write therefore; τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μόνη, τῶν ἁπάντων δεδώρηται βασιλεύς. That is; *For, this the* [*sole*] *King over all*, &c. *Eusebius* repeats the same hereafter, in *chap.* 4. where he reckons up the Favours, which Mankind hath received from God the Word. Βασιλικὸν τε τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον ἐπειρᾶζετο, μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλεύειν καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἰδέναι ἀναδεξας. But the Translator, instead of μόνον, seems at this place to have read νόμον. For thus he renders it. *Istam enim imperii formam Lex, quæ rex omnium est, humano generi tribuit.* Vales.

[i] Νόμος γάρ ἐστι. These words are spoken concerning the supream King and God; who really is the Law and Rule of Royal Power. The reading at this place might likewise be μόνος; that so the meaning may be this, *that God only is possest of the Royal Power, in regard he alone rules over all, and holds the Monarchy.* Therefore, in the foregoing period, it must, I think, be written in this manner, μόνη μόνος τῶν ἁπάντων δεδώρηται βασιλεύς. Nor do I think, that *Eusebius* wrote otherwise. For the sentence is most plain and elegant, if we read thus. And this period will excellently well cohere with the foregoing one. *Vales.*

[k] Ὁ τότε λόγος, καὶ νόμος βασιλικὸς εἷς. In the Fuketian Copy, the *Comma* is wanting, excellently well. For the Son of God is the Word and Law of God the Father, as *Eusebius* says a little afterwards. *Vales.*

* Θεὸς λόγος. *Valesius* renders it, *Dei sermo, word of God.*

[l] Μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν δόμα. The term ἀγαθὸν must be expunged, or else the word δόμα: for one of those words is superfluous. Yet I had rather blot out the latter. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter, *in chap.* 11. Vales.

† Or, *Word.*

* Or, *Powers.*

BUT, *Whence has Man the knowledge of these matters? Who hath declared these things in the hearing of Mortals? Whence has a Carnal tongue the Liberty, of uttering those matters, which are foreign both to flesh and body? Who ever saw the invisible King, and discovered these Excellences in Him? 'Tis true, the Elements, which are joined in an Affinity with Bodies, and the things made up of those Elements, are perceived by the* * *senses of the Body. But, no Person hath boasted, that with the eyes of the Body He hath ever had a sight of that invisible Kingdom, by which all things are Governed: nor, has mortal Nature ever beheld the Beauty of Wisdom. Who hath seen the Face of Justice, with* † *eyes of flesh? Whence was the Notion of Legal Government and Royal Dominion* CHAP. IV.

* Or, *Sense of Bodies.*

† Or, *The sense of flesh.*

*Dominion suggested to men? From whence could Imperial Power [be known] to man, who is made up of flesh and bloud? Who hath declared to those on earth, the invisible * Form, which can't be express'd by any figure; and the incorporeal † Essence which wants all external Lineaments? Questionless, there was one Interpreter of these things, the Word of God who pierceth thorow all things. Who is the Father and Maker of that rational and intellectual substance which appears to be in men: who being the Only Person that is united to the Divinity of the Father, watereth his own Sons with his Fathers || Effluxes. Hence have all men,* Greeks *and likewise* Barbarians, *those natural and self-learnt Reasonings: hence those Notions of Reason and Wisdom: hence the Seeds of prudence and justice: hence the † Inventions of Arts: hence the knowledge of Vertue * and the grateful name of Wisdom, and the Venerable Love of Philosophick Learning. Hence the knowledge of all that is Good and Commendable: hence the Representation of God Himself formed in the mind, and a Course of Life fitly answering the divine Worship. Hence is man furnished with a Royal Power, and with an invincible Empire over all things that are in the Earth. But, after* The Logos, *who is the Parent of Rational Creatures, had impress upon the mind of Man a Character agreeable to the Image and likeness of God, and had made Man a Royal Creature; (having conferred this on him only, of all those Creatures which are on Earth, namely that he should have a knowledge, both of Governing, and of being Governed; and also, that even from this Life he should [a] begin to meditate upon, and to fore-learn that promised Hope of the Celestial Kingdom; for the sake of which Kingdom, He Himself came, and, as a Father of His children, disdained not personally to enter into a Converse with Mortals:) [b] He Himself, cultivating His own Seeds, and renewing His heavenly Supplies and Favours, declared to all men, that they should partake of the Celestial Kingdom. And he invited all persons, and exhorted them, that they should be ready for their journey upwards, and should furnish themselves with a Garment befitting their calling. And by an unspeakable power he filled the whole world, which is enlightened by the Sun's Rayes, with his Preaching; by a likeness of the earthly Kingdom, expressing the Kingdom of Heaven. To which he incites and encourages the whole Body of mankind to hasten, having shewed all men this Confidence and good Hope.*

OF Which hope, Our Emperour most dear to God, is even in this life made a partaker; in regard he is adorned by God with innate Vertues, and has received into his mind the Celestial Effluxes derived from that Fountain. For he is rational from that Universal Reason: wise, from a communication of that Divine Wisdom: good, from a participation of that Goodness. And he is just, by being a partaker of that Justice: and temperate, from that * Original of Temperance; and strong, by having that Supream Strength imparted to him. [a] He therefore may most truly be stiled Emperour, who hath fashioned his mind with Royal Vertues, to a likeness of the Celestial Empire. But, that person who is a stranger to these, and who has renounc'd the King of this Universe; neither hath acknowledged the Celestial Parent of Souls; nor cloathed himself in a Garb befitting an Emperour; but hath * filled his mind with deformity and filthiness; and instead of Imperial Clemency, hath gotten the Rage of a Savage Beast; instead of an ingenuous disposition, the incurable poyson of improbity; in place of Prudence, Folly; instead of Reason and Wisdom, † a want of Reason and consideration, the foulest of all Vices: from which, as [b] from a bitter Root, most pernicious Sprouts do spring, namely, a sottish [c] and intemperate Life; Avarice; Murders; Fightings against God; Impieties: he [I say] who is addicted to all these Vices, though he may seem sometime to Govern by Tyrannick Violence, yet cannot deservedly and in reality be stiled an Emperour. For, how should he represent a likeness of the Monarchical power [of Heaven,] who bears a thousand false and adulterate Resemblances of* Dæmons, *impress on his mind? How should be be a Prince and Lord over all, who hath procured for himself so infinite a number of Cruel and hard Masters? A servant to filthy pleasure; a servant to an excessive madness for women; a servant to money gotten by injustice; a servant of anger and rage; a servant of fear and dread; a servant of bloudy* Dæmons; *and [lastly] a slave to soul-destroying Spirits. Therefore, (Truth it self favouring us with its assent and Testimony,) this Emperour, dear to the supream God, is the sole Person that can truly be styled an Emperour: who only is free; or rather, who really is Lord. Who is above the desire of money, and superiour to the Love of women: a Vanquisher of pleasures, even of them which Nature does allow of. Who is not overcome by anger and rage, but has those passions perfectly within his own power. He is really Emperour, and bears a Title [d] answerable to his practise: being [e] truely*

CHAP. V.

* Exemplar, or, Pattern.

[a] Χρηματίσει ἔτω, *He therefore will most truly be styled*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, χρηματίσειεν ἔτω, *He therefore may most*, &c; which is far the better reading. *Vales.*

* Or, *Forms.*

† Or. *Substance.*

‖ *Outflowings.*

† Καταλήψεις, *Comprehensions.*

* Σοφίας τε φίλον ὄνομα, καὶ σεμνὸς φιλοσόφου παιδείας ἔρως; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *Et nomen Philosophiæ, & Venerandus amor Sapientiæ, and the name of Philosophy, and the Venerable Love of Wisdom.*

[a] Προμελετῶν τε καὶ προδιδάζειν. It must, I think, be written προμελεῖν. For so *Eusebius* expresses himself *in chap.* 6. where he speaks thus concerning God the Word; μέτρα τε ζωῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διανέμει βίον διατιθεὶς, προμελεῖν ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ τὰ προοίμια τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα ζωῆς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συγχωρήσας. The sentence is in both places the same. For, in the one place he speaks concerning the Celestial Kingdom; in the other, concerning Life eternal: and says, that some assays, proofs, and fore-exercises of each, are granted to men in this life, by the Divine Word. Wherefore I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote in this manner, προμελεῖν τε καὶ προμαζεῖν ἐνθένδε τοῖς, &c. And thus the sense is most perspicuous. But the word ἀναδείξας, which went before, must be understood. A long while after I had written this Note, having at length procured the *Fuketian Copy*, I found my conjecture confirmed by its authority, at least in part. For in *that Manuscript* the reading is, προμελεῖν τε καὶ προδιδάσκειν, *begin to meditate upon, and to fore-learn*; incomparably well. *Vales.*

[b] Τὰ δ' ἀπὸ γεωργῶν. I had rather write, τὰ τε ἀπὸ. Further, this whole page of *Eusebius's* is put together very unfitly, by reason of the too great number of Verbs, which occurr in the *Imperfect Tense*. Whence 'tis, that his Discourse becomes irksome and unpleasant. *Vales.*

[b] Ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πικρᾶς πόμα[τος], *as from a bitter potion.* The Translatour renders it, *tanquam ex amarâ stirpe, as from a bitter Root.* Which doubtless is more elegant. For πόμα and βλάσημα are not in the least futable one to the other. Yet *Eusebius* seems to allude here, to the Cup of iniquity; concerning which 'tis said in the *Psalms*, *all the Sinners of the Earth shall drink out of it*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Καὶ σωτός. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote καὶ ἄσωτος. For 'tis an elegant *Paranomasia*, βίος ἄσωτος καὶ ἄσωτος, which the *Latine tongue* can't express. In the *Fuketian Copy*, these words καὶ σωτὸς are wanting. *Vales.*

[d] Φερώνυμον τῇ πράξει. The two last words are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

[e] Νικητὴς ἐπώνυμος. He alludes to *Constantine's pronomen* [*forename.*] For *Constantine* had taken to himself the *Pronomen* of *Victor*, as I have noted at *The Books concerning Constantine's Life.* Vales.

* Or, *Hath bound up his mind in*, &c.

† Or, *The most filthy irrationality.*

[a] Χρηματίσει ἔτως, *He therefore will most truly be styled*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, χρηματίσειεν ἔτως, *He therefore may most*, &c; which is far the better reading. *Vales.*

[b] Ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πικρᾶς πόμα[τος], *as from a bitter potion.* The Translatour renders it, *tanquam ex amarâ stirpe, as from a bitter Root.* Which doubtless is more elegant. For πόμα and βλάσημα are not in the least futable one to the other. Yet *Eusebius* seems to allude here, to the Cup of iniquity; concerning which 'tis said in the *Psalms*, *all the Sinners of the Earth shall drink out of it*, &c. *Vales.*

[c] Καὶ σωτός. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote καὶ ἄσωτος. For 'tis an elegant *Paranomasia*, βίος ἄσωτος καὶ ἄσωτος, which the *Latine tongue* can't express. In the *Fuketian Copy*, these words καὶ σωτὸς are wanting. *Vales.*

Victor;

Victor; *for he has gotten the Victory over those Passions, which are wont to overpower and conquer the minds of men. Who is formed according to that Primitive* * Idea *of the supream Emperour; and in his mind, as in a glass, expresses those Rayes of Vertues darted from that Celestial Original. From which* [*Rayes*] *he is made temperate; Good; Just; Valiant; Pious; a Lover of God:* [f] *and, which is peculiar to him only, this our Emperour is really a Philosopher. For he is one that truly knows himself; and is sensible, that the supplies of every thing which is good, are bestowed on him from without, or rather from Heaven. One who demonstrates the August Title of his Monarchical Power, by the Eximious Ornature of his Imperial Robe; and who is the* [g] *sole person, that is deservedly clothed with the Imperial Purple, which becomes him. This is the Emperour, who night and day invokes the Heavenly Father; who in his Prayers* * *implores his Assistance; who burns with a desire of the Celestial Kingdom. For, whereas he understands, that things present are in no wise* † *to be compared with God the supream King, (in regard they are mortal and frail, and like a River, transient, and continually perishing;) therefore he desires the incorruptible and incorporeal Kingdom of God. That Kingdom he prays that he may obtain; by a sublimity of thought, raising his mind above the Arch of Heaven, and being inflamed with an inexpressible desire of those Lights which shine there. In comparison with which Lights, he accounts the most valuable things of this life present, to be in nothing different from darkness. For he sees, that the dominion over men (in regard 'tis nothing else but a small and short administration of a mortal and temporary Life;) is not much better than the authority and power of Goat-herds, Shepherds and Neat-herds: yea rather, that 'tis more troublesome, or a Sovereignty over a* [h] *moroser sort of Cattel. And, as to the Acclamations of* The Many, *and the Voices of Flatterers,* [i] *he esteems them to be troublesome, rather than delightful; by reason of* * *the solidity of his disposition, and the sincere discipline of his mind. Moreover, as often as he beholds the* [k] *dutifulness of His Subjects, his innumerable Forces, and those vast multitudes, as well of Horse as Foot, that are at his Beck and Command; he is not in the least stricken with admiration, nor does he swell with pride at his authority and power over them: but, turning his thoughts* [1] *upon himself, he* * *acknowledges, in himself also, the common nature of all men. He laughs at the Garment made of Cloth of Gold interwoven with a variety of flowers, at the Imperial Purple, and at the Diadem it self: when he beholds the multitude stricken with an admiration of these things, and, wholly like children, gazing on this glorious pomp, as on some Bug-bear.* [m] *But he himself is not in any wise so disturbed as they are; but does cloath his mind with the knowledge of God, as with a Garment Embroidered with Temperance, Justice, Piety, and the other Vertues; which is a dress that does really and truly become an Emperour. As for riches which are with* † *admire these things. Farther, he abstains from surfeiting and drunkenness, and from exquisite dainties and delicate dishes; in regard they are the proper businesses of Gluttons: it being his Sentiment, that these things appertain to others, not to himself. For he is convinc'd, that such debauches are extreamly hurtful, and do cloud and darken the intellective faculty of the Soul. On account of all these reasons, the Emperour, instructed in the knowledge of Divine matters, and endued with a great mind, aspires after better things than those of this present life: calling upon the Celestial Father, and earnestly desiring His Kingdom; and performing all things with a singular piety; and Lastly, delivering the knowledge of the Supream God and Emperour, to all those Subject to his Empire,* * *whom, as the best of Masters, he has undertaken to instruct.*

[f] Ὁ ὢν ᾗ μόνῳ φιλόσοφος. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, ἀληθῶς ὢν ᾗ μόνῳ; which is truer. *Vales.*

[g] Some body will make an enquiry here, why *Eusebius* should say, that only *Constantine* was cloathed with the Imperial Purple. For, there were at that time four *Cæsars*, who wore the Purple. Indeed, *Amm. Marcellinus* informs us, that the *Cæsars* wore the purple, in *his Sixteenth Book*, where he tells, how *Constantius* declared *Julian*, *Cæsar*. But it may be answered, that *Eusebius* does not say absolutely, that only *Constantine* was clothed with the Purple; but, that he alone deservedly wore the Purple. *Vales.*

[h] Δυσκολωτέρων. I read δυσχολωτέρων θρεμμάτων, *a moroser sort of Cattel*, which I wonder the Translatour saw not. For man is the moroset of all Creatures, and is governed with the greatest difficulty. *Vales.*

[i] Πρὸς ὄχλας πάθους. I write πάθεσι, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. The Translatour understood not this expression; which we may render into *Latine*, word for word, in this manner: *molestiæ potius deputat quàm voluptati, he places them to the account of trouble, rather than of pleasure.* Vales.

* *The Constancy of his Morals:* so *Valesius.*

[k] Τὴν περὶ ταυτὸν δορυφορίαν *the Guard of His Subjects.* It must, I think, be written, δωροφορίαν. For, at this place *Eusebius* means two sorts of Subjects; namely, *those in Arms*, and *the Provincials.* Whereof *the latter* pay money and tributes to the Emperour; which *Eusebius* and *Themistius* do term δωροφορεῖν, with a soft word covering the bittereset thing of all. But, *the former* received money, as their Pay. *Vales.*

* Or, *Calls her upon him.*

† Or, *Worthy of.*

* Or, *Sees.*

† Or, *Are astonished at*, &c.

[1] Εἰς ἑαυτόν. It must doubtless be written, εἰς αὐτὸν, *upon himself*; which I admire the Translatour perceived not. *Vales.*

[m] Οὐδαμῶς αὐτός. The words are misplac'd here, as it is plain to any one. I reade therefore, ὐδαμῶς δ' αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια πεπονθώς, ὑπερήμων τῆς θείας, &c; *But he himself*, &c. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is ill, δι' ὑπερήμων τῆς θείας, *by reason of His knowledge of God.* Vales.

[n] Ἀπαθεῖ λογισμῷ διατίθεται. 'Tis the same with what he has said above, ὐδαμῶς δ' αὐτὸς τὰ ὅμοια πεπονθώς. Further, this whole passage is thus to be distinguished and explained; ὅμως δ' ὢν καίπερ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὑπερημόνως αὐτῶν τῇ χρήσει, πρὸς εὐπρεπῆ τῆς ἀρχομένων κόσμον ἀπαθεῖ λογισμῷ διατίθεται. That is, *Nevertheless, although*, &c Which is the same as if he should say: *he desires not the wealth or riches of His Subjects, nor does he envy them their comely garb and dress, as envious and covetous princes are wont to do.* Such a one was *Valentinianus the Elder*, who hated all those that were rich and well-clothed, as *Amm. Marcellinus* relates. *Constantine* was not of that mind: for he both valued very little his own habit and dress; and also was not troubled, at his Subjects being gorgeously apparelled. I have therefore spent some words in explaining this passage; because it was both obscure, and also not understood by the Translatour. *Vales.*

* Or, *who are instructed by a good master as 'twere.*

MOreover, *God affording him, as an Earnest, some Pledges of a future Retribution,* CHAP. VI.
conferrs on him [a] Tricennalian *Crowns, platted*

[a] Τειακοντετηρικὰς στεφάνους. He alludes to the Golden Crowns, which the Provincials were wont to present the *Roman* Emperours with, not only at their entrance upon the Empire, but in their *Quinquennalia* also, and *Decennalia.* Vales.

and

and made up of prosperous and happy Circles of Years. And having now compleated three Cycles of ten Years, he permits the whole Body of mankind to celebrate [b] *publick, or rather universal Feasts. But, in the interim that Mortals rejoice on Earth, [crowned] with the Flowers of the knowledge of God, it would not be absurd to imagine, that even the Quires in Heaven, incited by the Laws of Nature, do rejoice likewise together with those that dwell on Earth. And ['tis probable,] that even the Supream King himself, like an indulgent Father, is affected with Gladness, whilst He beholds Good Sons paying a due worship to God: and, that for this reason chiefly, He does honour the Prince and Author of those* * *things, with many Circles of Years. In so much that, he is not satisfied with giving him thirty Years Reign;* [c] *but extends it to the longest time, and perpetuates it to an immense Æ*vum. *Now, entire* * *Æ*vum *neither grows old at any time, nor does it die: neither can the minds of mortals discern, either its Beginning or End. Nor does it suffer its own Center to be perceived,* [d] *nor that time which is termed* its present, *to be comprehended by* † *any one;* [e] *much less* Time future, *or* Time past. *For,* this Latter *is not, in regard 'tis* [f] *already gone. And the* Time Future *is not yet come; wherefore, it is not. But, [that part of it] termed its* Time present, *flyeth away whilst we think or speak, yea sooner. Nor is it at all possible, that it should be apprehended as* Time present: *for we must of necessity, either except things future, or contemplate things past. For* [The present] *slips away, and flies as quick as Thought. Thus therefore entire Æ*vum *suffers not it Self to be subjected to the thoughts and accounts of Men; but disdains to serve them. Nevertheless, it refuses not, to acknowledge* [g] *God its own King and Lord; and it carries Him sitting on its Back, priding it self in all those* [h] *Gayeties, [which it hath received] from Him. But God sitting above, and driving it on, has not bound it fast with a Golden Chain, according to the fiction of the Poet; but, curbing and holding it in with the cords of an unspeakable Wisdom, as 'twere with some Reins; with all imaginable Harmony he has constituted in it, Months and Times, Seasons, and Years, and the interchangeable distances of Nights and Days; and has circumscribed it with various Limits and Measures. For, Æ*vum, *of its own nature, is* [i] *direct or straight, and* * *reaches to an immensity; and has taken the name of Æ*vum, [k] *as 'twere ἀεὶ ὤν [that is,* always existing;*] and is it self like its own parts; or rather, being void both of parts and distance, doth increase, being prolonged into* † *rectitude only. But God hath divided it by middle* ‖ *Segments, and, like a right line stretch'd into Longitude, hath severed it by points, and hath included in it a vast multitude.*

[b] Παντήμως δὲ μᾶλλον. Any one may see, that it should be written thus, παντήμως, μᾶλλον δὲ κοσμικὰς ἑορτάς. For *Eusebius* says, that these Feasts of *The Tricennalia* were celebrated, not only by a numerous confluence of the People, but also by the common joy of the whole World. For some Feasts are publick, others private. Some are peculiar to Cities, others to a whole Province. Some are Feasts of the whole *Roman* World; as *the Calends of January*, the *Birth day of the Emperors*, their *Quinquennalia*, and the like. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy* I found it written as I had conjectured. *Vales.*

* Or, *Blessings.*

[c] Μέτεστι δὲ αὐτῷ. This place, in my judgment, is to be restored thus: ὡς μὴ ἀπαρκεῖν τρεῖς ἐν δικαίᾳ τοιόνδε τῇ βασιλείᾳ νέμειν, αὐτὴν δὲ ὅτι μήκιστον καὶ εἰς μακρὸν ἐκτείνειν αἰῶνα; *In so much that he is not satisfied*, &c. The mistake arose from the Word νέμειν, which the *Transcribers* changed into μένειν, by an easie mistake. But, if any one has a mind to retain μένειν, then it is to be written ἐκτείνειν. *Vales.*

[d] Οὐδὲ τὸ ὦν αὐτῷ λεγόμενον. Questionless it is to be written οὐδὲ τὸ νῦν αὐτῷ λεγόμενον ἐφιεὶς τοῖς ἐθέλουσι δέχεσθαι. So the Translator read also, and so we have rendred it. *Eusebius* himself confirms this Emendation; for soon after this, he writes thus concerning *the present time*, τὸ δὲ γε νῦν αὐτῷ λεγόμενον, ἅμα τοῦτο καὶ παρελήλυθε, &c. *But* [*that part of it*] *termed its time present*, &c.

[e] Μήποτε τὸ μέλλον. The Translator renders it, *nedùm futurum Tempus aut præteritum; much less Time future, or Time past.* Whence 'tis apparent, that he read μήτοιγε τὸ μέλλον, excellently well. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, μή πως τὸ μέλλον. *Vales.*

[f] Ὁ δὲ παρῆλθε. I write, ἤδη δὲ παρῆλθε, and have rendred it accordingly. For he speaks concerning the time past. A little after I read, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὅλως ὁπαλλαξέως, *Nor is it at all possible*, &c. Vales.

[g] Τὸν δ' αὐτῷ βασιλέα. In my judgment it should be, θεὸν δ' αὐτῷ βασιλέα; in which manner also the Translator read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Eusebius* alludes to a passage of Saint *Paul* the Apostle, who calls God βασιλέα τῶν αἰώνων, *the King of Ages.* Vales.

[h] Τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καλλωπισμασι. He means the days, months, and years; and the vicissitudes of seasons, &c. wherewith God hath adorned Æ*vum. Vales.*

[i] Εὐθυγρὴς ὤν. I read εὐθυτενὴς *Vales.*

* *Is extended*, or *prolonged.*

[k] Ὥσπερ ἀεὶ ὤν. *Proclus* (Book 4. on *Plato's Timæus pag.* 241.) produces the same *Etymologie* of αἰὼν; at which place he discourses at large concerning Æ*vum*, according to the Opinion of the *Platonists*. See the *same Author*, in *chap.* 53. *and* 54. of his *Platonick Institutions*. But *Eusebius* does partly follow *Plato's* Opinion, and partly recedes from it. For, whereas he says, that Æ*vum* does neither grow old, nor die; that 'tis uniform, and always like it self; that it wants parts, and distinction or difference; in that he agrees with *Plato*. But, when he affirms that it goes on and increases; when he makes past, present, and future time, to be *Species*, or *Kinds* of it; in this he disagrees, both from *Plato*, and from himself. For, what ever proceeds on and increases, must of necessity have parts. In *Plato*, Æ*vum* is nothing else but *Eternity*. For *Plato* makes Æ*vum* immoveable; according to the likeness whereof, he affirms, that God created *Time*, which he gives this definition of, *a moveable Image of an immoveable* Æ*vum, proceeding on in number and order*; as it occurrs in his *Timæus*. *Chalcidius*, on *Plato's Timæus*, is right: *temporis*, says he, *proprium progredi; ævi propria mansio*, &c. *'Tis the property of Time to go forward: continuance is the property of* Æ*vum, and a perseverance in being always the same. Also, there are parts of time, namely days, nights, and years: Æ*vum *has no parts. Likewise, the Species of Time are several, past, present, future: the substance of* Æ*vum is uniform, in the sole and proper Present.* But *Eusebius* took Æ*vum* for *Sæculum*, or rather, *for the whole Mass and Collection of Times*, as I may so say. For his words are, ὁ σύμπας αἰών. 'Tis certain, in the Sacred Scriptures, αἰὼν and αἰῶνες are taken *for time*. For *Time* is taken two ways. The one is *Particular*, which is attributed to things single or particular. The other *general*, which is not more agreeable to this thing, than to that. And *This* the Ancients termed Æ*vum*, as *Censorinus* informs us in his *Book de Die Natali, chap.* 16. Where he defines Æ*vum* in this manner; *tempus unum & maximum*, &c. *one and the greatest Time, immense, without beginning, without end, which always was in the same manner, and always will be, nor does it belong more to any one Man, than to another.* Then he adds, that *this* Æ*vum* is divided into three times, past, present, and future. In which he plainly agrees with our *Eusebius*. The same is likewise asserted by *Marius Victorinus* on *Cicero's Books de Inventione Rhetoric. Chap.* 75. But *Gregory Nazianzen, Orat.* 35 *and* 42. takes Æ*vum* for *Eternity*; where see what *Psellus* and *Elias Cretensis* have noted. *Vales.*

† Or, *Those that are desirous.*

† *A straight*, or *right line.*

‖ *Pieces*, or, *shreds.*

* See note (*k.*) in *this chapter.*

† Or, *The Elements which are four in number.*

And, whereas it was one, and exactly like an Unite; He hath bound it with a variety of numbers; and from its being without Form, hath made in it * *manifold and various Forms. For first of all, He framed in it matter void of Form, as some substance fit to receive all Forms. In the second Place, He created Quality in matter, by the power of the number Two; making that beautiful, which before was void of all comeliness. Afterwards, by [the help of] the number Three, he framed a Body,* [l] *compounded of Matter and Form, consisting of three Dimensions, namely, Latitude, Longitude, and Profundity. Then, from the number Two doubled, he devised* † *the* Quaternion *of the Elements; Earth; Water; Air; Fire; which he produced as some everlasting*

* Or, *A manifold variety of forms.*

[l] Σύνδεσιν ἐξ ὕλης ἐποίει. It should, I think, be written, σύνδεσιν ἔξ ὕλης ἀποίε, καὶ ἕξεως σῶμα. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the word ἐποίει is wanting; excellently well. *Vales.*

everlasting Fountains, in order to the * supply of this Universe. Farther, the number Four begets the number Ten. For, One; Two; Three; Four; make up the number Ten. The number Three † multiplied by the number Ten, hath ‖ produced the space of a Month. And a Month by twelve Circuits or Turns, finishes the Course of the Sun. Hence the Circles of Years, and the changes of Seasons, have delineated and expres'd Ævum, which before was void both of Form and Shape, as 'twere in a variety of Paint [made up] of many Flowers; in order to the ease and delight of those, who therein * run over the Course of Life. For, as those Persons (who in hope of winning Prizes, perform the Courses in a Race,) have the distances set out to them, by Stadia or determinate quantities of Ground: and as they who travel long Journeys, find the publick Road † beset as 'twere, with some Mansions and Stages; least any Person, by having his Expectation drawn out to an immense length, should be quite tired, and abate of his Alacrity and vigour of Mind: after the very same manner also, God the Supream Emperor, having confined the whole Mass of Time within the Lines of Wisdom, leads and manages it; and like a Charioteer, governs it variously, according as it seems good to Himself. The same Moderator of the Universe, having bedeck'd Ævum, which before was void of Figure, with beautiful Colours and fresh Flowers, has adorned the Day with Brightness and the Rays of the Sun: but, over the Night he hath spread a ‖ darker Colour, and has made the Lights of the Stars to glister therein, like some Bits or Spangles of Gold. And having light up the bright Rays of the Day-Star, and the various Splendor of the Moon, and the most resplendent Companies of the Stars; he has Crowned the whole Heaven, is 'twere some large Embroidered * Vesture, with the manifold Beauties of Colours. Also when he had extended the Air from a vast height to a great depth, and by its help had [m] cooled the length and breadth of the whole World; he commanded it to be grac'd with all sorts of Birds; having opened this vast Sea as 'twere, wherein all those [Creatures] which pass throw the Air, as well the [n] invisible as visible, might Swim. Lastly, having poyz'd the Earth in the middle like the Center, he encompassed it with the Ocean, [o] priding it self in that its green-coloured Mantle. And after he had made This the Residence, Nurse, and Mother of all Creatures that are therein; and had moistened it partly with Showers, and partly with Waters issuing from Springs; He commanded it to flourish and grow green with all sorts of Plants and beautiful Flowers, in order to the delight and Pleasure of Humane Life. And having therein formed a most excellent and honourable Creature, dear to the Divinity it self, according to His own Image; namely * Man, endued with a mind and knowledge, and the Offspring of Reason and Wisdom; on him He conferred the Government and Empire over all the other Creatures, which creep upon the Earth and have their Sustenance from it. For, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, Man was the deareſt to God; and like an Indulgent Father He permitted, that all sorts of irrational Creatures should pay their Service and Obedience to Him. ['Twas] Man, for whose sake He made the Sea navigable, and Crowned the Earth with all manner of Plants. On him He bestowed knowing and intellective Faculties and Powers, in order to his being rendred capable of all manner of Learning and Sciences. Into his Hands He hath delivered, as well those Creatures which swim in the Depths, as the Fowls which fly in the Air. To him He hath laid open the knowledge and contemplation of things Celestial; and hath discovered [to him] the Courses of the Sun, and changes of the Moon, and the Circuits of the Planets and fixed Stars. [Lastly,] 'twas Man alone, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, to whom He gave order, that he should acknowledge the Celestial Father, and with Hymns should laud and praise the Supream Emperor of intire Ævum. Besides all these things, that Great Framer of the World, hath begirt immutable Ævum with four changes of the Year; the Winter-season He has bounded with the Spring: [q] but the Spring, which is the beginning of the Seasons of the Year He has weighed as 'twere in an equal Balance. Then, when He had Crowned Universal Ævum with the manifold Fruits of the Spring, [q] He delivered it to the parching heat of the Summer. After this, having allowed a cessation from Labour as 'twere, He hath refresh'd it with the interval of Autumn. Lastly, when he has wash'd * it (being as 'twere some Royal Steed,) in the moist Falls of Winter Showers, and has rendred it Slick and Gay by the Waters which flow from † above, and has sufficiently fatned it with the continual waterings of the Rain; He again places it at the fore-gates of the Spring. When therefore the supream Emperor, had in this manner bound fast His own Ævum, within the Circle of the whole Year, by such Reins of Divine Wisdom as these; He delivered it to be managed by a [r] Greater Governour, namely, His own only-begotten Word; to whom, as being the common Preserver of all things, He has committed the Reins of this Universe. But He, having

* Χορηγίαν; *Valesius* renders it, *utilitatem*, profit, or service.

† Or, *Joyned with.*

‖ Or, *Found out the nature of*, &c.

* Or, *Ride.*

† *Limited*, or *circumscribed.*

‖ Or, *Blacker.*

* *Veil*, or *Hood.*

* Or, *Rational Man.*

[m] Ψυχώσας δυνάμει. This whole passage is, in my judgement, to be read in this manner; μιήσας ἐν πλάτει τῇ τότε ψυχώσας δυνάμει, *and by its help or power had cooled*, &c. In which manner the Translator read, And so I found it written in the *Fuk. Copy*. Vales.

[n] He seems to mean the *Aerial Dæmons*, concerning whom he hath spoken above, in the beginning of *this Oration*. Farther, we may understand here as well the *Good Dæmons*, as the *bad*. For the good Spirits also, whom we term Angels, pass thorow the Air; as 'twere some Embassadors and Interpreters, carrying our desires to God, and bringing to us answers, and favours from God. Of which, even the ancient Philosophers were not ignorant. But, The Translator thought, that at this place *Eusebius* spake of Fishes. Concerning the *Aerial Dæmons*, St. *Austin* (*Epist.* 49.) speaks thus. *Quanto perniciosius est Sacrificare Dæmonibus*, &c. *How much more destructive is it to Sacrifice to Dæmons, that is, to an ill Spiritual Creature, which dwelling in this neareſt and dark Heaven, as in its Aerial Prison, is predestinated to Eternal Punishment.*——Vales.

[o] Κυανῷ χρώματι καλλωπιζομένην. I write καλλωπιζομένην. He speaks elegantly, in saying that the Earth is clothed with the Ocean, as with a green Mantle. *So David, Psalm* 104. 6. *Thou coveredst it with the Deep as with a Garment*: namely the Earth, as *Theodoret* explains it, and St. *Jerom* on *Haggai Chap.* 1. Farther those words [ὁμαρτεῖ δέ τε πόντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ] must be blotted out, as being superfluous, and wholly disagreeable to this place; wherefore we have omitted them in our Version. They are a piece of a Verse of *Homer's* ous of his *Second Iliad*. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὁμαρτεῖ τε πόντος ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῷ τῆς ἀφθόλλης κυανῷ χρώματι καλλωπιζομένη. Vales.

[p] Ἔαρος δ' ἐναυσίων ὡρῶν ἀρχήν. I had rather write, ἔαρ δέ, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[q] Τῶτον μὲ ἔδωκεν. Something seems to be wanting here, which we may make up in this manner; Θέρος ἀκμῇ τῶτον ἀμαῦδις ἔδωκεν. But, upon a more diligent enquiry into the thing, I am of opinion, that nothing is wanting here. I read therefore, Θέρος ἀκμῇ τῶτον παρεδέδωκεν, *He delivered it*, &c. understand τὸ αἰῶνα, *Ævum*: nor did the Translator read otherwise. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, Θέρος ἀκοῇ τῶτον μετὰ παρεδέδωκεν. *Vales.*

* That is, *Ævum*; as appears from the following period.

† Or, *Himself.*

[r] He terms the Son greater, not than the Father Himself; but means Him to be greater than all others. And perhaps any body would guess, that *Eusebius* had written, ὑπὸ μείονι, *by a Less*. *Vales.*

having

*having received an Inheritance as 'twere, from a most excellent Father; and having bound together all things, which are contained as well in the inner, as more outward Compass of Heaven, in one harmonius consent; [r] proceeds straight forward: and with all imaginable equity makes provision of those things that are of use to his rational Flocks on earth. And having appointed a certain and fix'd space of living to Mortals, He has given all Men leave, that even in this Life they should be exercised in the * preludes of a better and an eternal Life. For He hath taught, that after the Term of this present Age, there is a Divine and happy Life; treasur'd up and reserved for them, who in the hopes of Celestial Enjoyments, have undergone the Combat of this Life. And, that there shall be a Translation and Removal of those, who have spent their Lives soberly, modestly, and piously, from hence to a better Allotment: but, for them, who shall have been detected of Impieties in this Life, [He has given notice,] that there is an agreeable Place provided. After this, (as 'tis wont to be in the Distributions of Prizes and Rewards in the Games,) having with a loud voice pronounced various Crowns [to be due] to the Victors, He Crowneth [t] different Persons with the different rewards of their Vertues. But, for a Good Emperor adorned with Piety, he declares far greater and more valuable Rewards of his Conflicts to be provided. Some Beginnings whereof he permits to be celebrated even here, namely, a Festivity composed of perfect numbers; [u] of Tens trebled, and of Threes ten times repeated. Whereof the first * Ternary, is the Off-spring of an Unite: an Unite is the Mother of Numbers, and does preside over all Months, Seasons, and Years; and also, over all Circles of Times. Moreover, it may deservedly be stiled the Beginning, the Foundation, and the Element of all Multitude; being termed μονὰς, from μένειν, to stay or continue. For, whereas all Multitude is lessened and increased, according to the diminution or addition of Numbers; an Unite alone has stability and firmness, as its allotment; being separated from all Multitude, and from those Numbers produc'd from it self. And therefore it bears a lively Resemblance of that Indivisible † Essence; which is severed from all others; by the power and participation whereof, the nature of all things doth subsist. For, an Unite is the Framer of every Number; in as much as every Multitude does consist of a composition and addition of Unites. Nor is it possible, without an Unite, to have a conception in our thoughts of the substance of Numbers. But, an Unite, it self, subsists without a Multitude; being separated at the greatest distance from, and far better than all Numbers; making and constituting all things; but it self receiving an increase from none. Nearly related hereto is the* Ternarie, *which in like manner can neither be cut in sunder, nor divided; and is the first of Numbers that are made up of Even and Odd. For the even number Two, having an Unite added to it, hath produced the* Ternarie, *which is the first of odd Numbers. Moreover the* Ternarie *first shewed* [Men] *Justice, by teaching them Equality? for it has a Beginning, Middle, and End, all Equal. And these things give a Representation of the Mystick, most Holy, and Royal Trinity: which though it consists in a nature that is void of Beginning and * Generation, yet contains in it Self the Seeds, and Reasons, and Causes of the Substance of all things which have Generation. And the Power of the* Ternarie *may deservedly be thought the Beginning of all things. But the number Ten, which contains the End or Term of all numbers, Stops and Bounds all things* [proceeding] *as far as it self: and 'tis with good reason styled full, and every way perfect: in regard it comprehends all the Species, and all the Measures, of all Numbers, † Ratio's, Concords, and Harmonies. 'Tis certain, Unites being by Composition increased, are terminated by the* || Denarie: *and having the* Decade, *allotted to them, as their mother, [w] and fix'd Boundary; as 'twere in the* Cirque *they run round this* * Meta. *Then, having performed a second Circuit, and again a third, and a fourth, and so on as far as Ten; of ten Tens they make up the Hundredth Number. After this they return to the first* † Carceres. *From whence they begin again, and proceed on to Ten; and having run round the Hundredth Number Ten times, going back again, they perform long Courses round the same Metæ; returning by a Circuit from themselves into themselves. For, of the number Ten, an Unite is the tenth part; and ten Unites make up one* Denarie. *But, a* Denarie *or* Decade *is the Limit, the [x] Meta, and the fix'd and stated Boundary of Unites: the* Meta *of the infinity of Numbers; but * the End, that is, the perfection of Unites. Moreover, the* Ternarie *joined together with the* Denarie, *and having performed the third period of ten Circuits, produces that most natural Number, the Number Thirty. For, that which in Unites is the* Ternarie, *the same in* Denaries *is the* Tricenarie *or* Thirtieth Number. *And this is the firm and certain Limit of that great Luminary, which is the second from the Sun. For the Course of the Moon, from one conjunction with the Sun to the next, compleats the Circle of a Month: after which, She again receives a Beginning of Birth as 'twere, and does again begin new Light, and new Days: [y] being grac'd with thirty Unites; honoured with three* Decades; *and beautified*

[r] Εὐθεῖα περαίνει. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis truer written, εὐθέα; and after the verb περαίνει a middle distinction is placed. *Vales.*

* Or, *Prefaces.*

[t] Ἄλλοις ἐφ' ἑτέροις. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote ἄλλως μὲν ἑτέροις ἀρετῶν βεβαίοις γεραίρει, *He crowneth different*, &c. which writing the following words do manifestly confirm. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis written, ἄλλως ἐφ' ἑτέροις. *Vales.*

[u] Μονάδων δὲ τετραστόνων. The first word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*; and the want of it is no fault, if I mistake not. But there is also another fault here. Wherefore this whole place is, in my opinion, thus to be corrected; ἐπιτρέπει δὴ πανηγυρίζειν δίδωσιν ἑορτὴν τελείων ἐξ ἀριθμῶν συγκειμένην. Δεκάδων μὲν τετραστόνων, τριάδων δὲ δεκαπλασιόνων, *He permits to be celebrated*, &c. Than which amendment there is nothing more certain. For the Festivity of the *Tricennalia*, concerning which *Eusebius* treats, consists of perfect numbers; to wit, Tens trebled, and Threes ten times repeated. *Eusebius*'s following words, concerning *The Denary*, or *Number Ten*, do plainly confirm our Emendation. *Vales.*

* Or, *Number Three.*

† Or, *Substance.*

* *Goal*, or *Limit.*

† *Place of setting out.*

† *Proportions.*

|| Or, *Number Ten.*

[w] Πηξάμενον πεῖρας ἑστῶσαν. It must, I think, be written, καὶ πήξαμενον, &c. *and fix'd Boundary.* So he calls the *number Ten*, because 'tis the Term and *Meta* of Numbers. But, by fetching an Elegant Metaphor from the *Cirque*, he says that *Unites* do run round the number Ten, as 'twere the *Meta*. Wherefore, ὥσπερ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ was to have been translated *tanquam in Circo, as 'twere in the Cirque*. Hence 'tis, that a little after this, he names the *Carceres* also, where his words are, ἐπὶ τὸν πρώτιστον ἀνατρέχουσιν ἀφετηρίαν, *they return or run back to the first Carceres*. Vales.

[x] Καμπὴν καταστατικὸς. The words must, I think, be placed otherwise, and read thus, καμπὴν, ὅρος καὶ καταστατικὸς, *the Meta, and the fix'd and stated Boundarie.* 'Tis the same with what he says hereafter, ὅρος πάγος, *the firm and certain Limit.* In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, ὅρος καὶ καμπτήρ. *Vales.*

*Or, *The Limit and the End of Unites.*

[y] Τειάκοντα μὲν κοσμηθεῖσα.

σα μονάς. tified with ten Ternaries. *With the very same* Doubtless [*Graces*] *is the Empire of Our* Victor Augustus, *and Lord of the whole world,* [z] *adorned, by the Bestower of all things that are good; and enters upon a beginning of new blessings: having hitherto accomplished the* Tricennalian *Festivities only; but now from hence forward entring upon longer intervals of Times; and* * *espousing the hopes of future Blessings, in the Celestial Kingdom. Where not one only Sun, but troops of innumerable Lights daunce about the Supream Emperour in every one of which* [a] *is far more Glorious than the Sun it self; and do shine and glister, with the splendour of those Rays shot from the Eternal Fountain [of Light.] Where [there is] a life of* † *mind, in the* [b] *incorruptible Beauties of Goods: where [there is] a life, void of all grief and trouble: where [there is] an enjoyment of holy pleasure: Time without endless Ævum, enlarged to no Term: not any more [distinguished] by the intervals of days and months; nor measured by the Circles of Years, and the periods of seasons and Times: but sufficient for one life continued to an immensity. Which is not enlightned by the Sun, nor illustrated by the multitude of the Stars, or* * *Splendour of the Moon: but has that Luminary it self, God the Word, the only-begotten Son of the Supream Emperour. On which account, the Divine Discourses of Mystick Theology, do declare Him to be that Sun of Righteousness, and a Light which far transcends all Lights. We do firmly believe, that the very same person does illustrate those most blessed Powers, with the Rays of Justice, and the beams of Wisdom: and, that He does take the Souls of men, adorned with true Piety, not into the Circumference of Heaven, but into His own Bosom: and, that He does really confirm and fulfil His own promises. But the eye of Mortals hath not seen, nor hath any ear heard; neither can a mind cloathed with flesh, be able to discern and look into those things, which are prepared for them who have been adorned with Piety: as likewise for You also, Most Religious Emperour! To whom alone, of all persons that ever were, God Himself the Supream Emperour of this Universe, has granted this, that You should cleanse and reform the Life of men. To whom also He hath shown His own Salutary Sign; by the power whereof having conquered Death, He* [c] *celebrated a Triumph over His Enemies. Which Trophy of Victory, and* Amulet *of* Dæmons, *when You had opposed against the Images of Error; You* [d] *gained the Victory over all impious Enemies and Barbarians, as also over the* Dæmons *themselves, who are another sort of Barbarians.*

made μονάσι, *Unites*; which I admire the Translator perceived not, in regard the following words do plainly shew it. Farther, that the Ancients were wont to measure the *Lunar Month* by thirty days, *Eusebius* has informed us above in this *Oration*; as also *Geminus* in his *Isagoge*. The *Fuketian Copy* does likewise confirm our Emendation. *Vales.*

[z] Ὡρὸς τῆ πάντων ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρος τετιμημένῳ. It must be made τετιμημένα, as may be plainly gathered from the following and preceding words. For it follows, ὑποπληρεῖται, ἐφαπτόμενα, and περιενώμενα. And the foregoing words are, τὰ τῆς κοσμοκρατορικῆς ἀρχῆς. Which expression seems to me rough and unpleasant: and I should choose barely to say, ἡ κοσμοκρατορικὴ ἀρχὴ τετιμημένη, &c. And this Emendation is likewise confirmed, by the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[a] Ἡλίου κρείττονα ἐπαλωμένων. Perhaps it should be ἐπαιρομένων So indeed I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[b] Ἐν ἀγαθῶν ἀκηράτοις κάλλεσιν. The *Fuketian Copy* has ἀκηράτοις, *pure*: perhaps *Eusebius* had written ἀοράτοις, *invisible*. Vales.

[c] Ἥραντο θρίαμβον, *raised a Triumph.* He had better have said, ἦρε, *Lead*, or *celebrated*. For 'tis not said, ἑστήσειν θρίαμβον, but ἄρσειν. Indeed, ἑστήσειν may properly be said concerning a *Trophy*. Vales.

[d] Ἦρα τὰ νίκας. *Christophorson* seems to have read, ἦρατο νίκας and thought that these words were spoken concerning *Christ*. But, after I had look'd more narrowly into the thing, I perceived, that these words are spoken in the Second Person. For *Eusebius* speaks to the Emperor himself. 'Tis certain, those words κατὰ πάντων ἀθέων πολεμίων τε καὶ βαρβάρων, *over all impious Enemies and Barbarians*, do evince that this is spoken concerning the Emperor. *Vales.*

FOR, *Whereas there are in us two* * *Substances conjoyned, namely, Soul and Body; whereof the Latter is exposed to view, but the other remains invisible: against both these, two sorts of Enemies and Barbarians, the one covertly, the other openly, have set themselves in array. And, the one of them opposes Bodies against Bodies: but the other assaults Man's naked Soul it self, with all sorts of incorporeal Engines. Farther, those visible Barbarians, like some salvage* [a] Nomades, *in nothing different from Wild-beasts, make an attack upon the meek and gentle Flocks of Men; ruin and depopulate Countries; enslave Cities; [rush] out of the Desart, like fierce and furious Wolves, and fall upon the Inhabitants of Cities; after which they destroy as many as they can. But the invisible Enemies, I mean the Soul-destroying* Dæmons, *who are far more fierce and cruel than all Barbarians; flie about the Regions of this Air, and by the Engines of mischievous* Polytheism, *had reduced all mankind under their Power: in so much that, the true God was not by them any longer look'd upon as God; but they wandred up and down in manifold error, without any worship of the Deity. For, having procured for themselves Gods from I know not whence, who have not any Being or Existence in any place whatever; they wholly neglected and undervalued Him who is the only, and the true God, as if He were not. Hence it was, that the Generation of Bodies was by them reputed and worship'd as a God; as also, a contrary Deity hereto, to wit, the Destruction and Dissolution of Bodies. And the former of these Gods in regard He was the Author of Generation, was honoured with the Rites of* Venus. *But the Latter, because He abounded with Riches, and in Strength excelled Mankind, was named* Pluto *and* * Orcus. *For, whereas the Men of that Age, acknowledged no other Life, save that which takes its beginning from Generation; therefore they asserted the Cause and Origin of that Life to be a God. And, whereas they believed Men not to exist any more after Death; they declared Death to be the Vanquisher of all, and a Great God. Then, concluding, that on account of that dissolution by Death, they were in no wise accountable hereafter for what was performed here; they resolved upon living such a Life, as in effect was no Life; perpetrating such Facts, as deserved to be punished with ten Thousand Deaths. For, they had not their Minds taken up, with the thoughts of God; they expected not*

* Or, *Rays.*

† Or, *Soul.*

* Or, *Nature.*

[a] Νομάδες πνές. The Translator has done ill in rendring it, *Pastores, Shepherds.* I would rather retain the *Greek* word, or else render it *Vagos, Wanderers.* For so the *Latines* termed those *Barbarians*, who sitting on their Horses, or in Waggons, were carried this way and that way, without any House or settled habitation. Such persons as these, because, in order to their getting food, they would range about to find places abounding with pasture; were termed νομάδες. A little after, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, λυμαίνομένοι ὅσους ἂν δύνανται, *destroying as many as they can.* Vales.

* Or, *Death.*

*Or, *Substance.* not the *Tribunals*] of the *Divine judgment*; nor call'd to remembrance the * *Nature* of their own *Souls*: but acknowledging a subjection to one Cruel *Patron*, *Death*; and fully perswading themselves, that [b] the destruction of bodies effected by it, was the dissolution [and annihilation] of the whole man; they declared *Death* to be a great and a rich God; and for that reason gave him the name of Pluto or Dis. *Death* therefore was to them a God; and not he alone; but whatever else they accounted valuable in comparison of *Death*; namely those things which were conducive, in order to the rendring their Lives pleasant and delicate. For, the pleasure of the †Or, *Flesh.* † *Body* was by them accounted a God; nourishment was a God; the growth of those things [that produce nutriment,] a God; the fruit of Trees, a God; *Drunkenness* and *Luxury*, a God; the || Or, *Bodies.* *desire* of || *things*, *Carnal*, a God; the *Pleasure* of those things, a God. Hence [came] the *Mysteries* of Ceres and Proserpina; hence the *Ravishment* of the *Virgin* [Proserpina] by Pluto, and *Her*, *Restoration* again. Hence Bacchus's *Initiations* and *Ceremonies*; and Hercules *vanquished by drunkenness*, as by a more powerful God. Hence the *adulterous Rites* of Cupid and Venus. Hence Jupiter *himself enraged with a Lust after women*, and in Love with Ganymede: hence the *fictions* of *Lascivious Fables*, concerning Gods addicted to pleasure, Wantonness, and Luxury. With such therefore, and so many Darts of * impious superstition as these, the Cruel Barbarians, and profest Enemies to the Supream King, gaul'd the Inhabitants of the Earth; and at length reduc'd the whole Body of mankind to a Subjection to themselves; in so much that, Monuments of impiety were erected by them, in all parts of the earth; and Temples and Shrines of false Divinity, built in every Corner. Moreover, [c] those persons then thought to be in power, were so miserably enslaved to Errour, that they appased their Gods, with the slaughters of their own Country-men and Relations; and sharpened their Swords against the defenders of Truth; and [commenc'd] an implacable War, and lifted up impious hands, not against foreign and barbarous Enemies; but against their Domesticks and Friends, and against their Brethren, Kinsmen and dearest Relatives; who by a purity of Life and Sobriety, and with purposes of true Piety, had resolved to pay a worship and observance to the Deity. After this manner, these men, seized with a distraction of mind, sacrificed persons consecrated to the supream King, to their own Dæmons. But They, in regard they were couragious Witnesses of true Piety, and had been accustomed to prefer a glorious death in defence of truth, before life it self, did not in the least value so severe a Tyranny: but rather, as it became the Souldiers of God, being fortified with the * *Arms of Patience*, they despised and laugh'd at every sort of Death; namely Fire, Sword, and the † piercings of Nails; the wild Beasts; the depths of the Sea; the cutting off, and afterwards searing of Limbs; digging out of Eyes; mutilations of the whole Body; and lastly, Famine, the Mines, and Bonds. All which, by reason of that Love and ardency of Affection they bore to their own King, they accounted sweeter than all the Pleasures and Enjoyments [of this Life.] The Minds likewise of the tenderer Sex were Valiant and Stout, endued with a Courage nothing inferiour to that of Men; some of whom underwent the very same Combats with Men, and obtained equal rewards of Valour. Others, when drag'd away to be ravish'd, sooner resigned their Lives to Death, [d] than their Bodies to Ravishment. And vast other numbers of them, not enduring so much as to hear the Menaces of Ravishment, wherewith they were threatned by the Presidents of Provinces; with a valiant Mind endured all sorts of Tortures, and [the Execution of] every Capital Sentence. In this manner the Vauntguard of the supream Emperour, with an undaunted Courage of Mind maintained the Fight, against their Army who paid a worship to many Gods. But the [Dæmons,] who are the adversaries of God, and Enemies to the Salvation of Men; demonstrating more of Cruelty than any the most Savage Barbarian, rejoyced in such Libations of humane Blood. And their Assistants and Ministers, quaff'd to them such Cups as these, filled with Blood unjustly shed; providing for them this direful [e] and impious Banquet, to the ruin and destruction of humane kind. Affairs being in this posture; what ought to have been done by God, the King of those that were oppress? Ought He to be careless of the safety of his dearest [Dependents,] and to neglect his own Servants, when in this bloody manner assaulted? [f] Doubtless, He can never be termed a prudent Pilot, who shall suffer his Vessel, together with the Men on Board, to be sunk, without contributing any thing of his own Assistance, in order to the Preservation of the Ships-company. Nor, can that person be stiled a [g] wary and provident General, who shall render up his Allies to the Enemy, unreveng'd and undefended. Neither will a good Shepherd be unconcerned for, and [h] careless of a Sheep straying from the rest of his Flock: but will rather leave all the other, which are safe and in good condition; and will most readily suffer any thing whatever, on account of preserving that Sheep which has strayed; being ready, should there be a necessity, to encounter even with fierce and ra-

* Or, *Virtue.*

† See *Pag.* 150, note. [*]

[b] Καὶ τῷ ἐν τούτων φθορᾷ τῶν σωμάτων φθορὰν. At my peril write ἐν τούτῳ, *by it*; understand *death*. And so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*. A little before, the *Geneva-men* had left out a word; which, from the *Fuketian Copy*, I have supplied in this manner, ἄξια ἡρῶντες δίκην. *Vales.*

[c] Οἱ γὰρ τότε κρατεῖν νομιζόμενοι. By these words *Eusebius* either means the Emperours themselves, who had persecuted the *Christian* Religion; or else all the Heathens. For *these* prevail'd at that time, before the *Christian* Religion had obtained throughout the whole world. As therefore *the Christian Religion* was afterwards termed ἡ κρατοῦσα δόξα, and *the Christians* οἱ κρατοῦντες; (as I have noted at the Books of *Eusebius's Eccles. Histor.*) so the Gentiles, as long as their superstition flourish'd, are rigthly termed οἱ κρατοῦντες. Yet below, at the beginning of the *ninth Chapter*, he has used τοῖς τότε κρατοῦσι to signifie *the Emperours*. Vales.

[d] Ἡ τὸ σῶμα φθορὰ δεδώκασι. In the *eighth Book of his Eccles. History, chap.* 14. whence this passage is taken almost word for word; the reading is truer, thus, ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδεδώκασι, *than expose their bodies to be defiled.* Vales.

[e] Καὶ ἐυσεβῆ παρασκευὴν, *and pious banquets.* I read ἀσεβῆ, *impious*, with the Translatour; in the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis written, δυσεβῆ *Vales.*

[f] Οὔτε κυβερνήτης ἔτω ποτ' ἂν λεχθείη. I should choose to write, ὅτε κυβερνήτης οὐκ ἔστ' ποτ' ἂν, &c; *Doubtless, He can never*, &c; So in the following period, I think it should be mended, ὅτε στρατηγὸς οὐκ ἔστ' ποτ' ἂν γένοιτο ἀφειδὴς, ὡς, &c; *nor can that person*, &c; where οὐκ ἔστ' is put for ἐκεῖνος. *Vales.*

[g] Γένοιτο ἀφειδὴς. I know indeed, that a Commander *who spares not his own Life*, may be termed ἀφειδὴς. But, in regard this is a commendation befitting a *Soldier*, rather than a *Commander*; and because the term ἀφειδὴς is wont to be most commonly taken in an ill sense; therefore, at this place I would more willingly read εὐφειδὴς, that is, *a wary and provident General*. So *Amm. Marcellinus*, speaking concerning *Corbulo* the most fam'd Commander of the *Romans*, gives him this Elogy, *Provinciarum fidus defensor & cautus, a faithful and wary Defender of the Provinces*. Nevertheless, if any one had rather retain the common reading, I will not gain-say it. *Vales.*

[h] Παείδοι ἀνδρέμμα. The amendment of this place was obvious. For who sees not that it should be, παεἰδοι ἄν δρέμμα in which manner I found it written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

ging Beasts. But, the supream Moderator's care was not employ'd about a Sheep that wants reason; but He was highly concern'd for his whole Army; for the sake of those, who on his account were assaulted. Of whose Combats, and conflicts in defence of Piety, when he had approved; and had honoured them, who were now removed to him, with the rewards of Victory, [i] with himself; he enrolled them amongst the Angelick Quires in Heaven. But, others of them he continued still upon earth, as Seeds that might restore and give new life to Piety, for the good of posterity; that they should both be spectatours of his vengeance upon the impious, and might also become Relaters of those things which they had beheld with their own eyes. After this, when he had stretch'd forth his right hand, in order to his being avenged of his Adversaries; by his very Nod, on a sudden he destroyed them; having first punished them with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven; and compell'd them, even against their wills, with their own lips to recant their own horrid wickednesses. But these, who were mean and contemned, and by almost all persons look'd upon as forsaken and hopeless, he has raised from the ground, and highly exalted. And this, the supream Emperour [God,] effected from Heaven; when he had presented to us his own Servant, as some invincible Warriour. (For our Emperour, by reason of his transcendency of Piety, rejoices in his being stiled The Servant of God.) *Whom God has made Conquerour over all sorts of Enemies whatever, having raised up him alone, against many. For they were numerous; and almost infinite, as [k] being the friends of many* Dæmons. *[l] Yea rather, they were nothing: whence it is, that at present they are nothing. But this One Emperour, [* is] of One, [and bears] the Image of That One Supream Emperour. They, [induced thereto] by an impious mind, destroyed pious men by bloudy Murthers. But he, imitating his own Saviour's example, and being only skilled in this, the preservation namely of men; has sav'd alive even the impious themselves, teaching them true Piety and Religion. Then, in regard he is really* Victor, *he hath vanquished that twofold sort of Barbarians: civilizing the fierce and untractable Tribes of men, by prudent and rational Embassies; compelling them to own, and* * *submit themselves to their Betters; and from a Lawless and brutish life, reducing them to Civility and Humanity. But, as for that cruel and enraged Sort of invisible* Dæmons, *he does really and manifestly [m] prove, that they were long since vanquished by God. For the Common Saviour of the Universe, had by an invisible Power routed those invisible Spirits. But this Our Prince, the Supream Emperour's* Lieutenant-General *as 'twere, [n] has pursued the vanquished; spoyling † those who were long since dead and consumed; and plentifully distributing the Booty amongst the Souldiers of* [God] *the* Victor.

[i] Παρ' ἀυτῷ. I read παρ' ἀυτῷ, *with himself*; in which manner *Eusebius* is wont to express himself. A little after, the reading should be ἐξησῖσαι γλυκύμυθοι, *might also become Relaters*: the *Fuketian Copy* confirms both these Emendations. *Vales.*

[k] Ἄτε χ' δαιμόνων. This place is corrupted; in my judgment, it must be restored thus; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσ μύειοι, πολλοί τε πολλῶν ἄτε δαιμόνων χ' ἀυτῷ φίλοι. That is, *For they were almost innumerable and many in regard they were the friends of many Dæmons and of themselves.* I have expunged the word χ', because it had crept in hither, from the upper line. And by *those innumerable men*, against whom God raised one single person, *Constantine*; *Eusebius* means *Maxentius*, *Maximianus Herculius*, *Maximinus*, and *Licinius*; to whom *Diocletian* and *Galerius* may be added. But, by *those many friends, both of the Dæmons, and of themselves*, he means *the Presidents and Governours of Provinces, and the Commanders of the Milice*; who, that they might curry favour with the Emperours, molested the *Christians* in all places. It may also be written, ἄτε ἐκ δαιμόνων χ' ἀυτῷ φίλοι, in another sense; that is, *many as being descended of many Dæmons, and the friends of those Dæmons.* Which sense seems truer. For, it answers to these words which follow, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἑνὸς εἷς, &c; *But, this One Emperour* [*is*] *of One.* For *Eusebius* alludes to that passage in the Gospel; *Ye are of your father the devil, Joh.* 8. 44. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσ μύειοι. πολλοί τε πολλῶν ἄτε φίλοι δαιμόνων; *For they were infinite, and many as being the friends of many Dæmons* Which reading is purer and truer. *Vales.*

[l] Μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲν ἦσ. *Eusebius* here seems to have imitated *Dionysius Alexandrinus*; who in *his Paschal Letter* concerning the Tyranny of *Marcianus*, expresses himself in this manner, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπεὶ μὴ ἦν, &c. *Now is not, for he never was*: which passage occurs in *the seventh Book of his Eccles. Histor. Chap.* 23. Vales.

* See Note (k.)

* Or, Not to be ignorant of their, &c.

[m] Ἀπελέγχων, ἀσὶ τὸ μᾶλλον πάλαι νενικημένον. The Translatour hath placed a distinction after the term ἀπελέγχων; and renders the passage thus; *Reipsa coarguit repressitque; utpote quod jam olim fuisset ab ipso Deo superatum, he really confuted and repress'd it; in regard it had been long before vanquished by God Himself.* But I have taken away the distinction, and rendred it thus; *rebus ipsis convincens, jam pridem à Deo fuisse superatum, He does really*, &c. The Reader may make choice of which rendition he pleases. For there is but little difference. How *Constantine* actually demonstrated, that the *Dæmons* were vanquished; *Eusebius* does presently declare; when he says, that their Temples were rifled by *Constantine*, and bestowed on the *Christians*. Vales.

[n] Τοῖς νενικημένοις ἀσεξῆς. It must be written, ἐπεξῆς. *Vales.*

† Namely, the *Dæmons*; whose Temples *Constantine* destroyed and melted down their Images.

FOR, *Whereas he perceived, that the simple multitude, like children, in vain stood in fear of those* Bug-bears *of Errour, made of Gold and Silver; it was his Sentiment, that they ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they would be like some pieces of Stones, cast before the feet of those who walk in the dark; [a] and because a smooth and plain passage thorow the Kings-high-way was in future to be open to all men. Having therefore diligently weighed these matters with himself, he was of opinion, that he stood not in need either of Military Forces or a numerous Army, in order to his giving Check to those things; but, that one, or two of those persons well known to him, were sufficient to effect this business: whom by one only Nod he dispatch'd away into every Province. They, confiding in* [the Emperour's] *Piety,* [*and in their own Religiousness towards God,*] *made their way thorow the thickest crowds, and thorow infinite multitudes of people, and [b] fully discovered that ancient Errour* [*of Idolatry,*] *in all Cities, and throughout every Country. And in the first place, they commanded the Priests themselves, with much laughter and disgrace to bring forth their Gods, out of certain dark recesses. Then they divested* [*those Gods*] *of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap'd off that matter which seemed to be useful, and * cast it into the fire, and melted it down; [c] so much as by them was thought to be of use and necessary, they reserved, and put it up safe. But, whatever was superfluous and wholly useless, that they left with the superstitious, for a lasting monument*

CHAP. VIII.

[a] Καὶ ὁμαλὴν τοῖς πάλιν. It must be made τοῖς πᾶσιν, *to all men*; from the *Fuketian Copy*, and from *his Third Book concerning the Life of Constantine, Chap.* 54 where this passage occurrs word for word. *Vales.*

[b] Πλάνης ἐποιῦντο φῶρας. Doubtless it is to be written ἐποιῦντο φωρᾶν, *fully discovered*; and thus it is to be mended in the *Third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap.* 54; where the reading is ἐποιῦντο φθορᾶν, *totally destroyed.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis φῶρας. *Vales.*

* Or, *tried it in the furnace and in the fire.*

[c] Τὰ μὲν γὰρ λυσιτελές. The word γὰρ must be expunged; the *Fuketian Copy* acknowledges not that word. *Vales.*

ment

ment of disgrace. Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto. For, at the same time that those Idols of the Dead, made of pretious matter, were spoiled in that manner we have declared; he * ordered the rest of the Images, consisting of Brass, to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, [celebrated] in the doting Fables [of the Greeks,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away bound. After these things, this great Emperour, having as 'twere light up a most bright Torch, look'd about with his Imperial Eye, if peradventure he could any where find, any Remains of Errour as yet lying concealed. And, as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised herself to Heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth that are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he, whilst he † was resident in the Imperial Palace of his own most beautiful City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower, a certain pernicious snare of Souls, lying concealed in the Province of the Phœnicians. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the Forums, or Streets; of which sort many are visible in Cities, most gloriously built for ornaments sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy Dæmon [termed] Venus, in part of the Top of [Mount] Libanus. This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all incontinent persons, and such as with all manner of dissoluteness, had debauch'd their own Bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the venerableness of their own Sex, appeased the Dæmon by suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawful ‖ Coitions with women, and Adulteries, and other beastly and infamous facts were committed in that Temple, as in a place that was lawless, and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But, the impieties committed there, could not lie concealed from this Great Emperour also. But, when he himself had look'd into them with the eye of an Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of being [enlightned with the Rays] of the Sun it self, Wherefore he orders it to be totally demolished, together with [its Statues and] Consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the Engines of this impudent and Libidinous Errour, were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a Company of Souldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, [being scar'd] by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned modesty. When therefore the Emperour had in this manner [d] pull'd off those Vizards of abominable wickedness, which were visible in the Temple of that Dæmon the seducer of the people; and had exposed them to the view of all persons; he Preached his own Saviour in the presence of all.

* Or, *Set upon the other Images, made of Brass.*

† *Walk'd up and down in,* or, *was conversant in.*

‖ Or, *Copulations of women.*

[d] Φάσματα κακίαν ἐμφανῆ καταστησάμενον. I can't approve of the Translatour's Version, who has rendred this place thus; *Ad hunc modum igitur Imperator, tum spectra illa improbitatis & nequitiæ qua hominum animi occæcati fuerant, palam sub omnium oculis subjecit*, &c; *In this manner therefore the Emperor, both exposed to publick view those Spectres of improbity and wickedness, wherewith the minds of men had been blinded*, &c. But I had rather render it thus; *Cùm flagitiorum larvas, quæ in Dæmonis illius populorum seductoris templo visebantur, detraxisset*, &c. *When therefore the Emperour had in this manner pull'd off*, &c. Φάσματα κακιῶν (for so the *Accentuation* is to be restored,) are the *integumenta vitiorum*, *the masks of vices*, wherewith the Heathens covered their own uncleanness. So above, *Eusebius* speaking of the Images of the *Dæmons*, says, κἄπειτα ἀπογυμνοῦντες τὰ φάσμα]Θ, &c; *Then they divested* [*those Gods*] *of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men.* Farther, this place is thus to be mended from the *Fuketian Copy*, ὧδε κὴ τὰ τῆς λαοπλάνε φάσματα κακίας. Vales.

Nor was there any one who could defend or assist the persons detected: no Dæmon; *no God; no Utterer of Oracles; no Diviner. Nor were the minds of men any longer wrap'd up in thick and profound darkness: but being illustrated by the Rays of unerring Piety, they condemned the ignorance of their Ancestours; and pityed their Blindness; and pronounc'd themselves happy, in regard they were free'd from the cruel slavery of Errour.* [e] *Thus therefore in a moment, by the Will of the Great God, and the Emperour's Assistance and Ministery, all the kinds of Enemies and Adversaries, as well the visible as invisible, were totally destroyed: and in future, Peace, the best* Educatrix *of Youth, encompassed the habitation of all men. Nor were there any more Wars, because* The Gods *were not. Neither did their happen any Fights, either in the Countries or Cities, as there had been before, when the worship of* Dæmons *flourish'd: nor were there any more effusions of bloud amongst men, such as had usually happened, whilst the fury of* Polytheism *was prevalent.*

[e] Οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἐν βεαχεῖ. Questionless it must be, ἔτω δὴ τὰ ἐν βεαχεῖ *Thus therefore in a moment.* Presently, I read ἀσαλῶ κυβερνήτῃ, *the best Educatrix* [or *Breeder*] *of Youth*; without the particle κὴ. For *Eusebius* alludes to that Verse of *Hesiod*, in *his Opera*,

Εἰρήνη τ' ἀσαλὴ κυβερνήτωρ.

Vales.

CHAP. IX.

NOW therefore 'tis seasonable, to oppose the new Face of affairs to the old, and inspect the Change of matters made for the better, by comparing the worse with them; and to discern and perceive clearly, in what manner heretofore, Porches and Consecrated Plots of Ground; Groves and Temples, were [a] *most elaborately founded and prepared for them; and how the Temples were* * *beautified with vast numbers of Consecrated Gifts. As for the Tyrants and those in whose hands the supream power then was, they had an high veneration for the Gods. The Nations also and people, in the fields and in all places, yea in their very Private dwellings, in their Store Houses namely and Bed-chambers,* [b] *honoured them with Statues, according to the Rites of their own Country. But, the fruit of their devotion, was not that mutual Peace, which we now behold with our eyes, but all things directly contrary hereto; to wit Wars, Fights, and Seditions; wherewith they were* † *sorely disquieted during the whole Course of their Lives, and filled their own Countries with bloud and intestine slaughters. Moreover, the Gods worship'd by them, with much flattery aid indeed promise the then Emperours, Propheses and Oracles, and predictions of things future.*

* Or, *Crown'd.*

† *Worn out.*

[a] Αὐτοῖς φιλοπόνως ἐξεκεῖτο. You must understand τοῖς δαίμοσι, *for the Dæmons*; or else τοῖς ἕλλησι, *by the Heathens*: for both may be meant: write also ἐξησκεῖτο, *were elaborately founded*, or, *exquisitely prepared*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the beginning of this chapter, and the close of the foregoing one, is omitted, by the carelessness of the Transcriber. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ ἀγάλμασιν ἐτίμων τὰ πάτεια. This expression seems to me uncouth. For it can't well be said, πμᾶν τὰ πάτεια: nor can the term ἀσάλμασι be well joined with δαλάμοις. Wherefore, I would more willingly reade this whole place, in this manner, ἔθνη τε κὴ δῆμοι κατ' ἀγρὸς κὴ πάντα τόπον, ἤδη τε κατ' οἴκους ἐν αὐλοῖς αὐτῶν ταμείοις τ' κὴ δαλάμοις ἀσάλμασιν αὐτοὺ ἐτίμων κατὰ τὰ πάτεια. *The Nations also and people*, &c. *Vales.*

But those very Gods [c] *could not* * *foresee their own Ruine, and were altogether unable to foretel it to their own selves. Which is a most convincing Argument, in order to the manifestation of their cheat and imposture. 'Tis certain, none of those, heretofore admired for their Oracles, ever foretold the Glorious Coming of the Common Saviour amongst men, or the new Preaching of that divine knowledge, which was first delivered by him. Neither* Pythius *himself, nor any other of the Great* Dæmons, *was ever apprehensive of their own desolation: nor did he presage or prophesie, who should vanquish and destroy them. What Divine or Soothsayer hath foretold, that the worship of the Gods should be extinguished by the Coming of a Certain* † *New Person into the world; and, that the knowledge and worship of the supream Mediator of all things, should be diffused amongst all men? Who hath foreseen this Holy and Religious Principality, and this Our* Victor, *and the Trophies which he has in all places of the earth erected against Ruine of the* * *High places? Which of the* Hero's *hath ever declared in express words, that the lifeless Statues should be melted, and from an useless Form be changed into necessary uses? Which of the Gods hath ever made any mention, concerning their own Statues which are melted down, and with disgrace and laughter* [d] *cut into thin plates? Where* [*I beseech you*] *were the Defenders of those* [*Gods,*] *that could not give assistance to the Monuments consecrated to them, which were ruined by Men? What is become of them, who heretofore raised Wars, and who now behold their own vanquishers living in a most calm and secure Peace? Where are those who put their trust in them, as in Gods, and elevated their own minds by a vain and fruitless confidence;* [e] *who, when they had raised the Errour* [*of their own superstition*] *to the highest pitch, and had commenc'd an implacable War against the Defenders of Truth; Wretches as they were, perished in a most miserable manner? Where are those Troops of Gyants, fighting against God Himself? And the hissings of Dragons; Who have whet their Tongues, and have uttered impious Expressions against the supream King? Those persons, profest Enemies to the supream Emperour, confiding in a multitude of Gods, fell on with vast numbers of men in Arms; carrying before them as their defence,* [f] *Resemblances of dead persons, in Statues void of life. But Our Emperour, cloathed with the Coat of Mail of Piety, having opposed against the multitude of his Enemies, the salutary and vivifick Standard, as some affrighting spectacle, and potent Preserva-*

[c] Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν προγνῶναι. I read, οὐκ ἐδύναντο προγνῶναι, could not foresee, or, foreknow. Vales.

* Foreknow.

† Νέᾳ τινὶ γενεᾷ; it may be rendred, of a certain new-born child.

* Τῶν ὑψηλῶν. 'Tis a term which occurrs in sacred Scripture; see 1 *Kings, chap.* 12, and 13. The Images of *Dæmons* were so termed, because they were commonly worshiped in high places. *Vales.*

[d] Εἰς λεπτὸν τε καταπλομένων. Doubtless, the reading must be καταπλομένων, *cut*; which *Christophorson* perceived not. *Vales.*

[e] Οἷς τὸ μὲ πλέον. As far as this place, there was a *Chasme* in the *Fuketian Copy*; which *Manuscript* gives us this reading of this place; οἷς ὁι τὸ μὲ πλέον. I am of opinion, that the first word is to be blotted out. *Vales.*

[f] Νεκρῶν εἰδώλα καμόντων. Write θανόντων, as the reading is in *his Life of Constantine, Book* 2. *Chap.* 16; where this passage occurrs. A little after, write, καιρίσιον ἀποδιδὲς ἐυχὴν τῷ τῆς νίκης αἰτίῳ; as 'tis in *his Life of Constantine*, and in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

tive against mischiefs; obtained the Victory, both over his Enemies, and over the Dæmons. *After which, with a grateful mind, he rendred a Thanksgiving-prayer to* [*God*] *the Author of his Victory; and with a loud voice, and by the Monuments of Statues raised, he made known to all men the Triumphant Standard; erecting this Great Trophy against all his Enemies, in the midst of the Imperial City; and issuing out an Express Command to all men, that they should acknowledge this salutary Standard (which no Age can deface,) as the Preservative of the* Roman *Government, that is the Empire of the whole world. And herewith he acquainted all persons, but more especially the Milice. To whom* [*he gave this in charge,*] *that they ought not to* * *place their hopes in their Spears and Armour, nor in the strength of their Bodies; but should acknowledge God to be the Giver of all Good, and particularly of Victory it self. Thus the Emperour himself (strange and almost incredible!) was his own Armie's Instructer in their devotions; and delivered to them pious* † *prayers, which were agreeable to the Divine Laws and Institutions; that they should lift up their hands on high, towards Heaven; but should* ‖ *fix the eyes of their minds on the highest object, namely on the Celestial King; and in their prayers should invoke him, as The Giver of Victory, The Saviour, The Preserver, and The Assistant. Moreover, that they should esteem of a day, as convenient and fit for prayers; to wit, that day, which really is the Chief and* [g] *First of*

* Or, Hang their hopes on, &c.

† See *his Life of Constantine, Book* 4. *Chap.* 20.

‖ Or, *Transmit the eyes... to the*, &c.

[g] Καὶ πρώτῳ ὄντι. He terms the *Lord's day, the first*; not only because 'tis the first day of the week; but also, in regard it was the first day of the world. Whence it may deservedly be termed the Birth-day of the world. Farther, the *Lord's Day* is not only termed the *first day*, but *the eighth* also. St. *Austin's* words (Book 1. *Concerning the Lord's Sermon on the Mount, Chap.* 11,) are these: *Hæc octava Sententia quæ ad Caput redit*, &c: *This eighth Sentence which returns to the Head, and declares the perfect man, is perhaps signified by Circumcision also on the eighth day in the Old Testament; and by the Resurrection of the Lord after the Sabbath, which as 'tis the eighth, so 'tis also the first day.* Before St. *Austin, Hilarius* had said the same, in *his Prologue to his Comments on the Psalms*; where discoursing concerning *the seventh Number*, his words are these: *Quem tamen ogdoas, quia dies eadem prima quæ octava*, &c: *which nevertheless, the number eight (because the first day is the same with the eighth,) being added in the last Sabbath according to the Evangelick fulness, doth compleat.* See also his following words in *that Prologue.* Moreover, *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in *his discourse when the day of the Theophania* had fal'n on a Sunday, speaks concerning the *Lord's day* in this manner: καὶ τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖ πᾶσαν κυριακὴν τιμᾶν, &c: *Both Custom, and also duty doth require us, to honour every Sunday, and to observe that day as a Festival; in regard thereon our Lord Jesus Christ procured for us a Resurrection from the dead. Wherefore, in the sacred Scriptures, this day is both termed The first, as being the beginning of life to us; and also The eighth, in regard it surpasses the Sabbath of the Jews.* These words of *Theophilus* are cited in *the Typicon of* St. *Saba*, and by *Balsamon* in *his Collection of Canons.* To whom add *Isidorus*, and *Beda* in the *Book de Divinis Officiis*, where they treat concerning Sunday. *Stephanus Gobarus* writes the same, in *his* 29th *Chapter.* To this custom it is perhaps to be referred, that the *Greeks* most commonly reckon the days of the week, not to the Sunday which precedes, but to that which follows. For, after the *Sunday of the Prodigal Son*, which is *the ninth Sunday before Easter*, those days which follow immediately, namely *the second, third*, and *fourth Feria*, and so on, were by the *Greeks* termed, ἡ δευτέρα τῆς ἀποκρέω, ἡ τρίτη, &c; untill the following Sunday, which was termed *Dominica* τῆς ἀποκρέω, and this week was called ἑβδομὰς τῆς ἀποκρέω. [See *Meursius's Glossary*, in the word ἀπόκρεως.] But after the *Dominica* τῆς ἀποκρέω, the *second Feria* which followed next, was termed τῆς τυρινῆς or τυροφάγου, and so the other days of that whole week, unto the following Sunday, which was called by the same name, ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς τυρινῆς. The same may be observed in the other Sundays, until *Easter-day.* For after the *Dominica* τῆς τυρινῆς, the *second Feria* was termed *the second Feria of the Holy Fasts*; and the whole week was called so, untill the following Sunday, which had the same name. Lastly, the ἑβδομὰς μεγάλη [*the Great week*, or, *Passion-week*] which we call *the Holy Week*, is reckoned to the following Sunday, namely *Easter-day*, as it appears

appears from the *Typicon of Saint Saba*, *Chap.* 31. *Cyrillus* also, in his *Paschal Sermons*, always begins the Week of *Easter*, which we now term *The Holy Week*, from the *second Feria*; and closes it with the following Sunday, namely *Easter-Day*. Nor does *Theophilus* do otherwise in his *Paschal Epistles*. Vales.

other days, and which is truly the [h] *Lord's, and the Salutary Day: and which has its* [i] *name from Light, Life, Immortality, and from every thing that is good. Moreover, He* [k] *himself, becoming his own Teacher of such good things, pays an adoration to his Saviour in the most private Apartments of his Imperial Palace; and sometimes by praying fulfils the Divine Laws; at others, by hearing the sacred Scriptures read, he cultivates and instructs his own mind. Farther, Persons consecrated to God, and who are adorned with holiness of Life and the other vertues, are his Servants and Ministers; and them he has appointed to be the* * *Controllers of his whole House. Lastly, his* Protectors *and trusty Guards, armed with the weapons of good affection, do acknowledge the Emperour as their Instructer in a pious Life.*

* Or, *Keepers.*

[h] Κυριακήν. This is the most ancient name of Sunday, whereby it was called even from the Apostles times. 'Tis certain, in the *Revelation of* St. *John*, mention is made of the *Lord's day*; See *Chap.* 1. *verse* 10.

But, what *Eusebius* says here, and in *the Life of Constantine*; namely, that Sunday was consecrated and set apart for Prayers and Ecclesiastick assemblies; this in my judgment, was instituted something later. For the first *Christians*, who had embraced the faith immediately after our Lords Ascent, met every day, always applying themselves to Prayers, and all manner of Offices of Piety; as St *Luke* writes in the *Acts of the Apostles*. But afterwards, when the Heathens betook themselves in great numbers to the faith of Christ, and the Faithful could not meet every day; it was appointed by the Apostles and their Successours, that at least on the *Lord's Day*, the Faithful should meet together in the Church. Concerning which there is an eminent passage, in *Justin the Martyr's Second Apology*, about the close of it. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, &c. *On the day termed Sunday, all Persons, as well those who dwell in the Country, as them in the City, meet together*, &c. He has termed it *Sunday*, not *the Lord's Day*, because he spoke to the *Roman* Emperours, who were well acquainted with *Sunday*, but knew not *the Lord's Day*, which was an appellation proper to *Christians*. *Justin* repeats the same thing a little after, in the *same Apology*. Hereto likewise *Pliny* agrees in his *Epistle to Trajan*. *Affirmabant*, says he, *hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris*, &c. *They affirmed, that this was the* Total, *either of their fault, or error, that on a stated day they were wont to meet together before it was light, and sing an Hymn to Christ, as to God.* Where, by *a stated day* he means *The Lord's Day*. Therefore, from this place of *Pliny* it may be gathered, that the *Christians* who then lived in *Bithynia*, met together on the *Lord's Day* only. Otherwise, *Pliny*, would have said, that they were wont to meet *on stated days*, not *on a stated day*. Although this is not so much the Testimony of *Pliny* himself, as the *Christians* own, who confest that before *Pliny*, as he himself attests. Besides the *Lord's Day*, *Epiphanius* (in the *Epilogue to his Books against Heresies,*) affirms that an Assembly on the *fourth* and *sixth Feria*; and *Clemens* (in his *Constitutions*) says, that a meeting together on the *Sabbath Day*, was instituted by the Apostles. But, as to what belongs to the *Stations of the fourth and sixth Feria*, we are informed from *Tertullian* in his *Book de Jejuniis*, that they were merely arbitrary and at will not determined by any positive Law or Command. And although it was *the Easterns* usage to meet together on the *Sabbath*, yet 'tis manifest from *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, and others, that in most Churches, Assemblies were not then held. There is an eminent passage of St. *Jerom's*, on *the Epist. to the Galatians*, *Chap.* 4. *Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo*, &c. *And least a disordered Congregation of the People might lessen the faith in Christ, therefore some days are appointed, that we might all come together. Not that that day whereon we meet, is more solemn; but, that on whatever day there is an assembly, a greater joy may arise from the sight of one another.* Vales.

[i] Φωτὸς καὶ ζωῆς ἐπώνυμον. He says, that the *Lord's Day* has its name from light, not because it was by the Heathens termed *the day of the Sun*, but because 'tis the day of the Lord, that namely whereon the Lord rose, and conferred on us Life and Light: and because on that day we received the Holy Spirit, the Enlightner of our minds. See *Clements Alexandrinus's Strom.* Book 6. where speaking concerning the Sabbath, there occurs a most elegant passage, which for brevities sake I here omit. The *Lord's Day* therefore is the day of Light, both because on that day the Light was first created, and also in regard we on that day received the knowledge of the truth by the Holy Spirit, who fell upon the Faithful under the form of fire, and *without division was divided*, as *Clemens* words it in the forementioned place. *Vales.*

[k] Αὐτός τε ἑαυτὸν διδάσκαλος. That is, not satisfied in his instructing others, he himself practises those things which he teacheth, according to the command of the Gospel. *Vales.*

But the Emperour himself pays an honour to this Victorious Banner, having experimentally found a Divine Efficacy inherent in it. For, by this [*Standard*] *vast multitudes of the adverse Army have been put to flight; by it the Forces of invisible* Dæmons *have been subdued. By it, their insolence, who opposed God himself, was repress: by it, the tongues of slanderers and impious Persons were silenced. By it the Barbarous Nations were vanquished. By it the frauds and mockery of Superstitious Error were exposed and detected. Lastly, to it (which is the sum and perfection of all Goods,) the Emperour paying a due debt as 'twere, has erected Triumphal Arches in all places of the Earth. And with a bountiful and Royal hand* [*hath founded*] *Temples and Churches, in honour of it: and has issued forth an Order to all Persons, that sacred Oratories should be built. In the very midst* [l] *therefore of the Provinces and Cities, eximious Monuments of his Imperial magnificence were forthwith raised; and in a short time they shined gloriously in every Country, and manifestly confuted and exposed the impiety of Tyrannick Government. For those* [*Tyrants*] *having by a madness of mind been a little before hurried on to wage a War against God; like mad dogs, vented their rage against the lifeless Structures, in regard they were unable to effect any thing against God Himself: and when they had thrown down the Oratories from their vast height to the very ground, and had dug up their very Foundations; they made them look like a City taken by the Enemy. Such was the Tragedy of wickednesses acted by them: wherein they attempted, as 'twere to assault the Deity it self; but were soon made sensible of their own madness. For a short space of time had scarce intervened, when a Storm poured on them from Heaven, swept them away and in one moment rendred them invisible: in so much that, neither kindred, nor issue, nor any the least relique of their memory, was left remaining amongst Men; but, though they were numerous, yet in a minute, having first had stripes inflicted on them from Heaven, they all perished utterly, and became extinct. Such was the conclusion of these Mens outragious Fury, whereby they had made an Insurrection against God. But this* [*Our Emperour,*] *who, armed with the Salutary Trophy, had alone fall'n upon the Enemies;* (*or rather, was not alone; for he who is the sole Emperour, was present with, and assisted him;*) *hath built new Oratories far better than those which a little before had been demolish'd; and hath made the latter much more magnificent, than the former were: one while adorning the City which bears his own name, with various Churches of God; at another time, honouring the chief* [*City*] *of* Bithynia, *with* [m] *a most stately and most beautiful* [*Church.*] *He hath likewise grac'd the chiefest* [*Cities*] *of the other Provinces, with Ornaments of this nature. Moreover, when he had made choice of two eminent places in the East; the one in the Province of* Palestine, *because the vivifick Stream* [*of saving faith*] *has from thence, as from a Spring, diffused it self and overflowed*

[l] Ἔστε ἡ φιλόχριστος. The reading must be ὑψοῦτο δή; and we have rendred it accordingly. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Copy*, 'tis ὑψοῦτο. *Vales.*

[m] Μείζονι πομπῇ καὶ φιλαλληλεστάτῳ. It must be, μείζονι πομπῇ καὶ φιλαλληλεστάτη. For ἐκκλησία, *Church*, is understood; as 'tis apparent from *His third Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, *Chap.* 50. From whence it must be also here corrected, κεφαλιδώσας, *the chiefest* [*Cities;*] as the reading likewise is in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

flowed all Nations; [n] *of the whole East,*

[n] Κοσμεῖ τῆς ὅλης ἑῴας περιηχεῖ. In the *third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap.* 50. instead of the verb κοσμεῖ, εἴληφεν is made use of. Indeed, this is a strange kind of an expression, μητροπόλεως ἣν τῷ ἐπώνυμον ἀντίοχον κοσμεῖ περιηχείαν. And at first blush it may seem to be an *Enallage*, instead of ἣ ἐπώνυμος ἀντίοχον κοσμεῖ περιηχεία, *which* [*City*] *the Surname of Antiochus does grace.* Yet, if any one shall inspect the matter more narrowly, he will confess, that this was spoken by *Eusebius*, with a design to greaten the thing. For such was the largeness of the City *Antioch*, that it might seem rather to adorn its own Builder *Antiochus*, than to be adorned by his name. *Vales.*

the other in the Metropolis [n] *which graces the name of* Antiochus: *in this latter, as 'twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Tract, he hath consecrated* [*to God*] *a* * *most glorious and matchless Structure, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he hath encompassed the whole Temple, with a large circuit on the out side: but within, he hath raised the* Basilica *it self to an immense height, and has built it in an* Eight-square Figure, *and has variously adorned it; and having surrounded it on all sides with many lodging Rooms and* Exhedræ, *has crowned it with a variety of Ornaments. In this manner were these* [*Edifices*] *compleated. But in the Province of the* Palestinians, *in that City heretofore the Royal Seat of the* Hebrews, *in the middle of the City,* [o] *at the very* Martyrium *of Our Saviour,* [*he has erected*] *a* † Basilica *of a vast bigness, and an Holy House in Honour of the Saluting Cross, and has beautified is richly, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac'd the Monument of the supream Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory,) and the Trophies that He raised against Death, with Ornaments that are inexpressible. And having selected three places in that Country, which are honoured with three Mystick Caves, He has beautified each of them with magnificent Structures: to* [p] *that Cave wherein* [*Our Saviour*] *first made his Divine appearance, he hath assigned a befitting honour: in the other, he has illustrated the memory of his last Assumption, in the Top of the Mount: but in that Cave, which is in the midst between the other two, he has extoll'd* ‖ *the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these* [*Caves*] *the Emperour has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all Persons the Saluting Sign* [*of the Cross.*]

* Or, *Divine.*

[o] Κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον. That is, *at the very place of Our Lord's Sepulchre.* For so *Eusebius* is wont to call the Sepulchre of Our Lord, as 'tis apparent from *his Life of Constant. Book* 3. *Chap.* 33. Μαρτύριον does properly signifie *a place where the Reliques of Martyrs are deposited.* The *Latines* have in like manner termed it *Confessionem, Confession*; which is the same with μαρτύριον. For μάρτυς is in *Latine* call'd *Confessor.* Thus, in *Anastasius*, we read *the Confession of Saint Peter.* Below, *at Chap.* 11, *Eusebius* calls it, τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον. *Vales.*

† See *Life of Constant. Book* 3. *Chap.* 43. *note* (c.)

[p] Τῷ μὲν πρὸς τῆς θεοφανείας ἄντρῳ. The reading must be, τῷ μὲν πρώτης θεοφανείας. For, it follows, τῷ δὲ τῆς ὑπερτάτης ἀναλήψεως, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. Farther, in the *third Book of his Life of Constant. Chap.* 41. He makes mention but of two Caves; whereas here he reckons up three. His discourse there, was concerning *Helena*, who built Churches at *Bethlehem* and on the *mount of Olives.* But here he treats concerning *Constantine*, who erected a most magnificent Church in the place of Our Lord's Sepulchre: to whom also *Eusebius* with good reason ascribes those Churches built by *Helena*, in regard they had been raised by the Emperour's cost. *Vales.*

‖ Or, *The saluting Victories of his whole Agony.*

[q] *Which* [*Sign*] *gives the Emperour the reward of his piety, increases his whole Family and the time* [*of his Reign,*] *and confirms the Throne of his Empire by* * *many periods of years; reserving the Fruits and Rewards of Vertue, for his most excellent Children, and for* [r] *his own Kindred, and for their Descendants. And this is a most convincing argument of the power of that God, whom the Emperour does worship; that he hath poiz'd the Scale of Justice with equal weights on both sides, and has assigned to each Party a fit and proportionate Reward. For the punishment due to impiety, immediately seized those who had assaulted and demolish'd the sacred Houses; and they were forthwith swept away, without any Stock or Kindred, without any House, or Family. But this* [*Our Emperour,*] *who by Acts of Piety of all sorts, pays an Honour to his Lord; and who one while erects Churches to him; at another time, manifests and makes him known to his Subjects, by those Sacred Gifts which he hath dedicated to him in all parts of the World: is most certainly known to have him, and that most deservedly, the Preserver and Keeper of his Family, Empire, and Race. In this manner have God's performances been made known, by the Divine power and Vertue of the Salutary Sign.*

* Or, *Long.*

[r] Καὶ αὐτοῦ. The reading must be ἑαυτοῦ, *his own.* After the mention of *Constantine's* Children, *Eusebius* has not superfluously added *his Stock* or *Kindred* also: on account namely of *Dalmatius* and *Hannibalianus* who were related to *Constantine*, being the Sons of his Brother. *Vales.*

CHAP. X.

Concerning which [*Sign*] *the Discourse might be large, wherewith they are well acquainted,* [a] *who have been initiated in those Mysteries delivered to them by divine Persons. For, this* * *is that truly saving* [*Sign:*] *a thing wonderful indeed to be related; but, far more admirable to be conceived: in what manner, as soon as it appeared on earth, That alone hath obscured all those Fables, many ages since invented concerning the Gods; and hath delivered up Error, to darkness and oblivion; but hath discovered to all Persons that Intellectual Light (which had illustrated the minds of Men,) the One namely, and the true God. Therefore, all People, now changed to a better and more enlightened Condition, spit on the faces of their dead Idols; trample under foot the impious Rites of* Dæmons, *and deride that ancient Error handed down to them from their Ancestours. And on the other side, Men have every where founded Schools of sacred Literature, and are all trained up as 'twere in the Precepts of the saving Discipline: to the intent that, they may no longer dread* * *things Created, which are visible to the eyes of flesh; nor lift up their eyes to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and stop in an admiration of those Bodies: but may confess him, who transcends all these, him who can't be perceived by sight, or any sense; to be the Creator of all things; and may learn to worship him alone. All which singular and extraordinary Blessings and Favours* [*conferred*] *on Men, had their rise from this Great and admirable Sign. By the power and vertue whereof, all those Ills which were before, now are not: and those* [*Goods*] *which before were not, are* † *every where resplendent,* [*deriving their Lustre*] *from the Rays of Piety. Also, Discourses, Precepts, and Exhortations to a Sober and Pious Life, are Preach'd in the hearing of all Nations; yea, even the Emperour himself Preaches. And this is the greatest wonder, that so mighty an Emperour, does with so loud a Voice call out to the whole World, like some Interpreter to*

* Or, *Was.*

[a] Μύσαις θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν. The Translator renders it, *is qui se sacrarum literarum professioni consecraverint*; which Version I don't approve of. Μύσαι are *the persons initiated*, who were partakers of the Mysteries. But θεολόγοι are *they who initiate other*, and deliver the Mysteries to them. *Vales.*

* Or, *The Creation, visible,* &c.

† Or, *Amongst all Persons.*

to God the supream King; and does invite all those Governed by Him, to the Knowledge of the true God. And that, in the midst of the Imperial Palace, [b] *the trifling and ridiculous Composures of impious Men* [*are not recited,*] *as the usage was heretofore; but the Priests and Ministers of God, persons conspicuous for their Piety, with* * *Royal Hymns and Praises do celebrate the Festival. That, the sole God, He who is the Emperor of the Universe, is declared and set forth to all; and that the Evangelick Word* [*who promiseth us all things which are good,*] *does unite Mankind to King; shewing the glad tidings of His Celestial Father's being rendred propitious and benign to His Sons on Earth. That, Quires do Laud Him with all manner of triumphant Songs; and that the whole Body of Mankind doth join in* The Chorus *together with the Angelick Companies in Heaven: and, that rational Souls, using those Bodies wherewith they are cloathed as some Musical Instruments,* [*do Laud*] *Him with befitting Hymns, and shout forth Praises that are grateful to him. That they who are Inhabitants of the* East, *together with those who dwell in the* West, *are instructed in His Precepts, at one and the same moment of time: and, that those who have received the* Southern *and* Northern *Parts of the World as their Allotment, do sing* † *to the same melodious Tune: studiously following a pious Course of Life, by the very same Methods and Precepts: conspiring in the praises of one God, who is supream: admitting of one Saviour, His only-begotten Son the Author of all Blessings: and* [*Lastly,*] *acknowledging one Moderator and Emperor on Earth, and His Sons belov'd by God. Which Emperor, like some skilful Pilot,* [c] *sits on high above the Rudder, and holding the Helm in his Hand, Steers the Vessel in a straight Course; and by a prosperous gale of Wind, brings all those under his command, into a safe and calm Port. But God Himself, the supream Emperor, stretches forth his right Hand to Him from above, and hitherto constitutes Him the Conqueror of all his Enemies and Opposers; encreasing the Strength of His Empire by long periods of Years. But will hereafter make Him a Partaker of far more excellent Blessings, and will really fulfill his own Promises made to Him. Of which Promises the time present permits not a Rehearsal; but a departure out of this Life is to be expected: in as much as, 'tis not possible for things divine to be distinctly perceived and fully apprehended, by mortal Eyes and corporeal Ears,*

CHAP. XI.

[a] *But, Come on* Victor Maximus Constantinus! *in this Imperial Book* [*written*] *concerning the Supream Emperor, let us now deliver to You* * *Secret and Mysterious Matters: not that we may teach You, who have been instructed by God: nor that we may disclose Secrets to You, to Whom God Himself, long before these our discourses, (not from Men, neither by any Man, but by the Common Saviour Himself, and by the Presence and Appearance of His own Divinity, which hath often shined upon You,) hath opened and revealed things Secret that were hidden: but, that we may bring untaught Men to the Light; and may suggest to the Ignorant, the Reasons and Causes of Your Pious and Religious Works and Deeds. Indeed, those great Actions dayly performed* [b] *by Your Vertue, thorowout the whole habitable World, in order to the promoting the Worship and Honour of God the supream King; are celebrated in the mouths of all Mortals. But, the Monuments of Gratitude, which You have consecrated to Your Preserver and Saviour, in Our Country, (I mean in the Province of* Palestine, *and in that City, whence, as from a Fountain-head, the Salutary Word hath powred forth its refreshing Streams upon all Men;) and the Trophies of that Victory gained over Death, which You have erected in the Edifices of Oratories, and in the Dedications of Sacred Houses:* [*I say,*] *those Lofty and most beautiful Works of an Imperial Magnificence, Structures truly Imperial, erected* [c] *about the Salutary* [Martyrium, *a Monument that deserves*] *an Immortal Memory; contain a Reason* [*for their having been built,*] *which is* [d] *not equally apparent and manifest to all Persons.*

* Or, *The Mysteries of Secret Discourses.*

[a] Ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ

† Or, *Concordant Songs.*

[b] Οὐκ ἔστως ἔθος τὸ πεῖν. I write, ἐκ ἔθ' ὡς τὸ πεὶν ἀνδρῶν ἀθέων φλύαφοι; and have rendred it accordingly: He means the *Pagan Sophistæ*, who in such like *Decennalian* Festivities as these, spoke *Panegyricks* to the Emperors. Such a one was *Nazarius's Panegyrick*, spoken to *Constantine*, in his *third Quinquennalia*, (or on the fifteenth year of his Empire, and in the *Quinquennalia* of the *Cæsars*. Such also was *Themistius's Oration*, in *Valens's Quinquennalia*. Moreover, *Claudius Mamertinus* had prepared an Oration in the *Quinquennalia* of *Maximianus Herculius*, as he himself attests In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is ἐκ ἔθος τὸ πεῖν. *Vales.*

[c] Ὑπερπόῤ ἀιωνεχέμψυ. This is a most corrupt place, which nevertheless, I have, as I think, with ease amended. I write therefore, ὅ δ' ὅτα στρὸς κυβερνήτης ὑψίζυος ὑπὲρ πηδαλίων ἐχέμψυ, &c. that is, *Sublimis supra gubernaculum Sedens, Sits on high above the Rudder.* But the Translator dreamt I know not what concerning *Ævum*. Presently, write εὐθία τε περαίνων, from the *Fuketian Copy*: for so *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter. *Vales.*

[d] Ὃ τοῖς πᾶσι. I don't doubt but it should be written, ἃ τοῖς πᾶσι προδηλον ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν, *contain a reason——which is not equally apparent and manifest to all Persons.* Which Emendation is confirmed by the words of *Eusebius* that follow presently. *All Persons,* says he, *are not acquainted with the reasons of those Works, which You have with great magnificence built near the Sepulchre of Our Lord. For, the Christians do indeed know them, and on that account do greatly admire You. But the Heathens deride such works as those.* The reading therefore in the *Fuketian Copy* is ill, thus, ἃ τοῖς πᾶσι, &c. *Vales.*

Τῷδε. The *Greek Rhetoricians* term *Orations, concerning the praises of Emperors,* βασιλικοὺς λόγους; which the Latines are wont to call *Panegyricas, Panegyricks.* The method of these Orations is delivered by *Alexander Rhetor*, in *his Book* περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, *Chap.* 1. the Title of *which Chapter* ought to be περὶ βασιλικῶν λόγων. *This Book* is extant amongst the *Greek Rhetoricians published by Aldus, pag* 613. but, which is ill done, 'tis confounded with *Menander Rhetor's Book*, which treats concerning the same Subject. Farther, in the *foresaid Chapter* of *Alexander*, there is cited an Oration of the most fam'd *Sophist Callinicus*, with this Title, μέγας βασιλικὸς, written, if I mistake not, in praise of the *Emperor Philip*. Which I guess at from hence, because *Philip* was an *Arabian* as well as *Callinicus*, and was of mean birth: which are the Qualifications of that Emperor, to whom *Callinicus* spoke this Oration, as *Alexander* attests. The time suits very well also; For *Callinicus* lived in the Reign of *Gallienus*, as *Suidas* does witness. There is also extant a Βασιλικὸς of *Libanius's*, written by him in honour of *Constantinus* and *Constans*, when he was at *Nicomedia*. *Eusebius* therefore alludes to these Orations, and terms this Oration βασιλικὸν σύγραμμα. So in the *foregoing Chapter*, he has made use of this expression, βασιλικοῖς ὕμνοις παιηγυείσασι, in allusion to the same thing; which the Translator understood not. Moreover, this is to be remark'd, namely that this *Oration* is by *Eusebius* termed βασιλικὸν σύγγεμμα, that is, *an Imperial Book* For 'tis indeed liker a *Book*, than an *Oration*; because by its too great length it exceeds the measure of an Oration. Wherefore I can't perswade my self, that it was recited by *Eusebius*. Vales.

[b] Πρὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς. It must be, πρὸς τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς, *by your Vertue*; and so the Translator read. *Vales.*

[c] Ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον τῆς ἀθανάτε μνήμης. It ought, I think, to be written, ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, *about the Salutary Martyrium*, as *Eusebius* has expresst himself in the *ninth Chapter*: where see what we have observed, at *note* (o.) It might also be, ἀμφὶ τὸ σωτήριον μνῆμα, *about the Salutary Monument*. For so it will be an elegant allusion, μνῆμα τῆς ἀθανάτε μνήμης, *a Monument of an immortal Memory*. And so *Eusebius* words it in the foresaid Chapter, μνῆμά τε μνήμης ἀιωνίε χέμον, *and the Monument——which deserves an eternal Memory*. Nevertheless I have observed, that τὸ σωτήριον is by *Eusebius* simply and absolutely taken to signifie the Salutary Sign of the Cross: δι' ἐνδείε ἀρετῆς τὸ σωτηρίε, *by the Divine Vertue of the Salutary Sign*, as it occurrs in the very close of the *ninth Chapter*: where nevertheless, the *Fuketian Copy* words it in this manner, σωτηρίε σημείε. *Vales.*

'Tis

'Tis certain, they who have been enlightened by the Celestial Power and Influence of the Divine Spirit, do know and understand [the true Cause of Your raising those Structures,] and on account thereof do deservedly admire You, and do stile that Your purpose of Mind, a blessed resolution, as proceeding from no other than a divine impulse. But, those who are unskilled in matters divine, in a most immoderate manner deride, and scoff at that work, by reason of their blindness of Mind: supposing it to be a mighty indecency, and a thing unbefitting [the Majesty of so] great an Emperor, to employ His care about the Monuments and Sepulchres of Dead Bodies. For, would it not have been better (may some one of these persons say,) to observe and keep Our Ancestors Rites; and to appease the Hero's and Gods worship'd in each Province; and not to detest and abhor them on account of such Calamities as these? For, either they must be * affected with Divine Honours, in the same manner with [e] this Person, by reason of that likeness there is in their miseries and infelicities: or else, if they are to be rejected, as being obnoxious to humane sufferings; 'tis just, that the very same sentence be pronounc'd against Him also. These words will peradventure be said by some one of those Persons, having first contracted His Brows, and in His own vain opinion thinking Himself wiser than others, and with much of gravity extolling his own Arrogance. To whom nevertheless, a pardon of his ignorance is vouchsafed, (and [f] not to him only, but to every one who hath erred from the right way;) by the Gracious and merciful Word of the Most Excellent Father; who hath Founded Schools and Places of Instruction all over the whole World, in Countries and Villages, in Fields and desart Places, and in all Cities whatever; and freely invites [all Persons] to learn the Divine Precepts: and like a most indulgent Saviour and Physician of Souls, perswades both Greeks and Barbarians; Wise and Simple; Poor and Rich; Servants and Masters; Governours and the Governed; the Impious; the Unjust; the Unlearned; the Unclean; the Blasphemous; to come, yea to hasten to a Divine Cure. With a loud Voice therefore proclaiming to all Persons Oblivion of their former Wickedness, thus He heretofore cryed out, saying; * Come unto Me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. And again, I † am not come to call the Righteous, but Sinners to repentance. And He adds the reason, saying: [‖ For] they that be whole, need not a Physician, but they that are sick. And [in another place,] I desire not the death of a Sinner [so earnestly, as I desire] his Repentance. Hence it is, that only that Person who has been instructed in the knowledge of things Divine, (as soon as he shall have been acquainted with the reasons of that care and diligence imployed about the forementioned Works,) must of necessity acknowledge a far more excellent instinct than that which is meerly humane, to have been in our Emperor, and must admire His Pious Disposition towards the worship of God; and must believe, that this Care and Sollicitude in reference to * the Monument of the Salutary Resurrection, was not exerted without Divine Appointment; but was really the product of the Inspiration of that God, whose faithful Servant and Minister of good things, [the Emperor] boasts Himself to be. Being fully perswaded, Greatest Emperor! that these things are truly grateful and acceptable to You, I have taken a resolution, in this present Discourse to set forth to all Persons, the Causes and [g] Reasons of Your Pious Fabricks: glorying in this, that I am as 'twere the Interpreter of Your Intention, and the Relator of Your Pious Mind: and that I teach all those things, which 'tis fit and agreeable every Person should be instructed in, whose desire it is to understand the Reasons of the Power of God, and of Our Saviour: on account of which [Reasons] He who existed long before, and had the sole Care and Management of the Universe, at length came down from Heaven to us: for which [reasons] he [h] cloathed Himself with the humane Nature: for which [Reasons Lastly,] He gave access even to Death: moreover, [that I declare] the reasons of that immortal Life which followed hereupon, and of the Resurrection from the dead; and not the reasons only, but the most evident and rational Demonstrations also, and the most indubitable Proofs, necessary to those who as yet stand in need of these things. But, now it is time, that we should here begin this our design'd discourse. They who have * ascribed the worship of God the Framer of the World and the supream Governor over all things, to those things created by Him; and have honoured the Sun and Moon, and the other parts of the World, and the first Elements [of all things,] Earth; Water; Air; Fire; with an appellation equal to their Maker and Framer: and have termed those things, Gods, which neither ever were, nor had subsisted, nor had had any name unless they had been [i] present with and waited upon the Word of God who made the World: such Persons, in my judgment, seem to differ very little from those, who † passing by the Architect of eximious Works in Imperial Palaces, greatly admire the Roofs and Walls, and

* Or, Deified.

[e] Ὁμοίως τῷ δε. He means *Christ*, as the *Translator* has well noted at the margin. These words are spoken by *Eusebius*, with an intent to personate the Heathens, who (when the *Christians* objected to them, the Adulteries, Quarrels, Slaughters, Death, and also Sepulchres of their *Gods* and *Hero's*) answered in this manner. *If our Gods are to be rejected and despised on account of such humane Calamities as these, Your God is in like manner to be rejected also; whom you confess to have been condemned, to have been dead, and buried.* Vales.

[f] Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα. I should choose to write. ἃ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα πεπλανημένον, &c. For this seems to me more elegant. But the ordinary reading has the same sense; but 'tis not so expressive, nor so elegant. Nevertheless, he expresses himself so hereafter in this chapter. A little after I read διδασκαλεῖς καὶ διδασκαλεῖα, *Schools and places of Instruction*; not διδασκαλίας, *Doctrines*. Vales.

* Matth. 11. 28.

† Matth. 9. 13.

‖ Matth. 9. 12.

[g] Ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις. Without doubt it must be τοῦ λόγου; and a little after (as the words are plac'd in the *Greek*,) εἰς πάντας ἐκφῆναι βέλεται: and so the Translator seems to have read, who renders it thus: *Rerum piè & religiosè abs te gestarum rationes Causasque hoc præsenti sermone explicare constitui.* But he has rendred the word ἔργων ill, which does here signifie *Fabricks* or *Edifices*, which by the *Latines* are termed *Opera*, *Works*. For here *Eusebius* does manifestly treat concerning that Church, which *Constantine* had built at *Jerusalem*, in a most magnificent and admirable manner. Further, this passage does plainly confirm Our Emendation at *note* (*d.*) in this chapter, τῆς πᾶσι προδήλον ἔχει τὸν αἰτίαν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is, ἔργων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παρών μοι λόγῳ τῆς πᾶσιν ἐκφῆναι βέλεται. *Vales.*

[h] Ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεδύσατο. You must add the word φύσιν, *He cloathed Himself with the humane Nature*; which word is ill placed in the foregoing line. This Emendation is confirmed by the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* Or, Martyrium of salutary immortality.

* Changed, or transferred.

[i] Τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ παρέστη. The Translator renders it, *Nisi verbo Dei in Lucem editæ fuissent, unless they had been brought to light by the Word of God.* But this rendition is not expressive enough of the propriety of the *Greek* Term. Wherefore, I would rather render it, *Nisi verbo Dei adstitissent, unless they had stood by the Word of God.* For 'tis a *Metaphor*, taken from Servants, who, when their Lord calls, are at hand presently. Therefore this verb παρέστη is a fit word to be used concerning the Creation of the World. For the Lord said, *Let there be made, and they were made.* Farther, I have mended this place from the *Fuketian Copy*. For whereas the reading before was, καὶ ἐδαμῶν ἐδαμῶς ἦν, I have corrected it, ἃ ἐδαμῶν ἐδαμῶς ἦν. *Vales.*

† Or, Contemning, or, neglecting.

the

the *Paintings* thereon which consist of a variety of Flowers and Colours, and the Golden * Lacunaria, and the curious Workmanship thereon, and the Carv'd-works of Stones; and to those very things, attribute the praise and name of the skill of the Artist: whereas, the Cause of the admiration ought not to be ascribed to those things visible to the eye, but only to the Architect of those [curious pieces of work:] and in as much as 'tis to be acknowledged, that there are many works of great Art and Skill; but, that he only is wise and skilful, who is the Author of the Being of such Works as these, and of their being beheld by many. Nor, would they seem in any thing to differ from very young Children, who should admire the *Musical* Instrument of the *Harp* it self, which consists of seven Strings; and not the Inventour Himself, and the Person skilled in its Harmony, on account of this his knowledge: or they, who neglecting him that had performed a brave piece of service in the Wars, should adorn the Spear or the Shield, with Triumphant Crowns: or [Lastly] they, who should honour the Forums, the Streets, the Edifices, the lifeless Temples, and the † Gymnasia; in the same degree with the Mighty Emperour, the Author and Founder of the Great and Royal City: whereas 'tis not meet to admire the [Columns or] Stones, but rather the wise Builder himself of this great Work, and him by whose Laws and Sanctions it is Governed. In the very same manner also, they, who with the eyes of the Body behold this Universe, ought not to ascribe its Cause, either to the Sun, or Moon, or to any other of the Celestial Bodies: but must acknowledge all these to be the Works of Wisdom; being in the interim mindful of the Maker and Framer of them, and preferring his Honour and Worship before all other things whatever. But, from a view of these very [Works,] with an entire affection of mind they must reverence and adore him, namely the Word of God, the supream Emperour [of this Universe,] who is not now to be perceived by the eyes of the body, but only by a pure and uncorrupt mind. For, in the Body of a Man, no one hath ever termed the eyes, or head, or hands, or feet, or the rest of the members of a wise and knowing Person, Wisdom; much less has any one termed the || Pallium within which such a Person is wrapt, wise; or his house-hold-stuff, wise; or the Vessels necessary for a Philosopher's use, wise: but every prudent Person admires the invisible and disappearing mind that is in Man. In the same manner also, rather than [we should wonder at] the visible Works of this whole World, which are corporeal, and framed of one and the same matter; we ought to admire that undiscerned and invisible Word, the Framer and Beautifier of this Universe; Who is the only-begotten [Son] of God: Whom the Maker of all things Himself, a Being that far transcends every substance, hath begotten of Himself; and hath constituted Him the Ruler and Governour of this Universe. For, whereas it was impossible, that the transient and frail substance of Bodies, and the Nature of rational Creatures which had been newly made, should approach God the Supream Rectour, because of that infinity of distance whereby He excells them: (For He is unbegotten, plac'd above and beyond all things; inexplicable; incomprehensible; inaccessible; inhabiting Light that is not to be approach'd, as the [k] sacred Oracles tell us: but they were produced out of nothing, and are vastly distant, and a long way separated from that unbegotten Nature:) with good reason therefore, the All-Good and Supream God, interposed as 'twere [l] the Middle, Divine, and Omnipotent Power of His own onely-begotten Word. Which [Power] is most intimately and most nearly conversant with the Father, and abides within Him, and enjoys His Secrets: [m] nevertheless, it does most graciously condescend and let down it self, and in a manner adapts and fits it self to those, who are far distant from the supream Height. For otherwise, it would be a thing neither pure nor holy, that He who is plac'd above and beyond all things, should be joyned with corruptible matter and Body.

* *Arch'd-Roofs.*

† *Places for Exercise, or, Schools.*

|| *A long Garment worn by Philosophers.*

[k] Οἱ ἱερώτατοι λόγοι. So also 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*; instead of ἱερώτατοι. *Vales.*

[l] Μέσην τινὰ θεότητα καὶ ἐμβάλλει. He terms the Son's power, *a middle power* between God the Father and things created, not that the Vertue and power of the Son is different from the Vertue and power of the Father. For *Eusebius* does plainly call it here, *the Divine power of the Son.* But he gives it the name of *Middle*, because the Father does nothing by himself, but all things by the Son. Therefore ancient Divines attributed the *Monarchy* to the Father; but *the Administration* or οἰκονομία to the Son; as *Tertullian* informs us in his *Book against Praxeas.* See *the Twelfth Chapter*; where he does again term the Son, *the Middle*, and a certain Bond as 'twere, whereby things Created are coupled with the unbegotten Father. And least any one should think, that *Eusebius* deserves to be reproved here; *Alexander Bishop of Alexandria* (in *his Epistle to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople,*) expresses himself in the very same manner; ἀσυνθέτως οἱ ἀνάσκηλοι, ὡς μαχεῖν ἂν εἶη μεταξὺ πατρὸς ἀγεννήτου καὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων, ὃν μεσιτεύσασα φύσις μονογενὴς, &c. *Eusebius* (Book 1. *against Sabellius*) declares the same thing at large. *Non quia non sufficiebat Pater, ideo genuit Filium*: &c. *Not because the Father was not sufficient, therefore he begat the Son: but because those things which were made were not sufficient to bear the power of him unborn. Therefore he speaks by a Mediatour. Why? Because we could not approach him unborn.* Nevertheless, *Athanasius* refutes these assertions incomparably well, in his *third Oration against the Arians, pag.* 397. Vales.

[m] Περιώτατά γε. Doubtless it must be, περιώτατα ἢ συσκιάσαν, καὶ ἀμωσγέπως; we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

*Therefore, the divine Word * came down and put himself into this Universe; and having taken the Reins of the whole World into his Hands, Governs it by an incorporeal and divine power; and, like a most wise Charioteer, manages it according as it seems good to Himself. Now, the demonstration of this Discourse is clear and perspicuous. For, if those parts of the World do subsist of themselves, which we have usually termed the first Elements, namely, Earth; Water; Air; and Fire; which consist of a nature void of reason, as we see with our own eyes: [or [n],] if there be one matter [or, substance] common to them all, which those Persons skilled in such things as these, are wont to term the Receptacle, Mother and Nurse of all: and if that be without Form and Figure, wholly void of Life and Reason: whence [hath it happened,] (will any one affirm,) that there is in it Beauty and Ornature? Whence [proceeded] the distinction of the Elements? Whence † the concord and agreement of things contrary? Who hath commanded the heavy Element of Earth to be carried on the moist substance [of Water?] Who hath turned back the nature of Waters, which tends downward, and hath carried it about on high, in the clouds? Who hath bound the force of Fire, and [hath commanded it] to lie hid in wood, and to mix with things contrary to its nature? Who hath mingled the cold air with the hot nature of Fire, and ° by putting an end to the mutual fight between them, hath reduced them to con-*

* Or, *descended and mixt himself with this*, &c.

[n] Εἰ μία τοῖς πᾶσιν. You will render this passage very clear and perspicuous, if you add a particle, in this manner; ἢ εἰ μία τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπόκειται, ὕλη; *or, if there be*, &c. The meaning is: *For, whether the Elements have their proper substance, or whether there be one and the same matter in them all*, &c. *Vales.*

† Or, *The running together into one of*, &c.

° Τῆς θεὸς ἄλληλα μάχης. I write, τὶς τῆς θεὸς ἄλληλα μάχης αὐτὰ διαλύσας, &c. or at least, ἢ τῆς θεὸς ἄλληλα μάχης, &c. which latter reading we have followed. *Vales.*

cord and agreement? *Who hath propagated mankind, by inventing the* † *benefit of succession,* [*and hath enlarged it*] *to the* * *long-continuing space of an immortal Life? Who hath formed the Male, and fashioned the Female, thus as we see them; and* [p] *having made them both up into one harmonious Composition, hath found out one common principle of Generation to all living Creatures? Who has changed the liquid nature of Sperm, which of it self is corruptible, fluid, and* [q] *void of sense; and hath made it prolifick and fit for the begetting of living Creatures? Who even at this very instant works all these things, and infinite others besides these, which are far above wonder, and superiour to all admiration? Who is it, that every day and hour effects the Generations* [r] *and corruptions of all these, by an undiscerned and invisible power? The Wonder-working Word of God, is most deservedly to be look'd upon as the Authour of all these things. For the truly-omnipotent Word of God diffuses Himself over all things; and having in an incorporeal manner extended Himself, both upwards to an immense height, and also downwards to a vast depth; and containing within his large hands as 'twere, the* [s] *Latitude and Longitude of the Universe, he hath compacted and bound together this whole World. Which when He had made up into an Instrument containing in it self all sorts of Harmony, for His own use; with* || *Reason and Wisdom He began to play upon the matter of Bodies, which is of it self irrational, without Form, and void of Figure;* [t] *fitly setting together and composing* the disjuncts *with* the Diatones. *He likewise Governs the Sun and Moon, and the other Luminaries of Heaven, by measures not to be unfolded; and leads* [*them*] *in such a manner, as may be most useful and beneficial to this Universe. The same Word of God let Himself down upon the Earth also, where He produced living Creatures of every kind, and the variously-shap'd Beauties of Plants. The very same Word of God penetrated into the deep Recesses of the Sea likewise, and* [u] *invented the Nature of Swimming Creatures: and there also He made infinite and innumerable Forms and Varieties of all sorts of living Creatures. He it is, who perfecting and compleating the* † Fœtus's *conceived in the Womb, within in the very Work-house of Nature, gives them Life and Form. He also lifts up on high the fluid and heavy Nature of the moist substance, and afterwards, when by a change he has made it sweet, brings it down gently and moderately to the Ground: but at Stated Seasons he bestows it in a more plentiful manner. Then, like some skilful and excellent Husband-man, having sufficiently watered the fields with it, by dividing it into various Streams, and conveying it in several channels; and having mix'd the moist substance with the dry ground; He dresses and adorns the Earth in a different manner; sometimes, with beautiful flowers;* [w] *at others, with a variety of figures; one while, with fragrant scents; at another, with various sorts of Fruits: and at another time he affords all manner of enjoyments that are delicious to the Taste.* [x] *But, why do I presume to rehearse the* * *wonderful works of the Word of God, and to attempt impossibilities? whereas his Efficiency does far surmount all humane thought. Indeed, some Persons have term'd Him* The Nature of the Universe; *others,* The Soul of the World; *others,* Fate. *Others have asserted, that He is that Supream and most Transcendent Being, God; thereby confounding, in a manner to me unintelligible, things that are at the greatest distance one from another: whilst they debase and throw down even to the earth, the Ruler of all things Himself, and the Unbegotten and Supream Nature; and joyn it with a Body, and with corruptible matter; and affirm that 'tis* †*wrap'd up in the midst, between Living Creatures that are rational and irrational, between substances mortal and immortal. Thus they.*

† Or, *Manner.*

* Εἰς μακρὰν αἰῶνα. I read it in one word, thus, εἰς μακραίωνα ζωῆς ἀθανάτου βίον διεξήγαγε, and have rendred it accordingly. *Eusebius* makes use of the same word above. *Vales.*

[p] Ἄμφω τε εἰς ἁρμονίαν συναγαγών. I had rather point it thus, ἄμφω τε εἰς ἁρμονίαν συναγαγὼν μίαν, *and having made them both,* &c. and have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[q] Καὶ ἀλογίστου, *and void of reason.* I would rather say, ἀναισθήτου; which I have followed in my Version. *Vales.*

[r] Τὰς τῶν γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς. The two last words must be expunged, which crept in hither from the upper line. It might also be written, γενέσεις καὶ φθορὰς, *the Generations and corruptions.* Vales.

[s] Πλάτει τε καὶ μήκει. It must be, πλάτη τε καὶ μήκη τοῦ παντὸς συνέδησεν, &c. Which is required by the Rules of *Syntax.* Vales.

|| Or, *A most wise and rational power,* or *faculty.*

[t] Τοῖς διατόνοις τὰ διεζευγμένα συνάπτων. They are terms properly belonging to *Musick*; concerning which, besides other Authours, see *Boethius de Musicâ, Book* 1. *Chap.* 24, *and* 25; where he treats concerning *the Synaphe,* and *the Diazeuxis.* But the Translatour has rendred it, *Lapides frontatos,* i. e. *Stones that are smoothed on both sides, and are even with the thickness of the wall, and are seen on both sides.* Than which rendition, there is nothing more absurd. Instead of the term διατόνοις, it should, I think, be τόνοις, *Tones,* or, *Notes.* I had almost forgot to give notice, that at the beginning of this period the reading should be, ὄφελον τε τοῦτο παραμόνιον, &c. *Vales.* Concerning the term *Diatones,* see *Boethius's foremention*ed *Book, Chap.* 21. the Title of *which chapter* is, *De generibus Cantilenarum.*

[u] Νυκτῶν ἐπενόησε φύσιν. In the *Fuketian Copy,* the reading is truer, thus νηκτῶν ἐπενόησε φύσιν, *invented the Nature of Swimming Creatures.* Vales.

† *Children.*

[w] Τότε ὃ θέμασι παντοίοις. The Translatour renders it, *modo herbarum formis cujusquemodi illustrando, sometimes by illustrating it with all sorts of forms of herbs.* Which Rendition I don't approve of. In my judgment, *Eusebius* does rather mean the various figures of Countries. For, *Europe* has one sort of figure, *Asia* another, *Africa* another. Now, in these parts of the World, all Provinces have their figures, which God the Framer of this Universe hath given them; having divided the World, like a most pleasant garden, into various Beds. By this term may also be meant, the different Dresses and Garbs of the Earth. For sometimes the Earth is green with Grass, at others 'tis yellow with Corn; here 'tis shady with Woods; there, 'tis pleasant with Gardens. *Vales.*

[x] Τί μὴ δεῖ. I think it must be, τί ὃ μοι. That is, *But, why do I presume,* &c. which manner of Expression is very emphatical; when the Oratour does as 'twere stop and chide Himself. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis τί με δεῖ. *Vales.*

* Or, *Powers.*

CHAP. XII.

BUT, *The Divine Doctrine does assert,* [a] *that That which is the Supream Good it Self, and the Cause of all things, is far beyond all Comprehension: and therefore, that it is ineffable, and inexpressible, nor can have a name given it; and that 'tis not only above expression, but all thought also. That 'tis not to be contained in place, nor is in Bodies: that* [*it exists*] *not in Heaven; nor in the* [b] Æther; *in this manner; but, the Divine Doctrine does assert, that,* &c. Vales.

[a] Ἀνώτατον αὐτὸ δεῖ. The words seem to be misplaced, and are to be restored in this manner; ὃ δ' ἔνθεος διδασκαλία αὐτὸ δεῖ τὸ ἀγαθῶν ἀνώτατον, πάντων τ' αἴτιον, &c. *But, the Divine Doctrine does assert, that,* &c. Vales.

[b] The Ancients distinguished the *Æther,* from *the heaven*; and by that name of *Æther,* meant *the Element of Fire.* So *Anaxagoras,* as *Aristotle* tells us in *his third Book de Cœlo*: whom almost all Persons did afterwards follow, except *the Peripateticks.* For the *Peripateticks* termed the substance of Heaven, *Æther*; (See *Aristotle de Mundo*;) and affirmed that was a fifth Element. The same is asserted by *Heraclides, in Allegoriis Homeri. Peripatetici,* says he, *Aiunt naturam Cœlestium corporum aliam esse ab igne,* &c. *The Peripateticks do say, that the Nature of the Celestial Bodies is different from fire, and do term it* κυκλοφορητικὴν *(a nature that moves circularly,) and say that it is a fifth Element. For fire, which in Greek is* αἰθὴς, *does naturally move upwards: but the Sun and Moon do not.* But *the Stoïcks* also themselves called the Element of fire, *Æther*; and thought that it was the principal part, (or the τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν,) of the whole World. *Censorinus* (or whoever else is the Authour,) speaks to this effect, in *Chap.* 1. *de Naturali Institutione. Mundi Principals*

Principale Solem quidam putant, ut Cleanthes, &c. *Some think the Sun to be the Principal of the World, as Cleanthes: and Chryſippus, the Æther, by whoſe perpetual motion the things under it are held and adminiſtred. And the Æther it ſelf ſuffers nothing.* So alſo *Euſebius* uſes it below in this chapter; and St. *Auſtin in his 147th Sermon de Tempore.* Valeſ.

or in any other part of the Univerſe: but, that 'tis wholly without all things, and hid within ſome ſecret Receſs of the underſtanding. The ſacred Oracles do teach, that he is to be acknowledged the [c] *Onely True God; he who is ſeparated from all Corporeal Subſtance and* [d] *foreign to all* Miniſterial Oeconomie. *Wherefore all things, are ſaid to have exiſted* from Him, *but not* by Him.

[c] Not that the Son is not the true God; but because the Name of God doth properly belong to the Father; in regard he is the Fountain and Author of the Deity. But, whereas Our *Euſebius* (*in his Epiſtle to Euphration*) hath ſaid, that the Son is not the true God, (as *Athanaſius* and the *Fathers of the ſeventh Synod* do object againſt him;) that is in no wiſe to be born with. For, although the Father be properly termed God; ſo that, whenever God is ſimply and abſolutely ſpoken, we preſently underſtand the Father: nevertheleſs, the Son is no leſs truly God, than the Father; in regard the Divinity of the Father and of the Son, is one and the Same. 'Tis certain, *Euſebius* (in *his Firſt Book againſt Marcellus, de Eccleſiaſticâ Theologiâ, Chap.* 10.) has expreſly affirmed that the Son is the true God. Although in the *following Chapter*, he does a little diminiſh from what he had ſaid above. The words of Chriſt in St. *John's Goſpel* (*Chap.* 17. v. 3.) are theſe. *This is Life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* Valeſ. 'Tis the *Learned Petavius*'s opinion, that the word [*Onely*] in that Text of St. *John*, does in no wiſe exclude the Son. For (as he notes from St. *Baſil*, *Epiſt.* 141. p. 927.) the words εἷς and μόνος are made uſe of in ſcripture, only to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate the falſe Gods; that they may be removed, who are not true Gods, and therefore are not Gods. See *Petav. Dogm. Theolog. Tom.* 2. *De Trini. Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 14.

[d] Ὑπηρετικῆς οἰκονομίας ἀλλότριον. We have ſhown above, that ancient Divines attributed the Monarchy to God the Father; but to the Son, the οἰκονομίαν or *diſpoſition*. Indeed, 'tis the Father's property to reign: but the Son's property, who is the Wiſdom of the Father, is to diſpoſe or ſet in order all things. Wherefore they affirmed, that Reſt and Beatitude was the Father's property: but Operation, the Son's. Not that the Father Himſelf does not work; but becauſe the Father works things unknown and ſecret; but the Son, things more manifeſt to us; as *Marius Victorinus* makes it out, in *his firſt book againſt the Arians.* And the Ancient Divines, before the *Nicene Council*, termed the Son ὑπηρέτην and ὕπαρχον: but afterwards they avoided theſe Names, as 'tis apparent from St. *Chryſoſtome* in *his Sermon de Sigillis.* Valeſ.

But he himſelf, as The Emperour, *within in ſecret and inacceſſible apartments, inhabits Light that is always unapproachable, and by the ſole power of his own Will does* [*every where*] *Determine and Command. For, from his being willing, proceeds the Exiſtence of every thing that is; and he not being willing, it is not. Now, he wills all things that are good, becauſe by his own Eſſence he is* [e] *Goodneſs it ſelf. But God the Word, by whom are all things, iſſues from above* [f] *in a manner inexpreſſible, out of his Excellent Father, as out of an everlaſting and immenſe Fountain, and flows forth like a River;* * *ſpreading his ſtreams all abroad, in order to the common preſervation of every thing. And (that I may make uſe of an inſtance taken from our ſelves,) as the inviſible and undiſcovered Mind in us, (which, what, and of what ſort it is as to its Eſſence, no mortal ever yet knew;) reſiding like ſome Emperour within the private Apartments of his own Palace, does alone will, and conclude upon thoſe things that are to be done: but Diſcourſe, as 'twere the onely-begotten Son, begotten by the mind in a manner that is inexplicable, and by a power not to be expreſt, proceeds out of its Boſom, as from its Parent; and is the firſt Meſſenger and Interpreter of its Parent's thoughts to all Perſons; and makes a publick declaration of thoſe things which its Parent has concluded on in ſecret; and actually performs its Parents Reſolves, conveying it ſelf to the Ears of all Men. Whence 'tis, that Men receive benefit from Diſcourſe: but no Perſon has ever beheld with his eyes, the latent and inviſible mind it ſelf, which is the Parent of Diſcourſe. In the very ſame manner, or rather in a manner far beyond all compariſon and reſemblance, the moſt Perfect Word of the Supream God, in regard he is the Onely begotten Son of the Father, not conſiſting of a power of pronunciation, nor as to his nature made up of ſyllables, names, and words; nor expreſt by a voice which ſtrikes through the air: but exiſting the Living and Operating Word of the Supream God, and ſubſiſting perſonally, as being the Power of God, and the Wiſdom of God; proceeds from his Father's Divinity, and* [*comes forth*] *out of his Kingdom. And, in as much as He is the Good Off-ſpring of the Good Father, and the Common Saviour of all things, he* [g] *paſſes thorow, and derives a moiſture upon all* [*living Creatures:*] *and by Reaſon of his own fulneſs of Reaſon, Wiſdom, Light, and of all Goods, he diffuſes himſelf over all things, not only thoſe that are at hand and near, but them alſo that are at the remoteſt diſtance, whether on the Earth or in the Sea, or where ever elſe; if beſides theſe there be in nature any other Seat or Habitation allotted to things. To all which, with the greateſt equity and juſtice he appoints Limits, and* * *Regions, and Laws, and ſtated Inheritances; and by his Royal power beſtows upon, and ſupplies each of them with thoſe things that are fit and agreeable. And to ſome of them he aſſigns* [*for their place of Reſidence,*] *thoſe Arches that are above the World;* [h] *again, to others* [*He appoints*] *The Heaven for their Habitation; to others, Ætherial Manſions; to others, the Air; to others, the Earth. And afterwards, he does again remove them from hence to other places; and makes an exact enquiry into the lives of every one of them, and rewards their Morals, Behaviour, and Converſation. He likewiſe provides food and nouriſhment, not only for Creatures endued with reaſon, but for thoſe that are irrational alſo, which are of uſe to Men:* [i] *and to* theſe Latter, *he affords the enjoyment of a mortal and temporary Life; but to the* Former, *a participation of* [*a Life*] *immortal. In fine, he himſelf, as being the Word of God, effects all things, is every where preſent, and by his rational power does penetrate and paſs thorow all things. And looking up to his own Father, agreeably to his will and appointment, he governs and manages all* [k] *inferiour things, and which are conſequent to him, in regard he is the Common Saviour of all: exiſting in a manner* The Middle [*between both,*] *and joining that Subſtance which has an Original, with*

[e] Καὶ αὐτοαγαθόν. 'Tis plain that it ſhould be αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is αὐτοαγαθόν, in one word. *Valeſ.*

[f] Ἀνομοιρεῶν λόγῳ ἀῤῥήτῳ. Doubtleſs it muſt be λόγοις ἀῤῥήτοις, or λόγῳ ἀῤῥήτῳ, *in a manner inexpreſſible*, as *Euſebius* ſays a little lower. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Wholly overflowing, in order*, &c.

[g] Ἐποχεύει τὰ σύμπαντα ζῶν. The laſt word muſt be expunged; unleſs you would rather write ζῶα, *living Creatures.* For at this place he ſpeaks chiefly concerning living Creatures. *Valeſ.*

* Or, Places.

[h] Τοῖς δ' αὐτὸν ἀφανῆ οἰκεῖν. Write it in words disjoined, thus, τοῖς δ' αὖ τὸν ἀφανῆ οἰκεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἂν αἰθερίους διατριβὰς, τοῖς δ' ἂν ἀέρα: *again, to others* [*He appoints,*] &c. *Valeſ.*

[i] Καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητοῖς. I doubt not but *Euſebius* wrote, καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητῆς καὶ προσκαίρου ζωῆς ἀπόλαυσιν, τοῖς δ' ἀθανάτου μέθοσίαν παρέχων; in which manner the Tranſlatour ſeems to have read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

[k] Τὰ κάτω, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀκολούθως. At this place the words ſeem to be tranſpo-

sed; which I thus set in order;

τοῖς ἐκείνῳ νεύμασιν ἀκολούθως, τὰ κάτω ᾗ μεθ' αὐτὸν διακυβερνᾷ, agreeably to his will and appointment, &c. A little after where the reading is, δεσμός τις μέσος ἐστίν, the word μέσος must be blotted out, in regard it occurrs presently. *Vales.*

* Or, *Onely Begotten God, the Word begotten of God.*

† John 1. 1, 3.

with the unbegotten of God is a most firm bind together things [*Father.*] *For the Word middle Bond, which does distant one from another, and suffers them not to depart far asunder. He is that Providence which Governs the Universe: He it is, who takes care of, Composes, and Corrects all things. He is the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God. Lastly, He is the * Onely begotten Word, God begotten of God. For,* † In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not any thing made that was made: *as the sacred expressions of Divine Men do inform us. He is the Common Planter of all things, by whose assistance the substance of all things does sprout and flourish; being continually watered by showers from him, and always* [*enlivened*] *with new Vigour, and every day endued with Comelines and Beauty. He holds the Reins* [*of the Universe in his hand,*] *and directs all things in a straight Course, and by the arbitrement of his Father, manages the Helm of that vast Ship of the whole World. Such an incomparable Artist as this, the Onely-Begotten Son namely, when he who is God over all,* [1] *as being the* [*most excellent*] *Father of the most excellent* * Fœtus, *had begotten of himself; he bestowed him on this World as the chiefest Good:* [m] *and having infused him as the Soul and Life into a Body inanimate, and* [*mixt*] *his own Word* [*and Reason*] *with the irrational Nature of Bodies; by the Divine power of his own Word be enlightened and gave life to formless Matter, which was without shape, life, and figure. Whom we ought to acknowledge and contemplate, as continually and in all places present in Matter, and in the Elements of Bodies; and as the Begetter of all Creatures endued with Life: and* [*must own*] *him to be The Light; and the Intellectual Product of inexplicable Light. Who, as to Essence, is One; because begotten of One Father: but contains in himself many powers and faculties. For, because there be many parts of the World,* [n] *we must not for that reason think that there are many Powers: nor, because many things have been made, is it therefore fit we should determine, that there be many Gods also.* [o] *Indeed, those Sons of Persons that were worshippers of many Gods, in regard as to their minds they were childish and simple, have err'd miserably; whilst they Deified the Parts of the Universe, and divided the World, which in it self was one, into many. 'Tis the same, as if any Person should take the eyes of one entire Man, by themselves, and should say that they were one Man; and again, the ears, another Man; and in like manner, the head,* [*another:*] *as also the neck, and the breast, and the shoulders, and the feet, and the hands; and having thus divided the rest of the members into pieces; and Lastly, by a mental abstraction, severed the Faculties of the Senses; should affirm him, who is really but one, to be a great many Men.* [*He that should proceed thus,*] *would do nothing more than expose his own madness to be laught at by Men of sense. Exactly such a one is he, who forms to himself an infinite number of Gods, out of the parts of one World; or who supposes, that the World it self, which has both a Beginning, and also consists of many parts, is a God; and who does not understand, that 'tis no way possible, that the Divine Nature should consist of parts. For, should it be compounded, it would want some other thing, which might compound it:* [p] *nor again, could that in any wise be divine, which should consist of many parts. For, how* [*should it be divine,*] *whenas it would consist of* [*things*] *unlike and different, and of worse and better? But,* [*the Nature of God*] *is simple, indivisible, and uncompounded; and is far beyond all this visible constitution of the World. Wherefore,* [q] *that Preacher of Truth, has cried out with a loud voice, plainly expressing himself in this manner. 'Tis certain, the Word of God, who* [*existed*] *before all things, is the only Saviour of all rational Creatures.* [r] *But God who is above all, the Author of the Generation of the Word; in regard he alone is the Cause of all things, is properly stiled the Father of his own Word, as of his Onely-Begotten: but he himself acknowledges no superiour Cause. Therefore, he himself is the Onely God: but the Onely-Begotten proceeds from him; he is the Saviour of all, the One Word of God, who* [*pierces*] *thorow all things.* [t] *Indeed, this sensible World (as 'twere some many-string'd Harp, made up of dislike chords, whereof some are sharp, others flat, who can't be expresst in words.* Which rendition don't please me. I should therefore choose to construe the words another way, so as that it may be said, θεοσιδέχης λόγος, that is, *the Origine and Authour of the Word.* 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* is wont to term God the Father, τὸν ἐπέκεινα πάντων, *Him who is above all.* Indeed, at this place he compares *The Word* to *The Father.* And he says, that *The Word* is πρὸ πάντων, *before all things*: but *the Father*, He says, is ἐπέκεινα πάντων, *beyond*, or *superiour to all things*: every where attributing more to the Father. *Vales.*

[1] Οἷα πατὴρ ἀγαθόν. It will be far more elegant, if you add a word, in this manner, οἷα πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς, ἀγαθὸν, &c. *as being the most excellent*, &c. I don't doubt but *Eusebius* wrote thus: for he has often expresst himself so above. *Vales.*

[m] Ἅτε ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀψύχῳ. Here also the particle is misplac'd. Write therefore, ἅτε ψυχὴν σώματι ἀψύχῳ, καὶ τῇ ἀπ' σωμάτων, *and having infused him as the soul and life*, &c. Unless you had rather wholly expunge that particle. 'Tis indeed wanting in the *Faletian Copy.* Vales.

[n] Πολλὰς δυνάμεις ὑπειλήφαμεν.

The *Translatour* has done ill in rendring it *Facultates, Faculties.* For, those which *Eusebius* does here term δυνάμεις, in the following member of the period he calls *Gods.* It ought therefore to have been rendred *Potestates.* For so the *Latines* do term *Dæmons*, whom the *Greeks are wont to stile* δυνάμεις. *Servius in B. 3. Æneid. Nam potestates*, says he, *aliæ Cœlestes sunt*, &c. *For some powers are Celestial, others Terrene, others mixt.* And *in B. 4. Nam potestates aut terrenæ sunt*, &c. *For the powers are either Terrene, or Aerial, or Ætherial. Chalcidius* on *Plato's Timæus*, p. 97. *Quæ potestates*, says he, *Ætherii, aeriique sunt Dæmones*, &c. *Which powers are Ætherial and Aerial Dæmons, removed from our sight, and our other senses.* St. *Austin* uses the same term, in *his tenth Book de Civitate Dei, Chap.* 16: and in *his Epistle to Volusianus. Apuleius in his Apology. Longinianus in his Epistle to Augustinus.* And *Amm. Marcellinus, Book* 21 Amongst the *Greeks*, nothing occurs more frequently. St. *Jerom on the* 2d *Chapter of Joel*: *A dextris*, says he, *& à sinistris virtutes & fortitudines Dei legimus; quas Græci* δυνάμεις *Vocant*, &c. *Vales.*

[o] Δεῖ μὴν ᾗ οἷα νήπιοι. At my peril write, οἱ μὴν δὴ, οἷα νήπιοι πολυθέων ἀνδρῶν παῖδες, &c. Which is the same as if he should have said, οἱ μὲν δὴ πολύθεοι, *Indeed, those Superstitious Worshippers of many Gods.* In the *Faletian Copy*, the reading is, δεινὴν ᾗ οἷα, &c. πλάνην ἐπλανήθησαν. Excellently well. *Vales.*

[p] Οὐδ' ἂν πολυμερὴς ἦσα. It must be ἠδ' ἂν πολυμερὴς, &c. *nor again, could*, &c. Presently, after those words πῶς χθ, must be set a point of Interrogation; which the Translatour perceived not. *Vales.*

[q] He means St. *John the Evangelist*, whose words he had cited a little before, *In the beginning was the Word*, &c. Which word *Eusebius* does now expound by way of paraphrase. *Vales.*

[r] Θεὸς δὲ ὁ ἐπέκεινα λόγου γενεσιάρχης. The Translatour construed the words thus, ὁ ἐπέκεινα λόγος. For he renders it, *Qui dicendo exprimi nequit.*

[t] Ὡς μὲν ἓν ὁ αἰσθητὸς κόσμος, &c. Doubtless it must be, ὁ μὲν ἓν αἰσθητὸς κόσμος; *Indeed, this sensible world.* Which is made apparent from the following words. *Vales.*

some

*ſome ſlack, others ſtrain'd, and otherſome betwixt both; but all well fitted and proportion'd, according to the Rules of the Art of Muſick: in the ſame manner this world) conſiſting of many parts, and compounded in a various manner; of Cold namely and its contrary Heat; and again, of a moiſt ſubſtance, and dry the contrary thereto; and of all theſe making up one Harmony, may fitly be ſtyled the Great Muſical Inſtrument and Compoſure of the Great God. But the Divine Word, who neither conſiſts of parts, nor is made up of Contraries, but is indiviſible and uncompounded, with great art and skill does play upon [this muſical Inſtrument] the Univerſe; and makes ſuch a melody as is *grateful to his Father the ſupream King, and befitting Himſelf. [t] For, as in one Body, the Members and parts, the Bowels, and almoſt innumerable Entrails, are compacted and ſet together; but one inviſible ſoul is diffuſed through all its parts; and one mind, which is indiviſible and incorporeal: ſo alſo in this Univerſe, the World it ſelf, conſiſting of many parts, is made up into one; but the Word of God, whoſe power is manifold and Omnipotent, is in like manner One; and paſſes through all things, and is [u] without wandring diffuſed and ſpread over all things, and is the cauſe of all things that are made in them. Do you not with your eyes ſee this whole world? How one Heaven contains [w] innumerable *Quires of Stars which go their Rounds about it. Again, how One Sun [leads up] the many other [Daunces of the Stars,] and by the tranſcendency of His own Light, obſcures the ſplendour of all the reſt. In the ſame manner, the Father being One, his Word muſt be One alſo, as being the excellent [Off-ſpring] of the excellent Father. But, ſhould any perſon complain, becauſe there are not more; ſuch a One has as good reaſon to find fault, becauſe there are not more Suns, more Moons, more Worlds, and a thouſand things beſides; whilſt like a mad man, he attempts to ſubvert and diſcompoſe thoſe things, which are right and well-conſtituted by Nature. For, as in things viſible, One Sun does enlighten this whole Senſible World: ſo in things intelligible, One Almighty Word of God illuminates all things, in a manner to us unknown and inviſible. For, even in Man himſelf, one Soul and one Faculty of reaſoning, is the Framer of many things all under one: for, one and the ſame mind, having been inſtructed in the knowledge of many matters, attempts both to till the Ground, and to build a Ship, and to ſteer it, and to ſet up an Houſe. Alſo, one mind and reaſon in man, is capable of numerous Sciences. For, one and the ſame mind is skill'd in* Geometry, *and in* Aſtronomy; *and delivers the rules of* Grammar, *and* Rhetorick, *and* Phyſick: *nor is* [*the mind*] *Miſtreſs of theſe Liberal Sciences only, but of Arts Manual alſo. And yet no man was ever hitherto of Opinion, that there are many* [*Rational*] *ſouls in one body: nor hath any one admired or had a ſuſpicion of many ſubſtances in the ſame man, becauſe he is capable of being skill'd in many Sciences. Let us ſuppoſe any one to have found an unform'd Lump of clay; and, (after he has ſoftened it with his hands) to have faſhioned it into the ſhape of a living Creature; the head in one figure: the hands and feet in another; and again the eyes in another, as alſo the cheeks in another; and likewiſe* † *by the Art of a Potter to have formed the Ears, Mouth, Noſe, Breaſt, and Shoulders. Although there are many Figures, Parts and Members formed in this one Body; yet it muſt not therefore be thought, that there were as many Framers of this Work: but we muſt acknowledge the Artiſt of the whole work to be but one; and muſt neceſſarily commend that ſingle perſon, who by the help of one Reaſon and one Faculty, has framed the whole Work. The ſame is to be thought concerning this whole World; which although it be one, yet conſiſts of many parts. Nor muſt we therefore ſuppoſe many framing Powers; or name many Gods: but muſt attribute the appellation of Divinity to the true God's One power and wiſdom, which is compleatly furniſhed with all manner of ſagacity, and with the perfection of Harmony: which by One and that a ſingular power and virtue, paſſes thorow all things; and goes through the whole World; and conſtitutes and enlivens all things; and laſtly [x] from it ſelf gives a various ſupply to all and ſingular Bodies and Elements. So alſo, one and the ſame impreſſion of the Solar Light, at one and the ſame inſtant illuſtrates the air; enlightens the eyes; heats the [ſenſe of] touching; Fattens the Earth, and gives increaſe to plants: beſides, it conſtitutes Time; rules and leads the Stars; goes round Heaven; beautifies the world; and renders the power of God, manifeſt and apparent to every one: and all theſe things it performs, by one and the ſame force of its own Nature. In like manner, the Nature of Fire, refines gold, melts lead; diſſolves wax; dries clay; and burns wood: ſo many, and ſuch great things it performs by one power and faculty, that namely of burning. In the very ſame manner, the Word of God, the ſupream Moderatour of all things, who paſſes through all things, exiſts in all things, and ‖ overſpreads all things, as well Celeſtial as Terreſtrial; governs things inviſible and viſible, and by [y] unſpeakable powers rules the Sun Himſelf, Heaven, and the whole world; is preſent with all things by his active power, and goes thorow all things. And on the Sun Himſelf, and on the Moon, and the Stars, He ſheds forth a perpetual light out of His own Fountain of light. The Heaven, which He hath made as the moſt fit reſemblance of His own Greatneſs; He does for ever govern. But the Powers which are beyond Heaven and the world it ſelf, namely the Angels and Spirits, and the intelligent and rational ſubſtances; are by Him filled and enrich'd, with life and light, and wiſdom, and all manner of Virtue, and Beauty, and Goodneſs, out of his own Treaſures. Laſtly, by one and the ſame framing Faculty, He never ceaſes from furniſhing the Elements with ſubſtance, and Bodies with mixtures and Temperaments, and moreover, with Forms, and Figures, and innumerable Qualities;*

* Or. *Due.*

[t] Ὡς ὑφ' ἑνὶ σώματι. There is a particle wanting here; which I put in thus; ὡς μὲν ἓν ὑφ' ἑνὶ σώματι, *for, as in one body.* It may alſo be, ὡς ᾧ ὑφ' ἑνὶ, *But, as in one,* &c. Valeſ.

[u] Ἁπλανῶς ἐφαπλωμένου. Perhaps it ſhould be ἀφανῶς, *inviſibly.* For, *The Word* of God in an inviſible manner is diffuſed through all things. But the common reading is not raſhly to be rejected. For *Euſebius* means, that the Word of God is infuſed into all things, not as a ſpirit, which in a wandring motion paſſes thorow all things, and is carried ſometimes this way, another while that way; but as a Soul, which is ſpread into all the members at once, and wanders not from theſe, to thoſe. The Tranſlatour renders ἀπλανῶς, *reverà, really.* Valeſ.

[w] Ἀμφὶ μυείας. Any one may perceive, that the words are miſplac'd here alſo. Write therefore, χωρείας ἄστρων ἀμφὶ τοῦτον περιπολούσας; and we have rendred it accordingly. A little after, I read, ἥλιος εἷς, ἀλλ' ὁ πλείους, ὡς κ', &c. *Again, One Sun, but not more; ſo that even by the tranſcendency——He obſcures* &c. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Daunces.*

† *In Potters-work.* So *Valeſius.*

[x] Ποικίλην τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς χορηγίαν ποιεμένου. The article muſt be blotted out; or at leaſt it muſt be τῷ ἐξ αὐτῆς, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* Preſently, where the reading is φωτὸς ἡλίου περιόλη, I had rather read περισόλη, as 'tis in the *Fukerian Copy.* Valeſ.

‖ Or, *Runs over.*

[y] Ἀῤῥήτοις δυνάμεσιν. It muſt I think, be, ἀῤῥήτων λόγων δυνάμεσιν ἡνιοχεῖ; or elſe, as 'tis in the *Fuk. Copy*, ἀῤῥήτοις δυνάμεσιν, *by inexpreſſible* or *unſpeakable powers.* A little after, where the reading is, ἔτι ἀυτῷ μὲ ἡλίῳ; the Tranſlatour ſeems to have read, ἔτι *moreover.* But it would be better, were it written thus, καὶ ἀυτῷ μὲ, &c; *and on the Sun Himſelf,* &c. *Valeſ.*

[z] Ἐν πᾶσι ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς. In the *Fuk. Copy*, these words ἔν τε are wanting; they don't indeed seem very necessary. *Vales.*

[z] *as well in living creatures as plants; not only in rational Beings, but in Brutes; differencing and distinguishing all things with an admirable variety, and by one and the same power plentifully supplying all things with all things: hereby most clearly demonstrating, that not an Harp consisting of seven Cords, but this one all Harmonious Universe, is the work of The One World-creating Word.*

CHAP. XIII.

[a] Λέγω μὲν δὴ τὰ ἑξῆς καὶ διασαφῶ μόν. It must be written in conjoined words, thus λέγωμὸν δῆτα ἑξῆς καὶ διασαφῶμὸν, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

PRoceed we therefore *in the next place to unfold the reason, which moved this Almighty Word to make his descent into this world. A sort of ignorant and unthinking men, not apprehending that this Word of God has the Presidency over Heaven and Earth, that he was begotten of his Father's Divinity,* [*the stream*] *as 'twere from that supream Fountain it self, and is always present and conversant with this world; and that he exhibits most apparent and manifest Indications of his own Providence and Care in reference to men: have given the adorable name* [*of God*] *to the Sun and Moon, and to the Heaven it self and the Stars. Nor have they stop'd here: but have likewise deified a terrene Nature, and the Fruits produc'd from the Earth, and all manner of nourishment of Bodies: framing for themselves Images of* Ceres, *of* Proserpina *and* Bacchus, *and of infinite other such like* [*Deities.*] *Neither has it sufficed them to proceed thus far: but they have not been afraid of declaring the thoughts of their own minds, and Speech it self the Interpreter of those thoughts, to be Gods: terming the mind,* Minerva; *and Speech* Mercurius: *they have likewise named those faculties of the mind, whereby Arts and Sciences are acquired,* * Moneta *and* The Muses. *Nor have they stop'd here: but making every day new accessions to their absurdities, by reason of their transcendent impiety, they have deified their own Commotions and perturbations of mind, which they ought to have had an aversion for, and to have cur'd by the Prescripts of Temperance. And even to their very Lust it self, and to the Mischievous and unruly disease of their Souls, and to those parts of the Body that are the Incentives to obscenity;*

* Or, *Mneneosyne*, that is, *the Mother of the Muses.*

[b] Καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀισχρῶν ἡδονῶν ἀκρασίᾳ. It is to be made, καὶ ἔτι τὴν τῶν ἀισχρῶν ἡδονῶν ἀκρασίαν, &c. *and moreover*, &c; for 'tis referred to the word ἀνεστόρεις. *Eusebius* says, that unchast passions were consecrated by men. For they called their Lust by the name of *Cupid*; and the members wherewith acts of obscenity were performed, *Priapus*; and that intemperance which spreads it self into filthy pleasures, they termed *Venus.* This is the meaning of this place, which the Translatour perceived not. *Vales.*

[b] *and moreover, to that intemperance excessively prone to filthy pleasures, they have given the names of* Cupido, Priapus, *and* Venus, *and other such like appellations as these. Nor have they stop'd here: but debasing themselves to the Generations of Bodies, and to this mortal life here below, they have deified mortal men, and after death which is common to all, have termed them* Hero's *and Gods; imagining that the immortal and divine Nature, does* * *wander about Tombes and Sepulchres. Nor has this put a stop to their madness: but they have honoured all sorts of irrational Creatures, and the most noxious kinds of Creeping things, with the venerable Title* [*of Divinity.*] *Neither were they satisfied herewith: but they have cut down Trees, and hew'd out Stones, and have dug forth the Metals of the Earth, Brass, Iron, and other matter; whereof they have form'd Resemblances of Women and shapes of men, and figures of wild Beasts and creeping things: and afterwards paid them a divine worship and Honour. Nor have they put an end to their madness here: but have given the Name of Gods to those malignant* Dæmons, *which had hol'd in Images, and lay lurking within obscure and dark Recesses, and who with greediness gap'd after and swallowed* Libations, *and the stinking savours of sacrifices. Nor did they stop here: but* [c] *by certain Ligatures of forbidden Crafts, and by* [b] *wicked and compulsory enchanting Verses and charms, they allured and enticed those* Dæmons *and invisible powers which fly about the Air, to be their* [c] Assistants *and* Familiars. [f] *Moreover, some mortal men were deified by one sort of people; others, by another. For the* Greeks *honoured* Bacchus, *and* Hercules, *and* Æsculapius, *and* Apollo, *and some other men, with the name of* Hero's *and Gods. But the* Egyptians *esteemed* Horus, *and* Isis, *and* Osiris, *and other such like men as these, to be Gods. And these persons, who on account of their transcendent sagacity, boasted of the Invention of* Geometry, Astronomy, *and* Arithmetick; *understood not, nor were so well skilled, (though in* [g] *their own judgments they look'd upon themselves to be such wise and knowing men;) as to weigh and consider, the measures of the power of God, and* [*to examine*] *how great a difference there is between* His, *and a mortal and brutish Nature.*

* *Roll*, or, *Tumble.*

[c] Κατὰ δέσμοις πεσὼν ἀπειρομένης γοητείας. καταδέσμους is a proper Term of Magick Art. *Artemidorus* (B. 1. C. 79.) joyns φαρμακείας and καταδέσεις together. *Plato* (B. II. *De Legibus, pag.* 933.) has used καταδέσεις to signifie the same. See *Harpocration* in the verb καταδεδέκθαι. The *Latines* call them *Ligaturas*, *Ligatures.* St. *Austin's* words, in *his seventh Tractate on* St. *John*, are these. *Usque adeo, fratres mei*, &c. *In so much, my Brethren, that those very persons, who seduce by Ligatures, by charms, by the deceits and engines of the Enemy, mix the name of Christ with their own Charms. Orosius* (B. 4. C. 13.) calls it *obligamentum magicum, a Magick Bond* or Tye. Vales.

[d] Ἐκθέσμοις τε καὶ ἐναύλοις ᾠδαῖς. It must be made ἐπαύλοις, *compulsory*; from the *Fuk. Copy.* Vales.

[e] Παρέδρους. *Tertullian* in *his Book De Anima*, has termed them in Latine *Paredros Spiritus*, which he joyns with the *Catabolick* and *Pythonick Spirits*, who were put into men by *Magicians.* Now, they were called *Paredri Dæmones*, who assisted men, and kept off diseases and unhappy accidents from them. This we are told by *Tertullian* (in *his Apolog. Chap.* 23.) in these words. *Si & somnia immittunt, habentes simul invitatorum angelorum & Dæmonum adsistentem sibi potestatem.* For *Magicians* had *Dæmons* that assisted and obeyed them, who were their *Paredri, Familiars*; by whose help they performed many miracles. Besides, they put such Spirits into others, that they might either infuse dreams into them, or be always present with them in order to their defence. The former sort of Spirits they termed ὀνειροπομπούς, *senders or causers of Dreams:* the Latter they call'd παρέδρους, *Assistants* or *Familiars.* Sometimes also, by Magick charms they threw boys against the ground, who being afterwards raised, as 'twere from a Fit of the *falling-sickness*, foretold things future to those that consulted them. Which thing they performed by *Catabolick Spirits*, as *Heraldus* has rightly remark'd at *Tertullian's Apology.* From hence *Salmasius's* mistake is made apparent, who (in *his notes on Spartianus, pag.* 40.) affirms, that those were termed *Paredri*, who from being men were reckoned amongst the Gods, and were made Assessors to the Gods. Which opinion of *Salmasius's*, *Gothofred* has embraced in *his notes on Tertullian's second Book ad Nationes. Turnebus* (*B.* 26. *Adversar.*) is much righter; save that he renders it *malos genios, evil Genii:* whereas notwithstanding, the *Good Genii*, and ἀλεξίκακοι were so termed, as *Lucian* writes concerning *Hephæstion.* Lastly, they usually termed *the Infernal Gods*, not *the Celestial*, *Paredri*; which being not observed by *Salmasius*, was the occasion of his mistake, See *Demosthenes* in *Orat. Funebr.* about the close: and *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 1. *pag.* 45. and lastly *Rufinus's Eccles. History* B. 2. Chap. 13. From which Authors 'tis plain, that *the Infernal Gods* were termed *Paredri. Vales.*

[f] Θνητὸς δὲ μόν. I read θνητὸς γε μὴν ἄνδρας; *Moreover*, &c. Which though a small fault, yet ought not to have been omitted. *Vales.*

[g] Παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. Here the words seem to be misplac'd. I read therefore, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, οὐδὲ σωφρὸν οἱ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς σοφοὶ, &c. Which way of writing this place, we have followed in our Version. In the *Fuk. Copy*, this passage is written thus, γεωμετρείας τῷ εὑρεσιν, ἀστρονομίας τε καὶ ἀριθμητικῆς αὐξοντες, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, &c. Which reading I don't approve of. *Vales.*

Hence

Hence it was, that they were not aſhamed of deifying every ſort of filthy and ill-favoured Beaſts, and all manner of living Creatures, and venomous Serpents, and ſavage Beaſts. Alſo, the Phœnicians *gave the Title of Gods to* [h] Melcatharus *and* Uſorus, *and to ſome other obſcure perſons, who had heretofore been men. And ſo did the* Arabians, *to one* [i] Duſares *and* Obodas; [k] *and the* Getæ, *to* Zamolxis; *and the* Cilicians, *to* Mopſus; *and the* Thebæans, *to* Amphiareus: *and again ſome* [*made Gods*] *of theſe, others of thoſe; perſons in nothing different from a mortal nature; but ſuch as in reality were meer men. All the* Egyptians *by a general conſent, the* Phœnicians, *the* Greeks, *and in ſhort the whole Body of mankind which the Rays of the Sun do enlighten,* [*have attributed divine honours*] *to the parts of the world, and to the Elements, and to* [l] *the fruits which ſpring out of the Earth. And which is yet more ſtrange, although they acknowledge their adulteries, their Sodomies, and their Raviſhments of Women; nevertheleſs they have filled all Cities and Towns and Countries, with their Temples and Statues and Shrines; and in a conformity to the Morals of their Gods, they have totally ruined their own Souls. Indeed, in words and expreſſions you might frequently hear Gods named amongſt them,* [m] *and Sons of Gods, alſo* Heroes, *and Good* Genii: *But the thing it ſelf was quite different and contrary. For they grac'd contrary things with contrary names: in the ſame manner as if a man deſirous to ſhew another the Sun and the Luminaries in the Heaven, ſhould not lift up His eyes thither; but ſhould caſt his hands downwards towards the earth, and throwing them on the ground, grope for the Celeſtial Powers in the dirt and mire. Thus mankind,* [*induced thereto*] *by a ſtupidity of mind, and the fraud of miſchievous* Dæmons, *was fully perſwaded, that the intelligible Nature of God, which does far tranſcend Heaven and the world it ſelf, reſided below in the Generation of Bodies, in the* * *Affections of mortals, and in* † *death. Further, men were arrived at ſuch an height of madneſs, that they ſacrificed their deareſt Pledges to them; nor would they ſpare even Nature it ſelf; but, out of fury and a diſtraction of mind, murdered their only-begotten, and the deareſt of their children. For, what can be ſuppoſed a madder action than this, to ſacrifice men; and to pollute all Cities, and their own Houſes with inteſtine murders? Doe not the* Greeks *themſelves give teſtimony to theſe matters? Is not every Hiſtory fill'd with the rehearſal of theſe things? The* Phœnicians *did every year ſacrifice their moſt beloved, and only begotten children, to* Saturn [n] *To the very ſame* [*God,*] *in* [*the Iſland*] Rhodes, *on the ſixth day of the month* Metageitnion, *they offered men in ſacrifice. Alſo at* Salamis, *in a Temple of* Minerva Agraulis *and* Diomedes, *'twas the cuſtom, that a man, purſu'd by others ſhould run round about the Altar thrice; after which the Prieſt ſtab'd him into the ſtomach with a Launce; and thus he laid him on a pile of wood ſet on fire, and wholly conſumed him. In* Egypt *likewiſe, innumerable ſlaughters of men were committed. For at* Heliopolis, *three men were every day ſacrificed to* Juno: *the barbarouſneſs of which thing, King* [o] Amoſes *having look'd into and rightly conſidered, ordered the like number of men made up of wax, to be ſubſtituted in their room. Alſo in* [*the Iſland*] Chius *they ſacrificed a man to* Bacchus Omadius; *and they did the like in* Tenedos. *In* Lacedæmon *they performed a ſacrifice to* Mars *by* [*offering*] *men: and they did the very ſame in* Creet, *where they ſacrificed a man to* Saturn. *At* Laodicea *in* Syria, *a Virgin was every year ſacrificed to* Minerva; *in place of whom a Hart is now offered. Moreover, the* Libyans *and* Carthaginians *appeaſed their own Gods with humane ſacrifices.* [p] *Alſo, the* Dumateni *of* Arabia *offered a Boy in ſacrifice yearly, whom they were wont to bury under the Altar. Hiſtory does inform us, that all the* Greeks *in general, before they marched out to war, uſually ſacrificed a man: and the* Thracians *and* Scythæ *are recorded to have done the like. The* Athenians *mention* [q] *the Virgin-*

[h] Μελκάνθαρον, *Melcantharus. Euſebius* (book 1. *De Præparat. chap.* 10. where he ſets forth the *Theology* of the *Phœnicians*:) terms the one of theſe Gods, *Melicarthus* the ſon of *Demaron*, the Grand child [or, Nephew] of *Cœlus*: the other he calls *Uſorus* Brother to *Hypſuranius*, who was the firſt that found out the Coverings of skins In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is μελκάθαρον καὶ ἄσωρον, *Melcatharus and Uſorus*: Valeſ.

[i] Δάσαρίν τινα καὶ ὄβοδον. The reading muſt be καὶ ὀβόδαν, *and Obodas*. For the *Arabians* worſhipped *Obodas* and *Duſares*, as *Tertullian* tells us, *Book* 2. *ad Nationes*, *Chap.* 8. Concerning *Obodas* ſee *Uranius* in *his fourth Book of Arabick Antiquities*. *Obodas* was a moſt ancient King of the *Arabians* who was buried amongſt the *Nabathæi*, and had divine honours paid him by them, as *Stephanus* relates in the word ὀβόδα. From him many Kings of *Arabia* were afterwards called by the name of *Obodas*; two of whom *Joſephus* mentions; the one in the times of *Alexander* King of the *Jews*; the other, in the Reign of *Herod*. *Strabo* alſo makes mention of the latter. Further, as far as may be conjectured from Hiſtories, the *Arethæ* and *Obodæ* Reigned by turns amongſt the *Arabians*: ſo that, after an *Arethas*, ſucceeded an *Obodas*; and after an *Obodas*, an *Arethas*. And this ſeems to have continued a long while. The *Nabathæi* worſhipped *Duſares* alſo, by which name they meant *Bacchus*, as *Iſidorus* in *Heſychius* informs us. *Stephanus* in the word Δυσάρειοι, ſpeaks concerning this God alſo. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading here is, Δάσαρίν τινα ὄβδον. *Valeſ.*

[k] Καὶ ζαμόλξιν. It muſt be written, καὶ οἱ γετῶν; underſtand παῖδες; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Zamolxis* is a known God of the *Getæ*. Preſently, the reading muſt be, καὶ τὸν μόψον κίλικας, καὶ τ' ἀμφιάρεω θηβαίους. καὶ πάλιν ἕτεροι ἄλλως, ἄλλοι πάλιν ἕτέρως, &c; *and the Cilicians, to Mopſus*, In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, καὶ πρὸ ἑτέρους, ἄλλοι πάλιν ἑτέρως. *Valeſ.*

[l] Βλαστήτας καρπὸς λείπ. The laſt word was added by the Tranſcriber of this Book, to the intent he might thereby ſhew, that there is an imperfection here. Indeed, at this place ſome words ſeem to be wanting. Unleſs you have a mind to underſtand theſe words in common, θεὸς ἀνηγόρευσαν *gave the Title of Gods*, which are made uſe of a little before. In the *Fuketian Copy*, that word λείπει occurrs not; but after the word καρπὸς a point is ſet. *Valeſ.*

[m] Καὶ θεῶν πάλας I think it ſhould be, καὶ θεῶν παῖδας, *and the Sons of Gods*. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis πάλας. *Valeſ.*

[n] Τὰ δ' αὐτὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν ῥόδῳ: From *Porphyrius* it muſt be made τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ, *to the very ſame*; underſtand κρόνῳ, *Saturn*, Valeſ.

[o] Ἀφ' ὧν ἀμώσις. Doubtleſs it muſt be made ἀνθ' ὧν, from *Porphyrius's Second Book de Abſtinentia*; whom our *Euſebius* has tranſcrib'd here, almoſt word for word. And ſo the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy*; agreeably whereto we have rendred it *Valeſ.*

[p] Καὶ δ' ἔτι μάλιστα, οἱ Δουμαῖοι, ἔθος τῆς Ἀραβίας. I reade καὶ Δουματηνοὶ, *Alſo, the Dumateni*; from *Porphyrius* in the forecited place: although in *Porphyrius*, the ordinary reading is Δουμάτιοι *Dumatii*. Nor is it otherwiſe written in *Euſebius's fourth Book De Præparatione*, *chap.* 16. But *Dumateni*, as I have ſaid, pleaſes me beſt. *Stephanus's* words are theſe: Δούμαθα, πόλις Ἀραβίας. ὁ πολίτης Δουμαθηνὸς, ὡς γλαῦκος ἐν β. Ἀραβικῶν ἀρχαιολογίας; that is: *Dumatha, a City of Arabia: a Citizen* [*whereof is termed*] *Dumathenus, as Glaucus,* [*ſays*] *in the Second Book of his Arabick Archæology*. Indeed the *Arabians* in their *Patronymicks*, moſt commonly have this termination.

[q] Τὰς λεωκόρας. Theſe words are wanting in *Porphyrius*, which our *Euſebius* has added of his own. Indeed *Porphyrius*, in regard he treated concerning humane Victims, and ſpake of the *Athenians*, ought not to have omitted this inſtance. There was heretofore one *Leus Amongſt* the *Athenians*, the ſon of *Orpheus*, as *Suidas* ſays; who (when *Athens* was afflicted with famine, and an anſwer had been given by *Apollo Delphicus*, that the City ſhould no otherwiſe be preſerved, unleſs ſome one of the Citizens would offer their daughters in ſacrifice to the Gods;) delivered up his three daughters, *Phaſithea*, *Theope*, and *Eubule*, to be ſacrificed for the ſafety of the City. *Ælianus* Book 12. *Variæ Hiſtoriæ*, *Chap.* 28.) indeed of *Phaſithea*, names her *Praxithea*. Nothing occurrs more frequently amongſt the Greek Oratours, than the mention of theſe three daughters of *Leus*; as in *Ariſtides's Panathenaicus*, in *Libanius's thirteenth Declamation*. *Demoſthenes* or whoever elſe is the Author, in the Oration entitled Διαιτητικὸς, reckons this *Leus* amongſt the ἐπώνυμοι, or *Founders of the*

Tribes; from whom the Tribe of *Leon* took its name. For these are his words: ἠκηκόεσαν οἱ λεοντίδαι μυδολοσμένας τὰς λέω χώρας, ὡς αὐτὰς ἔδοσαν σφάγιον τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας. *Clemens Alexandrinus* does likewise mention him, in *his Protrepticon*; and *Gregory Nazianzene* in *his Poem De Virtute*; and amongst modern writers, *Leopardus* in *his nineteenth Book, in the last chapter save one.* Vales.

[r] *Erechtheus* the son of *Pandion*, had six daughters; *Protogenia*, *Pandora*, *Procris*, *Creusa*, *Orithia*, and *Chthonia*.

daughters of Leus, [r] *and the daughter of* Erechtheus, *as offered in sacrifice amongst them. And who is ignorant, that even at this present,* [s] *in the City* Rome, *on the Feast of* Jupiter Latiaris, *a man is sacrific'd? The most approved persons amongst the Philosophers, have by their own testimony evidenced, that these things are thus. Moreover,* Diodorus, *who composed* an Epitome of Libraries, *says that the* Africans *offered as a publick sacrifice, two hundred of their no-*

The two eldest of these, *Protogenia* namely and *Pandora*, when an army of the Enemy had made an irruption out of *Bœotia* into *Attica*, voluntarily offer'd themselves to be sacrificed for the safety of their Country. On whom the *Athenians* conferred great honours after their deaths, and gave them the name of *Virgines Hyacinthidæ*, because they had been sacrificed in *Hyacinthus* a Village of *Attica*, near the Village of the *Sphendalenses*. Thus *Phanodæmus* writes in *the fifth Book* of *his Res Atticæ*, as *Suidas* attests in the word παρθένοι. Whence a passage of *Cicero's* is clear'd, in *His Oration pro Sextio*, where his words are these. *Mortem quam etiam Virgines Athenis, regis Opinor Erechthei filiæ pro patria contempsisse dicuntur, Ego vir consularis*, &c. See *Diodorus Siculus*, Book 17. and *Demosthenes* (or whoever else is the Author,) in the forementioned *Oration* entitled ὑπαφίσ. Others say, that *Erechtheus* had but four daughters, who bound one another in mutual oaths, that if one of them should die, the rest should kill themselves. Afterwards, when *Eumolpus* assisting the *Eleusinii*, had made an irruption into *Attica* with great forces of the *Thracians*; an answer was given to *Erechtheus* consulting the Oracle, that the Victory should fall to the *Athenians*, if *Erechtheus* would sacrifice one of his daughters. *Erechtheus* therefore offered his youngest daughter *Chthonia* in sacrifice: which done, the other three daughters, according as they had obliged themselves by oath, killed themselves. Thus *Apollodorus* in *his Bibliotheca*, and *Hyginus* in *his* 46th *and* 238th *Fable*: in whom the name of *Chthonia* is corrupted. These three daughters of *Erechtheus*, Sisters to *Chthonia*, *Euripides* (in *his Erechtheus*) had termed ζεῦξις τειπάρθενον, as *Hesychius* attests; and had feigned, that after their death, they were turn'd into the *Hyades*. *Theon's* words on *Aratus's Phænomena*, are these: ἐυριπίδης γὰρ ἐν ἐρεχθεῖ τὰς ἐρεχθέως θυγατέρας, ὑάδας φησὶ γηγενεῖς τρεῖς ὔσας. Farther, as to the *Virgines Hyacinthidæ*, some have affirmed, that they were not the daughers of *Erechtheus*, but of one *Hyacinthus*. So *Harpocration*, in the word ὑακινθίδες; and *Hyginus* in *his forementioned* 238th *Fable*. Vales.

[s] Κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν, *in the great City.* The Translatours have done ill in rendring it *Megalopolis*. For *Porphyrius*, whose words *Eusebius* makes use of here, gave *Rome* that name, according to the usage of his own age; as it has been long since remark'd by *Joseph Scaliger* in *his Animadversions on* Eusebius, *pag.* 53. 'Tis certain, *Libanius* in *his Oration* entitled βασιλικὸς, does so term the City *Rome*. Farther, what *Porphyrius* says, (namely, that at *Rome*, on the *Festival of Jupiter Latiaris*, still in his age a man was sacrificed;) is confirmed by *Lactantius*, Book 1. chap 21. *Siquidem*, says he, *Latiaris Jupiter & nunc sanguine colitur humano*; *for Jupiter Latiaris is even at this present worshipt with humane bloud. Prudentius's* words in *his first Book against Symmachus*, are these:

Funditur humanus Latiari in munere sanguis.

Dion Cassius speaks concerning this Feast, in *his fourty third Book, pag.* 351. Now, the *Latiaria* were celebrated in *December*, as I think. For in that month the *Gladiators Show* was exhibited, as we are informed from *Heruvartius's Calendarium*. In the *Latiare Sacrum* the usage was, that the bloud of that *Gladiator* who had been killed in the encounter, should whilst it was warm be offered to *Jupiter*, and as it were flung in his face; as *Cyprian* relates in *his Book De Spectaculis*, and *Tertullian* in *his Apologetick*, *Chap.* 9. There is an eminent passage in *Justin the Martyr's Apology to the Senate*, where he speaks concerning this solemnity. His words are these.——τὰ ἴσα τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμωμένῳ εἰδώλῳ. ὧν μόνον ἀλόγων ζώων αἵματα σφαγέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, δίκα τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου ἀνδρὸς τῷ σφάγιον τὸ ἧς φονευθέντων αἷμα προσμένε. — *Doing the same things that are done by you to an Idol you worship. On which is sprinkled not only the bloud of irrational Creatures, but humane Bloud also, by the eminentest and most noble personage amongst you, who makes this Libation of the Blood of those slain.* From which place we gather, that the *Prætor of the City* performed this sacrifice: and that a man was not sacrificed to *Jupiter*, as *Porphyrius* says; but only, that the bloud of a *Gladiator* killed in the *Theater*, was offered to *Jupiter*. Vales.

blest Boy's to Saturn; *and that* [t] *three hundred other persons voluntarily presented their own sons, not fewer in number, to be sacrificed. But* Dionysius, *the Writer of the* Roman History, *does relate, that* Jupiter *himself in* [u] *his own name, and* Apollo, *required Humane sacrifices in* Italy, *from those termed* The Aborigines: *and says farther, that those persons from whom these sacrifices had been required, offered a portion of all manner of Fruits to the Gods: but, because they did not sacrifice men also,* [he adds] *that they fell into all sorts of Calamities; and, that they could not procure a relaxation from these mischiefs, till such time as they had* * Decimated *themselves. And that, being in this manner compelled to take off every tenth man by offering him in sacrifice, they became the Occasioners of the depopulation of their own Country. With so many and such great Calamities was the whole Body of mankind heretofore afflicted. Nor yet was this the only unhappiness wherewith men were attended: but they were slaves to infinite other, and those deplorable and incurable mischiefs. For all the Nations dispersed thorowout the whole world, both* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *stirred up as 'twere and provok'd by a devilish impulse, were seized with the horrid and most sore disease of Sedition; in so much that, the Sons of Men were unsociable, and irreconcilable one to another; the great Body of Common Nature was torn piece-meal* [and its members scatter'd] *here and there; and in every corner of the Earth men* † *were dis-united, and strove with one another on account of their different Laws and Forms of Government. And not only this; but being enraged by frequent commotions and insurrections, they made attacks upon one another: so that, they spent their whole lives in continued fights and intestine wars; nor durst any one, unless arm'd at all points like a warriour, stir abroad and travel whither he had a mind to go. Moreover, throughout all Countries and in the Villages, the* ‖ *Boors* [w] *wore swords; and possest themselves of provisions of Arms, rather than of Tools and furniture to till the ground: and to pillage and make slaves of such of the neighbourhood as they had taken Prisoners, was by them placed to the account of valour. Nor were they satisfied only with this; but taking an occasion of leading unclean and wicked lives, from those Fables which they themselves had coyn'd concerning their own Gods; they ruined their own souls as well as bodies, by all the ways and methods of intemperance. Nor did*

[t] Τειακο. The Translatour has not hit the meaning of this place; he renders it thus: *Et nihilominus trecentos alios sacrificio addidisse, and nevertheless added three hundred more to the sacrifice.* But ὀπιδίδοναι is a proper term used concerning those Fathers, who deliver up their children to be sacrificed to the Gods, as we have seen above concerning *Leus* the *Athenian*. When therefore the Nobles in *Africa* had presented three hundred other Boy's to be sacrificed to the Gods, *Diodorus* says, that three hundred other Boy's were in like manner presented by other persons; that they might shew their piety towards the Gods, no less evidently than the former had done. But I had rather read διακοσίους *two hundred* instead of τειακοσίους *three hundred*. Questionless, it must either be διακοσίους *two hundred*, here; or else above, instead of διακοσίους *two hundred*, it must be made τειακοσίους *three hundred*. Vales.

[u] Αὐτῷ ὀνόματι. I think it must be ἀπὸ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἢ διὰ; which reading I have followed in my rendition. But our *Eusebius* is mistaken. For *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (*pag.* 16.) relates, that the Gods required that of the *Pelasgi*, not of the *Aborigines*; and that the men were not slain by them, but banish'd out of their Country. In the *Fuketian Copy* the word αὐτῷ is wanting. *Vales.*

* That is, *Offered every tenth man of themselves in sacrifice.*

† Or, *Rebell'd.*

‖ Or, *Tillers of the Ground.*

[w] Indeed, about the beginning of *Diocletian's* Reign, the Boors in *Gallia*, having entred into a Combination amongst themselves, took up arms, and infested the High-ways, giving themselves the name of *Bacaudæ*; as we are told by *Orosius Futropius*, and *Mamertinus* in *Maximianus's Panegyrick*. Farther, from this passage of *Eusebius* we are informed, that that sort of Robbery was practised almost throughout the whole *Roman* world. *Vales.*

did they acquiesce herein; but passing those Bounds and Limits which Nature has set, they proceeded farther, and abused one another by the commission of such acts of Obscenity, as are as unfit to be declared, as incredible: And * Men with Men wrought that which is unseemly, and received in themselves that recompence of their error which was met, *as the Sacred Scriptures do express it. Nor were they satisfied herewith; but having deprav'd those Notions concerning God, infused into them by nature; they look'd upon all affairs here below, as not managed with any thing of Care and Providence; but ascribed the Origin and Constitution of this Universe to* † *rash and fortuitous Chance, and to fatal Necessity. Neither did they end here: but supposing their Souls to perish together with their Bodies, they lead a brutish and lifeless Life; not searching into the nature of the Soul; not expecting the Tribunals of Divine Judgment; not weighing in their Minds the rewards of Vertue, or the punishments of an unrighteous and wicked Life. Moreover, whole Nations,* [*enslaved*] *to various sorts of Impiety, consumed away in a brutish course of Life, as if rotted by some inveterate Disease. For some made horrible and most unnatural Mixtures with their own Mothers: others married their own Sisters; others debauch'd their own Daughters. And some murdered Strangers, who had come to them: others fed upon humane Flesh: others strangled their aged People, and afterwards feasted on them: others cast them to Dogs, whilst they were yet living, to be devoured by them. The time would fail me, should I attempt to give a particular Narrative of all those mischiefs, of that complicated and inveterate disease, which had seized the whole Body of Mankind. These, and ten thousand more of the same nature with these,* [*were the calamitous distempers;*] *on account whereof the most Gracious Word of God, compassionating* [x] *His own Rational Flock (heretofore by some of His Prophets, and long after that by other pious Men, and then by those famous and illustrious Persons who lived in the following Ages,) incited those that were despair'd of and lost, to their own Cure: and partly by Laws, partly by various Exhortations, and partly by all manner of Instructions, He infused into Men the Beginnings and first Rudiments of Divine Worship.* [y] *But when Mankind stood not any longer in need of humane power, but wanted an Assistant far superior and more powerful than Man was; in regard the Sons of Men wandred in error this way and that way, and were most cruelly torn in sunder, not by Wolves and fierce Wild-beasts, but by terrible and raging* Dæmons, *and by furious and soul-destroying Spirits: at length The Word of God, in Obedience to His most Excellent Father's Command, with all imaginable willingness came to us Himself, and entred Our Tents. Now, the reasons of His Descent hither, were the same with those I have mentioned above.* [z] *On account therefore of all which, when He was come to the converse of Mortals, He performed not that which had been usual and customary to Him; for He was incorporeal, and in an invisible manner could pass thorow the whole World, and by his Works themselves demonstrated the Greatness of His own Power, to the Inhabitants as well of Heaven, as Earth.*

* Rom. 1. 27.

† Or, *Irrational and fortuitous Nature.*

[x] Τῆς ἑαυτοῦ λογικῆς ἀγέλης. The Translator seems to have read τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις λογικῆς ἀγέλης *his rational Flock amongst Men.* But I had rather read, τῆς ἰδιωτῆς λογικῆς ἀγέλης, *his own rational Flock.* For so *Eusebius* is wont to call God the Word, namely the Pastour of His rational Flock. Nevertheless in the *Fuketian Manuscript* 'tis τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, written in a contracted manner. *Vales.*

[y] Ὡς ἂν ἐκέτ' ἀνθρωπείας. It must be ὡς δὲ ἐκέτ' ἀνθρωπείας, &c. *But when,* &c. or else, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy,* ὡς ἕν, *when therefore,* &c. *Vales.*

[z] Ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα πάντων. I had long since guess'd, that the reading should be, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα κατιόντων εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμιλίας, *on account therefore of which, when He hastned to the converse of Mortals*; or else παρεών, *when he was come*; which conjecture seems to me most certain. For though the same sense might be extracted from the ordinary reading, yet if we should retain that, I don't see whither these words εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμιλίας can be referred. But at length the *Fuketian Copy* hath confirmed our Conjecture, wherein the reading is, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας παρεών *Vales.*

But He * *made use of a new and unusual manner of acting. For, having assumed a mortal Body, He vouchsafed to discourse and converse with Men; with this Design, that He might save Mankind by its like.*

* Or, *Chang'd His usual manner for a newer.*

BUT *come on, in the procedure we will declare, on what account the Incorporeal Word of God, having* * *assumed a Body as an Instrument, was present and conversant with Men. And, by what other method could the Divine Essence (which can't be touched, is immaterial, and invisible,) shew it self to those, who seek for God in matter and below on the Ground,* [a] *and who any other way were unable, or at least unwilling, to inspect the Parent and Maker of all things; unless He had exposed Himself to view under an humane Form and Shape? Hence it was, that by the most agreeable assistance of a mortal Body, He descended to a Converse with Men, because such a Body was familiar and acceptable to them. For, as the common proverb assures us, Like loves its Like.* [b] *In the same manner therefore, the Word of God shewed Himself to those, who* * *were lead by a sense of things Visible, and who sought Gods in Statues and Sculptures of lifeless Images, and fansied that the Deity dwelt in matter and in a Body; and lastly, who termed mortal Men, Gods. On this account He procured Himself* † *the Instrument of a Body, as some most holy Temple; the sensible habitation of a rational Faculty; a venerable and most sacred Statue, of far greater worth and value than every inanimate Image. For an Image consisting of lifeless Matter, which has been form'd into an humane Shape by the hands of sordid and mean Mechanicks, the Substance whereof is either Brass or Iron, Gold or Ivory, Stones or Wood; is a most fit and commodious Mansion for* Dæmons. *But that Divine Statue, fram'd and polish'd by the* || *Omnipotent industry of Divine Wisdom, was a partaker of Life and an intellectual Substance. A Statue that was filled with all manner of Vertue: a Statue that was the Residence of God the Word, and a Holy Temple of the most Holy God. The Inhabitant whereof* [*God*] *The Word, was conversant amongst, and became acquainted with mortals, by means of an Instrument that was familiar and of kin to them: nevertheless, He submitted not himself to the like passions with Men; neither, as an humane Mind is, was He bound* * *by the Bonds of the Body; nor, being made worse than Himself, did He change His own Divinity.*

CHAP. XIV.

* Or, *Made use of.*

[a] Ἄλλως δὲ τῶ δυναμένοις. This whole place is thus to be mended; ἄλλως τε ἐ δυναμένοις ἢ μὴ βουλομένοις, τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων γλωσσαγωγόν τε καὶ πιστὸν ὑποπτεύειν. εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρωπείου σώματός τε καὶ ἕδους, ἑαυτὸν ἔφηνεν, *and who any,* &c. In the *Fuk. Copy* the reading is ἄλλως πῶς ἐ δυναμένοις. *Vales.*

[b] Καὶ ταῦτά πω. Without doubt it must be κατὰ ταῦτά πω, *In the same manner*; so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy. Vales.*

* Or, *Rejoyce in a sense,* &c.

† Or, *A Bodily Instrument.*

|| Or, *Power of* &c.

* Or, *To the Body.*

For,

For, as the Rays of the Sun (which though they fill all places, and touch Bodies that are dead and impure, yet) suffer nothing therefrom: so, and in a far more excellent manner also, the incorporeal Power of God The Word, neither suffers any thing, nor is He sensible of any detriment in reference to His own Essence, nor does That ever exist worse than It Self, * *when, being Spiritual, it touches a Body. In this manner therefore the Common Saviour of all, exhibited Himself Beneficent and Salutary to all: demonstrating his Wisdom by the Instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed, no otherwise than a Musician [does shew his Skill] by an Harp. We are told in the Fables of the* Greeks, *that* Orpheus *by melody appeased all sorts of Wild-beasts and mitigated the rage of savage Monsters, by His skilful strokes on the Chords of his Instrument. And this is both commonly reported amongst the* Greeks, *and also believ'd to be true; namely, that the lifeless Harp tam'd the Wild-beasts; and* [c] *moreover, that it removed the Oakes, which were ravish'd by its Musick. But the all wise and all harmonious Word of God, when He would administer all methods of cure to the Souls of Men, which were depraved by a manifold improbity; took into his hands a Musical Instrument,* [d] *the composure of his own Wisdom, namely the Humane Nature; on which Instrument He play'd Tunes, and by it did not charm* [e] *Brutes [as* Orpheus *did] but Creatures endued with reason; civilizing the Morals of all persons, as well* Greeks *as* Barbarians; *and healing the outragious and brutish perturbations of their Minds, by the Remedies of his Divine Doctrine. And, like some expert and knowing Physician, applying to those sick Minds, which sought the Deity in matter and in Bodies, a Natural, apposite, and fit* * *Medicament; He shewed God in Man. After this, in regard He manifested no less care towards Bodies, than towards Souls; even the eyes of Flesh beheld some stupendious Miracles, and Divine Wonders, and Works of His own Omnipotence. But in the Interim, by a corporeal Mouth and Tongue He desisted not from instilling saving Precepts, into the ears of Flesh. In fine, He performed all things by the Humanity which He had assumed, on their account, who could no otherwise, than only by this means, be made sensible of* * *His Divinity. And these things He performed in obedience to His Father's Counsels,* [f] *Himself continuing the same that He was before with the Father: neither changing his Essence; nor* * *losing His own Nature: not bound with the Bonds of Flesh; nor making His abode in that place where his Humane Vessel was; and altogether hindred from being present in other places. But, during that very interim wherein He was conversant with Men, by his Presence He filled all things, and was with the Father, and was in the Father; and in that very instant took care of all things together, as well those which are in Heaven, as them on Earth. Neither was He excluded, in the same manner that we are, from being present every where; nor hindred from performing divine Works, according to his usual Manner. But those things which were of Himself, He delivered to the humane Nature; but, on the other hand, He received not those things which were of the mortal Nature it self. He did indeed conferr Divine Power on mortal Nature: but, on the contrary, He drew nothing from a Participation of the mortal Nature. Therefore, neither was He any way polluted, at such time as his Body was born; nor again, at such time as his mortal Body was* [g] *dissolved, did He, in regard He is impassible, suffer any thing in reference to his Essence. For neither, if an Harp should by accident be broken, or the Chords thereof burst; is it* * *necessary that He Himself should suffer any thing, who plays upon the Harp. Nor if the Body of any wise Man happen to be punished, is there any reason we should affirm, that the Wisdom in that wise Man, or the Soul in that Body, is either mangled or burnt.* [h] *In the very same manner, and on a far better account, 'tis agreeable to reason we should assert, that the Power of the Divine Word received no damage, from the* * *sufferings of the Body: in as much as, neither that instance of Light, which we have already made use of, does any ways permit the Solar Rays, which are shot from Heaven upon the Earth, and do touch dirt and mire and all manner of filth, to be polluted. For, though nothing hinders us from affirming, that even these things are illustrated by the Rays of Light; yet we do not therefore [say,] that the Light it self is also bemired, or that the Sun is defiled by the mixture of Bodies: albeit these things are not wholly disagreeable to Nature it self. But, whereas that Saviour and incorporeal Word of God,* [i] *is the Life it self and the intellectual Light it self; whatsoever thing He shall have touch'd by his divine and incorporeal Virtue, that thing must afterwards of necessity live, and be conversant in rational Light.* [k] *In like manner also, whatever Body He shall have touch'd, that Body is forthwith sanctified and illuminated: and immediately every disease, sickness, and Trouble departs from it. And those things which before were empty, receive some portion from his Fulness. Wherefore, He spent almost the whole Course of His Life in such a manner, that He might sometimes shew his own Body to be lyable to the same Passions that we are; but at others, that he might declare*

* Or, *When It incorporeally touches a Body.*

* Or, *Likely.*

* Or, *Affections.*

* Or. *Such a Divinity.*

* Or, *Destroying.*

[c] Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ δένδρα τὰς φήγους μεταβάλλειν, μουσικῇ ἐικοντα. Which words *Valesius* renders thus, *Et quercus Suavitate Cantûs delinitas immutasse, and that it changed the Oakes ravish'd with the sweetness of its melody.* *Christophorson* and *Curterius* render this clause thus, *tum arbores (quæ fagi vocantur) musicæ suavitate delinitæ, situs suos mutare solent, also the Trees (which are termed Beeches) pleased with the sweetness of its Musick, are wont to change their Sites.* Perhaps the reading should be, καὶ δὴ τὰ δένδρα καὶ τὰς φήγους, &c.

[d] Αὐτῷ ποίημα οὐσίας ἤ ἀνθρωπον. *Eusebius* terms the Humane Nature which Christ assumed, ἤ ἄνθρωπον; in the same manner that the *Latine Fathers* are wont to speak concerning Christ that He assumed *Hominem, Man.* So *Eusebius* uses it a little above, where His Words are, δι' ὀργάνου ἧ προσέλαβτο ἀνθρώπου, *by the Instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed.* It occurrs hereafter also. *Vales.*

[e] Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλόγοις. These words are wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*; and seem to me to have been added by a Scholiast. *Vales.*

[f] Μένων αὐτὸς πάλιν. Although this place be faulty, yet I can't omit that reading which I Found in the *Fuketian Copy*, μένων αὐτὸς πάλιν ἄυλος, οἷος, &c. which reading I think to be truer. A little after, where the reading is ἔνθα ἦν τὸ ἀνθρώπεον σκεῦος, I have added a word from the *Fuk. Copy*; where 'tis thus worded, ἔνθα ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ, &c. *where his humane Vessel was.* Vales.

[g] Διαλελυμένος. It must be made διαλελυμένος, *was dissolved*; as the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

[h] Ταὐτη τε πολὺ πλέον. I write ταύτη γε καὶ πολὺ πλέον; and have rendred it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ταύτη πολυπλέον. In this manner *Eusebius* has expreſt Himself a little above. *Vales.*

[i] Αὐτὸ ζωὴ τυγχάνων. The word αὐτὸ ζωὴ, and that which follows αὐτὸ φῶς, must in writing be joyned together, as one word, that is, as *Græcians* term it, ὑφ' ἓν. Further, in the *Geneva-Edition*, this place was confused by the Printers fault; which we have restored thus, παντὸς ἧ ἂν ἐφάψαιτο, *whatsoever thing He shall have touch'd.* And so the reading is in the *Fuketian Copy.* Vales.

[k] ταύτη τὸ καὶ σῶμα. Without doubt it must be worded thus, ταύτη τοὶ καὶ σώμα, ἧ ἂν ἐφάψαιτο, &c. and we have rendred it accordingly. Nothing is more certain than this Emendation. For the following words do plainly shew, that *Eusebius* speaks here concerning a Body. And thus I found it written in the *Fuk. Copy.* Vales.

clare Himself to be God the Word: whilst He performed Great and Wonderful Works, as God, and foretold things future long before they hapned; and demonstrated the word of God, (who was not seen by many,) by the things themselves; namely, by prodigious Works, Miracles, Signs, and Stupendious Powers; [1] *and moreover, by Divine Doctrines, whereby He incited the Minds of Men, that they should prepare their Souls for [the Blessedness] of that supernal Habitation which is beyond Heaven.*

[1] Καὶ μὴν καὶ διδασκαλίας. I read ναὶ μὴν καὶ διδασκαλίας, &c.

and moreover, &c. For so *Græcians* are wont to express themselves. And thus 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

CHAP. XV. *WHAT remains now, but that we give an account of the cause and reason of that thing, which is the chief and principal of all: I mean the much-talk'd-of End of His Life, and the manner of his Passion; and the grand Miracle of his* [a] *Resurrection after Death. After an explication of which [particulars] we will confirm the demonstrations of them all, by most manifest Testimonies. [The Divine Word] therefore, having, on account of those reasons mentioned by us,* [b] *made use of a mortal instrument, as of a* * *Statue most becoming the Majesty of God; and, in regard He is the Great Emperour, having by its Ministery, as 'twere by that of an Interpreter,* † *been conversant amongst Men; He performed all things in such a manner as became the Divine Power. Now, if, after that Life spent amongst Men, He had by some other means* [c] *become invisible on a sudden and gone away; if He had conveyed away His Interpreter privately, and by a flight had endeavoured to rescue His own Statue from the danger of Death; and if afterwards, of Himself He had adjudg'd that very mortal Body to Death and Corruption: doubtless, all Men would have believed Him to have been a meer* Apparition *or Ghost.* [d] *Nor would He Himself have performed those things which became Himself; in regard (although He was The Life, and The Word of God, and The Power of God; yet) He would have delivered up His own Interpreter to Death and Corruption. Nor would those things which He had performed against the* * *Devil, have been terminated by an illustrious conflict and Combat with Death. Nor could it have been accurately known, whither He had withdrawn Himself: nor would He have been believed by those, who had not seen Him with their Eyes: nor could it have been made apparent, that He has a nature superior to Death: nor could He have freed Mortal Nature from [the infirmity of] its own Condition: nor would He have been* † *fam'd thorowout the whole habitable World: nor could He have prevailed upon His own Disciples to contemn Death: nor would He have procured for those who are followers of His Doctrine, the Hope of a Life with God after Death: nor would He have fulfilled the Promises of His own Discourses: nor would He have exhibited agreeable Events to the Prophetick Predictions concerning Himself: nor [in fine,] would He have undergone the last Combat of all; which was against Death it self. On account therefore of all these particulars, in as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Mortal Instrument, after that sufficient Service which it had performed to the Divine Word, should have an end befitting God allotted to it; therefore [I say] His Death is in this manner dispens'd and ordered.* [e] *For, there remaining two things [to be done by Him] at the end of His Life; either that He should surrender up His whole Body to Corruption and Ruine, and so close His whole Life;* [f] *like a Play as 'twere, with a most disgraceful* Catastrohpe; *or else, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death, and by the Assistance of Divine Power should render His mortal Body, immortal: the first of these two was repugnant to His own Promise. (For, 'tis not the property of Fire, to cool; nor of Light,* [g] *to darken. So, neither is it the [Property] of Life, to die; nor, of the Divine Reason, to act contrary to reason.) For, how is it agreeable to reason, that He who had promised Life to others, should be so negligent, as to suffer His own Instrument to be corrupted, and should surrender up His own Image to Destruction; and, that he who promised immortality to all that address themselves to Him, should by Death ruin the Interpreter of His own Divinity? The second thing therefore was necessary; I mean, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death. In what manner then was that to have been done? Covertly and by stealth, or* * *openly and in the view of all? But so glorious an Atchievement, had it been performed by Him in the dark and in secret, and had it been unknown to any one, would have been advantageous to no body. But when divulged and* † *fam'd amongst all persons, it would redound to the benefit and advantage of all, by reason of the miracle of the thing. Whereas then it was necessary, that his Instrument should be manifested to be above Death, and whereas*

[a] Ἀναμνήσεως, *remembrance.* It must be made ἀναβιώσεως, *resurrection*, as the Translator seems to have read. Presently, the reading must be μετὰ τὸν τόπων θεωρίαν, *after an explication, or consideration of which [particulars];* as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

[b] Κεχρημένῳ τε, τοῦτο αὐτό. The words are misplac'd here, a thing which has frequently happned in these Books, as I have already told you. I write therefore, κεχρημένῳ, αὐτῷ τε τότῳ οἷα μέσας βασιλεὺς, &c. and have rendred it accordingly. In *Fuket's Copy*, 'tis κεχρημένῳ, τότῳ αὐτῷ, &c. *Vales.*

* Or, *Image.*

† Or, *Lived an humane Life.*

[c] Ἀφανὴς ὢν γεγονὼς. One of the two last words must be expunged. *Vales.*

[d] Καὶ ὅταν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ. Questionless it must be written thus, οὐδ' ἐτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ πρέποντα διεπεξήξατο. *Nor would He Himself*, &c. the necessity of which emendation is plainly confirmed by the following words. *Vales.*

* Or, *Devils.*

† Or, *Heard of.*

The first of these two was repugnant to His own Promise. (For, 'tis not the property of Fire, to cool; nor of Light, [g] to darken. So, neither is it the [Property] of Life, to die; nor, of the Divine Reason, to act contrary to reason.) For, how is it agreeable to reason, that He who had promised Life to others, should be so negligent, as to suffer His own Instrument to be corrupted, and should surrender up His own Image to Destruction; and, that he who promised immortality to all that addresses themselves to Him, should by Death ruin the Interpreter of His own Divinity? *The second thing therefore was necessary; I mean, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death. In what manner then was that to have been done? Covertly and by stealth, or* * *openly and in the view of all? But so glorious an Atchievement, had it been performed by Him in the dark and in secret, and had it been unknown to any one, would have been advantageous to no body. But when divulged and* † *fam'd amongst all persons, it would redound to the benefit and advantage of all, by reason of the miracle of the thing. Whereas then it was necessary, that his Instrument should be manifested to be above Death, and whereas*

[e] Δυοῖν γὰρ λειπομένοιν τῷ τέλει. I don't approve of the Translator's rendition, who translates this place thus: *Nam cùm duæ rationes abessent ex hâc vitâ sibi reliquæ essent, For whereas two reasons of departing out of this Life were remaining to Him.*

As if in the Greek the reading were, τοῖν τελοῖν. *Eusebius's* meaning therefore is this; *whereas the one of two things was of necessity to be done by Christ in the close of His Life, namely, that He should either yield up His Body to be wholly consumed by death, or else should declare Himself to be superior to death*, &c. You see how different this meaning is, from that of the Translator. For Christ had not a two-fold reason for departing out of this Life, but one only; namely, Death. For, as the *Poet* says, *Omnes una manet mors, one Death awaits all Persons.* But in death, one of these two things remained to be performed by Christ, that he should either wholly submit to Death, and deliver up His Body to it as some rich Spoyls, or else should shew Himself to be above Death, and should rescue His Body, as a prey, out of the jaws of Death. Besides, *Eusebius* has shown a little before, that death was necessarily to have been undergone by Christ. For, had he been minded to withdraw His Body privately, and as 'twere by stealth, out of this Life; without doubt all Persons would have believed Him to have been a Ghost or Apparition, not a true and real Man. He produces other reasons also, whereby He may confirm this. Which when He had set forth, at length He concludes in this Manner. On account of all these reasons, says He, in as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Body should have an end befitting God allotted to it, Christ thus dispenc'd His own death. The one of these two things was to be done by Him in the end of this His Life, &c. as I have said already. And these words hang together excellently well. But the Translator's Exposition differs widely from *Eusebius's* meaning, in regard *Eusebius* would demonstrate, that a single, not a double reason for departing out of this life was left remaining to Christ. *Vales.*

[f] Καὶ τὸ παντὸς δράμα. I should chuse to write, ὡς ὥσπερ δράμα· διὰ τέλους ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς βίου καταστροφήν, *and as of a Play, make a most reproachful Catastrophe [or calamitous conclusion] of His whole Life.* Vales.

[g] Οὐδὲ φωτὸς τὸ κάζειν, It must be τὸ σκοτίζειν, *to darken*; as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

* Or, *With the greatest decency.*

† Or, *Heard.*

whereas this was not to have been performed in secret, but in the view of Men; on account hereof it was, that He avoided not Death. For, had He done that, He would have been look'd upon as a Coward, and inferior to Death. But by His conflict with Death as with an Adversary, He rendred that Body which was mortal, immortal; after He had undergone that Combat for the Life, Immortality and Salvation of all Persons. And as should any one have a mind to shew us a [h] *Vessel that can't be burnt, and which is above the power of Fire, He could by no other means* * *make out the strangeness of the thing, than by taking the Vessel into His Hands, by casting it into the Fire, and afterwards by pulling it out of the Flames entire and unconsum'd: in the very same manner, the Word of God who conferrs Life on all, desirous to demonstrate that mortal Instrument, which He had made use of in order to the Salvation of Men, to be superior to Death; and to render it a partaker of His own Life and Immortality;* [i] *underwent a most useful and advantageous Dispensation:* [k] *forsaking His Body during a very short time, and surrendring up to Death that which was mortal, that its own nature might hereby be proved: then soon after rescuing it from Death again, in order to the manifestation of His Divine Power; by which [power] He made it* [l] *apparent, that that Eternal Life which He had promised, was superior to all [the force of] Death. Now, the reason of this thing is evident and perspicuous. For, whereas it was altogether necessary for His Disciples, that with their own Eyes they should see a manifest and undoubted Reparation of Life after death; in which [Life] He had taught them to place their Hopes; in regard His Design was to render them Contemners and Vanquishers of Death: not without reason it was, that He would have them behold this with their own Eyes.* [m] *For it behoved such Persons, who were about entring upon a pious Course of Life, by the clearest view to behold and imbibe this first and most necessary Lesson of all: and much more those, who were forthwith to Preach Him throughout the whole World, and to declare to all Men the* [n] *knowledge of God, the laid by Him amongst all Nations. Which persons ought to rely and ground upon the* ° *firmest and most undoubted persuasion of a Life after Death; to the end that without any fear or dread of Death, they might with alacrity undertake the Combat,* [p] *against the error of the Nations who worship many Gods. For, unless they had learnt to despise Death, they would never have been provided against those Perils [they were to undergo.] Wherefore, when, as 'twas requisite, He would arm them against the Power of Death, He did not deliver them a Precept in naked Words and bare Expressions, nor, as the usage of Men is, did He compose an Oration concerning the immortality of the Soul, made up of Persuasives and Probabilities: but really and actually shewed them the Trophies erected against Death. This then was the first and most Cogent reason, of Our Saviour's engagement with Death. For He showed his Disciples, that Death, which is formidable to all, was nothing; and by a clear view rendred them Eye-witnesses of* [q] *that Life promised by Him: which very [Life] He made the First-Fruits of our common hope, and of a future Life and Immortality with God. A second reason of His Resurrection was, the demonstration of that Divine Power which had dwelt in His Body. For, in regard Men had heretofore deified mortal Persons who had been vanquished by Death, and had usually termed them* Heroes *and Gods, whom Death had subdued; on this very account the most Compassionate Word of God, did even here manifest* * *who He was: shewing Men, [that His own] nature was above Death. And He not only raised His Mortal Body, after 'twas separated from His Soul, to a second Life; but proposed that Tropby of immortality, which by His conquest of Death He had erected, to be viewed by all: and in His very death taught, that He alone was to be acknowledged the true God, who had been crown'd with the Rewards of Victory over Death. I could also assign you a third Reason of Our Lord's Death. He was a Sacred Victim, offered up for the whole Race of Mankind, to God the Supream King of the Universe. A Victim sacrificed* † *instead of the Flock of Men: a Victim which routed and destroyed the Error of Diabolical Superstition. For, after that one Victim an eximious Sacrifice, namely the most Holy Body of Our Saviour, was slain for Mankind,*

[h] Εἴ πς ἄκαυσον. Something must of necessity be added, thus; ἄκαυσόν τι σκεῦος, *some Vessel that can't be burnt.* 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, εἴ τις ἄκαυσον ἡμῖν καὶ πυρὸς κρεῖττον σκεῦός τι; in which manner *Christophorson* read. A little after, in the *Fuketian Manscript* 'tis thus worded, σῶον καὶ ἀδιάφθορον ἐξελῶν τοῦ πυρός, *pulling it out of the flames entire and unconsum'd*; not as the reading is in the *Geneva-Edition*, διάφορον τοῦ πυρός. Valesius.

* Or, *Gain a belief of the Miracle*; so *Valesius*.

[i] Εὖ μάλα χρησίμως ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκονομίας. At this place οἰκονομία seems to be taken by *Eusebius*, for the death or passion of Christ. So he has said above in this chapter concerning Christ, ταύτῃ πη καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος οἰκονομεῖται, *therefore [I say] His death is in this manner dispens'd and ordered.* See what I have noted at the *First Book of his Eccles. Histor. Chap.* 1. *Note* (*b.*) 'Tis certain *Epiphanius* calls the *Sacrament of the Eucharist* λατρείαν τῆς οἰκονομίας, that is, *the worship of the Lord's Passion.*——— Valesius.

[k] These words must be helpt by a favourable interpretation. For Christ left not His own Body during the least moment of time. In regard, as 'tis wont commonly to be said, that which he had once assumed, he never parted with. But he suffered His own Body to be for some time destitute of the Company of His Soul. Presently in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, καὶ τῷ θνητῷ θανάτῳ ἐκδόσεως. But I would rather write, καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τῷ θανάτῳ ἐκδόσεως, *and surrendring up to death that which was mortal.* Valesius.

[l] For Christ rising from the dead, plainly declared that eternal Life, which He had preach'd to all Men, to be superior to every death. And this the Translator understood not; who, though his Version be otherwise elegant enough, yet frequently wanders from the true sense: in so much that in this particular, the Version of this *Panegyrick* may seem far meaner than the Translation of the *Ecclesiastick History*. Valesius.

[m] Χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς μέλλοντας. I had rather write χρῆν, that is, *it behoved.* Which reading the Translator seems to have followed. *Valesius.*

[n] Ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πᾶς *Foundation of which Knowledge had before been*

[o] Πᾶσμα μέγιστον. Here *Eusebius* has made use of πᾶσμα, instead of πεῖσις, or *persuasion*; whereas nevertheless, πᾶσμα is wont to be more frequently used to signifie *the greater Cable of a Ship.* In the same sense with that here, he has made use of this word in his *Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Chap.* 13. σαφές τε πᾶσμα καὶ βέβαιον, *a firm and most evident instance to persuade me to believe,* Clemens Alexandrinus uses the same word frequently. *Chrysostome* (in *Hom.* 1. *On the Epistle to the Ephesians,*) notes, that this is a common but homely term, whereby is meant *a certain vehemency and eagerness of will:* his words are these, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ὀπίτασιν τὸ θελήματος λαβεῖν, καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα ἡμῖν λέγομεν. *Valesius.*

[p] Κατὰ τῆς ἐθνῶν. It must be κατὰ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν πλυθείης πλάνης, &c. *against the Error,* &c. A little after I read, ὑποδείκνυς ἀυτοῖς τρόπαια, *shewing them the Trophies.* The *Fuketian Copy* confirms both Emendations. *Valesius.*

[q] Ἐπηγελμένην πρὸς αὐτοῦ ζωήν. This place is not a little difficult. For how can what *Eusebius* says be understood, that that Life namely which Christ has promised, is the First-fruits of a future Life with God? Questionless, by the *Life* promised to us by Christ, *Eusebius* means the *Resurrection*, which is as 'twere the Entrance and Beginning of that eternal Life with God. Or rather he means the Resurrection of Christ's Body, which was the First-fruits and pledge as 'twere, of our Hope and Resurrection, as *Eusebius* tells us in the close of this Chapter. *Valesius.*

* Or, *Himself.*

† Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης. See *Grotius De Satisfac. Christ. Chap.* 9.

r Ἀντίψυχον. An elegant term, taken from the secretest mysteries of *Magicians* and *Conjurers*, who asserted that men were to be sacrificed, to

kind, and offered up as the r Substitute to ransome the Life of all Nations, f who, being before bound by the impiety of Diabolical Error, stood convict of Treason as 'twere; thenceforward all the power of t impure and profane Dæmons became extinct; and all manner of terrestrial and fraudulent Errour was forthwith weakened, dissolv'd and confuted. The u Salutary Sacrifice therefore, [taken] from among Men, namely the * very Body of the [Divine] Word, was sacrificed in place of the whole Flock of Men.

* Or, *Bodily Instrument.*

the end the Life of others might be redeemed. So *Antinous* was sacrificed instead of the Emperour *Hadrian*, that He might deferr His Fate; as 'tis related by *Aurelius Victor*, and others. This is ἀντίψυχον, or ψυχὴ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς, *Life for Life*, as *Aristides* expresses Himself in his *Fifth Sacred Oration*. Farther, 'twas necessary, that He who was in this manner sacrificed, should voluntarily offer Himself to be slain. Which may be gathered both from *Aristides*, and from *Aurelius Victor*: in which Author the words are these, *Cùm voluntarium ad visem magi poposcissent*. Moreover, that custom of the *Romans*, who bequeath'd themselves to death for the safety of the Emperour, doth clearly shew this very thing. *Vales.* Whom the *Greeks* call'd ἀντίψυχοι, the *Latines* termed *Vicarii*; so *Stephens* in his *Latine Thesaurus*, in the word *Vicarius*. *Vicarii*, says he, *etiam interdum sunt*, &c *Vicarii also are sometimes those, who bequeath themselves to destruction and death, that they may bring those mischiefs on their own heads, which were about to befall others.* Hence 'tis that *Valesius* does here render ἀντίψυχον, *Vicarium*.

f Τῶν πρὶν ἀσεβείας. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ἀπεδεία δαιμονικῆς πλάνης ἐνεσχημένων, *who, being before bound*, &c. For he alludes to the Crime of Treason, which the *Greeks* are wont to term ἀσεβείας ἔγκλημα, as 'tis apparent from *Dion Cassius*, in several places. *Vales.*

t Ἀνάγνων καὶ ἀντέρων δαιμόνων It must be made ἀνάσγων, *impure*; we have already taken notice of a mistake like this above. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is ἀνάσγων; and a little after, in the *same Copy* 'tis ἐλέλυτό τε καὶ παρεῖτο. *Vales.*

u Σωτήριον θαῦμα, *the salutary miracle*. It must be θῦμα, *sacrifice*; which I wonder *Christophorson* perceived not. So *Eusebius* has said a little above, ἱερεῖα δῶτα ἑνὸς καὶ μεγάλα θύματος, *For, after that one Victim and eximious sacrifice*, &c. *Vales.*

And this was the Victim delivered unto Death, concerning which mention is made in the Expressions of the Sacred Scriptures; which are sometimes worded in this manner, † Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the World: *sometimes they run thus,* ‖ as a Sheep He was led to the Slaughter, and as a Lamb before his Shearer [He was] dumb. *And they likewise tell us the Reason, by adding these Words,* He bears our Sins, and is tortured with pain for us: and we esteemed Him to be in labour and in stripes, and in affliction. But he was wounded for our Sins; and He was bruised by reason of our Iniquities. The Chastisement of our peace [was] upon Him; with his Stripes we are healed. All we like Sheep have gone astray; every one has wandered in his own Way: and the Lord hath delivered Him for our Sins. *For these reasons therefore, the Humane Instrument of God the Word was sacrificed. But this Great High-Priest consecrated to God the Chief Governour and Supream King, being something else besides a Victim; namely, The Word of God; The Power of God, and The Wisdom of God; soon recalled His mortal [Body] from Death; and presented it to His Father, as the First-fruits of Our common Salvation; having erected this for all Mankind, as the Trophy of that Victory which he had gain'd over Death, and over the Army of* Dæmons, *and [made it] the final Abolishment of those humane Victims which of old had been usually offered in Sacrifice.*

† John 1. 29.

‖ *See* Esa. ch. 53 v. 7, 4, 5, 6. according to the *Septuagint Version.*

CHAP. XVI. BUT *whereas these things are thus, 'tis now seasonable we should come to the demonstrations: if indeed* a *the truth of these matters has any need of Demonstration, and if it be indeed necessary, to produce firmation of Deeds that are manifest and evident. Take therefore these Demonstrations, having first prepared* * *your Ears in order to a candid hearing of our discourse. All Nations upon the Earth were heretofore divided, and the whole Race of Men* b *was minc'd into Provinces, into various Dominions over each Nation and Place, into Tyrannies, and manifold Principalities. On which account, fights and continued Wars, Depopulations and Captivities, as well in the Countries as Cities, never left them. Hence the numerous Subjects of Histories, Adulteries and Rapes of Women:* c *hence the calamitous destruction of Troy, and those Tragedies of the Ancients, whereof mention is made amongst all Men. The Causes of which [calamities] should any one ascribe to their error in worshipping many Gods, 'tis my sentiment He would not be mistaken. But, after the Salutary Instrument, namely the most Holy Body of Christ, (which appeared superior to all Diabolical fraud [and] Force, and was a stranger to every fault, as well in deeds as words; was erected against the* Dæmons, *as* d *some Trophy of Victory, and the Abolishment of ancient Mischiefs; immediately all the works of* Dæmons *were dissolved and dissipated: nor were there Dominions of Places any more, nor manifold Principalities, nor Tyrannies, nor* † *Democracies, nor (which were wont to arise from thence,) Depopulations of Countries, and Sieges of Cities. But* e *one God preach'd amongst all Men; and at the same time, one Empire also, that of the* Romans, *flourished over all; and that* f *irreconcileable and implacable hatred, which the Nations had born one to another almost from the remotest Date of time, became forth-with utterly extinct. And as the knowledge of one God was delivered to all Men, and one way of Religion and Salvation, [namely]* g *the Doctrine*

Testimonies in confirmation of Deeds.

* Or, *A candid ear for our discourse.*

b Κατετέτμητο. It must be made κατατετμημένον, *was minc'd*, or *cut*. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading of this whole place runs thus; ἦν ἅπαντα τὰ πάλαι ἐπὶ γῆς ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ πᾶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, εἰς ἐθναρχίας καὶ τοπαρχίας, τυραννίδας τε καὶ πολυαρχίας κατετέτμητο. *Vales.*

c Ἔνθα τὰ ἰλίου κακά. I should rather write ἔνθεν. A little after I read, κρεῖττον πάσης δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας ὀφθὲν, &c. *which appeared superior to all Diabolical Energy* or *Force*; the word πλάνης, *fraud*, being expunged as superfluous. Unless you would word it, as the *Fuketian Manuscript* does, πλάνης καὶ ἐνεργείας, *fraud and force*. Vales.

d Τρόπαιόν τε παλαιῶν κακῶν. Questionless 'tis to be written, νικητήριον τρόπαιον Χριστοῦ δαιμόνων, παλαιῶν τε κακῶν ὑποτρόπαιον, &c. which reading I have followed in my Version. Thus *Eusebius* has exprest himself a little above, in close of the foregoing chapter; where speaking concerning the Body of Christ rais'd from the dead, his words are these: τρόπαιον ὑπὲρ νίκων τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς δαιμονικῆς ἀποστάφεως. τῶν τε παλαιῶν ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν ἀποτρόπαιον, τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνεστάσας *as the Trophy of that Victory*, &c. Which place casts no small light on this we have before us. For *Eusebius* says the same thing in both places. For he compares the Body of Christ, raised from death to life, and taken up into Heaven, to a Trophy which is erected over Enemies.

e Θεὸς μὲν εἷς πᾶσι. It must be, θεὸς μὲν εἷς εἰς πάντας ἐκηρύπετο; *But, one God was Preach'd amongst all Men*; which is confirmed by the following words. *Vales.*

f Ἄπτου. I read ἄσπετου καὶ ἀκαταλλακτου ——— ἔχθος, *irreconcileable and implacable hatred.* And so the Translator seems to have read. So *Eusebius* expresses himself a little after this, ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἔχθος καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐθνῶν διελύετο; *and at the same time that Hatred and Strife, which*, &c. I write also, ἀνήρητό τε, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Vales.

g Σωτήριός τε ἡ χειστου. This place must, in my judgment, be written in this manner; καὶ τέλος εἰς εὐσεβείας σωτηρίας τε ἡ χειστου διδασκαλία: which reading I have followed in my Version. *One way of Religion and Salvation*, says he, *namely the Doctrine of Christ, was delivered to Men.* Vales.

a Τρόπαιόν τε παλαιῶν κακῶν.

ctrine of Christ; so also, at one and the very same time, in regard One Monarch was constituted over all the whole Roman *Empire, a most profound peace* * *prevailed over the whole World. Thus by the Appointment of one God, two signal Blessings as 'twere two Branches, shot forth at one time amongst Men; to wit the Empire of the* Romans, *and the* † *Doctrine of* Christian *Piety. Before that* [*Empire,*] *some in a separate and particular manner Governed* Syria: *others Reigned over* Asia; *others, over* Macedonia. *Also some were in possession of* Egypt *severed from the other* [*Provinces;*] *and in like manner others, of the Country of the* Arabians. *Moreover, the Nation of the* Jews *had reduced* Palestine *under their Jurisdiction and Power. In every Village and City, and in all Places, Men were seiz'd with a kind of a madness as 'twere and being really agitated by the Devil, committed murders one upon another, and made Wars and Fights their chief business. But two mighty Powers starting together, from the* ‖ *same* Barriers *as 'twere, on a sudden made all things calm, and reduced them to an amicable Composure: I mean, the Empire of the* Romans, *which from that time was under the Government of a single Person; and the Doctrine of Christ: which two* [*Powers*] *flourish'd together, at one and the same time. Our Saviour's Power utterly destroyed those manifold Principalities and numerous Deities of* Dæmons; *publishing and declaring One Kingdom of God to all Men, as well* Greeks *as* Barbarians, *even to those who inhabit the remotest Regions of the Earth. But the Empire of the* Romans, *in regard the Causes of many Principalities were* * *before hand taken away, reduced those* [*Principalities*] *which as yet remained visible, under its own Dominion; making this its chief business, to join together the whole Body of Mankind in one common Union and Agreement. And it hath already reconciled and knit together in one, most Nations: but within a short time it will reach even as far as the utmost Confines of the Earth: in regard the Salutary Doctrine* [*of Christ*] *joined with a Divine Power, does before hand make all things easie to it and renders them smooth and plain. Doubtless, this will be acknowledged a great Miracle by them, who, induced thereto by a love of truth, shall with attention weigh the thing, and shall not be desirous of detracting from, and reviling the eminentest* † *Blessings. For, at one and the very same juncture, the Error of* Dæmons *was confuted; and at the same time that hatred and strife, which from remote Ages had raged amongst the Nations, had an end put to it: and again, at the same time One God, and One Knowledge of that God was Preach'd amongst all; and at the same time One Empire was establish'd amongst Men; and at the same time the whole race of Men was* ‖ *reduced to peace and friendship; and all persons mutually profest themselves Brethren, and acknowledged their Own Nature. Immediately therefore, being as 'twere Children* [h] *begotten by the same Father, to wit one God, and born of the same Mother, namely true piety, they began to salute and receive one another peaceably and affectionately: in so much as from that time the whole World seem'd in no point to differ from one well-governed House and Family; and any one might make a Journey whither he listed, and travel to what place he pleased, with all imaginable security: and some might without danger pass from the* Western *to the* Eastern *Parts; again others might go from hence thither, as 'twere to their own Country: And the Responses of the ancient Oracles were fulfilled, as likewise numerous other predictions of the Prophets, which at present we have not leisure to cite: and moreover, those* [*Expressions*] *concerning the Divine Word, which run thus.* * He shall have dominion from Sea to Sea, and from the River, unto the ends of the Earth. *And again* † In his Days Righteousness shall rise, and abundance of Peace. [*And in another place:*] ‖ And they shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and [their] spears into Pruning-hooks; and Nation shall not lay hand on Sword against Nation, and they shall not learn War any more. *These things were predicted, and many Ages since proclaimed in the* Hebrew *Tongue: which appearing to be actually accomplished in our Days, do confirm the Testimonies of those ancient Oracles. But if, besides these, you desired plenty of other Demonstrations, take them, not in Words, but in Deeds, and Realities. Open the Eyes of your own Mind, and set open the Gates of Thought. Forbear speaking for some time, and consider with your self. Ask, your self, and enquire as 'twere of some other Person, and make researches into the Nature of Affairs in this manner. What King from the utmost memory of Men; or Prince; or Philosopher; or Law-giver; or Prophet whether* Greek *or* Barbarian, *ever attained to so much Power and Authority, (I do not say after Death, but whilst He was yet living, and breathing, and was able to perform many things;) as to fill the Ears and Tongues of all Men upon Earth, with* [*the Glory*] *of his own Name? 'Tis certain, no person hath performed this, except only Our One Saviour, after that Victory gain'd over Death: when He both* * *gave his Disciples a Command in words, and also afterwards actually accomplished it.* † Go therefore, *said He to them,* make Disciples of all Nations in my Name. *And when He had foretold and affirmed to them, that His Gospel should be preach'd thorowout the whole World, for a Testimony to all Nations; to his Words He forthwith added the actual Completion of the thing. Immediately therefore, and not after a long interval of time, the whole World was filled with his Doctrine. What then has He to return in answer hereto, who at the beginning of this Oration blamed us; especially in regard the Testimony* ‖ *of the Eyes is superior to all manner of* * *reasoning? But, who hath chased away that always-noxious and destructive Tribe of* Dæmons *(which heretofore prey'd upon the whole* † *Body of Mankind, and by the motion and impulse of Images shewed many Impostures and delusions amongst Men; by an invisible and potent Hand, being as 'twere fierce and raging Wild-beasts, from the Flock of Men? What other Person besides Our Saviour, by an invocation of Himself, and by the purest Prayers in His Name put up to the supream God, hath given a power of driving away the Remains of evil Spirits from among Men, to those who with purity and sincerity would follow* ‖ *that Rule of Living and Discipline delivered by Him? What*

* Or, *Embraced all things.*

† Or, *Pious Doctrine.*

‖ Ἀπὸ νύσσης μιᾶς. *Valesius* renders it *ex unâ Transinnâ.* Νύσσα does properly signifie *Meta, the Goal of a Race.*

* That is, *by the Doctrine of Christ which asserted God's Monarchy.*

† Or, *Goods.*

‖ *Fitted* or, *made up into peace,* &c.

h Ἐξ ἑνὸς φύντες θεοῦ. Without doubt it must be written thus, ἐξ ἑνὸς φύντες πατρὸς, *begotten by one or the same father.* The mistake arose from the contracted way of writing. *Vales.*

* Or, *Spake a word to His Confidents.*

† Matth. 28. 19.

‖ Or, *Which is by sight.*

* Or, *Reason.*

† Or, *Nature of Men.*

‖ Or, *The Life of that Philosophy delivered,* &c.

What

i Τίς μόνος ἐπίσταται λεῖν. The word μόνος can't have a place here. I write therefore from the *Fuketian Manuscript* πὶς ὁπτελεῖν πυρὶ δοκεῖν ἀλλος. ἢ μόνος, &c. *what other person save only*, &c. Presently, the reading must be, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καθ' ὅλης ὀικουμένης ἀνθρώπων; or else, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*, ἀλλ' ὁπὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλης ἀνθρώπων ὀικουμένης,

i *What other Person, save only our Saviour, hath taught his Followers to offer unbloody and rational Sacrifices, which [are performed] by Prayers and a mysterious * naming of God? On which account, Altars have been erected thorowout the whole World, and Churches Consecrated:* k *and Divine Ministrations of Intellectual and rational Sacrifices, are offer'd up by all Nations to the Only God the Supream King. Who by a secret and invisible Power, hath caused those sacrifices, which were usually* l *performed by Blood and Gore, Smoak and Fire: as likewise those cruel and furious slaughters of Men, and humane Victims, to be abolished and wholly extinguished? In so much that, this thing is attested even by the very Histories of the Heathens themselves. For, all those Sacrifices of Men, in all Places of the Earth, were not abolished till after [the Publication of] Our Saviour's Divine Doctrine, [namely]* m *about the Times of [the Emperour] Hadrian. Whereas therefore, so many cogent Arguments and evident Demonstrations do give Confirmation to Our Saviour's Might and Power after his Death, who is so Iron-minded, as not together with others to give Evidence to the Truth, and not to acknowledge his Life [to be] Divine? For great Atchievements [are the Performances] of the Living, not of the dead: on which account,* ——— *thorowout the whole World.* For so *Eusebius* is wont to express himself, as in the end of *Chap.* 13. Vales.

* Θεολογίας, *discourse concerning God.*

k *Valesius* in his note at this place tells us, that the *Geneva-Printers* designedly left out this clause [νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν θυσιῶν ἱερατικὰς λειτουργίας, *and Divine Ministrations of intellectual and Rational Sacrifices*] because, says he, it contained an illustrious Testimony concerning the unbloody Sacrifice of the Mass. But 'tis our Sentiment, that *Valesius* had as little ground for this Assertion, from these words; as the *Geneva-men*, had reason for that their omission. Our Church in one of its Prayers after the celebration of the Eucharist, makes mention of a *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving*. And I verily believe, *Eusebius* means no other Sacrifice than that here; witness the two Epithets He gives these Sacrifices, namely νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν, *intellectual and rational*.

l Καπνοῦ τε φλογοπιτελεμβύλου θυσίας. I don't doubt but *Eusebius* wrote καπνοῦ τε καὶ πυρὸς ὁλοπιτελεμβύλου θυσίας. τάς τε ὠμὰς, &c. *Sacrifices* ——— *performed by Blood and Gore, Smoak and Fire; as likewise those cruel*, &c. Than which emendation there is nothing more certain. *Vales.*

m *Eusebius* took this passage out of *Porphyrius's second Book de Abstinentia* where he writes thus. καταλυθῆναι δὲ τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας σχεδὸν τὰς πρὸ πάσι φησὶ πάλλαν, ὁ ἄκρατα τὰ περὶ τῶν τὸ μίθρα σωμάτων μυστηρίων, ἐφ' ἁδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. That is, *But Pallas, who wrote best of all concerning the mysterious Rites of Mithra, says that humane Victims were almost every where abolished, in the Reign of the Emperour Hadrian.* Which *Lactantius* does likewise confirm, in the *First Book of his Divine Institutes, Chap.* 21. in these words. *Apud Cyprios*, [In *Thysius's Edition* 'tis *Apud Cypri Salaminem; At Salamine* [*a City of Cyprus.*]] *Humanam hostiam Jovi Teucer immolavit; idque Sacrificium posteris tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum. Amongst the Cypriots, Teucer offered an humane Sacrifice to Jupiter; and delivered that Sacrifice down to Posterity: which was lately abolished in the Reign of Hadrian. Tertullian* in the *ninth Chapter of his Apology* relates, that in *Africa* infants were publickly offered in Sacrifice to *Saturn*, until *Tiberius's* Proconsulate, who for that reason crucified the Priests of *Saturn*. And he adds, that the Milice *of his own Country* (or, as some Copies have it written, *Patris sui, of his own Father*;) which executed that very office under *Tiberius* the *Proconsul*, were witnesses of this thing. Whence it appears that the memory of this matter was as yet fresh. For why should he cite the Soldiers or *Apparitors* of the *Proconsular Office* as witnesses, unless some of those had been yet alive, or could have been produced, who had attended upon the *Proconsul Tiberius*, at such time as he crucified those Priests. Wherefore, that *Proconsulate* of *Tiberius* might be fitly placed upon the times of the Emperour *Hadrian*; especially in regard both *Porphyrius* and *Lactantius* do perswade us to think so. Further, whereas *Pallas* only says, that they left off sacrificing Men almost every where; *Eusebius* without any exception affirms, that this custom was abolished amongst all Nations whatever. Which I can scarce be induced to believe For, both *Porphyrius* and *Lactantius*, in their fore-cited Books, do attest, that *Jupiter Latiaris* was still in their Age worshipped with humane Blood at *Rome*. Besides, *Tertullian* witnesseth in his *Apology*, that in his Age Infants were in secret sacrificed to *Saturn*. Vales.

and those things which we see, do furnish us with a knowledge of things hidden. Not long since indeed, yesterday as 'twere, a Race of Men who fought against God; disturbed the Life of Men, turned all things upside down, and were possest of great Power and Strength. But when they were departed from among Men; thenceforward they lay upon the Earth, n *more contemptible than Dung; without Breath; without Motion; without Voice. Nor is there now any account, or any mention made of them. For this is the * Allotment of the Dead. And* o *He that is no longer, is no Body. But, Nature.* b *what can He do, who is no Body? But on the contrary, He who acts and works, and who is more powerful than those that are alive, how can He be supposed not to be? And although He be invisible to eyes of Flesh, nevertheless the* p *faculty of judging consists not in sense: nor do we by the senses of the Body perceive the reasons and Rules of Arts, or Speculations of Sciences. Neither did ever any with his Eyes see the Mind that is in Men, much less the strength and power of God: but things of this nature are wont to be known and perceived by the works themselves. Wherefore in our Saviour also, 'tis fit we should inspect and * discern His invisible Power and Strength from his Works: namely, whether those many illustrious Acts, which even till this present time are done by Him, must be acknowledged [the Performances] of a Person Living; or whether 'tis to be said, that they are the works of One who is not; or rather whether this question be not altogether Foolish and † incoherent. For, how can any one with reason affirm Him to be, who is not? In regard 'tis manifest by the consent and suffrages of all, that that which is not, neither has any strength, nor can it act, or operate.* q *For this is the Nature of the Living: but [the Nature] of the Dead is contrary.*

* *Consider, or, determine of.*

† Or, *Inconsistent.*

n Σκώβαλον ἐκλαπτότερον. *Eusebius* alludes to that famous saying of *Heraclitus*, νέκυες κοπρίων ἐκλαπτότεροι, *the dead are more despicable than muck*; of which saying *Strabo* makes mention in the end of his *sixteenth book*, and *Origen* in his *fifth book against Celsus*. From whence came this proverbial expression, κοπρίων ἐκλαπτότερος, spoken concerning *a man of no value. Pollux book* 5. *chap.* 46. κοπρίων ἐκλαπτότερος, εἰ χρὴ καθ' ἡράκλειτον λέγειν, *more contemptible than Dung, if we should speak after the manner of Heraclitus. Julian*, in his *Oration against Heraclius the Cynick*, pag. 421. makes use of the same saying of *Heraclitus*, in these words: ὀλιγωρεῖν δὲ πάντη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ, κατὰ τὸν ἡράκλειτον, καὶ κοπρίων ἐκλαπτότερον. ἐν τῷ ῥᾴστῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ ὀργάνῳ τῷ σώματι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ: *but wholly to despise the Body, and to account it according to Heraclitus, even more contemptible than Dung. But with the greatest ease to perfect its cure, as long as God shall order the Body to be used as an Instrument.* Which place I have mended and supplied, from *Suidas* in the word ἡράκλειτος. For in the ordinary Editions, this passage is corrupt and imperfect. *Vales.*

o Πράξει ἔτι. It must be written with an interrogation, thus, ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ὢν πράξειέ τι; *But, what can He do, who is no Body?* And so *Christophorson* seems to have read. Indeed, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* the reading is, πράξειέ τι. *Vales.*

p Οὐκ ἐν διδύσει τὸ κριτήριον. 'Tis apparent that the reading should be, οὐκ ἐν αἰσθήσει, that is, *judgment is not placed in sense.* Therefore the verb ἐστὶ must be understood here; which *Christophorson* apprehended not; for he hath erroneously joyned these words with the following. There was a great dispute amongst the old Philosophers περὶ κριτηρίου. So they termed *the Rule, whereby the truth of things is judged of by Men.* The most ancient Philosophers did not place *that power or faculty* in the Senses, but in the Reason; as *Sextus Empiricus* informs us in his *seventh book against the Mathematici.* Farther, κριτήριον is taken two ways, *either for the faculty it self, whereby truth is discerned*; or else *for the instrument of that faculty.* *Potamo* the *Philosopher* termed *the first*, ὑφ' ὅ, *from which*; *the second*, δι' ὅ, *by which*; as *Laertius* tell us, in the *Proem of his own work.* Vales.

q Αὕτη γὰρ φύσις νεκρῶν, *For this is the nature of the dead.* The words are misplaced here; a thing which, as I have already advertized, does frequently happen in these *Books.* I write therefore, αὕτη γὰρ φύσις ζώντων. νεκρῶν δὲ ἡ ἐναντία. *For this is the Nature of the Living*: &c. A little before, some words are ill repeated, which fault the studious Reader will easily mend of himself. *Vales.*

CHAP. XVII. BUT 'Tis here seasonable, that we should inspect the Performances of our Saviour in this our Age; and should contemplate the living Works of the living God. [a] For how should such Glorious Atchievements as these, not be the living Works of a living Person, and of One who truly lives the Life of God? But, do You enquire what those are? Hear them. Not long since, some Persons who had proclaimed war against God, with great obstinacy, and no less Power and Military Force, ruined and dug up from their very Foundations, the Edifices of his Oratories; and resolved upon rendring His Churches wholly invisible; and with all imaginable Engines and Stratagems fought against Him who is not to be seen with Eyes; casting and throwing against Him * the darts of impious Expressions. But the invisible God was avenged on them in an invisible manner. Immediately therefore, by one only Nod of the Deity, they became extinct; [those Persons I mean] who a little before lived delicious and pleasant lives and were thrice-happy; who were celebrated amongst all Men, as equal with the Gods; who during many periods of Years [b] had Governed the Empire gloriously and happily, as long, namely, as there was peace and friendship between them and Him whom they afterwards opposed. But when they changed their minds, and were so audacious as to engage in an actual war with God; and set their Gods in array against Ours, as their * Leaders and Defenders: immediately, in one moment of time, and by the Beck and Power of that God whom they opposed, they all underwent the deserved punishments of their audacious attempts. In so much that, giving ground to Him with whom they were engaged in war, and turning their Backs upon Him, they acknowledged his Divinity as others had done; and hastned to grant and permit the clean contrary to those things, which a little before they had attempted. But our Saviour forthwith erected Victorious Trophies in all parts of the Earth; and did again adorn the whole World afresh, with holy Temples and † Consecrated Oratories: and in every City and Village, in all Countries, and in the desart places of the Barbarians, [c] He dedicated Churches and Temples, to one God the supream King and Lord of all. Hence also 'tis, that those consecrated places are vouchsafed the name of the Lord; and take their appellation not from Men, but from the supream Lord Himself. For, from Him [d] they have the name of Churches. Let Him therefore that has a mind to it, come forth and inform us, who, after so great a Ruine and Devastation, hath raised the sacred Houses from their Foundations to so vast an Height? Who [hath bestowed a Resurrection] upon those [Structures,] † wholly despair'd of as to their being rebuilt, and has vouchsafed them a Re-edification, whereby they are become far more splendid and stately, than they had been before? * and, which is most to be admired, hath not new-built them after the death of those Enemies of God; but whilst those very Persons were yet alive, who had demolished them: in so much that, they themselves with their own Mouthes, and by their own Letters recanted their bold attempts: and this they did, not whilst they were surrounded with the delights and pleasures of Life, (for thus any one might perhaps suppose, that they performed this [e] with a regard to kindness and clemency;) but at such time as they were pursued with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven. Who, after so many and such impetuous Storms of Persecution, and in the very heat and extremity of dangers, thorowout the whole world kept fix'd to the Precepts of his Divine Doctrine, infinite numbers of Men that were zealous followers of a Philosophick Life, and strict worshippers of the Deity, [f] also Women that were in Holy Orders, and Quires of Virgins which Dedicated the whole time of their Lives to a perpetual chastity of body and mind: and taught them abstinence from food, and most willingly to continue without meat and wine during the space of many days, and to † lead a hard and austere course of Life, with a singular modesty and temperance? Who hath so far prevailed upon Women, and numerous multitudes of Men, that they should exchange the food of their Bodies, for that rational food that agrees with their rational Souls, [which food is gotten] by ‖ a perusal of Divine Lessons? Who hath taught Barbarians and Peasants, Women, Children and Servants and innumerable multitudes of all Nations, to despise Death; and to perswade themselves, that their Souls are immortal, and that [g] there is an Eye of Justice which inspects humane Affairs; and that they should expect a future judgment from God [to pass upon] the pious and the impious; and that for that reason, they ought to lead just, holy, and sober lives? should be ὄψιν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπάρχειν, there is an Eye of Justice. For the

* Or, Numerous darts of words.

† Or, Splendid Consecrations of Oratories.

‖ Or, Divine Readings.

[a] Εἰ γὰρ ἃ ζῶντος. It must, I think, be worded thus, πῶς γὰρ ἃ ζῶντος, with an Interrogation; which reading I have followed in my Version. *Vales.*

[b] Τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδύναντες ὅτε δὴ τα. This place is corrupted with a double fault: nevertheless 'twas easie to restore it in this manner: διαπρεπῶς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐδύναντες ὅτε δὴ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ὕστερον πολεμηθέντα φίλα τε ἦν αὐτοῖς, &c. *had governed the Empire*, &c. *Eusebius* means *Diocletian* and his Colleagues, who (says he) had governed the Republick gloriously and happily, as long as they maintained a peace with God and with the Churches. But after they attempted to bring a war upon God, and to persecute his most Holy Worshippers; immediately all affairs were altered, and put into a worse posture. *Eusebius* says the same in the end of his *Eighth Book*. Vales.

[c] Δεσπότῃ καὶ ἱερῶσας. It must, I think, be δεσπότῃ καθιερώσας. ἔνθεν γὰρ, &c. And we have rendred it accordingly. *Vales.*

[d] Κυριακῶν ἐξιῶνται ἀπ' ἐπωνυμίων. I had rather read τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, *the name*. Nothing occurrs more frequently in Ecclesiastick writers, than the name of κυριακὰ or *Dominica*. Nor have only the *Greeks* termed *Churches*, thus, but the *Germans* also have borrowed this name from the *Greeks*, as *Walafridus Strabo* informs us in his *Book de Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, Chap. 7. *Vales.* Hence likewise we have our name for them in *English*, to wit *Churches*; and hence 'tis that the *Scots* call them *Kirks*.

* Καὶ ἀνενεώσατο αὐτά. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is, αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ τῆς λοιπῆς μείζονα θαῦμα, which we follow. *Vales.*

[e] Φιλανθρωπίας λογισμῷ. Any one will easily perceive, though I hold my peace, that some words are wanting here. I write therefore, ἅτε γὰρ φιλανθρωπίας λογισμῷ τέτο πεφύκαι αὐτοῦ τάχα ἂν τις νομίσειε, *for thus any one*, &c. which words must be included in a *Parenthesis*. Indeed *Christophorson* seems to have read so, as it appears from his Version. *Vales.*

[f] Γυναικῶν δὲ ἱερείας καὶ παρθένων. *Christophorson* joyned the word γυναικῶν with the term ἀειπαρθένων, which I don't approve of. For, by the term γυναικῶν, *Eusebius* means those Women, who having been deprived of their Husbands, consecrated their widowhood to God; and he distinguishes these from the Quires of Virgins. Farther, out of the number of Widows, *Deaconnesses* and *Persbytereses*, were wont to be chosen, as *Epiphanius* attests in the *Heresie of the Collyridiani*, and in the Epilogue of his *Books against Heresies*. Whence 'tis, that at this place *Eusebius* terms them ἱερείας. For those Women did in a manner perform the Office of Priests; in regard they instructed Women that were to be baptized. But the reading must be, γυναικῶν τε ἱερείας, *also Women that were in Holy Orders*; and so 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. These Women, before they could be chosen *Deaconnesses*, were wont to be examined. Amongst other things, they were asked, whether they had washed the Saints feet; as *Origen* informs us in his *thirty second Tome on Saint* John's *Gospel*. Vales.

[g] Καὶ δίκλω ὀφθαλμῷ ὑπάρχειν. Who sees not that the reading

the ancients believed, that Juſtice had a moſt quick and ſharp eye, which inſpected all things that were done by men, and would never wink: which eye they appealed to as a witneſs, who had been any ways injured. Nothing occurrs more frequently, both amongſt the *Greeks* and *Latines*. The *old Poets* words in *Stobæus* are theſe.

Ἐστὶν δίκης ὀφθαλμὸς, ὡς δι' ἠσύχου
Λεύσσων τρεσσώπου, πάνθ' ὅμως ἀεὶ βλέπει.

We have not leiſure to produce more authorities; nor is it at all neceſſary, in regard the thing is ſo well known. Yet *Chriſtophorſon* ſaw not the Emendation of this place. *Valeſ.*

*For 'tis in no wiſe poſſible, that thoſe who are not thus diſpoſed, ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the yoke of piety. All which egregious performances, are even at this preſent accompliſhed, only by Our Saviour. But let us omit theſe things. Come on, we will now apply our ſelves to [a conviction of] Him whoſe mind is as hard as flint, by ſuch interrogatories as theſe. Tell me, Friend! and utter words that are rational; * Let your expreſſions be the products, not of a fooliſh and ſtupid heart, but of a ſoul endued with reaſon and underſtanding. Tell me [I ſay,] after you have often and duely weighed the matter with your ſelf. Which of all the Sages who in times paſt have been famous, was known in the ſame manner with Our Saviour, and † proclaimed ſo infinite a number of ages ſince, by the Oracles of the Prophets, amongſt the children of the Hebrews, anciently God's beloved people? Who in their minds had a fore-knowledge of the place of His Birth, and of the times of His Coming, and of His manner of Life; of His Miracles likewiſe, of His Diſcourſes, and of His famous actions, and left them on record in the ſacred Volumes. [h] Who hath ſhown himſelf ſo ſwift a Revenger, of thoſe audacious Attempts againſt himſelf? that, immediately after that impious fact committed againſt himſelf, the whole Nation of the Jews ſhould be purſued and puniſhed by an inviſible Power, and their Royal Seat utterly demoliſhed and overthrown from its very foundations, and the Temple, together with all the Ornaments and rich furniture therein, levell'd with the Ground. Who hath uttered predictions, [i] both concerning thoſe impious men, and alſo in reference to the Church founded by him over the whole world, exactly correſpondent to the affairs themſelves, and hath actually demonſtrated and confirm'd the truth of thoſe Predictions, in ſuch a manner as Our Saviour hath done? Concerning the Temple of the Impious he had ſaid, *Matth 23. 38. * Behold, your houſe is left to you deſolate, and, † there ſhall not remain a ſtone upon a ſtone in this place, which ſhall not be thrown down. †See Matth. 24. 2. But concerning his own Church [he ſpake in this manner,] ‖ I will build my Church upon a rock, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. [k] To have brought at firſt from fiſhing, men that were centemptible and * illiterate: and afterwards to have conſtituted them Law-givers, and Teachers to the whole world; what, and how mighty a thing does this ſeem to You? As for his promiſe to them, that he would make them Fiſhers of men, he not only uttered it in words, but performed it actually and abundantly: and conferr'd on them ſo great a degree of ſtrength and power, that they compoſed writings, and publiſhed Book: and the authority of all thoſe Books was ſo great, that being rendred into all Languages, as well of Greeks as Barbarians, thorowout the whole world, they are ſtudiouſly read by all Nations; and the Contents of them are believed to be divine Oracles; of how mighty a prevalency is this, in order to a clear demonſtration of his Divinity? How conſiderable likewiſe is that, namely that he foretold things future, and, long before it happened, aſſured his diſciples, that they ſhould be brought before Kings and Princes, and ſhould be puniſhed, and undergo the extreameſt of Torments, not for any foul act of their own, but only on account of their confeſſion of his Name? Moreover, that he fitted and prepared them chearfully to endure theſe things; and ſo fortified them with the Arms of Piety, that in their Conflicts with their adverſaries, their minds appeared firmer than an Adamant; what powerfulneſs of expreſſion is it, which that matter does not exceed? Likewiſe, that not only thoſe who had followed him, but their ſucceſſours alſo, and again they who immediately ſucceeded them, and at length ſuch as have lived in this our preſent age, ſhould with ſo undaunted a reſolution * unite the Forces of their minds; that although they had done nothing worthy of death, yet with pleaſure would endure all manner of puniſhments, and every ſort of Torture, on account of their eximious Piety towards the ſupream God; what degree of admiration does not this ſurpaſs? What King did ever continue his Reign during ſo vaſt a number of Ages? Who does thus wage war after death, and does erect Trophies over his Enemies; and does ſubdue every place, Country and City, as well Grecian as Barbarian; and does vanquiſh his Oppoſers by an inviſible and latent † Hand? And, which is the Chiefeſt thing of all that hath been hitherto rehearſed, [l] that Peace * by his Power procured for the whole world, concerning which we have already ſpoken what we judged agreeable, how ſhould it not ſtop the mouths of all ſlanderers? In as much as, the Unity and Concord of all Nations, did really concur in time with the Preaching of Our Saviour, and with the Doctrine by him diſſeminated over the whole world: and in regard [both of them] had long before been foretold by the Prophets of God, I mean the † Univerſal Peace of the Nations. and the Doctrine delivered by Chriſt to the Nations. The whole length of the day would be inſufficient for me, ‖ Dread Sir! ſhould I attempt to ſum up in one, thoſe moſt clear and cogent arguments of Our Saviour's Divine Power, drawn from the things which are at this preſent Viſible. For no man ſince the Creation, either amongſt the Grecians or Barbarians, hath ever exerted ſuch mighty Efforts of a Divine Power, as Our Saviour has done. [m] But why do I ſay men? When as, even they who amongſt all Nations are ſtyled Gods, have not been endued with ſuch a mighty power upon Earth.*

* Or, *Bring forth fruit, not out of &c.*

† *Preſignified*, or, *declared.*

h Ἥτις ἀυτῷ ταχὺς. Doubtleſs the reading muſt be, τὶς ὅτω ταχὺς; in which manner alſo *Chriſtophorſon* ſeems to have read; and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valeſ.*

i Ἀυτῆς τε θεοῦ. It muſt be written πέρι, with the accent caſt back to the firſt ſyllable; which is done, as often as the *præpoſition* is ſet after the word. Preſently the reading muſt be, καταλλήλως τοῖς πράγμασι, *correſpondent to the affairs themſelves.* For 'tis referred to the word προῤῥήσεις, *predictions.* In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis καταλλήλως. *Valeſ.*

k Ἐξ ἁλείας μεταλαξῶν τὸν ἀρχὴν. 'Tis a miſtake of the Printer, I think, inſtead of μεταλαξῶν, *to have brought*: ſo 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy.* Valeſ.

* Or, *Ruſticks.*

l Περιταλθῆσα εἰρήνη. He means the Peace which Chriſt, at His Birth, beſtowed on the *Roman* world. *Valeſ.*

* Or, *Which by his power reigns over the whole, &c.*

* Τῆς ψυχῆς νεῦρωσαι τὰς δυνάμεις, *make the Forces of their minds nervoſe*, or *ſinewie.*

† Or, *Righthand.*

† Or, *World.*

‖ *Emperor.*

m Τὶ δ' λέγω ἀνθρώπων. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis ἀνδρῶν; and juſt before, the reading is, ὅπου ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν; not, ὅσον ὁ σωτὴρ ὁ ἡμέτερος. *Valeſ.*

Or if the thing be otherwise, *let him that is desirous, make it out to us. Let* * *any of the Philosophers come forth and inform us, what God or* Hero *was ever heard of, from the very first Beginning of Time, who hath delivered to men the Doctrine of an Eternal Life and a celestial Kingdom, in such a manner as Our Saviour hath done: who has induced innumerable multitudes of men thorowout the whole world, to live in a conformity to the Precepts of a Celestial Philosophy; and has perswaded them, that they should* † *aspire to Heaven, and hope for those Mansions there provided for Pious Souls? What persons, whether God,* [n] *or* Hero, *or man, hath ever* * *overspread and enlightened the* [*whole world,*] *from the rising as far as the setting Sun, with the brightest Beams of his Own Doctrine; running in a manner the same Course with the Sun: in so much that, all Nations where ever inhabiting, perform one and the same worship, to The One God? Who, whether God or* Hero, *hath crush'd all the Gods and* Hero's *both* Grecian *and* Barbarian, *and hath made a Law, that no one of them should be esteemed a God; and hath so far prevailed, that this his Law should obtain every where: after which, when he was opposed by all, he himself, being but One, hath routed the whole Force of his Adversaries, hath vanquished all those who had always been accounted Gods and* Hero's *and hath brought the matter to this Issue, that all over the whole world, even from its remotest Limits, he himself should alone be termed The Son of God by all Nations? Who hath commanded them who inhabit this vast Element of the Earth, as well those in the Continent, as them that live in the Isles, that meeting together* [*every week,*] *they should observe that termed the Lord's day, and celebrate it as a Festival:* [o] *and that they should not feed fat their own Bodies, but should make it their business, to enliven and cherish their Souls with Divine instructions? What God or* Hero, *so opposed as Our Saviour hath been, hath erected Victorious Trophies over his Enemies? For from* * *the first Times hitherto, they have not ceased their Hostilities, both against his Doctrine and People. But he being invisible, by an undiscern'd Power hath advanced his own Servants, together with the Sacred Houses, to the height of Glory. But what necessity is there, with so much of earnestness to attempt a Narrative, of Our Saviour's Divine Performances, which exceed all manner of expression? In as much as, though we be silent, the Things themselves do cry aloud to those, who are possest of Mental Ears. Undoubtedly, this is a new and wonderful thing, and which was once only seen amongst the Race of mankind; that such signal Blessings as these should be* [p] *conferred on men, and, that He who really is the only Son of God from all eternity, should be visible on earth.*

CHAP. XVIII. [a] BUT *these things which You have heard from us, will perhaps be superfluous to You* [*Great Sir!*] *Who by experience it Self have frequently been made sensible* [*of the presence*] *of Our Saviour's Divinity, and who, not so much in words as deeds, have approved Your Self a Preacher of the Truth to all men. For You Your Self, Dread Sovereign! When You shall have leisure, can relate to us, if Your please, innumerable Appearances of Our Saviour shewing You his Divinity; innumerable Visions in Your sleep. I mean not those Suggestions of his to You, which to us are secret and inexplicable; but those divine Councils and Advises infused into Your mind, and which are productive of matters universally advantageous, and every way useful, in reference to the Care and Providence of Humane affairs. You will likewise unfold to us, in such a manner as they deserve, the apparent assistances of God Your Defender and Keeper in Your Wars: the Ruine of Your Enemies, and those that combin'd and plotted against You: Your Rescues in dangers: Your ready and expedite knowledge in difficulties: Your defence in Solitudes: Your* * *industry and readiness in straits and distresses: Your fore-knowledges of things future: Your Provident Care in reference to the whole of affairs: Your deliberations concerning matters uncertain and obscure: Your undertakings in relation to the most momentous Things: Your Administration of Civil matters: Your Ordering of Your Military Forces: Your* † *Reformations every where: Your Constitutions in reference to publick Right: Lastly, Your Laws, which are of singular use to the Lives of men. You will likewise without any Omission recount each of those matters, which are obscure to us, but most apparently manifest to Your Self alone, and are kept depositted in Your Imperial Memory, as in some secret Treasuries. In regard to all which particulars, as 'tis likely, when You had made use of the very same clear and cogent Arguments of Our Saviour's* [*Divine*] *Power, You raised a* ‖ Basilica, *as a Trophy of his Victory gained over Death, a Fabrick which You design'd all should view, as well the Faithful as Infidels; and an Holy Temple of the Holy God; and most stately, splendid, and glorious Monuments of an immortal Life and a divine Kingdom; and* [*You gave*] *sacred Gifts* [*in memory*] *of the Victory of Our Saviour the Supream King,* [*Gifts*] *that are every way sutable to the Donour, and which do most exactly* [b] *befit an Emperour* [*who is a* Victor.] *Wherewith You have adorned that* Martyrium *and Monument of immortal Life, that* [c] *in Royal Characters You might express and represent the Celestial Word of God to be the* Victor *and Triumpher,* [d] *to all Nations; and, as well really as verbally, might publish a Pious and Religious Confession of God, in expressions which are clear, and that can't be obscur'd.*

*Or, Every Philosopher.

† Or, *Pursue Heaven.*

* *Illustrated.*

* Or, *The first beginning to the end.*

[n] Ἢ ἡ ἥρως ἀνθρωπος. *Christophorson* has expung'd the last word, which is not ill done. Nevertheless it may be read, ἢ ἡ ἀνθρωπος, *or man.* Or else, μὴ πῦρ ἄνθρωπος, *much less man.* Valesius.

[o] Καὶ ἑαυτὰ σώματα παίνειν, *and to fatten their own Bodies.* I know indeed, that it was the *Christians* usage to feast more plentifully and spendidly on Sundays. But the word παίνειν, *to fatten*, or *feed fat*, is no fitting term to be used concerning *Christians*. Wherefore I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, ἢ ἐ τὰ σώματα παίνειν, *and that they should not*, &c. Valesius.

[p] Τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐπινοηθῆναι. *Christophorson* seems to have read ἄνθρωπον as it appears from his Version, which runs thus, *Ut Homo tam egregia facinora ederet, that a man should perform such signal and extraordinary Actions.* But the *Fuketian Copy* hath opened to us the true reading of this place; which runs thus, τὸ, ἀνθρώποις ἐπινοηθῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ τὸν ἀληθῶς, &c; *that such signal Blessings*, &c. For *Eusebius* means all those Blessings, which he has particularly reckoned up above: all which were conferred on men by Christ's coming down upon earth. *Valesius.*

‖ See *His Life of Constant. B. 3. chap. 43. note* (c.)

[a] Ἀλλὰ δ' ἃ ἀκήκοας. Some words are wanting here; which we may supply thus ἀλλὰ δ' ἃ σοὶ βασιλεῦ *to You O Emperor.* But the *Fuk. Copy* hath given us the true reading: where 'tis thus worded; ἀλλὰ δ' ἃ ἂν ἢ ἄλλως ἔπ. τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν σοὶ ἀκηκόαμεν, and we have rendred it accordingly. *Valesius.*

* *Searches, or, discoveries.*

† Or, *Emendations in each particular.*

[b] Οἰκεία βασιλεῖ. I am of opinion, that the word νικητῇ, *Victor*, is to be added after these words; not for this reason only, because *Constantine* had the surname of *Victor* given him; but also, in regard this word makes a great elegance here. For *Eusebius* says, that those sacred Gifts which *Constantine* gave to the *Jerusalem Church*, (because they are the Monuments of the Victory of Christ the Supream King,) do incomparably well befit an Emperour that is a *Victor*. Valesius.

[c] Βασιλικοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν. I have rendred it *Regios Apices*, *Royal Letters* or *Characters*. For so *Eusebius* is wont to express himself as I have remark'd otherwhere. He says therefore, that *Constantine*, by that most magnificent Fabrick, and those most rich sacred Gifts, wherewith he had adorned the Sepulchre of Christ, (as 'twere by Royal Letters set up in some publick place,) had proclaimed Christ the Victor and Triumpher to all people. *Valesius.*

[d] Πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. With these words the *Fuketian Copy* does close *Eusebius's Panegyrick*. 'Tis certain, the words which follow, are but little necessary, nor do they seem to me to be *Eusebius's*. Valesius.

28 SE 60

THE END.

THE

THE INDEX

Of the Chief Matters contained in the Text of theſe

HISTORIANS.

The Firſt Number ſhews the Page; the Second, the Column.

A.

A Bari or *Abares*, a *Scythick* Nation, being heavily oppreſt by the *Turks*, leave their habitation, and come to the *Boſphorus*. 500. 1. at length lodge themſelves on the banks of the *Danube*. ibid. They make an excurſion as far as the *Long Wall*, and take many Cities. 519. 2.

Abaſgi embrace the Chriſtian faith under *Juſtinian*. 486. 2.

Abdas Biſhop of *Perſia*. 373. 1.

Abdus ſon of *Abdus*, and *Edeſſen*, cured by *Thaddeus*. 15. 1.

Abgarus or *Agbarus* King of the *Edeſſens*, ſends a Letter to *Chriſt*. 14. 1 *Chriſt*'s anſwer to *Abgarus*. ibid.

Ablabius a Rhetorician and a Biſhop. 374. 2.

Abramius Biſhop of *Urimi*. 304. 1.

Acacius Biſhop of *Amida* melts down the ſacred Veſſels, and with their price redeems captives. 379. 2.

Acacius Biſhop of *Beræa* in *Syria*. 365. 2.

Acacius Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. 247. 1. His draught of the Creed 279. 1. He is depoſed in the Synod of *Seleucia*. 282. 2. He wrote *Euſebius Pamphilus*'s Life. 247. 1.

Acacius, after *Gennadius*, is ordain'd Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 433. 1. He is termed Patriarch and Arch-Biſhop in the Emperour *Baſiliſcus*'s Conſtitution. 452. 2. Alſo, in the Penitentiary Libel of the Biſhops of *Aſia*. 453. 2 what was tranſacted in his condemnation and depoſition. 459. 1, 2.

Acacius Biſhop of *Melitina* declares *Neſtorius*'s Blaſphemy in the Epheſine Synod. 404. 2.

Acacius Biſhop of *Ariarathia*. 438. 1.

Acacius and *Strategius*, Comites. 607. 2.

Aciſius Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts*. 215. 1.

Achillas Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 211. 1.

Achior the *Ammonite*. 10. 1.

Acœmeti, Monks ſo called. 459. 2.

Acts of *Pilate*. See *Pilate*.

Adaarmanes General of the *Perſians*, is by *Choſroes* ſent with an Army. 505. 1. beſieges *Antioch*. 505. 2. burns *Heraclea* and *Apamia*. ibid. is vanquiſhed by *Mauricius*. 512. 1.

Adamantius a Jewiſh Phyſician. 375. 2.

Adauctus a Martyr. 146. 1.

Addæus and *Ætherius* Senators, puniſhed with death. 500. 2.

Adrian. See *Hadrian*.

Adrianus and *Eubulus* Martyrs at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. 169. 1.

Ædeſius Brother to *Appianus*, a Martyr at *Alexandria*. 161. 2.

Ædeſius a Tyrian. 231. 2.

Ælia, that City heretofore term'd *Jeruſalem*. 21. 1. 52. 1.

Ælius Publius Julius Biſhop of *Develtum*. 84. 1.

Æmilianus Præfect of *Egypt*. 122. 1, 2.

Æmilius Frontinus Proconſul of *Aſia*. 83. 2.

Æſculapius's Temple at *Ægæ* in *Cilicia*. 597. 2.

Aetius an Heretick ſurnam'd *Atheus*. 270. 2. He is made Deacon by *Leontius*. ibid.

Aetius Arch-Deacon of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church. 446. 2. Primicerius of the Notaries. 435. 2.

Ævum has neither beginning, nor end. 671. 1. whence ſo called. ibid.

Africanus's Opinion concerning the diſagreement of the Goſpels in reckoning up our Saviour's Genealogy. 9. 1, 2. concerning the Hiſtory of *Suſanna*. 106. 2. His Books of *Chronography*, or *Annals*. ibid. A moſt learned man. 271. 1.

Agabus a Prophet. 17. 2. His prediction concerning the famine was compleated under *Claudius* 19. 2.

Agapius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. 138. 1.

Agapius and *Thecla* Martyrs of *Paleſtine*. 159. 1, 2.

Agapius and *Dionyſius*, Martyrs at *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. 159. 2.

Agathias the Rhetorician, His Hiſtory. 487. 1.

Agathobulus, two of that name, ſurnam'd the Maſters. 137. 1, 2.

Agbarus. See *Abgarus*.

Agelsus Biſhop of the Novatianiſts. 279. 1. 309. 1. 334. 2. 335. 1.

Agrippa made King of the *Jews* by *Caius*. 17. 2. He was alſo called Herod. ibid. and 19. 2. He kills *James* the Brother of our Lord. 19. 2. His death. 20. 1, 2.

Agrippa Son of King *Agrippa*, made King of *Judæa* by *Claudius*. 25. 2.

Agrippa Caſtor wrote againſt *Baſilides*. 52. 2.

Agrippinus Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 62. 2.

Alamundarus Governour of the *Saracens*. 378. 1.

Alamundarus King of the *Saracens*. 483. 2. Refuſes to give aſſiſtance to the *Romans*, though confederates. 512. 1. Is baniſhed by *Mauricius* into the Iſland *Sicilie*. 516. 1.

Alarichus King of the Goths, takes *Rome*. 373. 2. make *Attalus* Emperour. ibid.

Albinus Procurator of *Judæa*. 28. 2.

Alcibiades a Martyr of *Lyons*. 75. 1.

Alexander, the fifth Biſhop of *Rome* after the Apoſtles. 50. 1.

Alexander a Native of *Phrygia*, a Martyr at *Lyons*. 73. 1.

Alexander a *Montaniſt*, condemn'd for Robberies. 83. 1.

Alexander was Coadjutor to *Narciſſus* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 95. 2. and 96. 2. He founded an Eccleſiaſtick Library. 102. 2. He is crown'd with Martyrdom. 108. 2. 116. 2.

Alexander Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 211. 2. Having convened a Synod at *Alexandria*, condemns *Arius* and his followers. 211. 2. ſends his Synodick Letter to all the Biſhops. ibid. His Elogie. 220. 2.

Alexander Biſhop of *Antioch*. 373. 1.

Alexander Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 242. 2.

Alexander a Native of *Paphlagonia*, a *Novatianiſt*. 276. 1, 2.

Alexandrian Church, its Cuſtom. 347. 1.

Alexandrians, their humour Seditious and heady. 429. 2.

Allegorical Expoſitions of Sacred Scripture. 24. 1.

Alphæus and *Zacchæus* Martyrs of *Paleſtine*. 154, &c.

Amachius Preſident of the Province of *Phrygia*. 296. 1.

Ambroſius converted to the true faith by *Origen*. 100. 1. invites *Origen* to write, and ſupplies him with Notaries. 103. 1. was a Confeſſour under the Emperour *Maximinus*. 105. 2.

Ambroſius is ordained Biſhop of *Millain*. 324. 2.

Amida a City of *Meſopotamia*, taken by the *Perſians*. 470. 1.

Ammia, a Propheteſs. 82. 2.

Ammon, *Zeno*, *Ptolemæus*, *Ingenuus*, and *Theophilus* Martyrs at *Alexandria*. 111. 2.

Ammon, Father of the Monks of *Egypt*. 316. 2.

Ammonarium two women of that name, Martyrs at *Alexandria*. 111. 1.

Ammonius was a Chriſtian Philoſopher. 101. 2. His Books concerning the agreement of *Moſes* and *Chriſt*. ibid.

The INDEX.

Ammonius Biſhop of *Laodicea Piſidia*. 365. 2.
Ammonius, Dioſcorus, Euſebius, and *Euthymius*, Monks commonly called *The Long Monks*. 357. 2. they come to *Conſtantinople* 359. 2.
Ammonius a Monk. 319. 1.
Ammonius a Poet. 357. 1. He recited his Poem before the Emperour. ibid.
Amphilochius Biſhop of *Iconium*. 334. 2.
Anaſtaſian and *Caroſian Baths* at *Conſtantinople*, whence ſo termed. 309. 1.
Anaſtaſius Biſhop of *Rome*. 373. 2.
Anaſtaſius a Presbyter, *Neſtorius*'s Companion and Confident. 402. 2.
Anaſtaſius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* after *Juvenalis*, ſubſcribes to *Baſiliſcus*'s Circular Letters. 450. 2.
Anaſtaſius is choſen Emperour from being a *Silentiarius*. 464. 2. would ſuffer no innovation to be made in reference to the conſtitution of the Church. 465. 1. Ejects *Euphemius* and *Macedonius* Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*. 465. 2. His name, after his death, was raſed out of the ſacred Diptychs, or Tables. 469. 2 whilſt alive, he was Anathematized at *Jeruſalem*. ibid. He ordered theſe words to be added to the Hymn termed *The Triſagium*; *Who haſt been crucified on our account*. 476. 1.
Anaſtaſius ſucceeds *Domninus* in the Biſhoptick of *Antioch*. 497. 2. His Character. 498. 1. His anſwer to the Emperour *Juſtinian* 498 2. Alſo, his Letter to the Monks of both the *Syria*'s concerning the faith. ibid. His Fare-well-Speech to the *Antiochians*. ibid. He is ejected out of his See. 502. 2. He is reſtored. 526. 1.
Anathematize, what it is. 387. 2.
Anatolius Biſhop of *Laodicea*. 136. 1. His Book concerning Eaſter. 137. 1. He is firſt made Coadjutor by *Theotecnus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. 137. 2.
Anatolius Biſhop of *Berœa*. 304. 1.
Anatolius Maſter of the Milice throughout the Eaſt, builds *Anatolius*'s Porticus at *Antioch*. 415. 2.
Anatolius Senator, a wicked man, is convicted to have ſacrificed to Dæmons. 510. 1. He is caſt to the wild Beaſts in the Amphitheatre at *Conſtantinople*. 510. 2.
Anazarbus the Metropolis of the Second *Cilicia*, is ruined by an Earthquake. 481. 1. Being rebuilt by *Juſtinus* Senior, it is named *Juſtinopolis*. ibid.
Andreas the Apoſtle, Preaches the Goſpel in *Scythia*. 30. 1.
Androgyni the Prieſts of the *Nile*, deſtroyed by *Conſtantine*. 614. 2.
Anencletus Biſhop of the *Roman* Church. 38. 2.
Anicetus Biſhop of *Rome*. 54. 2 How highly he honoured *Polycarp*. 89. 1.
Annianus the Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 38. 2.
Anniauus is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* by the Synod of *Seleucia*. 280. 2.
Anniverſary or Nativity of the Publick Genius of the City *Cæſarea*. 169. 1.
Anomœi, Hereticks. 304. 1.
Anomœi and *Exucontii*. 283. 2. 284. 1.
Anteros Biſhop of *Rome*. 106. 1.
Anthemius is made Emperour of the *Romans* by *Leo Auguſtus*. 435. 2.
Anthemius Præfect of the Prætorium. 369 2.
Anthimus Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, an *Eutychian*. 481. 2. By *Severus*'s perſwaſion he leaves the See of *Conſtantiuople*. 482. 1. His Letters to *Theodoſius*. ibid. is ejected out of his See by *Juſtinian*. ibid.
Anthimus Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, is crowned with Martyrdom. 142. 2. 147. 2.
Anthropomorphitæ, Hereticks. 357. 2. 358. 2.
Antinous Servant to the Emperour Hadrian. 53. 1. *Hadrian* builds a City in honour of him, and inſtitutes Games. ibid. He is defied. 303. 1.
Antioch termed *Theopolis*. 403. 2. 480. 1. Colonies from the Greeks carried thither. 416. 2. Was ſhaken by a terrible Earthquake in the Reign of *Leo Auguſtus*. 433. 2. The Tetrapylum of *Antioch*. 434. 1. The Palace alſo and the Nymphæum. ibid.
Antiochus Biſhop of *Ptolemais*, by Preaching gathers a vaſt ſum of money. 360. 2.
Antipater Son of *Herod* the Aſcalonite, 8. 2. 10. 1. made Procurator of *Judæa* by *Hyrcanus*. 10. 1.
Antipater Biſhop of *Rhoſus*. 304. 1.
Antoninus, Zebinas and *Germanus*, Martyrs in *Paleſtine*. 165. 1, 2.
Antonius Biſhop of *Germa*. 385. 2. is killed by the *Macedoniani*. ibid.
Antonius a Monk. 233. 2. His Apophthegm, 318. 1.
Annulinus Proconſul of *Africa*. 193. 2.
Apelles, an Heretick. 79. 2.
Aphaca a place in *Phœnice*, infamous for the worſhip of *Venus*. 597. 1. 677. 1.
Apianus, a writer of the *Roman* Affairs. 513. 2.
Apion, wrote upon the Six-days-work. 89. 2.
Apocalypſe, whether written by Saint *John* the Evangeliſt, or by another. 130. &c.
Apollinaris Biſhop of *Hierapolis*. 66. 2. 290. 1. His Books. ibid. and 67. 1.
Apollinaries, two *Laodicæans*, Father and Son, 284. 1, 2. their Hereſie. ibid. Their Books. 296. 1, 2.
Apollinaris is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria* after *Zoilus*. 495. 1. He was preſent at the fifth *Conſtantinopolitan* Synod. 495. 1.
Apollonia a Virgin of *Alexandria*, is made a Martyr. 110. 1.
Apollonides an Heretick, corrupted the Books of Sacred Scripture. 90. 2.
Apollonius, an Eccleſiaſtick Writer. 82. 2.
Apollonius underwent an illuſtrious Martyrdom at *Rome*. 85. 1, 2.
Apollophanes, a Philoſopher. 101. 1.
Apoſtles, many termed ſuch, beſides the twelve. 13. 2.
Apoſtles and Chriſt, their images carefully preſerved. 126. 1, 2.
Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, determined nothing concerning the Feaſt of Eaſter. 345. 1.
Apphianus a Martyr in *Paleſtine*. 159. 2, &c.
Aquila of *Pontus*, rendred the Books of the Old Teſtament into Greek. 77. 2.
Aquilla Præfect of *Alexandria*. 92. 2. 94. 1.
Arabianus Biſhop of *Antros*. 304. 1.
Arabianus an Eccleſiaſtick Writer. 89. 2.
Arcadius is proclaimed *Auguſtus*. 334. 2.
Archelaus Son to *Herod*. 12. 1.
Archelaus's diſputation againſt *Manichæus*. 234. 2.
Archelaus, Conſularis of *Phœnice*. 239. 1.
Ardaba, a Town of *Phrygia*, *Montanus*'s Country. 81. 1.
Ardaburius Maſter of the Eaſtern Milice. 411. 2.
Ardaburius, a General of the *Romans*. 378. 1. is ſent into *Italy*. 381. 2.
Areobindus, a General of the *Romans*. 378. 2. vanquiſheth the *Perſians*. ibid.
Ares, Probus, and *Elias*, *Egyptiæus*, Martyrs in *Paleſtine*. 166. 1.
Arians were wont to call the Catholicks *Sabellians*. 235. 1.
Arians were termed Porphyrians. 221. 2.
Ariſtides wrote an Apology in defence of the Chriſtians. 51. 1.
Ariſtion and *John* the Presbyter or Elder, Diſciples of our Lord. 49. 2.
Ariſtobulus, King and High-Prieſt of the Jews. 8. 2.
Ariſtobulus, one of the Seventy Tranſlatours. 137. 2.
Ariſtonicus Biſhop of *Seleucia* upon *Belus*. 304. 1.
Ariſtotle's Book, entitled *Peplum*. 302. 2.
Arius and *Euzoius* preſent a Libel of faith to *Conſtantine*. 237. 1.
Arius aſſerts a new Opinion. 211. 1, 2. His followers. 212. 1. Their aſſertions. ibid. He writes a Book entitled *Thalia*. 221. 1. His Books are ordered to be burned. 221. 2. His fraud in ſubſcribing. 243. 1. His death. ibid.
Armatus kinſman to *Verina Auguſta*, is ſlain by *Zeno Auguſta*. 462. 2. His Son *Baſiliſcus*, from being *Cæſar*, is by *Zeno* compelled to be made a Presbyter. ibid.
Arſacius, Chryſoſtome being ejected, is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 366. 2.
Arſenius a Biſhop of the *Melitians*. 238. 2. Subſcribers to *Athanaſius*'s depoſition. 240. 1, 2.
Arſenius a Monk. 317. 1.
Arſenius is by *Zeno* advanced to be *Auguſtalis* and *Dux* of Egypt. 461. 2.
Artemon's Hereſie. 89. 2. The Author thereof was *Theodotus* a Tanner. 90. 1.
Aſcholius Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*. 331. 2.
Aſclepas Biſhop of *Gaza*. 251. 2. 261. 2.
Aſclepiades Biſhop of *Antioch*. 96. 2.
Aſclepiadotus an Heretick, diſciple to *Theodotus*. 90. 2. He mended the Books of Sacred Scripture. ibid.
Aſclepius a Biſhop of the *Marcionites*, was burnt for the faith of Chriſt. 166. 1.
Aſiaticus Dux of *Phœnice Libanenſis*. 469. 2.
Aſinius Quadratus, a Writer of *Roman*-affairs. 513. 2.
Aſpar Son to *Ardaburius*. 381. 2. He, together with his Sons, is ſlain by *Leo Auguſtus*. 436. 1.
Aſterius a *Sophiſt*. 242. 1. *Marcellus* Biſhop of *Ancyra* wrote against him. ibid.
Aſterius Comes of the Eaſt, quarrells with *Gregory* Biſhop of *Antioch*. 517. 2. He is killed in the Earthquake which ruined *Antioch*. 519. 1.
Aſturius a Martyr. 125. 2. 126. 1.
Ater a Martyr of *Alexandria*. 111. 1.
Athalaricus Son of *Theodoricus* King of the *Goths*. 486. 1.
Athanaſius Deacon of the *Alexandrian* Church. 216. 2. He is made Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 229. 1. He is caluminated by the *Euſebians*. 237. 2. is baniſhed into the *Gallia*'s. 242. 1. Goes to *Rome*. 256. 1. is reſtored in the *Serdican* Synod. 257. 2. Returns to *Alexandria*. 270. 1. dyes. 315. 2.
Athanaſius's Book of Synods. 227. 1. His Book concerning the Life of Saint *Anthony*. 233. 2. 317. 1. His Letter to his Acquaintance. 272. 2, &c. His Apologetick concerning his own flight. 291. 2.
Athanaſius Biſhop of *Ancyra*. 304. 2.
Athanarichus King of the *Goths*. 326. 1. He ſurrenders himſelf to *Theodoſius*. 334. 2.
Atttalus of *Pergamus*, a Martyr at *Lyons*. 70. 1, &c.

The INDEX.

Atticus Biſhop of *Synnada* in *Phrygia*. 102. 1.
Atticus is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 367. 1. His Character. 370. 1. He puts *Chryſoſtom*'s name into the *Diptycks* again. 382. 1.
Atticus Biſhop of *Nicopolis*. 443. 2.
Attis the ſame with *Adonis* and *Bacchus*. 302. 2.
Auguſtus Reigned ſeven and fifty years. 12. 1.
Avilius Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 38. 2.
Avitus Reigned eight Months. 428. 2.
Aurelianus preparing for a Perſecution, is ſmitten by Divine Vengeance. 135. 1. 660. 1.
Auſe the name of *Joſhua* the Son of *Nave*. 5. 1.
Auxentius an Arian, Biſhop of *Millain*. 272. 1. 274. 1. 324. 2.
Auxentius a Martyr in *Paleſtine*. 163. 1.

B.

Babylas Biſhop of *Antioch*. 106. 1. He died in Priſon. 108. 2. His Reliques tranſlated. 298. 1. 414. 2. A Church built in honour of the Martyr. ibid.
Bacchylides and *Epiſtus*. 64. 1.
Bacchyllus Biſhop of the *Corinthians*. 86. 1.
Bacurius an *Iberian*, *Dux* of *Paleſtine*. 233. 2. Maſter of the Milice. 351. 1.
Baptiſm the Seal of Chriſt. 40. 2.
Baptiſm of the ſick in Bed. 113. 2. Perſons ſo baptized, were not promoted to be Clergy-men. 114. 1.
Baradatus a famous Monk. 432. 1.
Barba Biſhop of the *Arians* at *Conſtantinople*. 372. 1.
Barchochebas Leader of the Jews. 51. 2. 53. 2. Perſecuted the Chriſtians. 53. 2.
Bardeſanes a *Syrian*. 67. 2.
Barlamenus Biſhop of *Pergamus*. 304. 1.
Barnabas, one of Chriſt's 70 Diſciples. 13. 2. His Epiſtle Apocryphal. 43. 1.
Barſanuphius, a famous Monk. 493. 1.
Barſumas a Monk, raiſes Sedition in *Syria*. 445. 2.
Bartholomew Preaches the Goſpel to the *Indians*. 78. 2.
Baſilicus a Marcioniſt. 79. 2.
Baſilides a Martyr. 94. 1.
Baſilides an Arch-Heretick. 52. 1. He wrote four and twenty Books on the Goſpel. 52. 2. He counterfeited two Prophets, *Barcabas* and *Barcoph*. ibid.
Baſilidians, Heretieks. 63. 2.
Baſiliſcus the Brother of *Verina* Wife to *Leo Auguſtus*, ſeizes the Empire, and makes his Son *Marcus Cæſar*. 449. 1. His Circular Letter againſt the Chalcedon Synod. 449. 2. His Anti-Circular Letter. 452. 2.
Baſilius Biſhop of Ancyra. 266. 1. diſputes againſt *Photinus*. 269. 1. is depoſed. 282. 1. 303. 2. 321. 1. &c.
Baſilius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. 310. 1. was a pillar of Truth. 318. 2.
Baſilius Biſhop of *Seleucia* in *Iſauria* was preſent at the Second Epheſine Synod. 424. 2.
Baſſianus and *Stephanus* Biſhops of *Epheſus* are depoſed, and another choſen in their place. 447. 2.
Beliſarius Maſter of the Milice in the Eaſt, vanquiſhes the *Perſians*. 483. 2. takes Carthage. 485. 1. takes *Rome*. 486. 1. Triumphs at his return out of *Africa*. 485. 2. Takes *Rome* again. 486. 2.
Bells made uſe in the Stews at *Rome*. 341. 1.
Benjamin Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 51. 2.
Beryllas Biſhop of *Boſtri*. 102. 2. 107. 1.
Beryllus Biſhop of *Philadelphia* in *Arabia*. 290. 1.
Berytus, *Biblus*, and *Tripolis*, Sea port Towns in *Phœnice*, are ruined by an Earthquake. 493. 2.
Beſas a Soldier, a Martyr at *Alexandria*. 111. 1.
Bethbera a very ſmall City of *Judæa*. 51. 2.
Biblias a Martyr at *Lyons*. 70. 2.
Biſhop's Chair. 106. 1.
Biſhops and Clergy ought to give the People a good example. 134. 2.
Biſhops are to be preferred before any Judge. 615. 2.
Biſhop of *Rome*, his authority. 248. 1. 263. 2.
Biſhops of *Rome*, their power. 374. 1.
Biſhops uſually wore a black Garment. 367. 2.
Bitus Biſhop of *Carræ*. 304. 2.
Bizua a Town of *Thracia*. 314. 1.
Blandina a Martyr at *Lyons*. 70. 1. 72. 1. 73. 2.
Blaſtus an Heretick. 80. 1. 84. 2.
Boane a Lake near *Nicomedia*. 435. 2.
Bonifacius Biſhop of *Rome*. 374. 1.
Bonoſus Biſhop of *Rome*. 509. 2.
Boſci, a ſort of Monks in *Paleſtine* that fed on the ground as Beaſts do. 418. 1.
Briſo Biſhop of *Philippopolis* in *Thracia*. 365. 2.
Briſo Eunuch to *Eudoxia Auguſta*. 364. 2.
Bryſia, places near *Antioch*. 518. 2.
Buddas, termed alſo *Terebinthus*. 234. 1. He wrote four Books. ibid.
Burgundians converted to the faith of Chriſt. 385. 1, 2.

C.

Cabaones a little King of the *Moors* near *Tripoly*. 484. 1. in what manner he vanquiſhed the *Vandals* in *Africa*. ibid.
Cæleſtinus: See *Celeſtinus*.
Cæſarea-Philippi, is by the *Phœnicians* called *Paneas*. 125. 2. a Statue erected there to Chriſt by a Woman whom Chriſt had cured. 126. 1.
Caius the Emperour, perſecuted the Jews moſt ſeverely. 18. 2. He ſeized upon their *Proſeuchæ*. ibid.
Caius an Eccleſiaſtical Writer flouriſhed under Pope *Zephyrinus*. 29. 2. His diſputation againſt *Proclus*. 102. 2.
Caius and *Alexander*, Martyrs at *Apamea*. 82. 1.
Caius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 79. 2.
Caius Biſhop of *Rome*. 135. 2.
Caius a Biſhop. 272. 2, &c.
Callicrates Biſhop of *Claudiopolis*. 303. 2.
Callinicus a *Melitian*. 238. 1.
Callendion is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*. 453. 2. writes Letters to *Zeno* and *Acacius* againſt *Peter Mongus*. 456. 2. is baniſhed to *Oaſis*. 457. 1.
Callirrhoe a place in *Judæa*, famous for warm-waters. 11. 2.
Calliſtus wrote the Actions of *Julian Auguſtus* in Heroick verſe. 299 2.
Calliſtus Governour of *Antioch* under *Theodoſius* Junior, built *Calliſtus*'s Porticus. 415. 2.
Candidus wrote upon the Six-days-work. 89. 2.
Capito Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 79. 2.
Carbuncle during the Reign of *Maximinus*, deprived many Perſons of their ſight. 175. 2.
Carpocrates Founder of the Sect of the *Gnoſticks*. 52. 2.
Carpocratians. 63. 2.
Carya a Houſe at *Conſtantinople*. 368. 1.
Caſſianus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 79. 1.
Caſſianus's Chronography. 97. 2.
Caſſius Biſhop of *Tyre*. 89. 1.
Cataphrygæ, Hereticks. 67. 1. the ſame with the *Montaniſtæ*. 273. 2.
Catholick Church is one, and always like and conſtant to it ſelf. 53. 1. Its accompliſhments. ibid.
Cavades King of the *Perſians*, breaks the League which the *Perſians* had made with the *Romans* in *Theodoſius* Junior's Reign. 470. 1. He is deſirous to give his Kingdom to *Choſroes* his youngeſt Son. 483. 1.
Cecropius Biſhop of *Sebaſtapolis*. 442. 1.
Celadion Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 54. 2.
Celerinus a Confeſſour, at firſt a follower of *Novatus*. 113. 1.
Celeſtinus Biſhop of *Rome*. 374. 1. His Letter to *Cyrillus*, *Johannes* and *Rufus*. 391. 2. and to *Neſtorius*. 403. 1.
Celſus Biſhop of *Iconium* in *Piſidia*. 102. 1.
Cephas, one of the 70 Diſciples of Chriſt. 13. 2.
Cerdo Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 40. 1.
Cerdo, an Heretick, flouriſhed at *Rome*. 54. 2.
Ceras a Bay of the Pontick Sea. 276. 2.
Cerinthus an Arch-Heretick. 44. 1. 130. 1. Saint *John* the Apoſtle avoids his company. 44. 2.
Chæremon a Philoſopher. 101. 2.
Chæremon Biſhop of the City *Nile*. 111. 2.
Chalcedon-Council. See Council.
Chalcedon, its Walls demoliſhed by *Valens Auguſtus*'s Order. 308. 1. The Biſhop thereof is made Metropolitane. 446. 2.
Charax a Writer of Grecian Hiſtory. 513. 2.
Chief-Prieſt. See *Pontif*.
Chriſt, His Divinity. 2. 2. In Chriſt two Natures. ibid. and 692. 1, 2. Chriſt was acknowledged and worſhipped by all the Prophets and juſt Men. 2. 2. Chriſt, under the ſhape of Man, appeared to *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Joſhua*. 3. 1. Chriſt's Kingdom is foretold by *Daniel*, that it ſhould come after the end of the World. 4. 2. The Name of Chriſt Venerable in ancient Times. 5. 1. Chriſt, the name of the Jewiſh High-prieſts and Kings. ibid. Chriſt's Prieſthood. 6. 1. Chriſt's Birth under *Auguſtus*. 7. 2. His Genealogy, as 'tis drawn by Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke*, reconciled. 9. 1. His Baptiſm under *Tiberius*. 12. 1. why he would die. 693. 1, 2. He is very God. 694. 2.
Chriſtian Religion was educated and flouriſh'd together with the *Roman* Empire. 66. 1. It conferred proſperity upon the *Roman* World. ibid.
Chriſtians, their name foretold by the Prophets. 6. 2. Their Religion very ancient. ibid. and 569. 1. A Chriſtian deſcribed. 6. 2. Name of Chriſtians began firſt at *Antioch*. 17. 2. whence aroſe the Crime of Inceſt and killing Infants, which was charg'd upon the ancient Chriſtians. 52. 2, &c. Name of Chriſtians common to Heretieks alſo. 55. 1.
Choſroes King of the *Perſians*, beſieges *Antioch* and other Cities of *Syria* 487. 2. At the cloſe of his Life he is Baptized. 490. 1. He burns *Melitina*. 509. 1.
Choſroes Son of *Hormiſda*, is choſen King of the *Perſians*. 522. 2. He flies to the *Romans*, and is adopted by the Emperour *Mauritius*

vicius. ibid. He is carried back to his Kingdom by the *Romans*. 523. 1. He gives a Golden Croſs to the Church of Saint *Sergius* the Martyr. 523. 2. He marries *Sira* a Chriſtian Woman, contrary to the *Perſian* Laws. 524. 1.
Chryſanthus Biſhop of the *Novatianiſts* at *Conſtantinople*. 372. 1. 374. 1.
Chryſaphius Protector to *Theodoſius*, an Enemy to *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 408. 2. 421. 2. why he was angry with *Flavianus*. 421. 2.
Chryſagyrum, a Tax aboliſhed by the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*. 470. 2, &c. It was paid by common Whores every fourth year. ibid. *Zoſimus* affirms this Tax to have been begun by *Conſtantine* the Great. 472. 1. *Evagrius* denies it. 472. 2, &c.
Chryſopolis, a City of *Bithynia*, a Sea-port of the *Chalcedonians*. 382. 2. 211. 1.
Chryſotelia, that is a Golden Tax, firſt brought up by *Anaſtaſius*. 474. 2, &c.
Church, its Gifts. 77. 1. 82. 2.
Churches, very large and ſpatious built by the Chriſtians before *Dioclesian*'s Perſecution. 140. 1.
Church of *Acacius* the Martyr at *Conſtantinople*. 368. 1.
Church at *Alexandria* termed *Cæſareum*. 376. 2. another Church there, called *Alexanper's*. 375. 1.
Church Anaſtaſia at *Conſtantinople*. 331. 1.
Church of the *Goths* at *Conſtantinople*. 376. 2.
Church is not wont fiercely to perſecute Hereticks. 370. 2.
Church, the diſturbance thereof is uſually accompanied with Tumults in the State. 329.
Church, its affairs depend on the will and appointment of the Emperours. ibid.
Church of *Rome*, its privilege. 251. 2.
Church of the B. Virgin Mary at *Antioch*, was called *Juſtinian's* Church, from the Builder's name. 512. 1. 518. 2.
Church Library firſt founded by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 102. 2.
Circeſium, a Caſtle which is begirt by the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Abora*. 505. 1.
Clarus Biſhop of *Ptolemais* in *Syria*. 89. 1.
Claudianus, a Noble Poet. 416. 1.
Clearchus Præfect of *Conſtantinople*. 308. 2.
Clemens, Saint *Paul's* Companion, the third Biſhop of *Rome*. 32. 1. 38. 2. His Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. 39. 1. 48. 2. He rendred St. *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* into *Greek*. ibid.
Clemens Alexandrinus. 78. 2. 271. 1. 290. 1. was Maſter of the Catechetick School at *Alexandria*. 94. 2. 96. 2. His Books. 97. 2.
Cleobians, Hereticks amongſt the Jews 63. 2.
Cleomedes is Deified. 302. 2.
Clopas or *Cleophas* was the Brother of *Joſeph*. 38. 1.
Cœle-Syria, afterwards named *Syria Secunda*. 467. 2.
Cœmeteries of the Chriſtians. 122. 2. 125. 1. Aſſemblies wont to be held in them. 172. 2.
Comentiolus by the Emperour *Mauricius* is ſent Maſter of the Milice into the Eaſt. 522. 1.
Comites of the firſt and ſecond Order. 606. 2.
Communion of the Laicks. 113. 2.
Conon, from being Biſhop of *Apamia*, becomes a Soldier in the Army of the *Iſauri*. 469. 2.
Conon Abbot of the Monaſtery of Saint *Saba* in *Paleſtine*. 495. 2.
Conſtantia Wife to *Licinius*, Siſter to *Conſtantine* the Great. 236. 1.
Conſtantianæ, Baths ſo called at *Conſtantinople*. 308. 1. 366. 2.
Conſtantinus Junior's Letter to the *Alexandrians*. 246. 2. His death. 247. 1.
Conſtantine ſaluted *Auguſtus* by the Soldiers. 149. 1. 209. 2. Sees the ſign of the Croſs in the Heavens. 210. 1. 540. 2. Erects the ſign of the Croſs in *Rome*. 177. 2. 544. 1. Invites his Subjects to Embrace Chriſtianity. 567. 1, &c. His Empire was not Bloody. 576. 1. He entertains the Biſhops at a Banquet. 581. 1. He forgives his Subjects the fourth part of the Tribute. 607. 1. On Eaſter-day he beſtows Alms on all Perſons. 613. 2. He aboliſhes the penalties of Single-life and want of Children. 614. 2, &c. during his Reign two Vices prevailed, Covetouſneſs and Hypocriſie. 614. 2. He is Baptized at *Nicomedia*. 618. 1. 243. 2. He dies on the day of Pentecoſt. 629. 2. His Funeral very ſplendid. 630. 1, &c. He was buried in the Church of *The Apoſtles*, 631. 2.
Conſtantine built two Churches at *Conſtantinople*, the one called *Irene*, the other *The Apoſtles*. 229. 2. 253. 1.
Conſtantius Chlorus Father to *Conſtantine* the Great, a moſt Religious Prince. 149. 1. He did not perſecute the Chriſtians. ibid. and 535. 1. His Clemency towards his Subjects. 535. 1. how he tryed their zeal for the Chriſtian Religion. 536. 2. when he died 209. 2.
Conſtantia a Mart-Town of the *Gazæi*. 618. 2.
Conſubſtantial, in what ſenſe to be taken. 304. 1.
Conſulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus*. 227. 2. of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, 244. 1.
Conſulate of *Acindynus* and *Proculus*. 247. 1. of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*. 248. 1. of *Conſtantius* III. and *Conſtans* II. 250. 2. of *Euſebius* and *Rufinus*. 257. 1. of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*. 264. 1, 266. 1. of *Conſtantius Aug.* VI. and *Gallus* II. 269. 2. of *Conſtantius* VII. and *Gallus* III. 270. 1. of *Arbetion* and *Lollianus*. ibid. of *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*. 278. 1. Of *Euſebius* and *Hypatius*. ibid. of *Conſtantius* X. and *Julian* III. 282. 2. of *Taurus* and *Florentius*. 283. 2. and 284. 2.
Conſulate of *Julian Aug.* IV. and *Saluſtius*. 299. 2.
Conſulate of *Jovian Aug.* and *Varronianus*. 304. 2.
Conſulate of *Valentinian Aug.* and *Valens Aug.* I. 306. 1, 2. of *Gratianus* and *Dagalaifus*. ibid. of *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*. 310. 1. of *Valentinian* II. and *Valens* II. ibid. of *Valentinian* III. and *Valens* III. 313. 2. of *Gratianus* II. and *Probus*. 315. 2. of *Valens Aug.* V. and *Valentinian* Junior I. 327. 1. of *Valens* VI. and *Valentinian* Junior II. 328. 1.
Conſulate of *Auſonius* and *Olybrius*. 330. 1. of *Gratianus Aug.* V. and *Theodoſius* I. 331. 1. of *Merobaudes* and *Saturninus*. 337. 1. of *Richomeres* and *Clearchus*, 337. 2. of *Arcadius Aug.* and *Bauton*. ibid. of *Theodoſius Aug.* II. and *Cynegius*. 338. 1. of *Tatianus* and *Symmachus*. 341. 1. of *Theodoſius* III. and *Abundantius*, 250. 2. of *Arcadius* III. and *Honorius* II. 351. 1. of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*. ibid.
Conſulate of *Cæſarius* and *Atticus*. 352. 2. of *Honorius* IV. and *Eutychianus*. 353. 1. of *Stilichon* and *Aurelianus*. 367. 1. of *Honorius* VI. and *Ariſtænetus*. 366. 2. of *Stilichon* II. and *Anthemius*. 367. 1. of *Arcadius Aug.* VI. and *Probus*. ibid. of *Honorius* VII. and *Theodoſius* II. 367. 2. 372. 1. of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*. 368 2. of *Honorius* IX. and *Theodoſius* Junior V. 372. 1. of *Honorius* X. and *Theodoſius* VI. 376. 2. of *Monaxius* and *Plintha*. 377. 1. of *Honorius* XIII. and *Theodoſius* X. 379. 2. of *Aſclepiodotus* and *Marinianus*. 381. 1.
Conſulate of *Theodoſius* Junior XI. and *Valentinianus Cæſar*. I. 383. 2. of *Theodoſius* Junior XII. and *Valentinianus Aug.* II. 383. 2. of *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*. 384. 2. of *Felix* and *Taurus*. ibid. of *Theodoſius* Junior XIII. and *Valentinianus* III. 385. 2. of *Baſſus* and *Antiochus*. 387. 2. of *Theodoſius* XIV. and *Maximus*. 391. 1. of *Areobindus* and *Aſpar*. ibid. of *Iſidorus* and *Senator*. 393. 1. of *Theodoſius* XVI. and *Fauſtus*. 393. 1. and 357. 1. of *Theodoſius* XVII. and *Feſtus*. 394. 2.
Coracio an *Egyptian*, confuted by *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*. 130. 1.
Cornelius a *Centurion*, the firſt of the Gentiles that was baptized by *Peter*. 17. 2.
Cornelius Biſhop of *Antioch*. 63. 1.
Cornelius Biſhop of *Rome*. 108. 2. His Letter againſt *Novatus*. 223. 1.
Cornelius Gallus the firſt Præfect of Egypt 473. 2.
Cornutus a Philoſopher. 101. 2.
Coſmas Biſhop of *Epiphania* in *Syria*, refuſing to conſent to *Severus's* Synodick Letters, ſeparates from his communion, and ſends him a Libel of depoſition. 469. 1.
Councils always ſummoned by the Emperours authority, ſince they became Chriſtians. 329.
Councils in *Aſia* againſt *Montanus's* Hereſie. 81. 2.
Councils, their uſefulneſs and neceſſity. 547. 2.
Council in *Paleſtine* concerning the celebration of Eaſter day. 86. 2.
Council at *Rome* under Pope *Victor*, concerning the ſame queſtion. ibid.
Council of the Biſhops of *Pontus* about the ſame affair. ibid.
Council of the Biſhops in *Gallia* about the ſame thing. ibid.
Council of the Churches of *Oſdroena* and *Meſopotamia*. ibid.
Council in *Arabia* againſt the Errours of *Beryllus*. 107. 1. Another Council in *Arabia*. 108. 1.
Council at *Rome* againſt *Novatus*. 112. 2.
Council of *Africk* againſt *Novatus*. ibid.
Council at *Antioch* about the Lapſed, and concerning *Novatus's* Opinion. 116. 1, 2.
Council at *Iconium* and *Synnada* concerning re-baptizing Hereticks 119. 2.
Council of *Antioch* againſt *Paul* of *Samoſata* 132. 2.
Council at *Rome* about the Cauſe of *Cæcilianus*. 194. 2.
Council at *Orleance* concerning the ſame matter. ibid.
Council at *Alexandria* under *Athanaſius*. 290. 1.
Council at *Alexandria* under *Theophilus*, againſt *Origen's* Books. 360. 1.
Council at *Antioch*. 248. 1. Draught of the Creed publiſhed there. 249. 1.
Council at *Antioch*, celebrated by *Acacius*. 283. 2.
Council at *Antioch* under *Jovianus*. 303. 2.
Council of *Arminum*. 271. 2.
Council of *Conſtantinople*. 242. 1.
Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Conſtantius*. 281. 1.
Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Theodoſius*. 331. 2, &c.
Council of *Conſtantinople* againſt *John Chryſoſtome*. 365. 2.
Council of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorius*. 387. 1. 403. 1, &c.
Council at *Jeruſalem*. 240. 2. A ſecond Council at *Jeruſalem*. 263. 1.
Council of the *Macedoniani* at *Antioch*. 330. 2.
Council of the *Macedoniani* at *Lampſacus*. 306. 1.
Council at *Millain*. 271. 1.
Council of *Nice*, or *Nicæa*. 577. 2, &c. two reaſons thereof. 215. 2. the Canons. 227. 1. Subſcriptions of the Biſhops, day and year when held. ibid. its Synodick Letter. 219. 1, &c.

The INDEX.

Council at *Nice* in *Thracia*. 275. 2.
Council of *Novatians* in the Village *Bazum*. 324. 1.
Council of *Novatians* at *Sangarum*. 344. 1.
Council at the Oak againſt *John Chryſoſtome*. 363. 2.
Council at *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*. 278. 1. it was divided into two parts, as was the *Ariminum* Council. 278. 2.
Council at *Sardica*. 256. 2.
Council of the Biſhops of *Sicily*. 312. 2.
Council of *Sirmium*, 266. 1. Draught of the Creed publiſhed there. 266. 2, &c.
Council of *Tyre*. 239. 1. Depoſes *Athanaſius*. 240. 1.
Council of *Conſtantinople* under *Juſtinian*, on what account convened. 495. 2. The matters tranſacted therein. 496. 1, &c.
Council at *Epheſus*, the ſecond there, over which *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* preſided. 408. 2. therein *Eutyches* is reſtored, and *Flavianus* condemned. 409. 1.
Council at *Chalcedon*, and the affairs tranſacted there. 421. 2. 423, &c. the Draught of the Creed publiſhed there. 425. 1, 2. An Epitome of the Acts of that Council. 437, &c.
Council of the Biſhops of *Aſia* in the City *Epheſus* under *Baſiliſcus*. 451. 1. the ſupplicatory-Libel preſented by them to *Baſiliſcus*. ibid.
Creed, the Draught of *that* publiſhed in the *Nicene* Council. 217. 1. 218. 2.
Creeds, how many were ſet forth. 281. 2.
Creſcens is ſent into the *Gallia*'s by Saint *Paul* the Apoſtle. 32. 1.
Creſcens a *Cynick* Philoſopher. 60. 1, 2.
Cronius a Philoſopher. 101. 1.
Croſs, the ſign thereof ſalutary and vivifick. 556 2. 678. 1. *Conſtantine* uſed to ſeal his face with the ſign thereof. 576. 2. He ſet up the ſign of the Croſs in the Palace. 593. 2. Sign of the Croſs, the Defence and Guard of the Empire. ibid. the Amulet of Dæmons. 674. 1. its power and efficacy. 679. 2, &c.
Croſſes of *Silver* in the Church. 359. 1.
Croſs, the ſalutary and vivifick wood thereof, in the City *Apamea*. 488. 1.
Cubit of the *Nile* carried to *Serapis*'s Temple. 230. 2. *Conſtantine* orders it to be carried into the Church. ibid.
Culcianus a fierce perſecutor of the Chriſtians, is ſlain. 181. 2.
Curs a *Scythian*, commands the right wing of the *Roman* Army, and routs the *Perſians*. 508. 1. He makes an irruption into the *Perſians* Country, and winters there. 509. 1.
Cynegica, a Region not far from *Antioch*. 467. 2. 497. 2.
Cyprſana, ſo the *Carthaginians* termed the Feaſt-day of Saint *Cyprian* 485. 1.
Cyprianus the Biſhop. 112. 2. was of opinion that Hereticks ought to be re-baptized. 117. 2, &c.
Cyrillus Biſhop of *Antioch*. 135. 2.
Cyrillus is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 372. 2. His power more than Sacerdotal. ibid. He drives the Jews out of *Alexandria*. 375. 2. He writes to *Neſtorius*. 403. 1. He preſides in the Synod of *Epheſus*. 404. 1. His Letter to *John* Biſhop of *Antioch*. 405. 1.
Cyrillus is ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 276. 1. being depoſed, appeals to a greater Synod. 280. 1.
Cyrinus Biſhop of *Chalcedon*. 363. 2. dies by a putrified wound. 366. 2, &c.
Cyrus King of the *Perſians*. 532. 1.
Cyrus Biſhop of *Beræa*. 235, 2.
Cyrus Præfect of the *Prætorium*, famous for his Poetry. 416. 1.

D.

Dacidizus, a Sea-port. 314. 2.
Dadaſtana a place in the Confines of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*. 304. 2.
Dalmatius the *Cæſar*. 263. 2.
Dalmatius the *Cenſor*, Son to *Conſtantine*'s Brother. 238. 2.
Damas Biſhop of *Magneſia*. 47. 2.
Damaſus is ordained Biſhop of *Rome*. 324. 1.
Damophilus or *Demophilus* what he wrote concerning the City *Rome*. 515. 2.
Daniel the Prophet, his praiſe. 651. 2, &c.
Daras in *Meſopotamia*, is built by the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, in the Frontiers of the *Perſians* and *Romans*. 470. 1, 2. is beſieged by *Choſroes*. 505. 2, &c. and is taken. 506. 1. is reſtored to the *Romans*. 523. 1.
Deacons, ſeven of them ordained by the Apoſtles. 15. 2.
Decius the Emperour's Edict againſt the Chriſtians. 110. 2. His death. 660. 1.
Decuriones enrolled in the Regiſters of the *Curia*, were Senators as 'twere. 475. 1.
Dedication of the Martyrium, or *Jeruſalem* Church. 621. 2.
Demetrianus Biſhop of *Antioch*. 116. 2. 118. 1.
Demetrius Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 86. 1.
Demophilus. See *Damophilus*.
Demophilus a Biſhop. 272. 1. 273. 2.
Demophilus is made Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 313. 2. is ejected by *Theodoſius*. 331. 2.
Deſcription of the Church at *Tyre*. 188, &c.
Deſcription of the *Jeruſalem* Church. 589, &c.
Deſcription of the *Dominicum* at *Antioch*. 594. 1. 680. 1. of the Church of the Apoſtles at *Conſtantinople*. 626. 1.
Deſpoſyni, by that name the kindred of our Saviour were called, as were likewiſe thoſe deſcended from them. 10. 1. They came from *Nazara* and *Cochaba*. ibid.
Dexippus an Hiſtorian, wrote the Wars of the *Scythians*. 513. 2.
Didymus a blind Man. 320. 1. Three Books of his concerning the Trinity. 320. 2.
Didymus a Monk. 317. 1.
Digamiſts by ſome not admitted to the Sacrament. 348. 1.
Diocæſarea a City of *Paleſtine*. 270. 1.
Dio Caſſius brought down the *Roman* Hiſtory as far as the Empire of *Antoninus Heliogabalus*. 513. 2.
Diocleſian's Edicts againſt the Chriſtians. 141. 1. 143. 2. 154. 1. He and *Maximianus Herculsus* reſign the Empire. 209. 2. *Diocleſian* runs mad. 148. 2. 660. 1. He dies at *Salona*. 210. 2.
Diodorus Siculus an Hiſtorian, continued his Hiſtory to the Times of *Julius Cæſar*. 513. 2. He wrote an Epitome of Libraries. 690. 1.
Diodorus Biſhop of *Tarſus*. 334. 1.
Diodorus from being a Monk is made Biſhop of *Tarſus*. 354. 1.
Diogenes Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, was preſent at the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. 438. 1.
Diomedes the *Silentiarius*. 432. 1.
Dionyſia a Martyr of *Alexandria*. 111. 1.
Dionyſius Areopagita, the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*. 32. 1.
Dionyſius Biſhop of *Corinth*. 64. 1. His Catholick Epiſtles. ibid.
Dionyſius Biſhop of *Rome*. 120. 1. 132. 1.
Dionyſius the *Ex-conſularis* 620. 2.
Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis. 513. 2. 690. 2.
Dionyſius Alexandrinus, *Origen*'s diſciple, was maſter of the *Alexandrian* School. 106. 1. is ordained Biſhop. 107. 2. for the faith of Chriſt is baniſhed to *Tapoſiris*. 109. 1. His Books. 116. 1, 2. 126. 2. 132. 1. He is baniſhed to *Cephro*. 122. 2. He dies in the Reign of *Gallienus*. 133. 1.
Dionyſius's Book entitled *Corona*. 302. 2.
Dionyſius Biſhop of *Alba* in *Italy*. 271. 1.
Dioſcorus a Confeſſor. 111. 1.
Dioſcorus a Presbyter of the *Alexandrian* Church. 124. 1.
Dioſcorus Biſhop of *Alexandria*, preſided at the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. 408. 2. He depoſes *Flavianus* and *Euſebius*. 409. 1. He is condemned in the *Chalcedon* Council. 424. 2. He is baniſhed to *Gangra*. 426. 2. A Libel of depoſition is ſent to him. 441. 2. He was not depoſed on account of the faith. 446. 1.
Diſciples of Chriſt, their order and names are no where found written. 13. 2.
Dius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 96. 1.
Dius, *Fauſtus*, and *Ammonius* Presbyters of the *Alexandriau* Church, Martyrs. 148. 1.
Docetæ, Hereticks. 97. 1.
Doctrines, or Inſtitutions of the Apoſtles, an Apocryphal Book. 43. 1.
Dolichianus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 76. 2.
Dominica, ſo the Churches conſecrated to the Lord Chriſt are named. 698. 1.
Dominica Auguſta, *Valens*'s Wife. 322. 1. 329. 2.
Domitian, the ſecond Perſecutor of the Chriſtians. 39. 1. He iſſued out an Edict, and ceaſed the Perſecution. 40.
Domitianus Biſhop of *Melitina*, Kinſman to the Emperor *Mauricius*. 523. 1. His commendation. ibid.
Domitilla for the faith of Chriſt is baniſh'd into the Iſland *Pontia*. 39. 1.
Domninus a Martyr. 163. 1.
Domninus ſucceſſor to *Ephræmius* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*. 495. 1. was preſent at the Fifth *Conſtantinopolitane* Synod. 495. 2.
Domnus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*. 125. 1.
Domnus Biſhop of *Antioch*. 134. 2.
Domnus ſucceſſor to *Johannes* in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, is depoſed in the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. 409. 2. comes to *Symeones* the *Stylite*. 410. 2.
Dorotheus a Presbyter of the *Antiochian* Church. 135. 2.
Dorotheus, one of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor. 139. 2. 142. 1. is crowned with Martyrdom. 142. 2.
Dorotheus Biſhop of the *Arians* at *Antioch*. 330. 1. is tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*. 337. 2.
Doſitheus Founder of the Sect of the *Doſitheans*. 63. 2.
Doſitheus Biſhop of *Seleucia*, then of *Tarſus*. 389. 1.
Dracilianus Vicarius to the *Præfects Prætorio*. 224. 1. 587. 2.
Dracontius Biſhop of *Pergamus*. 282. 1.
Duſares and *Obadas*, Gods of the *Arabians*. 689. 1.
Dux of *Phœnices*. 173. 2.
Dyrrachium, anciently called *Epidamnus*, is ruined by an Earth-quake. 481. 1.

E.

Eaſter, obſerved by thoſe of *Aſia*, on the fourteenth day of the Moon. 86. 1, 2. the Diſſenſion concerning the Celebration of *Eaſter*, continued

tinued till the *Nicene* Council. 577. 1. The *Nicene* Council's Decree concerning *Easter-day*. 582. 2. *Easter-day* was kept by the Ancients, from usage and custom. 346. 1.
Ebionites, Hereticks, who they were. 43. 2, &c. why so called. ibid.
Ecclesiasticks, their degrees of Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops. 24. 1. 143. 1. of Readers and Exorcists. ibid.
Ecebolius the *Sophist*. 285. 2. His Levity in changing his Religion. 295. 1. He is termed an ill Sophist by *Libanius*. 300. 2.
Edessa a most Christian City. 16. 1.
Edessa a City of *Mesopotamia*. 314. 2.
Edessa a City of *Osdroena*, is drowned by the overflowing of the *Scirtus*. 481. 1. is rebuilt by *Justinus Senior*, and named *Justinopolis*. ibid. An Image of Christ, not made with hands, is kept there. 489. 1.
Egyptians do boast, that Geometry, Astronomy, and Arithmetick were first found out amongst them. 688. 2.
Elæa a Village, in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*. 383. 2.
Elephantina a Town in the Frontiers of *Thebais*. 407. 2.
Eleusinus Bishop of the second *Cappadocia*. 466. 1.
Eleusius Bishop of *Cyzicus* 276. 1. 279. 2. is deposed in the *Constantinopolitan* Synod. 282. 1.
Eleutherus Bishop of *Rome*. 68. 75. 1. 76. 2.
Elpidius Bishop of *Satala*. 282. 1.
Empire of *Rome* when first divided. 148. 2. 171. 1.
Emperour's Office, what it is. 448. 1.
Encratitæ, their Heresie. 67. 1.
Ennathas a Virgin, Martyr'd in *Palestine*. 165. 2.
Enoch, his Apocryphal Book. 137. 2.
Ephorus and *Theopompus*, Writers of Græcian History. 513. 2.
Ephræmius Comes of the East under *Justinus*. 480. 1. He is chosen Bishop of *Antioch* by the Citizens, to whom he came in the time of the Earth-quake. ibid. and 487. 2. 494. 2.
Ephres Bishop of *Jerusalem*. 51. 2.
Epimachus and *Alexander*, Martyrs at *Alexandria*. 111. 1.
Epimenides the Cretian, an Initiator. 297. 1.
Epiphanius's Book, entitled *Ancoratus*. 350. 1.
Epiphanius Bishop of *Cyprus*, having assembled a Synod of Bishops, condemns *Origen*'s Books. 360. 1. comes to *Constantinople*. 361. 2. Holds assemblies, and ordains there, without the consent of *John Chrysostome*. ibid.
Epiphanius Bishop of *Tyre*, refuses subscribing to *Severus*'s Synodick Letter. 468. 2.
Epiphanius Bishop of *Constantinople*. 482. 2. 485. 1.
Episcopal Jurisdiction 390. 1.
Epistle of the Monks of *Palestine*, to *Alcison* the Bishop. 427. 2. 465. 2. 468. 2.
Eros Bishop of *Antioch*. 63. 1.
Eruli converted to Christianity, under *Justinian*. 486. 2.
Essæans, Hereticks of the Jews. 63. 2.
Estha first of all married to *Matthan*, then to *Melchi*. 9. 2.
Evagrius is ordained Bishop of *Antioch*. 338. 2.
Evagrius Bishop of *Constantinople*. 313. 2. is banished. 314. 1.
Evagrius Bishop of *Mytilene*. 280. 2.
Evagrius Bishop of *Siculi*. 304. 1.
Evagrius a Monk. 291. 1. 317. 2. wrote two Books, the one entitled *The Monk*, the other *The Gnostick*. ibid. His Book entitled *The Practick*. 318. 2. A passage quoted out of that Book termed *The Gnostick*. ibid.
Evarestus Bishop of *Rome*. 47. 1.
Eucharist, those that received it, said *Amen*. 114. 2. what was left of it, at *Constantinople* was given to Boys, to be eaten and drank. 494. 2.
Eudæmon a *Melitian*. 238. 1.
Eudæmon a Presbyter. 342. 2.
Eudocia an *Athenian*, Wife to *Theodosius* Junior. 380. 1. 416. 1. She wrote Poems. 380. 1. She comes to *Antioch*. 416. 2. The *Antiochians* bestow a Brazen Statue on her. 417. 1. She goes to *Jerusalem*, to pay her Vow. 417. 1. She converses with the Monks that lived there. 419. 2. She builds Saint *Stephen*'s Church at *Jerusalem*. ibid.
Eudocia Junior, Daughter to *Valentinianus Placidus* and *Eudoxia*, Marries *Hunericus* Son to King *Geizericus*. 428. 2.
Eudoxia Theodosius Junior's Daughter. 392. 2. 416. 2. She Marries *Valentinianus Placidus*. 392. 2. 416. 2. After *Valentinian*'s death she Marries *Maximus*. 428. 2. She calls *Geizericus* out of *Africk*. ibid.
Eudoxia Augusta, her Silver Statue. 365. 1.
Eudoxius Bishop of *Germanicia*. 254. 2. Seizes upon the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. 271. 2. is deposed. 280. 2. is ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*. 282. 2. dies. 313. 2.
Euelpis a Laick, Preaches in the Church. 102. 1.
Evethius a Bishop. 311. 2.
Eugenius sets up for a Tyrant in the West. 350. 1. is slain. 351. 1.
Eulogius, after *Johannes*, is ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*. 509. 2. 526. 1.
Eumenes Bishop of *Alexandria*. 51. 2.
Eunomians don't baptize into the Trinity, but into the death of Christ. 350. 1.
Eunomius, *Aetius*'s Notary. 271. 1. is made Bishop of *Cyzicus*. 307. 1. writes Comments on Saint *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Romans*. ibid. Separates himself from *Eudoxius*. 313. 1.
Eunomius Bishop of *Nicomedia* contends with *Anastasius* Bishop of *Nicæa* about some Cities. 447. 2.
Eunuch to Queen *Candace*, was the first that Preach'd the Gospel to the *Ethiopians*. 16. 2.
Eunus, call'd also *Cronion*, a Martyr at *Alexandria*. 110. 2.
Euodius the first Bishop of *Antioch* after Saint *Peter*. 40. 1.
Euphemia, the Martyr's Church at *Chalcedon*. 356. 1. is described 422. 1, &c. two Miracles performed there. ibid.
Euphemius, after *Fravita*, is ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*. 462. 1. He is banished. 465. 2.
Euphrasius is ordained Bishop of *Antioch*. 479. 1. He is buried in the Earth quake at *Antioch*. 479. 2.
Euphronius a Presbyter, born at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. 602. 2.
Euphronius is ordained Bishop of *Antioch*. 236. 2.
Euprepius's Monastery near *Antioch*. 406. 1.
Eusebius a Deacon of the *Alexandrian* Church, afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*. 124. 2. 136. 1.
Eusebius Pamphilus Bishop of *Cæsarea*, his Letter to the *Cæsareans* concerning the *Nicene* Synod. 217. 2, &c. He drew up a Draught of the Creed, and proposed it to the *Nicene* Synod. 218. 1. How he explains the term *Homoousios*. 218. 2. He wrote three Books against *Marcellus*. 258. 1. He was no *Arian*. ibid. &c. He wrote the History of the Church from the Apostles times, to those of *Constantine*. 472. 2. He made a Speech in the *Nicene* Synod, in praise of *Constantine*. 529. 1, 2. He spake another Oration in the *Palace* to the Emperour *Constantine*, on his *Tricennalia*. ibid. and 622. 1. The *Antiochians* invite him to be their Bishop. 599. 2. *Constantine* commends him for refusing that Bishoprick. 602. 1. He recited an Oration before *Constantine* in the Palace. 617. 1. He wrote against *Porphyrius*. 302. 1. and *Constantine*'s Life. 209. 1. and 345. 2.
Eusebius Emisenus. 248. 2.
Eusebius Bishop of *Samosata*. 304. 1.
Eusebius Bishop of *Nicomedia*, writes Letters to many Bishops, in favour of *Arius* and his followers. 211. 2. He is angry with *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*. 213. 2. He is translated to the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. 247. 2. He dies. 250. 2.
Eusebius Provost of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor, favoured the *Arians*. 246. 1. He is put to death. 287. 1.
Eusebius Scholasticus, Scholar to *Troilus* the Sophist. 357. 1.
Eusebius Bishop of *Vercellæ*. 271. 1. 289. 2. a defender of the true Faith. 293. 2.
Eusebius and *Theognius* subscribed to the *Nicene* Creed, but would not subscribe to the Anathematism. 228. 2. being banished on that account, they presented a penitentiary Libel to the Bishops. 228. 1.
Eusebius Bishop of *Dorylæum*, accuses *Eutyches*. 408. 1. His Libel presented to the Emperour against *Dioscorus*. 423. 2, &c.
Eusebius Bishop of *Ancyra*, was present at the *second Ephesine* Synod. 424. 2.
Eusebius, a Writer of the *Roman* History, from *Augustus* to the death of the Emperour *Carus*. 513. 2.
Eustathius Bishop of *Antioch*, ordains *Evagrius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. 313. 2. He is banished by *Valens*. 314. 1.
Eustathius Bishop of *Antioch* accuses *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*. 235. 2. He is deposed in the Synod at *Antioch*. ibid. He is accused by *Cyrus* Bishop of *Berœa*. ibid.
Eustathius Bishop of *Antioch*, finds fault with *Origen*. 362. 1.
Eustathius Bishop of *Sebastea*, 278. 2. is suspended from Communion. 280. 2. He is deposed in the *Constantinopolitan* Synod. 282. 1, &c.
Eustathius Epiphanienſis, a writer of History. 514. 1. He closes his History on the 12th year of the Emperour *Anastasius*. 470. 1.
Eustathius Bishop of *Berytus*, wrote a Letter to *Johannes* a Bishop, concerning the affairs transacted in the *Chalcedon* Synod. 421. 1. He was present at the *second Ephesine* Synod. 424. 2.
Eustochius Bishop of *Jerusalem*. 493. 1. He succeeded *Macarius*. 495. 1. He drove the *Origenists* out of the *New Laura*. 495. 2.
Eutychius, a Bishop. 280. 2.
Eutyches. 408. 1.
Eutychianus Bishop of *Rome*. 135. 2.
Eutychianus, a Novatian Monk. 226. 2. His Miracles. ibid.
Eutychian Hereticks have corrupted many Books of the Ancient Fathers, and have fathered many of *Apollinaris*'s Books on *Athanasius*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and *Julius*. 466. 2.
Eutychius Disciple to *Eunomius*, coyn's a new Opinion, 350. 1.
Eutychius, after *Menas*, is ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*. 495. 1. He had before been *Apocrisarius* to the Bishop of *Amasia*. 496. 1. He is ejected out of his See. 497. 2. He is restored. 509. 2.
Eutropius Præfect of the Imperial Bed-chamber. 355. 1. the first and the onely Eunuch that was ever made Consul. ibid.
Euzoius is made Bishop of *Antioch*. 283. 1. is sent to *Alexandria*. 316. 1. He dies. 317. 1.

F.

Fabian Biſhop of *Rome*. 106. 1.
Fabius Biſhop of *Antioch*. 108. 2.
Fadus Procurator of *Judæa*. 20. 2.
Familiar-ſpirits, or paredri. 52. 2.
Famine takes away baſhfulneſs. 33. 1.
Fate and Fortune, empty names only. 639. 2. 641. 1.
Fauſtus, *Euſebius*, and *Chæremon*, Deacons of the *Alexandrian* Church. 122. 1.
Fauſtus a Martyr under *Dioclesian*. 124. 2.
Feaſt of Our Lord's Aſcenſion. 383. 2.
Feaſt of Our Lord's Nativity. 365. 2.
Felix Procuratour of *Judæa*. 25. 2.
Felix Biſhop of *Rome*. 135. 2.
Felix, from being a Deacon, is ordained Biſhop of *Rome*. 275. 2.
Felix the Pope, ſucceſſour to *Simplicius*, ſends a Depoſition to *Acacius*. 459. 1. *Acacius* did not acknowledge that depoſition. 459. 2. He ſends *Vitalis* and *Miſenus* Legates to *Zeno Auguſtus*. ibid.
Feſtus Procurator of *Judæa*. 25. 2.
Firmilianus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. 105. 2. 116. 1. 118. 1.
Firmilianus Preſident of *Paleſtine*. 163. 2. is beheaded. 169. 1.
Firmus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. 374. 2.
Flaccillus, or, *Placitus* Biſhop of *Antioch*. 248. 1.
Flavianus Preſident of *Paleſtine*. 154. 1.
Flavianus is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*. 374. 2. a difference amongſt the Biſhops on account of his Ordination. 376. 2. He appeaſes the anger of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. 338. 2.
Flavianus, after the death of *Proclus*, is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 408. 1. He condemns *Eutyches* in a Synod aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*. ibid.
Flavianus is ordained *Palladius*'s ſucceſſour in the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*. 462. 2. He is ejected by the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*. 465. 2 He is baniſhed to *Petræ* a Town in *Paleſtine*. 467. 1, 2.
Florentius Biſhop of *Sardis*. 440. 1.
Florinus a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, falls into Hereſie. 80. 1. 84. 2.
Florus Procurator of *Judæa*. 30. 2.
Florus Dux and Prefect of *Alexandria*. 426. 2.
Fravita is ordained *Acacius*'s ſucceſſour in the See of *Conſtantinople*. 461. 2.
Fravitus a *Goth*, a perſon of great valour. 327. 1.
Friſtigernes, Leader of the *Goths*. 326. 1.
Frumentius is created the firſt Biſhop of the *Indians*. 232. 1, 2.

G.

Gainas General of the Souldiers. 356. 1. endeavours to turn Tyrant. ibid. He is declared a publick enemy. 356. 2.
Galates Son to *Valens Auguſtus*. 322. 1.
Galilæans, their Sect. 8. 1.
Galla the Wife of *Theodoſius*. 325. 2. the Mother of *Placidia*. ibid.
Gallus is created Cæſar. 265. 2. He is ſlain. 270. 1.
Geioræ or *Georæ*, whom the *Jews* called by that name. 10. 1.
Gelimeres King of the *Vandals*, is taken by *Belliſarius*. 485. 2 lying proſtrate before *Juſtinian* ſitting in his Throne in the Cirque, what he ſaid. ibid.
Gennadius ſucceeds *Anatolius* in the *Conſtantinopolitan* See. 433. 1.
Georgius made Presbyter of *Alexandria* by *Alexander*. 60. 1.
Georgius is made Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 251. 1. His cruelty. 264. 2, &c. He is killed. 288. 1.
Georgius Biſhop of *Laodicea*, wrote a Commendation of *Euſebius Emiſenus*. 235. 1. 248. 2.
Germanicus a Martyr at *Smyrna*. 56. 2.
Germanio Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 96. 1.
Germinius Biſhop of *Sirmium*. 271. 1, 2. 273. 2.
Gladiators, their Shows forbid by *Conſtantine*. 614. 1.
Glycerius, after *Olybrius*, is made Emperor of *Rome*. 476. 1. He is ordained Biſhop of *Salonæ*. ibid.
Golanduch, an holy Woman. 523. 1.
Gordius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 96. 1.
Gorgonius, of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor. 137. 2. He is crowned with Martyrdom. 142. 2.
Gortheus Founder of the Sect of the *Gortheans*. 63 2.
Goſpel according to the *Hebrews*. 44. 1. 50. 2. 63. 2. Goſpel *Syriack*. 63. 2.
Goſpel termed *Diateſſaron*, made up of the four Evangeliſts. 67. 2.
Goths divided into two parties. 326. 1. why they became *Arians*. ibid.
Gratian is proclaimed Emperour. 310. 1. His Law againſt the *Photinians*, *Eunomians*, and *Manichæans*. 330. 1.
Grecian Learning was not forbidden to the Chriſtians, either by Chriſt, or his Apoſtles. 276. 2. the Advantage and uſefulneſs thereof. ibid. and 297. 1.
Gregorius Thaumaturgus, diſciple to *Origen*. 106. 1. His Oration in praiſe of *Origen*. 322. 2.
Gregorius Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 248. 2. 250. 1.
Gregorius Biſhop of *Nazianzum*. 310. 1. 321. 2. He is made Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 322. 1. 330. 2. His Oration againſt the Gentiles. 301. 1.
Gregorius Niſſenus, Brother to *Baſil* the Great. 322. 2.
Gregorius from being a *Monk* is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*. 503. 1. His Character. 503. 2. He is accuſed for having been preſent at the ſacrifices to Dæmons. 510. 1. He is accuſed a ſecond time, of Inceſt, and becauſe he had burnt the *Annona*. 518. 1. He is acquitted in a Synod at *Conſtantinople*. ibid. His Speech to the *Roman* Souldiers who had made a Mutiny. 520. 1, &c. He reconciles the *Roman* Souldiers to the Emperour, and to their Commander. 521. 1. and frees them from the raſh Oath they had taken ibid.
Gregorius is ordained Biſhop of *Rome* after *Pelagius*. 525. 2.

H.

Hadrian the Emperor, his Reſcript to *Minucius Fundanus* in favour of the Chriſtians. 53. 2.
Hegeſippus when he flouriſhed. 53. 1. His Books. 63. 1, 2.
Helceſaits, Hereticks. 108. 1.
Helena Queen of the *Adiabeni* furniſhes the *Jews* with Corn. 21. 1. Her Sepulchre near *Jeruſalem*. ibid.
Helena a whore, *Simon Magus*'s Companion. 21. 2.
Helena Auguſta Mother to *Conſtantine*, goes to *Bethlehem* to pray. 591. 1. comes to *Jeruſalem*. 229. 1. builds two Churches there. 591. 2. Her piety and bountifulneſs. 592. 1. She finds the Sepulchre and Croſs of our Lord. 229. 2. 230. 1. She builds three Churches in honour of Our Lord. 230. 1. Her death and burial. 592. 2, &c. 230. 2. *Drepanum* is from her termed *Helenopolis*. 229. 1.
Helenus Biſhop of *Tarſus*. 118. 1.
Helius ſucceeds *Saluſtius* in the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*. 495. 1.
Helion is ſent Embaſſadour to the *Perſians*. 379. 1. He is ſent into *Italy*. 382. 1.
Heliodorus Biſhop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. 118. 1.
Heliodorus Biſhop of *Trica* is *Theſſalia*. 347. 2.
Heliopolites, their Law. 231. 1.
Helladius and *Ammonius*, *Alexandrians*, *Grammarians*. 339. 1, 2.
Helladius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. 333. 2.
Hemerobaptiſts, an Hereſie amongſt the *Jews*. 63. 2.
Heraclas, *Origen*'s diſciple. 92. 2. *Origen* chuſes him his Aſſiſtant and Companion in teaching. 96. 1. He ſtudied Philoſophy and Grecian Learning. ibid. and 101. 2.
Heraclas a Presbyter wore a Philoſophick Pallium. 101. 2. He is made Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 105. 2. His Fame. 106. 2, His Rule about receiving Hereticks. 119. 2.
Heraclea a City of *Syria*, formerly called *Gagalice*. 505. 2.
Heraclides Origen's diſciple, a Martyr. 93. 2.
Heraclides Deacon to *John Chryſoſtome*, is preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Epheſus*. 351. 1.
Heraclitus wrote Comments on the Apoſtle. 89. 2.
Heraclius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 284. 1.
Herais a Catechumen, ſhe was a Martyr. 93. 2.
Herennius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 284. 1.
Hereticks were not ſo bold as to broach their Errours till after the death of the Apoſtles. 46. 2. they are divided into manifold kinds of Errours. 53. 1. The Sects of Hereticks deſtroy one another. ibid. Their Converſe is to be avoided. 56. 1. Hereticks have corrupted the Books of Sacred Scripture. 90. 2. Their Books muſt be read with Caution. 119. 1.
Hermas's Book called *Paſtor*. 31. 2. 43. 1. 77. 2.
Hermogenes Maſter of the Milice is ſlain at *Conſtantinople*. 250. 2.
Hermon Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 138. 2.
Hermogenes an Heretick. 65. 1.
Hermophilus an Heretick mended the Books of Sacred Scripture. 9. 2.
Herod the Great, no *Jew* but a Foreigner. 8. 1. by Father's ſide an *Idumæan*, by his Mother's, an *Arabian*. 8. 2. made King of the *Jews* by the *Roman* Senate and *Auguſtus*. ibid. and 10. 1. burnt the *Jews* Genealogies, and why. ibid. ſlays the infants of *Bethlehem*. 10. 2. His diſeaſe deſcribed. 11. 1, His Largeſs to his Souldiers. 11. 2. orders his Siſter *Salome* to kill the chief of the *Jews* whom he had impriſoned, at his death. ibid. puts three of his own Sons to death. ibid. Reſolves to kill himſelf. ibid. His death. ibid.
Herod Junior, Son to *Herod* the Great, kills *John* the Baptiſt. 17. 1. He and his Wife *Herodias* are baniſh'd by *Caius*. 17. 2. He was preſent at Our Saviour's Paſſion. ibid.
Herod Eirenarch of *Smyrna*, Son to *Nicetes*. 57. 2.
Herodian a Writer of *Roman* Hiſtory. 513. 2.
Heron, *Origen*'s diſciple, a Martyr. 93. 2.
Heron and *Iſidorus*, Egyptian Martyrs. 111. 1.
Heros Biſhop of *Antioch*. 48. 1.
Heſychius, *Pachumius*, and *Theodorus*, Biſhops and Martyrs. 148. 1.
Hierapolis the Metropolis of the Province *Euphratenſis*. 523. 1.
Hieroglyphick Letters found in *Serapis*'s Temple. 339. 2.
Hierophilus Biſhop of *Plotinopolis*. 389. 1.
Hilarius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 284. 1.
Hilarius Biſhop of *Poictiers*. 293. 2.

Hippolytus a Biſhop. 102. 2. His Books 103. 1.
Holy Ghoſt. See Spirit.
Homonœa, or *Concordia*, the Name of a Church at *Conſtantinople* 435. 1.
Honoratus Præfect of *Conſtantinople*. 281. 1.
Honorius is proclaimed *Auguſtus*. 350. 2.
Hormiſda Son to *Choſroes*, ſucceeds his Father in the Kingdom. 509. 1. The *Perſians* headed by *Varamus* conſpire againſt him. 522. 2.
Hoſius Biſhop of *Corduba*. 195. 1. 214. 1. 266. 1. 269. 1, 2. was preſent at the *Nicene* Council. 578. 1.
Hunericus or *Onoriſchus* King of the *Vandals*, perſecutes the Catholicks in *Africk*. 460. 1. 483. 2.
Hunni deſtroy *Armenia*. 352 1.
Hunni heretofore called *Maſſagetæ*. 449. 1.
Hyginus Biſhop of *Rome*. 54. 1. the ninth ſucceſſor of the Apoſtles ibid.
Hymenæus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 125. 1. 133. 1.
Hypatia a Philoſophereſs. 376. 1. She is barbarouſly murdered. 376. 2.
Hypatianus Biſhop of *Heraclea*. 266. 1.
Hyperichus a Biſhop. 311. 2
Hypoſtaſis and *Ouſia*, how they may be ſpoken concerning God. 390. 2, &c.
Hyrcanus Prince of the *Jews* taken by the *Parthians*. 8. 2.

I.

James the Brother of our Lord, one of the 70 Diſciples. 13. 2. 16. 1. is created Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 16. 1. ſurnamed *James* the Juſt. ibid. alſo ſurnamed *Oblias*. 27. 2. His Martyrdom. ibid. His Catholick Epiſtle. 29. 1. His Chair kept with great care. 126. 2.
Iberians converted to the Chriſtian faith, when and how. 232. 2.
Jeruſalem-Church was termed a Virgin. 63, 2.
Jeruſalem, its laſt Siege and Famine deſcribed. 32, &c.
Jews firſt under *Judges*, after that under *Kings*; after the Captivity they were an *Ariſtocracy* with an *Oligarchy*: at length became Tributaries to *Rome*. 8. 2. They had the names of their Anceſtors written out in ancient Rolls. 10. 1. They had a ſacred Treaſury called *Corban*. 19. 1. Their Seven Sects. 63. 2. the deſtruction of the Jews under *Veſpaſian*. 35. 1. They endeavour to rebuild their Temple. 298. 2. *Hadrian* forbids them to enter *Jeruſalem*. 52. 1.
Ignatius the ſecond Biſhop of *Antioch* after Saint *Peter*. 40. 1. 47. 1. His Epiſtles are reckoned up. 47. 2. He ſuffered Martyrdom at *Rome*. ibid. By *Theodoſius* Junior's order, his Reliques are removed into the City *Antioch*. 413. 2.
Illus and *Leontius* rebell againſt *Zeno*. 464. 1.
Index of the Books of the *Old Teſtament*. 66. 2. 104. 1, 2.
Indians converted to the faith of Chriſt, when, and how. 231. 2.
Inmeſtar, a place in *Syria*. 377. 1.
Innocentius Biſhop of *Rome*. 333. 2.
Johannes, or *John*, two of them lived at the ſame time in *Aſia*. 49. 1, 2.
John the Apoſtle Preach'd in *Aſia*. 30. 1. died at *Epheſus*. ibid. was baniſhed into the Iſland *Patmos*. 39. 1. returned from thence after *Domitian*'s death, and governed the Churches of *Aſia*. 40. 1, 2. for what reaſon he wrote his Goſpel. 42. 1, 2. 105. 1. He wore a plate of Gold. 87. 1.
Johannes a Reader, is beheaded for the faith of Chriſt. 170. 1. His wonderful memory. ibid.
Johannes a Presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*. 352. 1. is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 353. 1. His deſcent and education. ibid. and 353. 2. His courſe of Life and diſpoſition. 354. 2. He was wont to Preach ſitting in the Pulpit. 355. 2. His death. 367. 1.
Johannes is ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 338. 2.
Johannes Biſhop of *Proconneſus*. 389. 1.
Johannes the Chief of the Notaries, ſets up for a Tyrant. 381. 2.
John the Apoſtle's Church ſeven Miles from *Conſtantinople*. 356. 2.
John Chryſoſtom's Opinion concerning the Admiſſion of Penitents. 367. 2.
Johannitæ, ſo they were called who took *John Chryſoſtom*'s part. 366. 2. at length they were re-united to the Church by *Proclus*. 393. 1.
Johannes Biſhop of *Antioch*. 387. 1. 403. 2. coming to the Council the fifth day after *Neſtorius*'s Condemnation, aſſembles a Synod, and depoſes *Cyrillus*. 404. 2. is reconciled to *Cyrillus* 405. 1.
Johannes the Rhetorician an Hiſtorian. 413. 2. 434. 1. 464. 2. cloſed his Hiſtory under *Juſtinus* Senior. 479. 2.
Johannes from being Steward is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 455. 1. is ejected by *Zeno Auguſtus*'s order. ibid. flyes to *Rome* to Pope *Simplicius*. 456. 2.
Johannes, after *Athanaſius*, is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 462. 2.
Johannes Biſhop of *Paltum*, a Defender of the *Chalcedon* Synod is baniſhed. 467. 1.
Johannes Scytha and *Johannes Gibbus*, Maſters of the Milice, vanquiſh the *Iſauri*. 469. 2.
Johannes the Chuzibite a Monk in *Paleſtine*. 480. 2.
Johannes Scholaſticus, *Eutychius* being ejected, is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. 497. 2.
Johannes Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 526. 1.
Johannes called *Catelinus*, ſucceſſor to *Vigilius* in the Biſhoprick of *Rome*. 497. 2.
Johannes ordained *Appollinaris*'s ſucceſſor in the See of *Alexandria*. 509. 2.
Johannes ſucceeds *Macarius* in the See of *Jeruſalem*. ibid.
Joſephus the Hiſtoriographer. 36. 2. His Books. 37. 1, 2.
Joſeph Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 51. 2.
Jovianus is choſen Emperor. 299. 2. makes a peace with the *Perſians*. 300. 1. dies. 304. 2.
Irenæus a Presbyter of *Lyons*. 75. 1. is made a Biſhop. 76. 1. His Books. 84. 2. 89. 1, when a youth he was an Hearer of *Polycarp* at *Smyrna*. 85. 1. He writes to Pope *Victor*. 87. 2. 345. 1.
Irenæus a Grammarian Wrote a Lexicon. 291. 2.
Irenæus of *Tyre*, and *Aquilinus* of *Biblus*, Biſhops, are depoſed in the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. 409. 1.
Irenæus Comes of the Eaſt under *Juſtinus* Senior. 479. 1.
Irenius Biſhop of *Gaza*. 304. 2.
Iſacoces Biſhop of *Armenia* the Great. 304. 1.
Iſaurica, Donatives which the Emperor gave yearly to the *Iſaurians*. 470. 1.
Iſchyras aſſumes to himſelf the Office of a Presbyter. 238. 2. is made a Biſhop by the *Arians*. 257. 1.
Iſchyrion is killed for the faith of Chriſt. 111. 2.
Iſdigerdes King of the *Perſians*. 373. 1. Father to *Vararanes*. 415. 2.
Iſidorus a Presbyter of *Alexandria*. 353. 1. hated by *Theophilus*, and why. 359. 2.
Iſidorus Peluſiota. 413. 1.
Iſion a *Meletian*. 238. 1.
Judas of *Galile* or *Gaulonites*. 8. 1.
Jude one of the Brethren of Chriſt. 39. 2.
Judas Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 51. 2.
Judas an Eccleſiaſtick Writer. 94. 2.
Julianus Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 78. 2.
Julianus Biſhop of *Apamia*. 82. 1.
Julianus a Martyr at *Alexandria*, under *Decius*. 110. 1.
Julianus a Martyr with *Pamphilus*. 168. 2.
Julianus created *Cæſar*. 270. 1. He is Saluted *Auguſtus*. 286. 1. 284. 2. His Education. 286. 1. He recites his Orations in the Court. 287. 2. wrote againſt the Chriſtians. ibid. His Book entitled *The Cæſars*. ibid. perſecutes the Chriſtians. 295. 1. His *Miſopogon* or *Antiochicus*. 298. 1. His Book concerning the *Cynick* Philoſophy. 301. 2. He is ſlain. 299. 2.
Julianus Biſhop of *Lebedus*. 438. 1.
Julianus Biſhop of *Boſtri*, refuſes ſubſcribing to *Severus*'s Synodick Letters. 469. 1.
Julius Cæſar takes five hundred Cities. 473. 1.
Julius Biſhop of *Rome*, wrote a Letter to the *Eaſterns*. 253. 2. His Letter to the *Alexandrians*. 260. 2, &c. Sate Biſhop fifteen years. 270. 2.
Juſtina Auguſta, Mother to *Valentinian* Junior, favours the *Arians*. 337. 1.
Juſtinianus, Siſter's Son to *Juſtinus*, is by him proclaimed *Auguſtus*. 482. 2. a defender of the *Chalcedon* Synod. ibid. His Wife *Theodora* is an Enemy to that Synod. ibid. His Conſtitution, wherein he Anathematizes *Anthimus* and *Severus* and their Aſſociates. 483 1. deſtroys the Kingdom of the *Vandals* in *Africk*. 485. 1. His inſatiable covetouſneſs. 491. 2 He favours the Faction of the *Veneti ani*, and perſecutes the *Praſiani*. 492. 2. He falls into the Hereſie of the *Aphthartodocetæ* 497. 2.
Juſtinianus Brother to *Juſtinus*, is ſent Maſter of the Milice againſt the *Perſians*. 508. 2. He is turned out of Commiſſion by *Tiberius*. 511. 1.
Juſtinus the Philoſopher. 53. 2. His Martyrdom. 60. 1, 2. His Books. 62. 1, 2.
Juſtinus Senior, after the death of *Anaſtaſius*, is proclaimed Emperour. 477. 1. He orders the *Chalcedon* Synod to be aſſerted and maintained throughout all Churches 481. 2.
Juſtinus Junior, *Juſtinian*'s Siſter's Son, from being *Curopalates* is made Emperour of the *Romans*. 499. 1. an effeminate and diſſolute Perſon, and inſatiably Covetous. 499. 2. His Wife *Sophia Auguſta*. 500. 2. He kills his kinſman *Juſtinus*, ibid. His Edict to all Chriſtians concerning the Faith. 501, 1, &c. He runs mad. 506. 1.
Juſtus Tiberienſis, an Hiſtorian. 37. 2.
Juſtus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 47. 1. Another *Juſtus* Biſhop of the ſame place. 51. 2.
Juſtus ſurnamed *Barſabas*. 49. 2.
Juſtus Biſhop of *Alexandria*. 49. 2.
Juvenalis Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. 387. 1. was preſent at both the *Epheſine* Synods. 408. 2. He was preſent at the *Chalcedon* Synod. 403. 1.

Labarum

The INDEX.

L.

Labarum described, 541. 1, 2. fifty Soldiers were appointed to to guard it, 554. 2.
Lætus Præfect of *Egypt*, 91. 2.
Laicks, the Bishops entreating them, did sometimes Preach in the Church, 102. 1.
Lamydrion a Presbyter, 304. 2.
Laodicea in *Asia* was the place where the question about *Easter* was started, 65. 2.
Latronianus Corrector of *Sicily*, 194. 2.
Lauræ and Monasteries in *Palestine*, 417. 2. the Monks manner of living there. ibid.
Lauricius Commander in chief of the Soldiers in *Isauria*, 278. 1.
Legio fulminea, or Thundering Legion, whence it had that name, 75. 2, &c.
Læonas Comes of the Palace, 278. 1.
Lent-Fast variously observed amongst the *Ancients*, 88. 1, 2. 346. 1, 2.
Leonides a Martyr, *Origen*'s Father, 91. 1.
Leontius Bishop of *Ancyra*, 365. 2.
Leontius Bishop of *Antioch*, 264. 1.
Leontius Bishop of *Comani*, 303. 2.
Leontius Bishop of *Tripolis*, 280. 2.
Levi Bishop of *Jerusalem*, 51. 2.
Libanius and *Julianus* the eminentest of all Sophists, 417. 1.
Libanius the Sophist teaches Rhetorick at *Constantinople* and *Nicomedia*, 285. 2. Two Orations of his, 297. 2. His Funeral Oration upon *Julian*, 300. 1.
Libel supplicatory presented to *Leo* by the Bishops of *Egypt* and Clergy of *Alexandria*, against *Timotheus Ælurus*, 430. 1, &c.
Liberius Bishop of *Rome*, 270. 2. is banished, 275. 2. His Letter to the Bishops of the *Macedoniani*, 311. 2, &c.
Licinius raises a War against *Constantine*, 196. 1. 547. 2. persecutes the Christians, 196. 1. 551. 2. His Covetousness. 196. 2. 545. 1. He is vanquished by *Constantine* and *Christ*. 197. 2. 556. 2. He prohibits the Synods of Bishops, 547. 2.
Licinius is made Emperor by *Galerius*, 210. 1. *Constantine* Marries his Sister to him, 210. 2. He persecutes the Christians in the East, ibid. He is vanquished by *Constantine*, and soon after slain. 211. 1.
Linus the first Bishop of *Rome*, 31. 1. 32. 1.
Litarba a place three hundred furlongs distant from *Antioch*, 520. 1.
Longinus a Philosopher, 101. 1.
Longinus an *Isaurian*, rebels against the Emperor *Anastasius*, 469. 2.
Longinus Selinuntius chief of the *Isauri*, ibid.
Long-wall of the *Cherronesus* falls down by an Earthquake, 414. 2.
Long-wall built by the Emperor *Anastasius*, 470. 2.
Lucianus a Presbyter of *Antioch*, 147. 2. a Martyr, 174. 1.
Lucianus Bishop of *Arces*, or *Arcenus*, 304. 2.
Lucifer Bishop of *Caralis*, 289. 2. He founds a Schism and an Heresie of his own name, 293. 1.
Lucius a Martyr at *Rome* under *Pius*, 62. 1.
Lucius Bishop of *Rome*, 117. 2.
Lucius is by the *Arians* made Bishop of *Alexandria*, 289. 2.
Lucius Bishop of *Hadrianople*, 251. 2. 264. 1.
Lucuas Leader of the *Jews*, 50. 2.
Lupus Præfect of *Egypt*, ibid.
Lusius Quietus having vanquished the Jews, obtains the Government of *Palestine*, ibid.

M.

Macar a Martyr at *Alexandria*, 111. 1.
Macarius an *Egyptian* Monk, a different Person from *Macarius* of *Alexandria*, 217. 2.
Macarius of *Alexandria* a Monk. ibid.
Macarius a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, 238. 1.
Macarius is ordained *Peter*'s successour in the See of *Jerusalem*, 495. 1. He is ejected out of that See, on account of *Origen*'s Doctrine, ibid. He is restored, 497. 2.
Macedoniani, Hereticks, assemble Synods often, 293. 2. Their Embassy to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, 310. 2. The Libel of Faith which they presented to him, 311, &c.
Macedonius is ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* by the *Arians*, 247. 2. His bloody Installation, 252 2. He persecutes the Orthodox. 264. 2. He removes the Emperor *Constantine*'s Reliques into another Church, 277. 2. Whereupon happened a Sedition at *Constantinople*, ibid. He is deposed in a Synod at *Constantinople*, 282. 1. He founds a Heresie called by his own name, 382. 1, 2.
Macedonius Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, 254. 2.
Macedonius, *Theodulus*, and *Tatianus* Martyrs in *Phrygia*, 296. 1.
Macedonius Bishop of *Constantinople*, 465. 2. 467. 1. He is ejected, 467. 2. 4 6. 2.
Macrianus the Emperor *Valerian*'s Præfect, 121. 1. turns Tyrant. 129. 1.
Magi a sort of People in *Persia*, 372. 2.
Magnentius turns Tyrant, 263. 2. being worsted kills himself, 269. 2.
Magnus, made Master of the Milice, is sent against the *Persians*, 506. 1.
Magnus Bishop of *Chalcedon*, or *Chalcis*, 433. 1.
Magnus Comes of the sacred Largesses, or Treasurer, 304. 1.
Majorianus Emperor of *Rome*, 429. 1. is slain by *Recimeres* Master of the Milice, ibid.
Malchion a Presbyter of *Antioch*, disputed against *Paul* of *Samosata*. 133. 1.
Mammianus, from being a Sedentary Mechanick becomes a Senator, 464. 2. is termed a *Lover of the City*, on account of his Structures, ibid.
Mancipes, so the *Romans* termed the Præfects of the *Pistrina*, 340 2.
Manes, 135. 2. called also *Cubricus*, 234. 1. His Tenets. ibid.
Manichæans, their Heresie, 135. 2. They and the Montanists take away the subsistence of The Word, 387. 1.
Manlius Torquatus kills his own Son, who had disobeyed command, 520. 2.
Manna fell from Heaven in the time of a Famine, 428. 1.
Mantinium a Town of *Paphlagonia*, 277. 1.
Marathonius Bishop of *Nicomedia*, 276. 1. 283. 2, &c.
Marcelliani, Hereticks, 311. 1.
Marcellinus Bishop of *Rome*, 135. 2.
Marcellus Bishop of *Ancyra*, 248. 1. His opinion. ibid. and 255. 2. He is restored in the Synod of *Sardica*, 256. 2.
Marcianus Bishop of the *Macedoniani* at *Lampsacus*, 332. 1.
Marcianus Bishop of the Novatianists at *Constantinople*, 394. 1.
Marcianus a Novatian Presbyter. 309. 1. taught *Valens*'s Daughters, ibid. Bishop of the Novatianists at *Constantinople*, 343. 2.
Marcianus the Emperour, a Native of *Thracia*, the signs of his being Emperour, 420. 1, 2. His commendation, 421. 1. He is chosen Emperour by the perswasion of *Pulcheria Augusta*, ibid.
Marcianus Son to the Emperour *Anthemius* sets up for a Tyrant against *Zeno*, 463. 2. He is banished to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and afterwards to *Tarsus*, and being shaven is ordained a Presbyter.
Marcianus by *Justinus* Junior is sent Master of the Eastern Milice against the *Persians*, 504. 2. besieges *Nisibis*, ibid.
Marcion of *Pontus* an Arch-Heretick, 54. 2. Marcionists, 63. 2.
Mark Companion to *Peter*, wrote his Gospel at *Rome*, 22. 2. 98. 2. that Gospel was afterwards approved of and confirmed by Saint *Peter*, ibid. *Mark* goes into *Egypt* and Preaches the Gospel there, ibid. He was Interpreter to Saint *Peter*, 49. 2. He was the first Bishop of *Alexandria*, 29. 1. He wrote his Gospel after Saint *Peter*'s death, 77. 1, 2.
Marcius Turbo vanquishes the Jews in many fights, 50. 2.
Marcus Bishop of *Jerusalem*, 52. 1.
Marcus an Heretick, 54. 2.
Marcus Bishop of *Alexandria*, ibid.
Marcus Bishop of *Arethusa*, 254. 1. 266. 2.
Mareotes a region Subject to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, 238. 1.
Maria a Lake near *Alexandria*, 23. 1.
Marianæ a Suburb near *Constantinople*, 364. 2.
Mary of the same Tribe with her Husband *Joseph*. 10. 2.
Mary a Jewish Woman, eats her own Son in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, 34. 2.
Marinus Bishop of *Tyre*, 118. 1.
Marinus a Martyr at *Cæsarea*, 125. 1.
Marinus Bishop of *Berytus*, 468. 2.
Marinus a *Syrian*, *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* under *Anastasius*, vanquishes *Vitalianus* in a Sea-fight, 475. 2.
Maris Bishop of *Chalcedon*, 237. 2. 250. 2. 254. 1. 281. 1. 294. 2.
Martyr, that name due only to Christ, 74. 2. Martyrs were disciples and followers of Christ, 59. 2. the honours of Martyrs, 647. 2. Martyrs honoured by Christians, 57. 2. their Reliques carefully preserved, ibid. Their Birth-day celebrated yearly, ibid. they are Christ's Assessours, 112. 1. the humility of the Martyrs, 74. 2. their kindness towards the lapsed, ibid.
Martyrs amongst the Hereticks, 82. 1.
Martyrs spoke when their Tongues were cut out, 484. 1.
Martyrius Bishop of *Antioch*, 411. 2.
Martyrius Bishop of *Jerusalem*, sent Synodick Letters to *Petrus Mongus*, 457. 2.
Martyropolis delivered up to the *Persians*, 521. 2. it is restored to the *Romans*, together with its Betrayer *Sittas*, 523. 1.
Maruthas Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, 363. 2. 372. 2. is sent Embassador to the King of the *Persians*, ibid.
Masbotheus Founder of the Sect of the *Masbothæans*, 63. 2.
Matthew wrote a Gospel to the *Hebrews* in their own language, 42. 1. 50. 2. 77. 1. 78. 2. 104. 2. He Preached in *Æthiopia*, 231. 2.
Matthias the Apostle, one of Christ's Seventy Disciples, 13. 2. 15. 1. His Preaching and Doctrine, 45. 1.
Matthias Bishop of *Jerusalem*, 51. 2.
Maturus a *Neophyte*, Martyred at *Lyons*, 70. 1.
Mavia Queen of the *Saracens*, 327. 1. 329. 2.
Mauricius made Master of the Milice by the Emperour *Tiberius*, is sent against the *Persians*, 511. 1. born at *Arabissus* a City of *Cappadocia*, ibid. His Morals and disposition, ibid. The signs of

his being made Emperor, 512. 1. He is created Emperor by *Tiberius*, 512. 2. from the Emperor *Tiberius*, he is named *Tiberius*, and his Wife is called *Conſtantina*, ibid. His Wedding is deſcribed, 515. 1, 2.
Maxentius turns Tyrant at *Rome*, 149. 2. 210. 1. at the beginning of his Empire, by an Edict he ſtops the perſecution of the Chriſtians, ibid. His wickedneſs and cruelty, ibid. and 210. 2. and 542. 1. He is vanquiſhed by *Conſtantine*, 177. 1, 2. 210. 1.
Maximianus Galerius the Author and Beginner of the Chriſtians perſecution, 151. 2. 153. 2. 545. 2. In what manner he was ſmitten by divine Vengeance, 151. 2. His Retraction, or Edict about reſtoring Peace and Liberty to the Chriſtians, ibid. His Death, 153. 1. creates two *Cæſars*, *Severus* and *Maximinus*, 209. 1. Proclaims *Licinius Auguſtus*, 210. 1.
Maximianus Herculius hang'd himſelf, 149. 1.
Maximianus is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 388. 1.
Maximinus's Drunkenneſs and Luſt, 150. 1, 2. the bloodieſt of all the Perſecutors, 159. 2. 181. 1. He waged a War with the *Armenians*, 175. 2. is vanquiſhed by *Licinius*, 179. 2. He declares himſelf *Auguſtus*, 149. 1. is very ſuperſtitious and fearful, 150. 1, 2. covetous alſo and prodigal, ibid.
Maximinus Biſhop of *Antioch*, the ſeventh Biſhop there from the Apoſtles, 65. 1.
Maximus an Eccleſiaſtick Writer, 89. 2.
Maximus a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, and a Confeſſour, 113. 1.
Maximus a Presbyter of the *Alexandrian* Church, 122. 1. 124. 2. afterwards Biſhop of *Alexandria*, ibid. and 133. 1.
Maximus Biſhop of *Boſtra*, 132. 2.
Maximus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 248. 1. ſubſcribes to *Athanaſius*'s depoſition in the Council of *Tyre*, ibid.
Maximus Biſhop of *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*, 353. 2.
Maximus a Philoſopher of *Byzantium*, Father to *Euclid*. 286. 1.
Maximus an *Epheſian* Philoſopher, *Julian*'s Maſter, ibid.
Maximus turns Tyrant in the *Gallia*'s, 336. 2. ſlays *Gratianus*, 337. 1. is killed, 338 1.
Maximus Biſhop of *Antioch*, was preſent at the *Chalcedon* Council, 423. 1.
Mazabanes Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 108. 2. 118. 1.
Mazices, Barbarians, 407. 1.
Melcatharus and *Uſous*, Gods of the *Phœnicians*, 689. 1.
Melchiſedech Prieſt of the moſt high God, 6. 1.
Meletina a Region of *Armenia* the Leſs, 142. 2.
Meletius Biſhop of the Churches of *Pontus*, 138. 2.
Meletius Biſhop of *Sebaſtia* in *Armenia*, 282. 1. is tranſlated to *Antioch*, 283. 2. 293. 1. 303. 2. dies at *Conſtantinople*, 334. 2.
Melitius a Biſhop of *Egypt*, bring condemned by *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, makes a Schiſm, 213. 2. is condemned in the *Nicene* Council, 219. 2.
Melito Biſhop of *Sardis*, 56. 1. 65. 1. His Books 65. 2. 90. 1. He was an Eunuch. 87. 1.
Memnon Biſhop of *Epheſus*, 387. 2. 404. 2.
Memnonius Governor of the City *Antioch* under *Theodoſius* Junior, 415. 1. He built the *Pſephium* at *Antioch*, ibid.
Men heretofore uſually offered in Sacrifice, as well amongſt *Greeks* as *Barbarians*, 689. 2. That uſage aboliſhed by *Hadrian* the Emperour, 697. 1.
Men that are diſſolute, are both ſlothful, and confident, 499. 2. 505. 1.
Menander an Arch-Heretick, 43. 2. *Menandrians*, his followers, 63. 2.
Menas is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 494. 2.
Mercuria a Martyr at *Alexandria*, 111. 1.
Meropius the Philoſopher, travels into *India*, 231. 2.
Merus a City of *Phrygia*, 296. 1.
Meruzanes Biſhop of the *Armenians*, 116. 1.
Methodius Biſhop of *Olympus* in *Lycia*, 362. 1. His Dialogue entitled *Xeno*, 362. 2.
Metras a Martyr at *Alexandria*, 110. 1.
Metrodorus a Presbyter of the *Marcionites*, is burnt for the Faith of Chriſt, 60. 1.
Metrodorus a Philoſopher, travels into *India*, 231. 2.
Miltiades an Eccleſiaſtick Writer, 82. 1, 2. 90. 1.
Miracles wont to be wrought in the Church, 77. 1.
Miracle of a gliſtering Star, 412. 2, &c.
Miracle of the B. Virgin *Mary*, 510. 1, 2.
Mithra's Temple at *Alexandria*, 288. 1. 339. 1.
Moderatus a *Pythagorean* Philoſopher, 101. 2.
Modeſtus Præfect of the *Prætorium*, 314. 1.
Montanus, with *Priſcilla* and *Maximilla*, the founder of the Sect of the *Cataphrygæ*, 75. 1. 80. 1. His Life, 81. 1, 2. His death, ibid. His ſordidneſs and avarice, 83. 1.
Moors originally came from *Paleſtine*, 485. 2.
Mopſus in *Cilicia*, worſhipped for a God, 689. 1.
Moſes a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, a Martyr, 114. 2.
Moſes the ancienteſt of all the Prophets, 2. 2. the great Servant of God, ibid. bred in the Court of Tyrants, 534. 2. conſtituted Leader of the People by God, ibid. was the firſt that wrote the ſacred Hiſtory, as he had been inſtructed by God, 513. 2. His commendation, 651. 1, 2.
Moſes a Monk, is made Biſhop of the *Saracens*, 327. 1.
Mountain Selucus in *Gallia*, near *Lyons*, 269. 2.
Murſa a Fort of *Gallia*, ibid.
Muſanus an Eccleſiaſtick Writer, 67. 1.
Muſæus a Jewiſh Writer, 137. 1.

N.

Naamanes a *Saracen* Son to *Alamundarus*, is kindly uſed by *Mauricius*, 516. 1. He leaves the worſhip of Dæmons, and is converted to the Chriſtian Faith, 524. 2.
Narciſſus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 79. 1. His Miracles, 95. 2.
Narciſſus a Biſhop, 248. 2. 254. 1. 264. 1.
Narſes being ſent into *Italy* by *Juſtinian*, vanquiſhes *Totila* and *Teia* Kings of the *Gothi*, 487. 1. His piety towards God, ibid.
Natalis a Confeſſour at *Rome*, impoſed upon by Hereticks, 90. 1. at length returns to the Church, 90. 2.
Nectarius is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 332. 1.
Nemeſion an *Egyptian*, 111. 1.
Neon Biſhop of *Laranda*, 102. 1.
Neonas Biſhop of *Seleucia* in *Iſauria*, 282. 1.
Nephalius a Monk of *Syria*, 461. 2. is by the Emperour *Zeno* ſent to *Alexandria*, to reſtore unity, ibid. Ejects *Severus* out of his Monaſtery, 468. 2.
Nepos Biſhop of *Egypt*, 129. 1, 2.
Nepos is made Emperour of *Rome*, 436. 1.
Nepotianus ſeizes the Empire of *Rome*, 263. 2.
Nero the firſt *Roman* Emperor that perſecuted the Chriſtians, 29. 1.
Neſtorius is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 384. 2. perſecutes the Hereticks, ibid. His opinion concerning Chriſt, 386. 1. His Ignorance and Pride, 386. 2. He broaches a new Hereſie. 403 1. He is condemned in the *Epheſine* Synod, 404. 2. is baniſhed to *Oaſis*, 406. 1. His Letter to the preſident of *Thebais* concerning his Exile, 407. 1, 2. He is taken and let go by the *Blemmyæ*, 406. 2. His Tongue is eaten out with Worms, which kills him, 408. 1.
New-Teſtament, the Books thereof, 42. 2, &c.
Nicetas, Father to *Herod* the *Eirenarch*, 59. 2.
Nicias Biſhop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, an Oppoſer of *Flavianus*'s, 466. 1.
Nicolaites, their Hereſie, 44. 2, &c.
Nicomachus a *Pythagorean*, 101. 2.
Nicomedia, ruined by an Earthquake, 277. 2.
Nicomas Biſhop of *Iconium*, 132. 2.
Nicoſtratus a Sophiſt of *Trapezus*, writes an Hiſtory from the beginning of the Emperour *Philip*'s Reign, to the Death of *Valerian*, 513. 2.
Nitria, a Mountain, 316. 2.
No Body is condemned out of his own Books, 280. 1.
Nocturnal and Morning Hymns were wont to be ſung alternatively or by ſides in the Church, 359. 1.
Novatus's Hereſie, 112. 2. *Novatus* the Founder of the Sect of the *Cathari* or *Puritans*, ibid. why he made a Schiſm, 323. 1. He was Martyred under *Valerian*, 323. 2.
Novatus or *Novatianus* is deſerted by the Confeſſors, 113. 1. He thruſts himſelf into the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, ibid. His Character, 120. 1.
Noviatianiſts celebrated the Feſtival of *Eaſter indifferently*, 344. 1.
Noviatianiſts Church at *Conſtantinople* was pull'd down, and removed to another place, 276. 2.
Numenius a Philoſopher, 101. 2.

O.

OAK of *Mamre*, 595. 1, 2. The Miracles performed in that place, 596. 1. a Church built there by *Conſtantine*, ibid.
Oaſis by another name called *Ibis*, 407. 1.
Ocbas a very ſtrong Caſtle over againſt *Martyropolis*, 522. 1.
Odænathus and *Apollonius* beat the *Perſians*, 473. 2.
Odoacer ſeizes the Kingdom of *Italy*, 436. 2.
Oenomaus a Cynick Philoſopher, 303. 1.
Olybrius is made Emperor of *Rome* by *Recimeres*, 436. 1.
Oneſimus Biſhop of *Epheſus*, 47. 2.
Oneſimus a pious and ſtudious Man, 66. 2.
Opportunity how deſcribed by Painters, 463. 2.
Optar King of the *Hunni*, 385. 2.
Optatus Præfect of *Conſtantinople*, 366. 2.
Optimus Biſhop of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, 334. 1.
Oracle found in a Stone in the Walls of *Chalcedon*, 308. 1, 2.
Oracle given to the *Rhodians*, 302. 3.
Oreſtes Præfect of *Alexandria*, 375. 1.
Origen's Education from a Child, 91. 2, &c. He teaches *Grammar*, 92. 2. when eighteen years old he is choſen Catechiſt of the *Alexandrian* Church, ibid. His abſtinence, 93. 1, 2. *Demetrius*'s envy againſt him, 95. 1. He was called *Adamantius* alſo, 98. 2. He comes to *Rome* in Pope *Zephyrinus*'s time, ibid. He was a Perſon

Perſon of eminent Learning, 271. 1. He made the *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, 99. 2. He brought up the allegorical interpretations of Scripture, 101. 2. *Mamæa Auguſta* ſends for him, 103. 1. He is made Presbyter at *Cæſarea*, 103. 2. His Books, 104. 1. 106. 2. &c. He is tortured for the faith of Chriſt, 108. 2. He dies in the ſeventieth year of his age, 117. 1.
Origen aſſerts the Son to be Coeternal with the Father, 372. 1.
Origen's firſt Tome of Comments on Saint *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans*, 386. 2.
Origen's detracters who, and how many, 362. 1. His defence, ibid. *Theophilus*'s judgment concerning his Books, 365. 1.
Origen recited his Homilies on the fourth and ſixth *Feria*, in the Church of *Alexandria*, 347. 1.
Oſtracine a Region of the City *Antioch*, 434. 1. 518. 2.
Otreius Biſhop of *Melitina*, 334. 1.

P.

Paleſtines, three of them ſubject to the See of *Jeruſalem*, 447. 1.
Palladius the Courier, 378. 2.
Palladius Biſhop of *Helenopolis*, and afterwards of *Aſpuna*, 389. 1.
Palladius a Monk, *Evagrius*'s Scholar, 319. 2. wrote the *Hiſtoria Lauſiaca*, ibid.
Palladius Præfect of *Egypt*, 316. 1.
Palladius is ordained *Petrus Fullo*'s ſucceſſor in the See of *Antioch*, 462. 2.
Palma Biſhop of *Amaſtris*, 64. 1. 86. 2.
Pambos a Monk, 317. 1.
Pamphilus a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæſarea*, 138. 1. 166. 2. He is crowned with Martyrdom, 148. 1. 163. 1. He collected an Eccleſiaſtick Library, 105. 1. He and *Euſebius* club'd in writing An Apologetick for *Origen*, 295. 2.
Pancratius Biſhop of *Peluſium*, 266. 1.
Panopolis a City of *Thebais*, 407. 2.
Pantænus Maſter of the *Alexandrian* School, 78. 2. 101. 2.
Paphnutius Biſhop of *Egypt*, was preſent at the *Nicene* Council, 216. 1. 225. 2.
Papias Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, 47. 1. His five Books, 49. 1. He was a Perſon of but mean underſtanding, ibid. He was the firſt *Chiliaſt*, ibid.
Papirius a Martyr, 87. 1.
Paſchaſinus and *Lucentius* are by Pope *Leo* ſent to the *Chalcedon* Council, 421. 2. They condemn *Dioſcorus*, 424. 2.
Paſinicus Biſhop of *Zelæ*, 303. 2. 311. 2.
Patriarchs conſtituted in the *Conſtantinopolitane* Council, 332. 2.
Patricius Biſhop of *Paltus*, 304. 2.
Patropaſſians, Hereticks whom the *Greeks* term *Sabelliani*, 255. 2. 312. 2.
Patrophilus a Biſhop, 241. 2. is depoſed in the Synod of *Seleucia*, 280. 2.
Patermuthius burnt for the Faith of Chriſt, 170. 1.
Paulinus Biſhop of *Tyre*, 184. 1. built a ſtately Church in that City, 184. 2.
Paul is made an Apoſtle, 16. 2. He is carried bound to *Rome*, 26. 2. is a ſecond time carried to *Rome*, and Martyred, ibid. beheaded under *Nero*, 29. 2. His Epiſtles, 31. 2. Acts of *Paul*, an Apocryphal Book, ibid. and 43. 1. His Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* written in *Hebrew*, 98. 1. The *Roman* Church don't believe it to be his Epiſtle, 102. 2.
Paul of *Samoſata*, 132. 2. attempts to revive *Artemon*'s Hereſie, 85. 2. 135. 2. is confuted by *Malchion* the Presbyter, 133. 1. His avarice and pride, 133. 2, &c. He is depoſed in the *Antiochian* Synod, 134. 2. His Hereſie, 25. 1.
Paulus a Martyr in *Paleſtine*, 164. 2. His pious and Chriſtian Prayer before his Death, ibid. Another *Paulus*, Martyred with *Pamphilus*, 166. 2.
Paulinus is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* by *Lucifer*, 279. 2. 293. 1. He and *Meletius* come to an agreement, 330. 2.
Paulinus Biſhop of *Triers*, 271. 1.
Paulus Biſhop of the *Novatians* at *Conſtantinople*, 377. 1. His Commendation, ibid. and 385. 1.
Paulus Biſhop of *Tyre*, 239. 2.
Paulus a Presbyter at *Conſtantinople*, 247. 2. is ordained Biſhop, ibid. He is ejected ibid. reſtored, 250. 2. His death, 264. 1. His Reliques are removed to *Conſtantinople*, 334. 1.
Paulus Biſhop of *Emiſa*, is ſent to *Cyrill* Biſhop of *Alexandria* by *Johannes* Biſhop of *Antioch*, 403. 1.
Paulus is ordained Biſhop of *Epheſus*, 450. 2. He is put out of his See by *Zeno Auguſtus*, 453. 1.
Paulus, after *Severus*'s Ejectment, is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, 471. 1.
Peace termed the Interminate Peace, made with the *Perſians* by *Juſtinian*, 483. 2. is broken by the *Perſians*, 487. 2.
Pelagius Biſhop of *Laodicea*, 304. 1.
Pelagius ſucceſſor to *Johannes* in the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, 509. 2.
Peleus and *Nilus*, Egyptian Biſhops, crowned with Martyrdom, 148. 1. 170. 1.
Pella a town beyond *Jordan*, 32. 2. The Chriſtians remove thither, before the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, ibid.
Penitentiary-Presbyters, 341. 1, 2. aboliſhed by *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, ibid, &c.
Perigenes Biſhop of *Corinth*, 388. 2, &c.
Pers-Armenia, ſo *Armenia* the Great was called; from the times of the Emperor *Philip*, it was ſubject to the *Perſians*, 504. 1. the inhabitants thereof revolt to the *Romans* in *Juſtinus* Junior's Reign, ibid.
Perſecution of *Dioclesian* laſted ten years, 151. 1.
Perſians worſhip Fire, 372. 2.
Peſtilent diſeaſe deſtroys almoſt the whole World in *Juſtinian*'s Reign, 490 1, 2. it raged two and fifty Years, ibid.
Peter the chief of all the Apoſtles, 22. 1. comes to *Rome* to Preach the word of God there, and to oppoſe *Simon Magus*, ibid. is crucified at *Rome* in *Nero*'s time, 29. 2. 31. 1. Preached the Word of God to the *Corinthians*, 30. 1. was Preacher to the Jews that were diſperſed, 30. 2. His Epiſtles, 31. 1. His *Acts*, *Goſpel*, *Preaching*, *Revelation* are *Apocryphal* Books, ibid. His Wife was Martyred, 45. 1.
Petrus Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 138. 2. is crowned with Martyrdom in the ninth year of the perſecution, 139. 1.
Petrus, of the Bed-chamber to the Emperour, is crowned with Martyrdom, 142. 1.
Petrus, called alſo *Apſelamus*, a Martyr in *Paleſtine*, 166. 1.
Petrus is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 315. 2. He is put into Priſon, 316. 1. He returns to *Alexandria*, 327. 2.
Petrus chief Presbyter of the *Alexandrian* Church, 359. 2.
Petrus Biſhop of *Sippi*, 304. 1.
Petrus the *Hiberian* is ordained Biſhop of *Majuma*, 427. 2. He was preſent at *Timotheus Ælurus*'s Ordination, 430. 1. He is baniſhed with him, 468. 1.
Petrus Fullo Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſubſcribes to *Baſiliſcus*'s Circular Letters, 450. 2. *Zeno* ejects him out of the See of *Antioch*, 453. 1. He reſtores him again, 457. 1.
Petrus Mongus is choſen Biſhop of *Alexandria* after *Ælurus*'s death, 454. 1. He does in publick anathematize the *Chalcedon* Synod, 457. 2. a Man of a crafty diſpoſition, ibid. His Letter to *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 458. 1, 2.
Petrus Biſhop of *Damaſcus*, refuſes his conſent to *Severus*'s Synodick Letters, 469. 1.
Petrus ſucceſſour to *Helias* in the See of *Jeruſalem*, 495. 1.
Phariſees, Hereticks amongſt the Jews, 63. 2.
Pharmaceus, a Port in the mouth of the Euxine Sea, 382. 2.
Phileas Biſhop of the *Thmuitæ*, a Martyr, 144. 2, &c. 148. 2.
Philetus Biſhop of *Antioch*, 102. 2.
Philip the Apoſtle had a Wife, and Children by her, 45. 1, 2. died at *Hierapolis*, ibid. His Daughters were Propheteſſes, ibid. and 87. 1. His Daughters lived at *Hierapolis*, 49. 2.
Philip Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 51. 2.
Philip the *Aſiarch*, 58. 2.
Philip Biſhop of *Gortina*, 64. 1. His Book againſt *Marcion*, 65. 1.
Philippus the Emperour was a Chriſtian, 107. 2.
Philippus Præfect of the *Prætorium*, ejects *Paul* the Biſhop out of his See, 252. 1.
Philippus a Presbyter of *Side*, 384. 1. wrote an Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, ibid. *Socrates*'s judgment concerning *Philip*'s Hiſtory, ibid.
Philippicus is made Maſter of the Eaſtern Milice by *Mauricius*, 516. 1. He is ſent a ſecond time into the Eaſt, to quiet a Mutiny of the Soldiers, 517. 2.
Philo the Jew, a famous Man, is ſent Embaſſadour to *Caius*, 18. 1. His Books are reckoned up, 24. 2. and put into the publick Library at *Rome*, 25. 1.
Philoromus a Martyr, 144. 2.
Philoſtratus writes, that in his time a Peſtilence raged fifteen years, 491. 1.
Phlegon, an Hiſtorian, 416. 2.
Phœbus a Biſhop, 280. 2.
Photinians, Hereticks, 311. 1.
Photinus Biſhop of *Sirmium*, founded an Hereſie called by his own name, 254. 2. His opinion, 255. 2. He is depoſed, 266. 1. He wrote againſt all Hereſies, 269. 1.
Phrygians are naturally temperate, 323. 1.
Picentius, *Maximinus* the Emperour's Favorite, is ſlain, 181. 2.
Pierius a Presbyter of the *Alexandrian* Church, 139. 2.
Pilate when made Procurator of *Judæa*, and how long he continued ſo, 12. 1. Thoſe called *Pilate*'s Acts forged long ſince his time, 12. 1. and 173. 2. He ſends a Relation to *Tiberius* concerning Chriſt's Miracles, 16. 2. He laid violent hands on himſelf, 19. 1, 2.
Pilgrimage to places of the Holy Land, 96. 2. 591. 1.
Pinytus Biſhop of *Creet*, 63. 1.
Pionius's Martyrdom in *Smyrna*, 60. 1.
Piſander a Poet, 416. 2.
Piſo Biſhop of the *Adani*, 304. 2.
Piſo Biſhop of *Auguſta*, ibid.
Piterus or *Petiros* a Monk, 317. 2.
Pius Biſhop of *Rome*, 54. 2.
Plato the Philoſopher praiſed, 642. 2. what he thought of the Second and Third cauſe, 372. 1.

The INDEX.

Placidia, Daughter to *Valentinian* and *Eudoxia*, married *Olybrius*, 428. 2.
Placidiana, an Imperial Palace at *Conſtantinople*, 364. 2.
Plintha Maſter of the Milice and Conſul, 349. 2.
Plutarchus, Scholar to *Origen*, a Martyr, 92. 2. 93. 2.
Pneumatomachi, ſo the *Macedoniani* were termed, 283. 2.
Polybius Biſhop of the Church at *Trallis*, 47. 2.
Polybius of *Megalopolis* brought down his Hiſtory to the deſtruction of *Carthage*, 513. 2.
Polycarp Biſhop of *Smyrna*, 47. 1. 345. 1. comes to *Rome* on account of the Controverſie concerning *Eaſter*, and conferred with *Anicetus*, 56. 1. 88. 2. Avoids the meeting and ſalutation of *Marcion* the Heretick, 56. 1. His Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, 56. 1. His Martyrdom, 56. 2, &c. His prayer for the Catholick Church, 59. 1.
Polycarpus Biſhop of *Nicopolis* in *Thracia*, 389. 1.
Polycrates Biſhop of *Epheſus*, 86. 2. His Epiſtle to Pope *Victor*, ibid.
Pontianus Biſhop of *Rome*, 103. 2.
Ponticus, *Blandina*'s brother, a Martyr, 73. 2.
Pontifs, or Chief Prieſts, of the Jews, were heretofore perpetual, and enjoyed that Office by Inheritance, 12. 2 The Sedition of the Chief Prieſts againſt the Prieſts, 26. 1. Chief Prieſt's Robe lock'd up by *Herod*, 8. 2.
Porphyrius, ſervant to *Pamphilus*, is crowned with Martyrdom, 168. 1.
Porphyrius Biſhop of *Antioch*, 373. 1.
Porphyrius a Philoſopher, in love with Scoffing, 300. 2. He wrote Books concerning the Hiſtory of Philoſophy, ibid. He renounced the Chriſtian faith, 302. 1.
Potamiæna, a Martyr, 94. 1, 2.
Pothinus Biſhop of *Lyons*, a Martyr, 71. 1.
Potitus a Marcioniſt, 79. 2.
Prayer that is fervent has an invincible power, 652. 1. 662. 2.
Prayer for the dead, 631. 2.
Primus Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the fourth from the Apoſtles. 50. 1.
Primus Biſhop of *Corinth*, 63. 1.
Priſcus, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, Martyrs under *Valerian*, 124. 2.
Priſcus the Rhetorician, wrote an Hiſtory of the War waged by *Attila* againſt the *Romans*, 414. 2. 426. 2. 436. 1. 514. 1.
Priſcus is ſent Maſter of the Milice into the Eaſt, 516. 2. His pride, ibid. a Mutiny of the Soldiers againſt him, and againſt the Emperour *Mauricius*, ibid.
Probus Præfect of the *Prætorium*, 336. 2.
Proclus is ordained Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, 384. 1. is not admitted by the Inhabitants there, 384. 2. is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 391. 2. His Character, ibid. He cauſes *John Chryſoſtome*'s Body to be conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, 393. 1, 2.
Proclus Quæſtor of the ſacred Palace under *Juſtinian*, 483. 1.
Procopius, the firſt *Paleſtinian* Martyr in *Dioclesian*'s perſecution, 154. 1.
Procopius Maſter of the Milice, 379. 1.
Procopius ſets up for a Tyrant, 306. 1. He is ſlain, 307. 1.
Procopius the Rhetorician, his Epitome of Hiſtories, 483. 1, 2. 484. 1.
Proterius is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in the place of *Dioſcorus*, by the common vote of the Biſhops of the *Alexandrian* Synod, 426. 2. He is murdered by the People of *Alexandria*, 430. 1.
Proterius Biſhop of *Smyrna* was preſent at the *Chalcedon* Synod, 441. 1.
Protogenes Biſhop of *Sardica*, 257. 2.
Pſalmody of the Ancient Chriſtians, what it was, 24. 1. *Pſalms* made by the Chriſtians, 90. 1. 134. 1.
Pſamathia, a Village near *Nicomedia*, 238. 1.
Pſathyrians, Hereticks, 349. 1, 2.
Ptolemæus a Martyr at *Rome*, 61. 2.
Publius Biſhop of *Athens*, a Martyr, 64. 1.

Q.

Quadratus eminent for the gift of Prophecy, 48. 1. 82. 2. He preſented an Apology to the Emperour *Hadrian*, in defence of the Chriſtians, 51. 1.
Quadratus Biſhop of *Athens*, 64. 1.
Queſtions concerning things that are ſacred and obſcure, are not to be committed to the Ears of the Vulgar, 572. 2.
Quartodecimani were excommunicated by Pope *Victor*, 87. 2. 345. 1. They derived their tradition from Saint *John* the Apoſtle, 346. 1.
Quinta, an *Alexandrian* Woman, a Martyr, 110. 1.
Quintus a Native of *Phrygia*, who had voluntarily run to Martyrdom, on ſight of the Torments, renounced the faith, 57. 1.
Quirinius, or *Cyrenius*, Preſident of *Syria*, 7. 2.

R.

Reginus's Book entituled *Polymnemon*, 302. 1.
Religious Aſſemblies variouſly celebrated amongſt the Ancients, 346. 2. 347. 1.
Repentance, another Baptiſm, 41. 2. an Example of ſincere Repentance, ibid. 'Tis the Trophy of the Reſurrection, ibid.
Reticius and *Maternus* Biſhops of the *Gallia*'s, 194. 1.
Reverentius Biſhop of *Tyre*, 389. 1.
Rhodes ruined by an Earthquake, 476. 1.
Rhodon Scholar to *Tatianus*, 79. 2.
Rheſſe a Town in *Syria*, 97. 1.
Rohas or *Rougas* a little King of the *Barbarians*, 392. 2.
Roman Church, its bounty and antiquity, 98. 2. it had forty ſix Presbyters, and ſeven Deacons, 113. 2.
Roman Biſhops, their Letters with what reſpect received heretofore, 64. 2.
Romans faſt every *Sabbath* or *Saturday*, 348. 1. They faſt three whole Weeks before *Eaſter*, 346. 1.
Romanus a Deacon, a Martyr at *Antioch*, 158. 1, 2.
Romulus, ſurnamed *Auguſtulus*, Son to *Oreſtes*, the laſt Emperour of *Rome*, 436. 1.
Rufinus's Books of Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, 226. 1. 229. 1. 232. 2. 233. 2. His miſtake is noted, 245. 1.
Rufinus the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, is ſlain, 352. 1.
Rufinus Biſhop of *Samoſata*, 440. 2.
Rufus Præfect of *Judæa*, killed vaſt numbers of the Jews, 51. 2, &c.
Rufus Abbot of *Theodoſius*'s Monaſtery in *Paleſtine*, 495. 2.

S.

Sabbatius a *Novatianiſt*, makes a Schiſm amongſt the *Novatianiſts*, 343. 2. He is made Biſhop over part of the *Novatianiſts*, 344. 1. 374. 1. is baniſhed to *Rhodes* and dies there, 382. 2.
Sabellius the Heretick, his opinion, 119. 1.
Sabinianus Biſhop of *Zeugma*, 304. 2.
Sabinus Præfect of *Egypt* under *Decius*, 109. 1. 123. 2.
Sabinus, Præfect of the *Prætorium* to *Maximinus*, 171. 2.
Sabinus a *Macedonian* Heretick, what he wrote concerning the Biſhops convened at *Nicæa*, 217. 1. was Biſhop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*, ibid. He wrote a Collection of Synodal Acts, ibid.
Sacred Veſſels of the Church, melted down to redeem Captives, 379. 2. given for the Redemption of a City, 483. 2.
Sacrifice [of the Chriſtians] myſtical and without blood, 621. 2. 697. 1.
Sadduces, an Hereſie among the Jews, 63. 2.
Sagaris a Biſhop and a Martyr, 65. 2. 87. 1.
Salonæ, or *Salona*, a City of *Dalmatia*, 381. 2.
Saluſtius Præfect of the *Prætorium*, 298. 1.
Saluſtius is choſen Succeſſor to *Martyrius* in the See of *Jeruſalem*, 493. 1.
Samarites, an Hereſie amongſt the *Jews*, 63. 2. *Samaritanes* when they kept *Eaſter*, 348. 2.
Sanctus a Deacon of *Vienna*, 70. 1. 72. 1.
Sangarius, a River, 324. 1.
Sangarum, a Mart-town in *Bithynia*, 344. 1.
Sapor King of the *Perſians*, *Conſtantine*'s Letter to him, 609. 1, 2.
Saracens, 112. 1.
Saturninus an Arch Heretick in the Reign of *Hadrian*, 52. 1.
Saturnilians, 63. 2.
School at *Alexandria*, 78. 2.
Scythianus a *Saracen*, 234. 1.
Sedition at *Conſtantinople* termed *Nica*, 483. 2.
Sejanus a cruel Enemy of the *Jews*, 18. 2.
Selenas Biſhop of the *Goths*, 349. 2.
Seneca Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 51. 2.
Septuagint, or Seventy Tranſlators, 78. 1.
Sepulchre of Our Lord covered with an heap of Earth by the Heathens, and polluted with an image of *Venus*, 586. 1.
Serapion Biſhop of *Antioch*, 84. 1. 290. 1. His Books, 97. 1.
Serapion a Martyr of *Alexandria*, 110. 1.
Serapion Deacon to *John Chryſoſtome*, 355. 1.
Serapion Biſhop of the *Thmuitæ*, 319. 1.
Serenius Granianus Proconſul of *Aſia*, 53. 2.
Serenus, *Origen*'s Scholar, a Martyr, ibid.
Sergiopolis a City of *Syria*, wherein are kept the Reliques of the Martyr *Sergius*, 489. 2.
Severa Auguſta, Wife to *Valentinian* the Elder, 325. 2.
Severiani, Hereticks which had their name from *Severus*, 67. 2.
Severianus Biſhop of *Gabala*, 360. 2.
Severianus Biſhop of *Arethuſa*, ſends a Libel of depoſition to *Severus*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, 469. 1.
Severus Reigns at *Rome* after *Majorianus*, 429. 1.
Severus, after the Ejectment of *Flavianus*, is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, 467. 2. His Life and Studies, 468. 1. He Anathematizes the *Chalcedon* Council in his Synodick Letters, 468. 2. His Letter to *Soterichus*, 476. 1. His enſtalling Letters, 478. 2. He is baniſhed by the Emperour *Juſtinus*, ibid. His Letters to *Juſtinianus* and *Theodora*, 482. 1.
Sextus wrote concerning the Reſurrection, 89. 2.
Sibylla Erythræa, 652. 2. Her Verſes concerning the coming of Chriſt, 653. 1, 2. In what words ſhe addreſſes her ſelf to God, 657. 2.
Signs which preceeded the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, 35. 2. &c.
Sign of the Croſs ſeen in the Eaſt, 265. 2.
Silvanus Biſhop of *Emiſa*, a Martyr, 147. 2. 174. 1.
Silvanus Biſhop of *Gaza*, a Martyr, 147. 2. His Character, 170. 1.

The INDEX.

Silvanus Biſhop of *Tarſis*, 303. 2.
Silvanus Biſhop of *Troas*, 389. 1, 2. He had before been Biſhop of *Philippopolis*, ibid.
Silvanus a Tyrant in the *Gallia's*, 270. 1.
Silverius Biſhop of *Rome*, opens the Gates of that City to *Beliſarius*, 486. 1. He is depoſed by *Beliſarius*, and *Vigilius* is put into his place, 486. 2.
Simon Magus is baptized by *Philip*, 16. 2. comes to *Rome*, and there deceives many by his Impoſtures, 21. 2. He was the Captain and chief of all Hereticks, ibid.
Siricius Biſhop of *Rome*, 373. 2.
Sirmium is taken by the *Gepidæ*, 507. 1. taken again by thoſe *Barbarians* termed *Abares*, ibid.
Siſinnius is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 383. 2. His Character, 384. 2.
Siſinnius a Novatianiſts, 335. 1. He was a Learned Man, ibid. ordained Biſhop of the Novatianiſts at *Conſtantinople*, 343. 2. 352. 2. His book againſt *John Chryſoſtome*, 367. 2. His witty ſayings, ibid, &c.
Socrates Biſhop of *Laodicea*, 136. 1.
Socrates, why put to death by his own Citizens, 642. 1.
Socrates Scholaſticus learnt Grammar at *Conſtantinople*, of *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, 339. 1. Born and bred at *Conſtantinople*, 350. 1. dedicates his work to *Theodorus*, 351. what ſtyle he followed, ibid.
Socrates's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, 401. His miſtake in his accounts of the *Epheſine* Synod, 404. 2. He is cited, 416. 1.
Sophia, the great Church at *Conſtantinople*, 253. 1. is conſecrated by *Endoxius*, 282. 2
Sophia, a Church built by *Juſtinian*, is deſcribed, 491. 2, &c.
Sophronius Biſhop of *Pompeiopolis*, 278. 2. 279. 2. is depoſed in a Synod at *Conſtantinople*, 282. 1. 294. 1. 303. 2.
Soſthenes one of Chriſt's Seventy Diſciples, 13. 2.
Sotas Biſhop of *Anchialus*, 84. 1, 2.
Soter Biſhop of *Rome*, 62. 2. His Commendation. 64. 2.
Spirit, or Holy Ghoſt, is infuſed by Ordination, 280. 1.
Spyridion from being a Shepherd, is made a Biſhop, 226. 1. He fed Sheep whilſt he was a Biſhop. ibid. His Miracles, ibid.
Stephen Biſhop of *Rome*, 117. 2.
Stephen the Deacon, firſt Martyr of Chriſt, 15. 2.
Stephen Biſhop of *Laodicea*, 138. 1.
Stephanus Biſhop of *Antioch*. 264. 2.
Stephanus Biſhop of *Epheſus* was preſent at the *Chalcedon* Council, 438. 1.
Stephanus is Ordained Biſhop of *Antioch*, 453. 2. He is barbarouſly murdered by the Boys of *Antioch*, ibid.
Stephanus Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, wrote the Life of Saint *Golanduch*, 513. 1.
Succi, a Mountain that divides the Weſtern Churches from the Eaſtern, 259. 2.
Sunday and Friday kept Holy by *Conſtantine's* order, 611. 2. 613. 1. 679. 1. Sunday celebrated as a Feſtival, by Chriſt's own command, 710. 1.
Symeon Son of *Clopas* or *Cleophas*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 38. 1. after ſeveral Tortures, he is crucified, 46. 1, 2.
Symeon, or *Symeones*, the Stylite, flouriſhed under *Theodoſius* Junior, 410. 2. He ſpent Six and fifty years in Monaſtick Exerciſes and Severities, 411. 2. His dead body is with great honour conveyed to Antioch, in *Leo's* Reign, ibid. He was the firſt that found out the way of ſtanding upon a pillar, 432. 1. His Letter to *Leo Auguſtus*, 434. 2. and another Letter of his, to *Baſilius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, ibid. His Mandra is deſcribed. 412. 1.
Symmachus the Ebionite, 99. 2. His books, ibid.
Symmachus a Senator of *Rome*, 338. 2.
Syneros an *Heretick*, 79. 2.
Syneſius is preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Cyrene*, whilſt he was entangled in the Errors of Gentiliſm, 413. 1, 2. His Epiſtles, and Oration to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, ibid.
Synnada a City of *Phrygia Pacatiana*, 370. 2.

T.

Tablet, or Title of Criminals, who were led about in the *Amphitheatre*, 72. 2.
Tam Choſroes General of the *Perſians*, is ſlain in battel by the *Romans*, 512. 1.
Tanais, ſo the *Barbarians* call the Stream of the Lake *Mæotis* into the *Euxine* Sea, 487. 1.
Tatianus Founder of the Sect of the Encratitæ, 60. 2. 67. 1. His Books, 67 2. He is reckoned amongſt the Catholick Writers, ibid.
Teleſphorus Biſhop of *Rome*, the ſeventh from the Apoſtles. 51. 2.
Temples of the Heathens demoliſhed at *Alexandria*, 339. 1.
Tertullianus eminently ſkillful in the *Roman* Laws, 17. 1.
Thaddæus one of Chriſt's Seventy Diſciples, 14. 1. is ſent to *Edeſſa* by *Thomas* the Apoſtle, ibid cures *Agbarus* by laying his hand on him, 15. 1. Preaches the Goſpel of Chriſt to the *Edeſſens*, ibid
Thalaſſius, *Prefect* of the *Prætorium*, is ordained Biſhop of *Cæſarea* by the Patriarch Proclus, 394. 2.
Thalaſſius Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, together with *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, preſided at the Second *Epheſine* Synod, 424. 2.
Thebuthis the firſt that made a Schiſm in the Church of *Jeruſalem*, 63. 2.
Thecla the protomartyr, appears to *Zeno* in his ſleep, 453. 1. in honour of her, *Zeno* builds a moſt ſplendid Church in the City *Seleucia*, ibid.
Thelymidres Biſhop of *Laodicea*, 116. 1.
Themiſon a Montaniſt, 82. 1.
Themiſtius the Philoſopher, 304. 2. His Oration to *Valens*, 326. 1.
Theoctiſtus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, 105. 2. 116. 1, 2.
Theodoricus King of the *Goths*, reſigns his Kingdom, 486. 1.
Theodoricus a *Goth* rebells againſt *Zeno*, 463. 1. He dyes being wounded by the point of his Javelin, ibid.
Theodoricus Valamer is by *Zeno* ſent againſt *Illus* and *Leontius*, 464. 1. He leaves the Eaſt, and goes into *Italy*, and having vanquiſhed *Odoacer* there, poſſeſſes himſelf of the Kingdom of *Italy*, ibid. his Wife *Amalaſuntha*, 486. 1.
Theodoricus King of the *Goths* has a Military Command in the *Roman* Army, 512. 1.
Theodoritus Biſhop of *Cyrus*, his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, 401. 473. 1. He is depoſed by *Dioſcorus* in the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod, together with *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*, and *Daniel* Biſhop of *Carræ*, 409. 1, 2. He is reſtored in the *Chalcedon* Council, 426. 1. 447. 1.
Theodorus Biſhop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia*, 250. 2. 254. 1.
Theodorus Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia* in *Cilicia*, 353. 2.
Theodorus, a man of God, 245. 2.
Theodorus is cruelly tortured for the faith of Chriſt, 298. 1, 2.
Theodorus ſurnamed *Aſcidas*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, 495. 2, a favourer of *Origen*, ibid. and 497. 1.
Theodoſia a Virgin Martyred at *Cæſarea*, 162. 2.
Theodoſiopolis a City beſieged by the *Perſians*, 470. 1.
Theodoſius Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, 280. 2.
Theodoſiolus is killed by *Valens*, 315. 2.
Theodoſius the Great is created Emperour, 330. 1, He is baptized by *Aſcholius*, 351. 1. dyes, 351. 2.
Theodoſius Junior is born, 357. 1. His Commendations, 380. 1, 2. 392. 1. His Law againſt *Neſtorius*, extant in the *Code*, 410. 2.
Theodoſius Biſhop of *Synnada*, 370. 2. in what manner he loſt his Biſhoprick, 371. 1.
Theodoſius is ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, contrary to the Canons, 427. 1.
Theodoſius Biſhop of *Alexandria*, a Reviler of the *Chalcedon* Synod, 481. 2. *Severus* writes a Letter to him, 482. 1. His Letters ſent to *Anthimus* and *Severus*, ibid. He is ejected out of his See by *Juſtinian*, ibid.
Theodoſian the *Epheſian* turned the Old Teſtament into Greek. 77. 2.
Theodotus a Montaniſt, 75. 1. 81. 2.
Theodotus the Tanner, Excommunicated by *Victor*, 90. 1.
Theodotus Biſhop of *Laodicea*, 138. 1.
Theodotus Biſhop of *Laodicea*, 284. 2.
Theodotus Biſhop of *Ancyra*, accuſes *Neſtorius* in the *Epheſine* Synod, 404. 2.
Theodotus Biſhop of *Joppa*, 452. 1.
Theodulus a Martyr with *Pamphilus*, 168. 2.
Theodulus Biſhop of *Cbæretapi*, 280. 2.
Theodulus and *Olympius*, Biſhops, 264. 1.
Theodulus's Letter concerning *Neſtorius* and his Hereſie, 403. 1.
Theonas Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 138. 2.
Theonas Biſhop of *Marmarica*, and *Secundus* Biſhop of *Ptolemais*, are Anathematized by the *Nicene* Synod, 219. 2.
Theophilus Biſhop of *Antioch*, the Sixth from the Apoſtles, 63. 1. His Books, 65. 1.
Theophilus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, 86. 1.
Theophilus is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 337. 2.
Theophilus Biſhop of *Caſtabali*, 303. 2.
Theophilus Biſhop of the *Goths*, ſubſcribed to the *Nicene* Council, 281. 2.
Theophronius a *Cappadocian*, *Ennomius's* Scholar, coyns a new Hereſie, 349. 2.
Theotecnus Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. 125. 2. 133. 2.
Theotecnus Curator of the City *Antioch*, 172. 2. the Author and Incentive of the Chriſtians perſecution, ibid. He is executed by *Licinius's* order, 182. 1.
Theotimus Biſhop of the *Arabi*, 304. 2.
Theotimus Biſhop of *Scythia*, what his ſentiments were concerning *Origen's* Books, 362. 1.
Therapeutæ, why ſo termed, 23. 1. Their Monaſteries and courſe of Life, ibid. &c.
Theudas an Impoſtour, 20. 2.
Thomas the Apoſtle, called *Judas* alſo, 14. 2. He preached the Goſpel to the *Parthians*, 30. 1. 231. 2. a great Church dedicated to him in the City *Edeſſa*, 314. 2.
Thomas Biſhop of *Apamia*, 487. 2. He is a ſpectator of the Equeſtrian Sports, contrary to the uſage of the Church, ibid.
Thomas a Monk in *Syria*, feigned himſelf a fool, 494. 1.
Thraſeas a Martyr. 84. 1. Biſhop of *Eumenia*, 87. 1.
Thraſamundus King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*. 484. 2.

Tiberiopolis a City of *Phrygia*, 394. 1.
Tiberius Auguſtus how affected at *Pilate*'s Relation concerning the Reſurrection of Chriſt, 16. 2, &c.
Tiberius, after *Juſtinus* Junior became craz'd, managed the Empire together with *Sophia* wife to *Juſtinus*, 506. 1, 2. He is declared *Cæſar* by *Juſtinus*, 507. 1. His Character. 517. 2.
Tigris an Eunuch, and a Presbyter. 364. 1.
Timæus Biſhop of *Antioch*, 135. 2.
Timolaus, *Dionyſius*, *Romulus*, *Pauſis*, *Alexander*, and another *Alexander*, Martyrs in *Paleſtine*, 159. 2.
Timotheus, Saint *Paul*'s diſciple, the firſt Biſhop of the *Epheſians*, 31. 2.
Timotheus a Martyr in *Paleſtine*, 159. 2.
Timotheus is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 327. 2. 330. 1. 331. 2.
Timotheus Ælurus is choſen Biſhop by the *Alexandrians* whilſt *Proterius* was living, 430. 1. He was ordained but by two Biſhops, 430. 2. He wrote a Letter to *Leo Auguſtus* concerning his own ordination, 431. 1. He is baniſhed to *Gangra*, 433. 1. He is recalled by the Emperour *Baſiliſcus*, 449. 2.
Timotheus Salofaciolus, after *Ælurus*'s ejectment, is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 433. 1. He flyes to *Canopus*, 454. 1. By *Zeno*'s order he recovers his See, ibid.
Timotheus, after *Macedonius*'s ejectment, is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 468. 2.
Titus diſciple to Saint *Paul*, Biſhop of the Cities of *Creet*, 31. 2.
Titus Biſhop of *Boſtra*, 304. 1.
Tobias Son of *Tobias*, an *Edeſſen*, 14. 2.
Tobias Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 51. 2.
Tranſlations of Biſhops forbidden, 388. 1. ſometimes uſed on account of the Church's neceſſity, ibid. Inſtances of ſuch Tranſlations, 389. 1. They were forbidden by *Conſtantine*, 599. 2.
Tribigildus a Tribune of Souldiers, 356. 1.
Tripolis a City of *Phœnice*, wherein was the Church of Saint *Leontius* the Martyr, 468. 1.
Troilus the Sophiſt a prudent man, 370. 1. a Native of *Side* in *Pamphylia*, 384. 1.
Tychæum of *Antioch*, that is, the Temple of the publick Genius, conſecrated in honour of the Martyr *Ignatius*, 414. 1.
Tyrannio Biſhop of *Tyre*, a Martyr, 147. 2.
Tyrannus Biſhop of *Antioch*, 136. 1.

V.

Valens Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 79. 2.
Valens a Deacon of *Ælia*, is Martyred, 166. 2.
Valens the Emperour being baptized by *Eudoxius* the Biſhop, becomes an *Arian*, 305. 1. He perſecutes the Orthodox, 306. 1. He builds an Aquæduct at *Conſtantinople*, 308. 2. He dyes, 328. 2.
Valentinianus is choſen Emperour, 305. 1. chuſes *Valens* to be his Colleague in the Empire, ibid. dyes, 325. 1. had two wives at the ſame time, 325. 2.
Valentinianus Placidus, Son to *Conſtantius* and *Placidia*, 382. 1. is proclaimed Cæſar by *Theodoſius*, ibid. is declared *Auguſtus*, ibid.
Valentinianus Junior is created Emperour, 325. 1. He was *Juſtina*'s Son, ibid.
Valentina a Virgin Martyred, 164. 1.
Valentinus an Arch-Heretick, flouriſhed at *Rome*, 54. 2. *Valentinians*, Hereticks, 63. 2.
Valerianus at the beginning of his Reign, favoured the Chriſtians, 121. 1. His ignominious ſlavery and captivity in *Perſia*, 660. 1.
Valerius Gratus Procurator of *Judæa*, 12. 2.
Vararanes King of the *Perſians*, 377. 2. perſecutes the Chriſtians, ibid.
Various uſages and rites in divers Churches, 246. 1, &c.
Ventidius and *Corbulo*, *Romans*, conquered the *Parthians*, 473. 2.
Vetranio turns Tyrant, 263. 2. afterwards he became a private man, 265. 2.
Vettius Epagothus, a Martyr at *Lyons*, 69. 2.
Victor Biſhop of *Rome*, 87. 2. excommunicates the Churches of *Aſia*, ibid. He is diſſwaded therefrom by *Irenæus*, ibid.
Victor Maſter of the Milice, 327. 2.
Vigils of the Chriſtians, and their faſts before the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, 24. 1.
Vigil of *Eaſter*, 95. 2. obſerved by the Emperour *Conſtantine*. 613. 1.
Vigilius Biſhop of *Rome*, refuſes to come to the fifth Synod, 496. 1.
Vindices, Officers made in every City by the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, 475. 1.
Vine, the Badge of a Centurion's office, 125. 1.
Virgil's Verſes concerning Chriſt, 654. 1, &c.
Virgins of the Chriſtians, 24. 1. 161. 2. they were regiſtred in the *Matricula* or *Roll* of the Church, 230. 1.
Vitalianus rebels againſt *Anaſtaſius*, 475. 2. takes *Hypatius* and *Cyrillus* Commanders of the *Romans*, ibid. being made Maſter of the Milice and Conſul by *Juſtinus*, he is ſlain, 478. 1.
Vitalis and *Miſenus*, Legates of the See of *Rome*, are condemned in a Synod at *Rome* for ill-managements of their Embaſſie, 460. 2.
Ulfila Biſhop of the *Goths*, 281. 2. 326. 2.
Ulpianus a Martyr at *Tyre*, 161. 2.
Ulpianus a Sophiſt, wrote an Oration in commendation of *Antioch*, 417. 1.
Uranius Biſhop of *Apamea*, 304. 1.
Uranius Biſhop of *Meletina*, ibid.
Uranius Biſhop of *Tyre*, 278. 2. is depoſed, 280. 2.
Urbanus Biſhop of *Rome*, 102. 2.
Urbanus preſident of *Paleſtine*, 159. 1. is put to death, 163. 2.
Urbanus, *Theodorus*, *Menedemus*, and ſeventy other Presbyters, who head been ſent Legates for the Catholicks to *Valens*, are barbarouſly murdred, 314. 1, 2.
Urbicius, or *Urbicus*, Præfect of *Rome*, 61. 2.
Urſacius, and *Valens*, *Arian* Biſhops, 250. 2. condemned in the *Sardican* Synod, 257. 2. preſent a Penitentiary-Libel to Pope *Julius*, 263. 1. they are depoſed in the Synod of *Ariminum*, 273. 2.
Urſinus a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, 324. 1.

W.

Weſtern Church when ſevered in Communion from the Eaſtern, 259. 2.
Wiſdom of *Solomon*, ſo the Book of *Proverbs* was called, 64. 1. 66. 2.
Woman of *Alexandria*, her chaſtity, 150. 2.
Women that were adultereſſes, how puniſhed by the *Romans*, 341. 1.
Word of God, His Nature, Proprieties, and Operations, 683. 1, &c. He is God of God, and Light of Light, 686. 1. the reaſon of His Incarnation, 691. 2. &c.

X.

Xenaias a great ſtickler againſt *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, 466. 1. He is made Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, 467. 2. by a Greek name he was termed *Philoxenus*, ibid.
Xorolophus a place in *Conſtantinople*, 371. 2.
Xyſtus Biſhop of *Rome*, 51. 1.
Xyſtus, another Biſhop of *Rome*, 118. 2.

Z.

Zambdas Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 138. 2.
Zacchæus Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, 51. 2.
Zacharias the Rhetorician, an Hiſtorian, favoured *Neſtorius*, 421. 2. blames *Proterius* falſely, 431. 1. He favoured *Eutyches*'s party, 452. 2. *Evagrius* reproves him for his careleſneſs in writing his Hiſtory, 459. 2.
Zamolxis a God of the *Getæ*, 689. 1.
Zebinus Biſhop of *Antioch*, 103. 2.
Zeno at firſt named *Aricmeſius*, marries *Leo Auguſtus*'s daughter, 435. 2. is created Emperour of the *Romans*, 436. 2. His wicked Life, 448. 1, 2. His *Henoticon*, or *uniting Edict*, 455. 1, 2. His Letter to Pope *Felix*, 460. 1.
Zenobius a Presbyter of the Church at *Sidon*, Martyred, 147. 2.
Zephyrinus Biſhop of *Rome*, 90. 1.
Zeuxippus's Bath, 252. 2.
Zoilus Biſhop of *Lariſſa*, 304. 1.
Zoilus Governour of *Antioch* under *Theodoſius* Junior, what Buildings he erected at *Antioch*, 415. 2.
Zoilus is made Biſhop of *Alexandria*, after *Theodoſius*'s ejectment, 482. 2. 495. 1.
Zoſimus Biſhop of *Rome*, 374. 1.
Zoticus Otrenus a Presbyter, 81. 1.
Zoticus Biſhop of *Comana*, 82. 1. 84. 1.
Zozimas or *Zoſimas* a Monk in *Syria*, 480. 1. He foretells the Earthquake at *Antioch*, 480. 2. His miracles, ibid.
Zozimus an Hiſtorian, was a Heathen, and on that account hated *Conſtantine*, 472. 1. He brought down his Hiſtory as far as the times of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, 472. 2. when he wrote his Hiſtory, ibid.

THE

THE INDEX

Of the Chief Matters that occurr in the Notes on theſe

HISTORIANS.

The Firſt Number ſhews the Page ; the Second, the Column.

A.

Abares, or *Abari*, when firſt known to the *Romans*, 500. 1. *Acacius* Biſhop of *Conſtantine*, never held communion with *Petrus Fullo*, 457. 2. He was condemned in no particular *Synod*, 459. 1. when the ſentence of depoſition was pronounc'd againſt him, 461, 1, 2.

'Αχχίζομαι, what it ſignifies, 469. 1.

Aceſius the Novatianiſt ſeems not to have been called to the Nicene Synod by *Conſtantine*, 225. 1.

Acœmeti had two Monaſteries at *Conſtantinople*, 459 2. 467. 1.

Acts what, 12. 1. Acts of Pilate when forged by the Heathens, 12. 1. 173. 2.

'Αδιάδοχος σχολαστεία, the power of a perpetual Maſter of the Milice, 462. 2. a paſſage in *Theophanes* is mended, ibid.

Adjutor, the Prince of the Office of the Maſter of the Offices, 440. 1.

Adoration of the Emperour, what it was, 630. 2.

Adra, a City of *Arabia*, 304. 1.

Adulterer, ſo he was called who invaded the See of a Biſhop that was yet living, 456. 2.

Adultery, how puniſhed amongſt the *Romans*, 341. 1.

Ægiochus, an Epithete given to *Jupiter*, 410. 1.

Ælia, ſo *Jeruſalem* was called till *Conſtantine*'s time, when it recovered its old name *Jeruſalem* again, 52. 1. 118. 1. 167. 2.

Aerial Martyr, ſo *Symeon* the *Stylite* was called, 411. 2.

Æther, the Element of Fire, 684. 2.

Africanus the *Chronographer*, not the ſame perſon that compoſed *the Ceſti*, 16. 2.

Agathobulus a Philoſopher, 137. 1.

Agbarus, called alſo *Abgarus*, 13. 2.

'Αγορὰ *Forum*, a Market, or Court of *Judicature*, 69. 1.

'Αιὼν, or Ævum, in Plato ſignifies eternity, 671. 2.

Agnati and *Cognati*, who, and wherein they differ, 563. 1.

Agrippa Junior, when he began to Reign, 25. 2.

'Αγχιστεῖς, who they are, 563. 1.

'Ακειβὴς λόγος, what it ſignifies, 219. 2. 583. 2.

Alabarches, the Chief Magiſtrate of the *Jews* that lived at *Alexandria*. 18. 1.

Allegories were by the Ancient *Græcians* termed ὑπόνοιαι, 23. 2.

Alexander Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in what year he dyed, 247. 1.

Alexandria a very unhealthful City, and why, 127. 2.

Alexandrian Biſhops heretofore termed Popes, 404. 1. *Nicephorus*'s Opinion is refuſed, ibid. They had a ſecular principality, 372. 2.

Alexandrian Synod, wherein *Origen*'s books were condemned by *Theophilus*, 360. 2.

Alexandrian Synod, its Acts, 289. 2, &c.

Alexandrian Biſhop, whether he ordained all over *Egypt*, 263. 1.

Alternative Hymns, by whom firſt appointed, 359. 1.

Ambon, a place wherein Criminals were ſet, whilſt they were interrogated by the Judge, 111. 2.

Amen was the anſwer of the Faithful, when they received the conſecrated Bread, 114. 2. alſo, after the Prieſt had conſecrated. 120 2.

'Αμφίθυρα, Curtains hanging before doors, 524. 1, 2. many uſes of them in the Church, ibid.

Amphilochius Biſhop of *Side*, 432. 2.

'Αναβολὴ, a Preface, 637. 1.

'Αναβολεὺς, a Strator, one that lifts his Maſter on horſeback, 463. 1.

'Αναμασσόμενοι τὰς ἀλυσίδας, 128. 2.

'Αναπαύειν, to comfort, or refreſh, 40. 2.

Anaſtaſia, the wife of *Baſſianus* the Cæſar, 309. 1, 2.

Anaſtaſian Baths, whence ſo called, ibid.

Anaſtaſis, the Church of the Reſurrection at *Jeruſalem*, 427. 1. 588. 2.

'Ανάφορα, the Relation of a Preſident to the Emperour. 407. 2.

'Ανάπλους, a place near *Conſtantinople*, 475. 2.

Anaſtaſius Sinaita Biſhop of *Antioch*, when he was ejected, 503. 1.

Annas or *Ananus*, held the High-prieſt-hood many years, 12. 2.

'Ανσιρίδες, *Props*, 518. 2.

'Αντιγραφεῖς, Maſters of the Scrinia, 350. 1.

Antioch when made a free City, 433. 2. three *Forum*'s or Tribunals there, and as many *Schols of Advocates*, 415. 1. In the ſame City was alſo the Prætorium of the Maſter of the Eaſtern Milice, 415. 2. when termed *Theopolis*, 480. 1.

Antiochians, from what month their years begin, 434. 1. 467. 2.

Antipater and *Ariſtobulus*, ſons to *Herod* the Great, killed by his order, 11. 2.

Antipater, Grandfather to *Herod* the Great, 10. 1.

Antiphons, See *Alternative Hymns*.

'Αντίψυχος, *Vicarius* a ſubſtitute, 695. 1.

Apamia, the Metropolis of *Syria-Cœle* or *Syria Secunda*, 469. 1.

'Απομνημονεύματα, what it ſignifies, 77. 2. 105. 1.

Apocryphal Book, 98. 1.

'Αποκοιμᾶσθαι, what it ſignifies, 81. 1.

Apocryſarius of a Monaſtery, that is, one who managed the affairs of a Monaſtery, 494. 1. *Apocryſarii* or Reſponſales of Patriarchs and Biſhops in the Emperour's Court, 496. 1.

Apollinarians, Hereticks, 284. 2.

Apollonia a Virgin that ſuffered Martyrdom in the Reign of *Philippus*, not under *Decius*, 110. 1.

Apollonius, whilſt *Montanus* was living, wrote againſt his prophecy, 83. 2, &c.

Apollonius a *Roman* Senator, 85. 2.

Αποσοβέω, its ſignification, 94. 1.

Apoſtates, when they return to the Church, are treated with more ſeverity, 119. 2.

Apoſtles, the twelve were not only ſo called, but ſeveral other perſons, 14. 2. 29. 1.

Apoſtles are not reckoned in the number of Biſhops, 38. 2.

'Αποτίθεσθαι, what it ſignifies, 402. 1, 2.

'Αποτυμπανισθῆναι, what it imports, 72. 2.

Aquæduct of Valens *Auguſtus* at *Conſtantinople*, 308. 1, 2.

Archelaus Biſhop of *Caſcarum*, his diſputation againſt *Manichæus*, 234. 2.

Areopagus, what it was, 32. 1.

'Αειγενῶν, 91. 1.

Arius, two of that name, 240. 2. *Arius* who with *Euzoius* preſented a Libel of faith to the Emperour *Conſtantine*, was not *Arius* the Arch-Heretick, ibid.

Arius, when and how recalled from baniſhment, ibid.

Artemius, Commander in chief of *Egypt*, 288. 2.

'Αγύειν, to *take away*, or *remove*, 87. 1.

Arſenius Biſhop of the Hypſelitæ, 238. 2. 240. 2.

Aſcetæ, who were heretofore called ſo, 22. 2 Not only *Monks* but,

but Clergy-men alſo had that name given them, 139. 1. 168. 2.
Ἀσέβεια, the Crime of Treaſon, 695. 1.
Aſia, how many ways 'tis taken, 86. 1:
Aſiarchs, what they were, 58. 2. how choſen, ibid. a very chargeable Office, ibid.
Aſterius Urbanus, Author of the books againſt the Cataphrygæ, 82. 1.
Athanaſius, in what year recalled from baniſhment, 246. 2. in what year he went to *Rome*, 256. 2. He went to *Rome* once only, 253. 2. when a boy, he baptized his play-fellows, 229. 1.
Ἄττις, or *Attis Bacchus*, 302. 2.
Atticus Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, his Epitaph, 383. 1.
Auguſtonica, a Province of *Egypt*, 262. 2.
Αὐλεῖος θύρα, a door of an houſe, 608. 2.
Αὐλὴ, *Atrium*, or *a Court*, 590. 2.
Avitus, how many months he Reigned, 428. 2, &c.
Auſe, or *Oſee*, the firſt name of Jeſus the ſon of *Nave*, 5. 1.
Αὐτοφυὲς ὑσία, 190. 2.
Αὐτοπάρθενοι, Chriſtian Virgins, 161. 2.
Αὐτοθεὸς, ſo *Euſebius* calls Chriſt, 186. 2.
Ἀξιωματικοὶ the Honorati, are joyned with the Decuriones, 431. 2.

B.

Bacaudæ, a ſort of Boors, were up in Arms over the whole Roman world, 690. 2.
Bacurius Prince of the *Iberi*, 233. 2.
Baptiſm is by the *Greeks* termed σφραγὶς or a ſeal, 40. 2. 'tis the Symbol of our Lord's Paſſion, 184. 2. 'tis termed τελείωσις, 628. 2.
Baſileus Biſhop of *Amaſia*, 551. 2. a Martyr under *Licinius*, ibid.
Baſilius the Great, what year made Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, 321. 1, 2. He was twice queſtioned by *Valens*, 322. 1.
Baſilides's Prophets, 52. 2.
Βασιλικὸς λόγος, 681. 2.
Βασιλεύουσα πόλις, the Imperial City, ſo *Euſebius* always calls *Rome*, not *Conſtantinople*, 593. 1.
Baſiliſcus declared his ſon *Marcus*, *Cæſar*; afterwards, *Auguſtus*, 451. 1.
Bataneotes, a Surname of *Porphyrius* the Philoſopher, 100. 2.
Battle at *Cibalæ*, 554. 1.
Battle at *Hadrianople*, what year it happened, 556. 2.
Beneficiarii, 179. 1.
Beryllus's opinion concerning the Nature and divinity of Chriſt, 107. 1. His Hereſie, 290. 2.
Berytus, what year the Synod was convened there, 409. 1.
Biſhops in *Egypt*, were an hundred, 212. 2.
Biſhops heretofore preached, ſtanding on the ſteps of the Altar, 355. 2.
Biſhops, their firſt Sermon always much taken notice of, 384. 2.
Biſhops, their ſentences in judicature made valid, 615. 2.
Biſhops of other Cities, were uſually buried at *Conſtantinople*, in the Church of *The Apoſtles*, 492. 2.
Biſhops anciently wore a plate of gold on their forehead, in imitation of the *Jewiſh* High-prieſts, 87. 1.
Birth-day of the Martyrs, was that whereon they ſuffer'd Martyrdom, 59. 2.
Βιῶναι, to lead a ſecular Life, 92. 2. Βιωτικὸς, Laicks, ibid.
Boſci, *Monks* ſo called, 418. 1.
Botry a City of *Phœnice*, 494. 1. *Theophanes* and *Antoninus* Martyr are mended, ibid.
Britiſh-Church very ancient, 333. 1, 2. it was, and is independent of the *Roman* Patriarchate, ibid.
Bruchium, what it was, 136. 2. the ſiege of it, when, ibid.
Bryſia, 518. 2.

C.

Cæſarea, or *Cæſarium*, the Great Church of *Alexandria*. 376. 2. whence it had that name, 430. 1.
Caius was Author of the book called The Little *Labyrinth*, 89. 2. He wrote a book againſt *Proclus*, 102. 2.
Calendio is ordained Biſhop of *Antioch* at *Conſtantinople* by *Acacius*, contrary to the Canons, 457. 1. how many years he ſate Biſhop, 452. 1.
Καλλίπολις, ſo *Conſtantinople* was termed, 557. 1.
Καλχηδοεῖς is ſometimes made uſe of inſtead of καλχηδόνιοι 446. 2. In old Coyns that City is written καλχηδῶν, 460. 1.
Camp bread given to the City *Antioch* by *Dioclesian*, 427. 1. a place in Procopius about this Annona, is mended, ibid.
Campus, a place without the City *Antioch*, where the Souldiers exerciſed, 518. 2. Campus, a place ſeven miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, 507. 2. it was the place where Criminals were puniſhed, 658. 2.
Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, 366. 1. what muſt be thought concerning that Council, ibid.
Canon, or ſet-allowance of Bread, or Bread-corn, at *Conſtantinople*, 251. 1.
Canon the ſecond, of the *Conſtantinopolitan* Council, is explained, 333, 2.
Canon the ſixth, of the *Nicene* Council, whether it treats concerning Patriarchs, and their Juriſdiction, 332. 2.
Caſtalian Fountain near *Antioch*, 414. 2.
Caſtrenſis Panis. See *Camp-bread*.
Καταδεσμοὶ, Ligatures, Inchantments, 688. 2.
Catechiſt taught in a private Auditory, not publickly in the Church, 102. 1.
Catechumens were made by Impoſition of the Biſhop's hand, 627. 1, 2. they covered their heads, 629. 1.
Κατεσαρώθη, 74. 1.
Catholick Epiſtles, 98. 1.
Catholicus, a Rationaliſt, 121. 2. ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων, a Rationaliſt, ibid. and 181. 2.
Celſus the Philoſopher, againſt whom *Origen* wrote, was *Lucian's* Friend, 108. 1.
Cephro, and *Coluthio*, 122. 2. 123. 1.
Ceratas, a Wind about *Byzantium*, 276. 2.
Κεφάλαιον, capitulum, a period, 131. 2.
Charemon, a Philoſopher, 101. 2.
Chair or Throne of Saint *Mark* at *Alexandria*, 138. 2.
Chalcedon-Synod, the Copies of it that *Evagrius* made uſe of, are different from ours, 439. 1. which are more genuine and authentick, *Evagrius's* Copies, or ours, 444. 1.
Chalcedon had only the bare name of a Metropolis given it by *Marcianus*, 446. 2.
Chartæ, or Libels of *Cæcilianus's* crimes, tranſmitted to the Emperour, 394. 1.
χλάνις inſtead of χλάμυς, 125. 2.
Chorepiſcopi, who they were, 134. 1.
Choſroes King of the *Perſians*, when he died, 509. 1.
χρεισὸς, *Chriſt*, was written with a diphthong, 653. 1. *Chriſt* before all things, and after all things, 666. 1.
Chriſt, in what year born, 7. 2. whether he was born on the twenty fifth of *December*, ibid.
Chriſtian Religion termed ἡ χρατῦσα, 53. 1.
Chriſtians wont to ſtop their Ears, when they heard any impious expreſſion, 85. 1. they gave their children the names of the Apoſtles, 131. 1. They prayed with expanded hands, 611. 1.
Chriſtians were very deſirous of being baptized in Jordain, 628. 1. who were termed *perfect Chriſtians*, 628. 2. Their Feaſts at the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, 647. 2. Their way of Burial, 124. 1. 128. 2.
χηρόχυτος γραφὴ, Encauſtick painting, 530. 2.
χρηματισμὸς τῶν ἀντιοχέων, 433. 2.
Chryſargyrum is in *the Code* termed *Luſtralis auri Collatio*, 47. 1. The Emperours called it Vectigal. ibid. *Libanius* calls it Tribute, becauſe 'was paid every fourth year by Merchants or Traders, ibid. The Aurum pœnoſum is to be diſtinguiſhed from it, ibid.
Chryſoſtome's ſaying concerning penitents, 367. 2.
Chryſotelia, what it was, 474. 2.
Churches, there were fourty of them at *Rome* in *Decius's* time, 113. 2.
Circular Letters, or Encyclicæ, 432. 2.
Claudian at firſt wrote Greek Verſes, 416. 1. when he began to write Latine Verſes, ibid.
Clavularis Curſus, 287. 2.
Clemens's book of Recognitions, 48. 2. 49. 1.
Clemens's Stromata, 97. 2.
Clemens's books entitled Ὑποτυπώσεις, or Inſtitutions, 79. 1. a fragment of them is now extant, at the cloſe of his Stromata, ibid.
Clergy-men wore a Philoſophick Pallium, 101. 2. Clergy-men termed *Competentes*, 191. 2.
Κλῆρος the degree or order of Eccleſiaſticks, 114. 1.
Ἐκλήρωσε, he enroll'd amongſt the Clergy, 495. 1.
Cletus Biſhop of *Rome*, the ſame perſon with *Anencletus*, 38. 2.
Κλειθρίδια what it ſignifies, 412. 2. 422. 2.
Κλινάδες, Stibadia, accubita, Beds to lye and eat upon, 581. 2.
Clinicks, their Baptiſm, 113. 2.
Coadjutor or Aſſiſtant can't be made without the Biſhops conſent, 96. 2. Two inſtances of *Coadjutors*, 137. 2.
Colligere, Collecta, 604. 2.
Clopas of *Cleophas*, whether *Joſeph's* brother, and unkle to Chriſt, 38. 1.
Κοιμητήρια, in Latine Areæ, 122. 2.
Comites of the firſt and ſecond order, long before the Reign of *Conſtantine*, 606. 2, &c.
Common Council of *Aſia*, or κοινὸν ἀσίας, what it was, 55. 2. 56. 1.
Communicatory-Letters, two ſorts of them, 135. 1.
Communion was twofold; one of prayer, the other of the Sacraments, 112. 1. private Communion, ibid. and 114. 2.
Confectores, 59. 1.
Confeſſion, whether private, or publick, amongſt the Ancient Chriſtians, 341. 2 342. 1, &c.
Conſecrated Bread was wont to be moiſtened in water, 113. 2.
Conſtantina, a City of *Phœnice*, the Biſhop whereof was *Sophronius*, 409. 1.
Conſtantine's Letters to the Biſhops, taken for the Synodick Letter of the Nicene Synod. 582. 1.

Conſtantine took too much upon himſelf, in Eccleſiaſtick matters. 594. 2.
Conſtantine the Great, how many years he reigned, 624. 1. He was termed ἰσαπόστολος, *equal to an Apoſtle*, 626. 2. when he was made a Catechumen, 627. 2.
Conſtantine's Statue wont to be adored by the common people, 230. 1.
Conſtantine's Letter againſt *Arius*, 224. 2.
Conſtantinopolitane Biſhop ordained in the *Helleſpont*, and in the adjacent Provinces, 276. 1. He is ſimply and abſolutely termed The Patriarch, 439. 1.
Conſtantinopolitane Synod aſſembled on account of the cauſe of *Gregorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, what year convened, 518. 1, 2.
Conſtantius Chlorus, in what year he dyed, 209. 2.
Conſtantius uſed to ſwear by his own eternity, 273. 1.
Corban, what it was, 19. 1.
χωρικοὶ, Ruſticks or Boors, 109. 1. called alſo χωρῖται, 490. 2.
Cornutus a Philoſopher, 101. 2. He is erroneouſly termed *Phornutus*, ibid.
Council at *Jeruſalem*, in what year aſſembled, 25. 1.
Council of *Chalcedon*, in what manner it was preached and publiſhed, 482. 2. The three General Councils preached or publiſhed together with it by the Deacon in the Church after the reading of the Goſpel, and inſerted into the Diptychs, ibid.
Criminals uſually executed without the City, 495. 1.
Κεῖσθαι, 697. 2.
Curator of a City, 146. 1.
Curators of the Imperial Houſes, who they were, 510. 1, &c. They had Juriſdiction, 511. 1. Their Title was, Moſt Glorious, and Moſt Magnificent, ibid. 510. 2.
Κυριακὰ, Dominica, or Churches, 698. 1.
Curiæ, and Curiales, 558. 1.
Curiales or Decuriones did heretofore gather the Tribute, 474. 2. *Anaſtaſius* the Emperor freed them from that, 475. 1. The following Emperors null'd that Law, ibid.
Curopalates heretofore a deſpicable office, afterwards the higheſt dignity of the palace, 499. 1, 2. He was a different perſon from the Count of the Guards, ibid.
Cuziba, a Monaſtery and Laura, 480. 2.
Cynegica a Region near *Antioch*, 467. 2.
Cyrenius. See *Quirinius*.
Cyrillus Biſhop of *Alexandria* preſided in the *Epheſine* Synod, 404. 1.
Cyrus Biſhop of *Beræa*, baniſhed on account of the *Homoouſian* Faith, 235. 2.
Cyrus, a Poet, 416. 1.

D.

Dacianus, 278. 1.
Dæmons of the Air, or *Aerial Dæmons*, 672. 1.
Dalmatius the Cenſor, Father to *Dalmatius* the *Cæſar*, 238. 2, &c.
Damophilus the *Bithynian*, his *Collectanea*, 515. 2. He lived after *Plutarch*'s time, ibid.
Darius the *Mede*, is not *Nabonnidas*, 652. 1.
Deacons diſtributed not the Sacrament amongſt the people, when the Prieſt was preſent, 114. 2.
Decani, δεκαδάρχοι, 521. 2.
Dicennalia, Vicennalia, Tricennalia, what meant by them, 529. 1.
Decius, how many years he Reigned, 117. 1.
Decuriales, who they were at *Rome*, 340. 2. The Rector of the Decuriæ, ibid.
Delphicum, an Edifice wherein were the Emperor's *Stibadia*, or *Beds* to lie and banquet on, 478. 1.
Δημοσιεύειν, what it ſignifies, 110. 2.
Δημοσιευθῆς, to be read publickly, 38. 1.
Dengiſich ſon to *Attila*, 435. 2. His name being faulty in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, is mended, ibid.
Depoſitions of Biſhops in what order uſually declared, 442. 1.
Dexippus the Hiſtorian, his σκυθικὰ, 513. 2.
Διὰ βίου ἱερωμένοι, *perpetual Prieſts*, 191. 1.
Διάδοχοι, Maſters of the Platonick School at *Athens*, 136. 1.
Διαλέξεις, Homilies, or Diſcourſes to the people, 89. 1.
Dialogue of *Jaſon* and *Papiſcus*, by whom written, 52. 1.
Διαμαρτυρίαι, *Proteſts*, 280. 2.
Διασημότατοι, Moſt Perfect, 177. 2.
Διάθεσις, Charity, Love, 583. 2.
Διατίθεσθαι, componere, to bury the dead, 128. 2.
Διεξαγωγὴ, 130. 2.
Διηκονημένον δόρυ, *haſta amentata*, a Javelin fitted with a Leather-loop, 463. 1.
Dignus eſt, *he is worthy*, was the uſual acclamation in the Election of Biſhops, 106. 1.
Διηγήσεις, Enarrations, Expoſitions, 98. 2.
Dii patrii and Peregrini, 553. 2.
Dioclefian's perſecution, when it began, 140. 2. 158. 2. 537. 1. when it ended, 151. 1. what year *Dioclefian* triumphed, 148. 1, 2. why he reſigned the Empire, 660. 1, 2. in what year he dyed, 210. 2.
Diœceſis, what it ſignifies, 83. 2. 618. 2.
Dionyſius Conſularis of *Phœnice*, 620. 2.
Διόδροι, *Porticus*'s, 590. 1.
Dioſcorus Biſhop of *Hermopolis*, when he dyed, 365. 1.
Dioſcorus Junior when ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 467. 1. *Liberatus*'s miſtake in relating his Ordination, ibid.
Dius, the firſt Month of the *Syro-Macedonians*, 157. 1.
Δοκηταὶ, Hereticks, 97. 1.
Dominica Mediana, 316. 1. whence ſo called, ibid.
Donatiſts, their Schiſm, 571. 2. they were the firſt that appealed from an Eccleſiaſtick Judicature, 280. 2.
Dorotheus Presbyter of *Antioch*, a different perſon from *Dorotheus* who was of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor, 135. 2, &c.
Doſitheus the *Samaritane*, when he lived, 63. 2.
Doxology of the *Arians*, 258. 1.
Drachms whence ſo called, by whom uſed; Attick Drachms, their value, 11. 2.
Ducenarius, what he was, 134. 1.
Δυνάμεις, *Powers*, ſo Angels, as well as Dæmons, are termed, 686. 1.

E.

Earth-quakes, two ſorts of them, 175. 1.
Earth-quake at *Antioch* in *Juſtinus*'s Reign, in what year it happened, 475. 2.
Eaſter-Alms, 613. 2.
Ebionites, whence ſo called, 44. 1.
Eccleſiaſticus, an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, in how many ſenſes 'tis taken, 29. 2.
Edicts and Letters of the Emperors, written in paper, 142. 1.
Edict of the *Præfecti-Prætorio*, 313. 1.
Edicts and Letters of the Emperors, wherein they differ, 180. 1.
Ἐκδεδημημένος βίος, 4. 1. 488. 2.
Ἔκδοχαὶ, what it ſignifies, 97. 2.
Ἐκμαγάτα, what it ſignifies, 113. 1.
Ἔκστασις, madneſs of mind. 81. 2.
Egypt heretofore reckoned amongſt the Provinces of the Eaſt, 571. 2.
Ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα, what, 92. 1. Philoſophy and Rhetorick differ from them, ibid.
Elceſaitæ, Hereticks, 108. 1, 2. ſo called from *Elceſai* or *Elxæus*, ibid.
Eleuſinius Biſhop of *Saſima*, 466. 1. a place in *Theophanes* about him, is mended, ibid.
Emperors of *Conſtantinople* were uſually proclaimed in the ſeventh Milliarium, or Mile, 507. 2.
Emperors of *Rome* reſcinded all that had been done by Tyrants, 661. 2.
Empire of *Rome* when firſt divided, 148. 2.
Ἐμποδὼν, what it ſignifies amongſt the Antients, 406. 2.
Ἐνθεσμιστικαὶ, Letters of the Patriarchs at their inſtalment, 478. 2. alſo ἐνθεσμιστικαὶ, Homilies, ibid.
Ἐγκαθεύδειν, to ſleep in a Heathen temple, 597. 2.
Encænia of the *Jeruſalem*-Church, on what day celebrated. 621. 2.
Encyclic Letters. See *Circular-Letters*.
Ἔνδειξις and ἐντυχία, a ſupplicatory Libel, 55. 1.
Ἕνωσις ſignifies *Unition*, not *Unity*, 501. 2, &c.
Ἑορτασικαὶ, Paſchal Letters, 116. 2.
Ἐπαρχεῖν, what it ſignifies, 118. 2.
Ἐπαρχικοὶ, the Officials of the *Prætorian Præfecture*, 223. 2. 556. 2.
Ἐπάρχης and ἐπάρχειος, made uſe of inſtead of ἐπαρχεῖα, 30. 2.
Epheſine Biſhop heretofore ordained by the Biſhops of his own Province, 452. 1. the Patriarchal Juriſdiction taken from him in the Chalcedon-Council, ibid.
Ἐπιγνώσκειν, to ſalute, 56. 1. 573. 2.
Ἐπιδημία θεῶν, the advent or arrival of the Gods, 174. 2.
Ἐπιδίφιοι, Sedentary Mechanicks, 510. 1.
Epimenides, an Initiator, 297. 1.
Ἐπιμένισις τῶ κύκλω, an Indiction, 468. 1.
Epheſine Council in *Baſiliſcus*'s Reign, 451. 1.
Epiphanius Biſhop of *Cyprus*, when he dyed, 363. 1, 2. His character, ibid.
Epiſtolæ Communicatoriæ. See Communicatory-Letters.
Ἐπιλαχίζειν and ὀπιλάχισμα, what they ſignifie, 4. 1.
Eſſenes, 23. 1.
Ἔθνη, the Provinces of the *Romans*, 539. 1.
Ἔποικος, what it ſignifies, 511. 2.
Eruli are by the *Græcians* termed ἔλυγες, 486, 2.
Ἐυδοξὴ, what it ſignifies, 73. 1.
Evagrius a Presbyter of *Antioch*, was afterwards Biſhop of *Antioch*, 353. 2.
Evagrius Præfect of *Egypt*, 339. 1, 2. a paſſage in Eunapius his Life of Ædeſius, mended, ibid.
Euchariſt, ſo the Conſecrated bread was termed, 88. 2. it was ſent to other Biſhops under the name of *Eulogiæ*, ibid. it is given to a boy to carry to a ſick man, 115. 1. it was ſometimes given to penitents without reconciliation, ibid. it was put into the mouths of the ſick, 115. 2. what remained of it, was given to boys, to be eaten, 494. 2.
Εὐχὴν δεῖσθαι, *votafacere*, to pray, or deſire earneſtly, 535. 2.
Eudocia Auguſta went twice to *Jeruſalem*, 417. 1, 2. when ſhe made her ſecond journey thither, ibid.
Eudoxia the Empreſs, her ſilver Statue, 365. 1, 2.
Eugenius a Tyrant in *Dioclefian*'s time, 142. 2.

Eunomius when made Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, 307. 2. His Creed. 335. 2. &c.
Evocati, who they were. 39. 2.
Εὐπατρίδαι ſignifies noble perſons, not *Patricians*, 39. 1.
Euſebius wrote his Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory, after almoſt all his other works, 5. 1. His book concerning the Eaſter-Cycle, 617. 2. whether he made a ſpeech to the Emperor in the Nicene-council, 579. 2.
Euſebius and Lucifer, whether they were Legates of the Apoſtolic See, 289. 2.
Euſebius and *Theognius*, when baniſhed, and when reſtored, 227. 2. when they preſented a Libel of Satisfaction to the Biſhops, 228. 1. They were not condemned in the Nicene-Synod, but in ſome other Synod, ibid.
Euſtathius Biſhop of *Antioch*, when depoſed, 599. 2. when he dyed, 313. 2. His body when removed to *Antioch*, ibid.
Eutropia Mother-in-law to *Conſtantine*, 594. 2, &c.
Ἐφεκτικοὶ. Ephecticks, 270. 2.
Ἐξαργυρίζειν, Adærare, to Value by money, 326. 2.
Exarchs, who they were, 483. 1.
Exedra, what it is, and whence ſo called, 594. 1.
Ἐξισωταὶ, peræquatores, 607. 1, 2.
Exorciſts, their office, 158. 2.
Ἐξωσίαι, Municipal Magiſtrates, 69. 1.
Expeditions, two of them were made againſt the Vandals in *Leo Auguſtus*'s reign, 435. 2. a paſſage in Candidus Iſaurus, concerning the Expedition, mended, ibid.

F.

Faithful heard the Word, ſtanding in the Church, 617. 2.
Faith only by ſenſe, 65. 2.
Faſt before Eaſter, very ancient, 88. 1.
Faſt, three ſorts of it amongſt the Ancient Chriſtians, ibid. Faſt of fourty hours before Eaſter, why uſed, ibid. Faſt of the *Great week*, muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the *Lent-Faſt*, ibid.
Feaſts at the Sepulchres of the Martyrs, 647. 2.
Felix when ſent Procurator into *Judæa*, 25. 2.
Feriæ, why the days of the week are ſo termed, 157. 2.
Feriæ of the week, have their name from the following Sunday, 88. 1, 678. 2.
Firſt ſucceſſion of the Apoſtles, how far it reacht, 27. 1.
Flaccilla wife to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, 325. 2.
Flaccillus Biſhop of *Antioch*, 278. 1.
Flamen perpetuus, 193. 1.
Foſſes, two ſorts of them, 195. 1. their value, ibid.
Form, or Draught of the Nicene Creed, was ſubſcribed by all the Biſhops, but two, 217. 2.
Frumentius Biſhop of *Auxumis*, the ſame perſon with *Frumentius* Biſhop of the *Indians*, 232. 1, 2.
Φυλοκρινεῖν, 191. 1.

G.

Galen's authority, great amongſt the Ancients, 90. 2.
Galerius's Victory over the *Perſians*, 132. 1.
Gangra, the Synod there when held, 282. 2.
Genealogies of the *Hebrews*, were regiſtred in their *publick Archives*, 10. 1.
Γεννητὸν and γενητὸν, how much they differ in ſignification, 258. 2.
Gillo or *Gello*, a kind of She-Devil, 512. 2. the ſame with *Empuſa*, ibid.
Georæ, or *Geioræ*, who they were, 10. 1.
Georgius of *Laodicea* was made a Presbyter by *Alexander* Biſhop of the *Alexandrians*, 603. 1.
Germinius when made Biſhop of *Sirmium*, 268. 1.
Glicerius the Emperour was not made Biſhop of *Portue*, but of *Salonæ*, 436. 1, 2.
Golden-Rod uſually carried before the Roman Emperours, 499. 1, 2.
Goſpel according to the *Hebrews*, 43. 1.
Goſpel of Baſilides, 52. 2.
Gregorius Biſhop of *Alexandria*, how many years he ſate Biſhop, 251. 1.
Gregorius Nazianzenus, his three Biſhopricks, 321. 2. 331. 1.
Gynæcea, 558. 1.

H.

Hadrian the Emperour built a Temple to *Venus*, on mount *Calvary*, 224. 1.
Hannibalianus, 667. 2.
Heathens, how they conſecrated the Images of their Gods, 173. 1.
Hegeſippus was Irenæus's Cotemporary, 53. 1.
Helena her death, what year it happened, 593. 1.
Ἡλικία ſignifies *that age which is fit for warfare*, 168. 1.
Henoticon, or *Zeno*'s Edict about uniting the Churches, is termed ἑνωτικία, 455. 1.
Heraïs a Catechumen, 94. 1.
*Heretick*s, whether they may lawfully be perſecuted, 370. 2.
Hermodactylus, what manner of plant it was, 525. 2. the root of it good for thoſe that are troubled with the Gout in the Joynts or Fingers, ibid.
Hermogenes an Heretick, 65. 1. what his Hereſie was. ibid.
Herod the Great was no Foreigner but a *Jew*, 8. 1. after his death, his Kingdom was divided into three parts, 12. 1.
Herod, called alſo *Agrippa*, who he was, 19. 2. what children he had, 20. 2.
Hexapla of Origen, whence ſo called, 99. 1. 99. 2.
Hierocles Præfect of *Egypt*, againſt whom *Euſebius* wrote, 161. 2.
Hierophantæ were never called by their own name, by thoſe whom they had initiated, 664. 1.
High-Prieſt, ſo every perſon was called, as long as he lived, who had once born that office, 12. 2. They wore a plate of Gold, 45. 2.
Hilarius and *Athanaſius* differ in opinion concerning the Draughts of the Creed, drawn up by the Eaſterns, 266. 1, 2.
Hippolitus Biſhop of Portue, 102. 2. His Paſchal-Canon is part of his book concerning Eaſter, 103. 1.
Ὁλόσχερροι ἐπιπλοκαὶ, 104. 1.
Honoratus was the firſt Præfect of *Conſtantinople*, 281. 1.
Honorati, οἱ ἐπ' ἀξίας, 630. 2.
Hoſanna, what it ſignifies, 28. 1.
Hoſius ſubſcribed firſt to the Nicene Synod, 227. 1.
Hyacinthides virgins at Athens, who they were, 690. 1.
Ὕπαρχοι and ἔπαρχοι, the *Præfecti-Prætorio*, 606. 2.
Hypatia the Philoſophereſs, probably was *Theon*'s daughter, 376. 1. by whoſe means ſhe was murdered, 376. 2.
Hypatianus when made Biſhop of *Heraclea*, 266. 1.
Hypodiaconi, or Sub-deacons, kept the doors of the Church, 191. 1.
Hypomnematographer, an office born by *Lucian* at *Alexandria*, 122. 2.

I.

Jacobus the Monk, to whom the Emperour *Leo* wrote, whether *Jacobus Niſibenus*, 432. 1.
James the brother of our Lord, whether one of the twelve Apoſtles, 13. 2. whether the ſon of *Joſeph*, 16. 1. what is the meaning of his ſurname *Oblias*, 27. 2. in what year he ſuffered Martyrdom, 28. 2.
James ordained Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* by Chriſt, 126. 2.
Ἰατροσοφισταὶ, who termed ſo amongſt the Greeks, 375. 2.
Iconium, the Synod there when convened, 119. 2.
Ἱερογραμματεῖς amongſt the Egyptians, who they were, 36. 1.
Jeruſalem Biſhop's authority, 263. 1.
Jews, how their families came to be ſo confuſed, 9. 1. their Genealogies were not burnt by *Herod*, 10. 1. they had private copies of their Genealogies, ibid. they pray'd to God with their eyes turned towards the Temple, 33. 2. they were permitted to enter *Jeruſalem* but once in a year, 52. 1. their ſeaven Hereſies, 63. 2. Their Archiſynagogi, Presbyters, Deacons, Patriarchs, 121. 1. at their Feaſts the Gentiles were preſent alſo, 28. 1. Their diſperſion, and the reaſons of it, 30. 2, &c. a *Jew* in ſecret, or inwardly, 167. 1. How they divided the night and day, 35. 2.
Image of Chriſt at Edeſſa, 489. 1.
Indians converted to the faith of Chriſt by *Frumentius*, in *Conſtantius*'s reign, 232. 1, 2.
Interregnum of three months after the death of *Conſtantine* the Great, 630. 2.
Johannes is ordained Biſhop of *Alexandria* at *Conſtantinople*, by *Johannes Scholaſticus Patriarch* of *Conſtantinople*, 503. 1.
Johannes Apamenus, Biſhop of *Antioch* after *Petrus Fullo*, 453. 2.
Johannes Codonatus Biſhop of *Antioch*, 457. 1.
Johannes Rhetor the Hiſtorian, not the ſame perſon with *Johannes* of Epiphania the Hiſtorian, 413. 2, &c.
Johannes Tabenneſiota, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, whence ſo called, 454. 2. He was Oeconomus of the *Alexandrian* Church, ibid. a place in *Liberatus* concerning him, is mended, ibid. He did not appeal to Pope *Simplicius*, 456. 2.
John the Baptiſt's Church in the City *Alexandria*, was the Great Church, 454. 2.
Joſephus's Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars tranſcribed by *Titus*'s own hand 37. 2.
Joſephus's book concerning his own Life, is part of his twentieth book of Antiquities, 37. 2. His books of Hiſtory, otherwiſe divided than now they are, 11. 1.
Joſepus, ſo the Ancients called *Joſephus*, 12. 2.
Jovius Maximinus, 178. 1. his third Conſulate, 181. 2.
Ireneus, whether he brought the Letters of the Martyrs to *Rome*, 75. 2. In what year he was ordained Biſhop, 76. 2. His Synodick Letter 87. 2.
Irenarch, or Eirenarch, 57. 2.
Irene, two Churches at *Conſtantinople*, called by that name; the one, the old; the other, the new, 247. 2.
Ἰουδαμῶν γεγραφὴ, *a Copy*, 584. 1.
Judas of Galile, or Gaulonites, when he made his inſurrection, 8. 1. He was Founder of the Sect of the Galilæans, 63. 2.
Judas whether the brother of our Lord, 39. 2.
Julian the Emperour, called Bull-burner, 297. 2.
Julianus, the Biſhop of Rome's ſubſtitute in the ſecond Epheſine Synod, was Biſhop of *Coe*, not of *Puteoli*, 409. 1.
Juſtice, its eye, 699. 1.
Juſtinian's Vandalic Expedition, on what year of Chriſt it was undertaken, 484. 2.
Juſtin the Martyr's firſt Apology, according to *Euſebius*, is that which

is

is commonly entitled his ſecond; and on the contrary, his ſecond, his firſt, 21. 2. 60. 1. 61. 1. Juſtin's ſecond Apology, commonly entitled his firſt, was dedicated to Antoninus pius, 61. 1. Juſtin was Martyred in the Reign of Pius, ibid.
Juſtinus Senior, is by ſome termed a Thracian, by others an Illyrian, 477. 1. Before he was Emperour, he was *Comes of the Excubita* or *Guards*, ibid.
Juſtinus Junior, how many years he reigned, 513. 1.
Juſtus Tiberienſis, and his Books, 37. 2.

K.

Κανὼν the *Matricula* or *Roll* of the Church-officers, 342. 1.
Καπηλεύειν, 101. 1.
Καταμαξεύω, 99. 1.
Κατηχέω, 92. 2.
Κοιμητήρια, cœmiteries, 122. 2.
Κοινωνῆσαι, what it ſignifies, 59. 2.

L.

Lacunaria, 588. 1.
Laicks, when about to receive the Sacrament, heretofore came up to the Altar, 120. 2. before Biſhops and Monks that were eminent for piety of Life, the Laicks were wont to bow their heads, that they might receive a bleſſing, 493. 2.
Lampadarii, or *Light-bearers*, 665. 1.
Λαμπάδες, Torches, 613. 2.
Latiare Sacrum at *Rome*, 690. 1.
Laura what it is, and wherein it differs from a Monaſtery, 417. 2.
Laws of the Emperours *Conſtantine* and *Theodoſius*, concerning burning the Books of Hereticks, 450. 1.
Legates of Cæſar, ſome were *Conſulares*, others *Prætorii*, 46. 1.
Legate or Deputy of the Province of *Lyons*, 69. 1, 2.
Legion termed *The Lightning Legion*, 76. 1.
Legions amongſt the *Romans* had their Chappel, or Oratory, and their Presbyters, 625. 2.
Leo's Letter by *Dioſcorus* forbid to be read in the Council of *Epheſus*, 438. 1.
Leus's Daughters at *Athens*, 670. 1.
Libellatici, who they were, 120. 1.
Licinius made the Cities of the *Roman* Empire to flouriſh, 196. 2.
Light after darkneſs, in the Myſteries of the *Pagans*, 609. 2.
Litarba a Village in *Chalcis*, 520. 1. It's name being faulty in *Theophanes's Chronicon*, is mended. ibid.
Linyphia, 558. 1.
Loaves of Benediction, 374. 2.
Λογισεύειν, to bear the office of a Curator, 146. 1.
Λογιστής, ſo the *Præfectus Prætorio* was termed, 475. 1, 2.
Λόγος θεοσφοεικός, 255. 2.
Long-wall, termed the *Anaſtaſian-wall*, from its Builder, 470. 2.
Longinus a Philoſopher, taught at *Athens*, 101. 1.
Lotts, or κλῆροι of the *Athletæ* or Champions, 72. 1.
Lucianus a Martyr ſuffered under *Maximinus*, 174. 1.
Ludi Lugdunenſes, or Sports at *Lyons*, 73. 2.
Lunar Month, was thirty days, 674. 1.
Luſius Quietus Deputy of *Paleſtine*, 51. 1.
Λυχνικόν, 347. 2.
Lyſanias the Tetrarch was not one of *Herod's* Sons, nor his Succeſſor, 12. 1.

M.

Macarius Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, when ordained, and when ejected, 495. 1. in what year he was reſtored to his See, 495. 2.
Macedonius's Preſidency over the *Conſtantinopolitan* Church, whence to be begun, 252. 1.
Macedoniani, their Embaſſy to Pope *Liberius*, in what year ſent, 310. 2.
Macedonius Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, when firſt made Biſhop, ſubſcribed to *Zeno's Uniting Edict*, or *Henoticon*, 456. 2.
Magi amongſt the *Egyptians*, 121. 1.
Magiſtrate of the City *Jeruſalem*, was termed στρατηγὸς, 36. 1.
Magiſtrates and Governors of Provinces can't be preferred to a Biſhoprick, without conſent of the Emperor, 394. 2.
Mancipes, ſo the Bakers were called; and *Mancipates* was the office of Bakers, 340. 2.
Mandates or *Commands* of Princes, ἐντολαὶ, 178. 2.
Mandra, a Monaſtery; and Ἀρχιμανδρίτης, *an Abbot of a Monaſtery*, 412. 1.
Manichæans, who was the firſt broacher of their Hereſie, 135. 2. their Faſts, 274. 1.
Marcion at firſt a Mariner, 79. 2.
Mareotick Region was ſubject to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, 238. 1. How many Presbyters and Deacons it had, ibid.
Mark the Evangeliſt, what year he went into *Egypt*, 22. 2.
Mark the Interpreter of Saint *Peter*, 49. 2.
Martyrs will be Chriſt's Aſſeſſors when he comes to judgment, 112. 1.
Martyrs were beheaded in *The Campus*, 658. 2.
Martyrs, four ſorts of them amongſt the *Greeks*, 107. 1.
Martyrdom, what is ſo termed according to the command of the Goſpel, 60. 1.
Μαρτύριον, the Sepulchre of a Martyr, 685. 1.
Μαρτύριον, the Church of Saint *Euphemia* the Martyr, 446. 1. The Oratory of a Martyrium, what it was, 446. 1, 2.
Martyrium, ſo the *Jeruſalem* Church was called, 622. 2.
Masbothei, and *Masbotheani*, 63. 2.
Μάθημα, ſo the *Greeks* call *The Creed*, 218. 2.
Matthew, where and in what year he wrote his Goſpel, 42. 1.
Mauſoleum or Tomb of *Helena* Queen of the *Adiabeni* near *Jeruſalem*, 21. 1.
Maximus, two of that name who were Presbyters of the *Roman* Church, 113. 1. 114. 2.
Maximus the Cynick is ordained Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, 332. 2.
Maximus, two Philoſophers of that name, 286. 1.
Maximus the Tyrant, what Country-man he was, 336. 2.
Μεγαλόπολις Rome, 658. 1.
Melchi put inſtead of *Matthat*, in Our Saviour's Genealogy, 9. 2.
Meletius Biſhop of *Pontus*, 138. 2. Surnamed *Meletius* the Great, ibid.
Melitians after the *Nicene* Synod joyned with the *Arians*, 213. 2.
Melitius why kindly uſed by the *Nicene* Synod, 219. 2. He was no Hereſiarch. 220. 2.
Μένειν inſtead of ἀναμένειν, 645. 1.
Μεσαύλιον, *area*, a Court, 590. 2.
Μεσοπεντηκοστὴ the twenty fifth day from *Eaſter*, 629. 2.
Μέσος τρόπος, 578. 2.
Μεταβολεῖς, *Dardanarii*, *petty-merchants*, 297. 2.
Μέταυλος or μέσαυλος, what it ſignifies, and in what ſenſes 'tis uſed, 478. 1.
Methodius's Book concerning the Reſurrection, againſt *Origen*, 104. 1. why *Euſebius* has not mentioned *Methodius*, ibid.
Metrodorus the Philoſopher, 231. 1.
Metropolitans, their ordination does properly belong to the Patriarchs, 389. 2.
Milice is a ſort of ſervitude, 517. 2. 555. 1.
Militia Palatina, 246. 1.
Millain-Synod, how many Biſhops were at it, 271. 2. the matters tranſacted there, 256. 2. in what year of Chriſt it was held, ibid.
Mitella, or *Little Mitre* worn by Chriſtian Virgins, 165. 2.
Μοναρχία aſſigned to God the Father, οἰκονομία to the Son and Holy Ghoſt, 683. 2.
Μονομαχία and Θεομαχία, 73. 2.
Montanus's Faſts, 83. 1. His Hereſie called *The new Prophecy*, 84. 1.
Montanus and *Sabellius*, why frequently joined together, 235. 1, 2.
Moyſes, the Presbyter died before *Cornelius's* Ordination, 115. 1.
Myſia, two of them, 81. 1.
Μυσαγωγία, 482. 2.

N.

Ναὸς or νεὼν is taken for the whole ſacred Houſe, 591. 2, &c.
Ναύκληρος, what it ſignifies, 431. 2.
Ναύκληρος, a Biſhop, 636. 2.
Νέα or καινὴ κυριακὴ, *the firſt Sunday after Eaſter*, 403. 2. the *Greeks* call it by that name ſtill, 404. 1.
Neapolis a City of *Paleſtine*, 55. 1.
Nectarius, whether he aboliſhed Confeſſion or Pennance, 342. 2, &c.
Νέκυες κοπρίων ἐκβελητότεροι, *the dead more contemptible than dung*, 637. 2.
Neophytes were cloathed in white Garments, 629. 1. they put them off, on the eighth day, ibid.
Nepos, how many years he reigned, 436. 1.
Nicene Synod was convened in the Palace, 579. 1. How many Biſhops met at that Synod, 578. 2. 216. 1. 227. 1. no Acts were made of this Synod, 581. 1. on what Month and Day it was held, 581. 1, 2.
Nicocles the Grammarian, 285. 2.
Nicolaites, what their Hereſie was, 44. 2.
Nile, the Prieſts thereof were *Androgyni*, 614. 1, 2.
Nicomas inſtead of *Nicomachus*, 132. 2.
Νοερὰ καὶ λογικὴ θυσία, the Chriſtian Sacrifice, 697. 1.
Νοερὸν and νοητὸν, wherein they differ, 190. 2.
Nomades, who the *Greeks* call ſo, 674. 2.
Notaries of the Church, or of Biſhops, 347. 1. what their Office was, ibid.
Novatianiſts did not uſe the *Chriſme* in Baptiſm, 114. 1. they rebaptized the Catholicks that embraced their Hereſie, 120. 1.
Novatus and *Novatianus* are confounded by the *Greeks*, 115. 2.
Novatianus's Martyrdom, and the Acts of his paſſion are forged, 323. 2.
Novatianus was a Native of *Phrygia*, ibid.
Novum Sæculum, or *a new age*, 576. 1, 2.
Nubæ, they were called *Nomades* alſo, 407. 1, 2.
Numenius the Philoſopher, 101. 1.
Νῦν, that is *Lately*, 53. 2. 553. 2.
Nymphæum, the Temple of the Nymphs, 434. 1.

O.

Obodas, a God amongſt the *Arabians*, 689. 1.
Ocbas and *Acbas* an Impregnable Fort near the River *Nymphius*, 522. 1.

The INDEX.

Octachora Templa, eight-ſided Churches, 594. 1.
Octaves of Infants and *Neophytes* how religiouſly obſerved, 629. 1.
Οἰκεῖοι Domeſtick protectors, 295. 2.
Οἰκονομία is not uſed in reference to the Incarnation only, but concerning all things which Chriſt did on Earth, in order to Man's Salvation, 1. 2. 189. 2. 542. 1. 694. 1. the diſputation concerning Chriſt is divided into the οἰκονομία and θεολογία, 2. 1. οἰκονομία, or *the adminiſtration*, is properly attributed to the Son, 683. 2. 685. 1.
Olympiad, whence ſo called, 19. 2. how many years it conſiſted of, ibid.
Old Teſtament, three ranks or degrees of the Books thereof amongſt the *Jews*, 37. 1. How many in number the Books thereof were, ibid. and 104. 1.
Ὁμογενεῖς and ἀρχιγενεῖς of *Alexandria*, 127. 2.
Ὁπισθόδομος, a place where the publick treaſure was laid, 83. 1, 2.
Ὅπλον, a dart, 43. 2.
Optar King of the *Hunni*, 385. 2. His Brother *Roas*, 392. 2.
Oraria or Handkerchiefs were wont to be ſhaken by Auditors, 134. 1.
Order of the Seſſion of Biſhops in Councils, 85. 2.
Ὀρθοδομία, and Ὀρθοδομεῖν, 51. 1.
Origen is ordained by two Biſhops, 95. 1. went only once to *Rome*, 98. 2. diſtinguiſhed the Books of the Old Teſtament into *Cola*, Verſes, or ſuch parts of the Text as contained an entire ſenſe, 99. 2. After his Edition of the *Hexapla*, he made the *Tetrapla*, ibid. is a different Perſon from the other Origen *Plotinus*'s School-fellow, 100. 2, &c. is condemned by *Demetrius* and depoſed, 103. 2. *Demetrius*'s ſentence was ineffectual, ibid. *Origen*, before his condemnation, removed from the City *Alexandria*, 105. 1, 2. His threefold work upon the ſacred Scripture, 108. 1, 2. what year he died, 117. 1. He was not condemned in the fifth Synod at *Conſtantinople*, but long before, 497. 1.
Origen, that name is written with an *Aſperate* by the *Greeks*, 92. 1.
Oſanna, what it ſignifies, 28. 1.
Oſtracine, a Place or Village near *Antioch*, whence ſo called, 434. 1.
Οὐσία Θεοῦ ſometimes ſignifies the Perſon of the Father, 3. 1.

P.

Πᾶχης, what it ſignifies, 481. 1.
Παλαιὰ, a Church at *Antioch*, in the old City, 290. 1.
Παλιγκάπηλος, one that buys proviſions, and ſells them again, 418. 2.
Pallium, the Habit of the Philoſophers, 101. 2.
Pall for a Biſhop, woven with Threads of Gold, 622. 1.
Παναιδήμος, 410. 2.
Paphnutius, as *Ruſinus* ſays, was preſent at the *Nicene* Council, 225. 2.
Παραβολοι who they were, 380. 2. not the ſame Perſons with the confeſſores, ibid. and 59. 1. 159. 1.
Παράβυστος, 171. 1.
Παραγγέλλειν what it ſignifies, 420. 2. it imports alſo *to liſt for a Soldier*, ibid.
Παραγγελία, the *Muſter-Roll*, ibid.
Paradiſe upon Earth, where it was, 639. 1.
Paradoxi, Champions that had gained many Victories, 143. 1.
Παράσημον, Adulterate, or Counterfeit, 283. 2.
Παρασυνάξεις aſſemblies of Schiſmaticks, 324 1.
Paredri, Dæmons ſo called, what they were, 688. 2.
Παρεκδέδως what it ſignifies, 178. 1.
Παρεκτῆναι and παρέκτασις, what they ſignifie, 81. 2.
Parembole, a Village in *Egypt*, 318. 2.
Παρεισδυμεῖος, what it ſignifies, 180. 1, 2.
Πάρεργον θανάτου, 540. 1. πάρεργον παρθενίας, 558. 1. 659. 1, 2.
Πάρεδρον and παρέδρους ποιεῖσθαι, 616. 1. 625. 1.
Παροικία ſignifies a Church, 1. 1. the reaſon of that name, ibid. ſometimes 'tis taken for a whole Dioceſs, ſometimes for a particular Church, ibid.
Πάροχοι ἵπποι, 516. 2. 522. 1.
Parricides, how puniſhed, 161. 2.
Particular Aſſemblies which were held in diverſe Churches at *Alexandria*, 128. 2.
Παστὰς, or παστὸς, a Wedding-chamber, 316. 2.
Πάτρια what it ſignifies, 37. 1.
Patriarchs, when firſt conſtituted in the Church, 332. 2. &c. 334. 1.
A *Patriarch* being accuſed by a Laick, appeals to the Emperour and a Synod, 518. 1. He is judged in an auditory made up of Laicks and Eccleſiaſticks, ibid.
Patripaſſians, or Patropaſſians, Hereticks, 255 2. &c.
Paul the Apoſtle went not to *Jeruſalem* in *Tiberius*'s Reign, 17. 2.
Paulinus Biſhop of *Tyre* is tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*, 183. 1, 2.
Paulus Biſhop of *Alexandria*, was a Heretick, 487. 2 *Liberatus* makes him a Catholick, ibid.
Peace was not given to the lapſed, without the People's conſent, 115. 1.
Πεῖσμα what it ſignifies, 694. 2.
Penitentiary Presbyter, why and when inſtituted, 341. 2.
Pentecoſt, and the ſpace of Fifty Days from *Eaſter* to *Pentecoſt*, 629 2.
Perigenes the Biſhop of *Corinth*, his Election is confirmed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, 388. 2.
Πεῖσις, what it ſignifies, 313. 1.
Πεισταὶ, 124. 1. 128. 2.
Πεσσοὶ, Hills or heaps of Stone, 590. 1.
Penitentiary Presbyter, his office, 341. 2. when abrogated, 343. 2.
Peter the Apoſtle, his ſecond Epiſtle moſt undoubtedly his, 31. 1. He and Saint *Paul* did not ſuffer Martyrdom on the ſame year, 30. 1. He was not ſuperior to the other Apoſtles, 441. 2.
Petrus Fullo died before *Petrus Mongus*, 442. 1, 2.
Φαντασία, ſo the opinion of *Eutyches* was termed, 451. 2.
Phileas, whether he ſuffered at *Alexandria*, or in *Thebais*, 144. 2.
Philip the Deacon was by the Ancients confounded with *Philip* the Apoſtle, 45. 2. the names of *Philip*'s Daughters, ibid.
Philippus the *Præfectus-Prætorio*, when he died, 252. 1.
Philo's Book againſt *Flaccus*, and that entitled concerning the Embaſſy to *Caius*, 18. 1. His Book againſt *Flaccus*, *Euſebius* terms *His ſecond Book concerning Virtues*, 18. 2.
Philoromus Rationaliſt of *Egypt*, 144. 2.
Philoſophers borrowed their beſt Precepts from *Moſes*'s Law, 4. 2.
Phœnice, two of them, the one termed *Maritima*, the other *Libanenſis*, 468. 1. They were ſubject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, 468. 2. The Dux of *Phœnice*, 469. 2. 470. 1.
Phoſphorion, and *Boſporium*, the Port at *Conſtantinople*, 435. 1.
Pilate killed himſelf, 19. 1. His character, ibid.
Piſander the Poet, two of that name, the former a *Rhodian*; the latter a Native of *Larinda*, who wrote ſix Books concerning the Marriages of the Goddeſſes and Heroes. 416. 2.
Placidia Auguſta gave the Weſtern Illyricum to *Theodoſius* Junior. 393. 1.
Πλακώσεις, cruſts of Marble, 589. 1.
Plague in the Groin which raged Fifty Years, when it began, 490. 1.
Platonick Philoſophy, a School thereof at *Alexandria*, 376. 1, 2.
Πλεονεξία, what it ſignifies, 152. 2.
Πολιτεία, abſtinence, 79. 2.
Πολιτεία, what it was amongſt the *Alexandrians*, 375. 1.
Πολιτάρχαι, Decurions, 576. 1.
Polycarp, whether he came to *Rome* on account of the Controverſie concerning *Eaſter*, 88. 2. In what Year he came to *Rome*, ibid. The Day of his Martyrdom, 60. 1.
Porphyrius, why called *Malchus*, and *Bataneotes*, 100. when he lived, ibid.
Potamius Biſhop of *Liſbon* was baniſhed together with *Oſius*, 268. 1.
Power, or ἐξουσία, is not uſed but concerning the Greater Judges, 536. 1.
Præfects of the *Prætorium*, and the other Judges, prefixed the Emperours Letters before their own Edicts, 179. 1.
Præfects of the *Prætorium*, had the title of *Clariſſimi* in *Conſtantine*'s time, 587. 2. 606. 2.
Præfecture of the *Prætorium*, was the higheſt of all dignities, 471. 1. it had two Cheſts, 475. 1. alſo *Numerarii* of Gold, 471. 1.
Prænetum the name of a Town, variouſly written, 364. 2.
Præpoſiti Laborum, or rather *Laboru*, that is, τῶν λαζώρων, *of the Laborum*, 554. 2.
Πρεσβεύειν, what it ſignifies, 41. 2.
Presbyters performed the publick Prayers together with the Biſhop, 410. 2.
Presbyters were not ordained without the conſent of the Clergy and People, 114. 1.
Presbyters were termed Prieſts of the ſecond Order, 191. 2. 194. 2, &c.
Presbyter, whom *Conſtantia* at her death recommended to *Conſtantine*, who he was, 236. 2. 243. 2.
Præſens Numen, preſent Deity, ἐπιφανὴς, 18. 2.
Præſentes, or *Præſentales Milites*, preſent *Milice*; who they were, 477. 2. The *Greeks* call it τὸ παρεῖσον. ibid.
Priſcus Rhetor the Hiſtorian, was a *Thracian*, born at *Panium*, a Town in *Thracia*, 436. 1. a paſſage in *Theophanes* is mended, ibid.
Περάσειν, to inſtruct, to cultivate, 623. 2.
Περάσεον, a Village at ſome diſtance from a City, 123. 2.
Proclus, Chief of the Sect of the *Cataphrygians*, 29. 2.
Proconſul of *Thracia*, 281. 1.
Procolius, two Martyrs of that name, 157. 1.
Procurators of the *familia Gladitoria*, or company of the Gladiators, 163. 2.
πρόλογος προδωσία. 663.
προχειρίσασθαι, to propoſe the name of a Perſon to be ordained, 220. 1. 603. 1.
Prophetæ, ſo the High-prieſts amongſt the *Egyptians* were termed, 53. 1.
Prophets that are true, how to be diſtinguiſhed from the falſe one, 82. 2.
Πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ζῆν, to live according to example, 647. 1.
προσευχαὶ, *Proſeuchæ* of the *Jews*, 18. 2.
προσομιλεῖν πόνοις, to take pains, 405. 1. ὁμιλεῖν τυχαῖς, to bear the changes of Fortune, ibid.
προσοχὴ, diligence, attention, 457. 2.
προσωπεῖα, what it imports, 41. 1.
προτεθήτω, *Let it be publiſhed*, it was a word which the Emperours added to their Laws, 604. 1. προτίθεναι, to publiſh an Edict. 516. 2.
πρωτοπρεσβύτερος, the chief or firſt of the Presbyters, 359. 2.
πρωτότυπος,

Προεστὼς, a Provoſt, or Chief, 287. 1.
Pſalms or Hymns, when firſt in uſe in the Church, 23. 2. 90. 1.
Pſalms called ἰδιωτικοὶ, 119. 2.

Q.

Quadratus Proconſul of *Aſia*, under whom *Polycarp* ſuffered Martyrdom, in what year he bore the proconſulate, 57. 2. &c.
Quadratus Biſhop of *Athens*, a different perſon from *Quadratus* the diſciple of the Apoſtles, 64. 1.
Quaternions, and Ternions, 618. 2.
Quirinius, or *Cyrenius*, when preſident of *Syria*, 8. 1.
Quus inſtead of *Cyrus*, and *Quinegius for Cynegius*. 466. 1.

R.

Recuſatory Libels, wherein Patriarchs requeſted of the Emperour, that they might have leave to relinquiſh their Biſhopricks, 479. 1.
Regius Morbus, to ſignifie the Leproſie, 95. 2.
Religion of the Chriſtians defined, 658. 1.
Rhetoricians were initiated by a certain rite, 374. 2. the *Rhetorician's* pallium, ibid. and 389. 2.
Rhoſſus or *Rhoſſe* a City of *Cilicia*, 97. 1.
Roman Church, their Liberality and Bounty towards the poor, 118. 2.
Romans, when they left off burning their dead, 176. 2.
Ruſinus's Letter to *Urſacius*, 108. 1.

S.

Sabaiarius, a Nick-name given to *Valens* by the Citizens of *Chalcedon*, 308. 1.
Sabbatum magnum, or the *Great Sabbath*, what it is, 57. 2.
Sabbath not kept as a faſting-day amongſt the Romans, in *Lent*, 346. 1. nor in the *Ember-weeks*, 348. 1.
Sabellians, Hereticks, 119. 1.
Sacerdotes Provinciæ, the Chief-prieſts of a Province, 150. 1. 173. 1.
Sacred Scripture, a threefold difference of the Books thereof, 43. 1.
Sacrifices of the Heathens were not totally aboliſhed by *Conſtantine*, 613. 2.
Schiſmaticks returning to the Church, were more kindly received than Hereticks, 604. 2.
Scholaſtici, Advocates, 357. 1.
Scholia, what meant by that word, 62. 1.
Σχολιογεγφεῖν, what it means, 105. 1.
Scribes amongſt the *Jews*, were the Keepers and Expounders of the Law, 35. 2, &c.
Scythæ, ſo the *Greeks* call them, whom the Latines term Goths, 578 1. 60. 2.
Secretum, what it was, 134. 1.
Secular Judges who were preſent at a Council, when criminal matters were under debate, pronounced ſentence; but in a matter of faith, they concerned not themſelves, 424. 1. 439. 2.
Σείειν, to caluminate, or extort. 133. 2.
Σηκὸς, a Chappel wherein was the Tomb of a Martyr, 422. 2.
Seleucus was called *Nicator*, not *Nicanor*, 505. 2.
Σημεῖα, Excerpta, excerptions, 410. 1.
Σημειώσεις what it ſignifies, 84. 2.
Σημειώσεις of Origen, ought in Latine to be termed *Excepta*, not *excerpta*, 440. 1.
Senate, for an houſe or court, 366. 2.
Septuagint Tranſlation when made, 78. 1. whether they tranſlated all the books of Scripture, ibid. and whether in ſeparate cells, ibid.
Serapis in what manner worſhipped by the *Egyptian* Prieſts, 310. 1, 2. why he was called ἑπταπῆχυς, ibid. His Temple when demoliſhed, ibid.
Serdican Council, how many Biſhops preſent at it, 257. 1.
Severianus, a paſſage in him mended, 407. 2.
Severus Auguſtus was called alſo *Serpentius* or *Serpentinus*, 429. 1.
Shewes among the *Romans*, were ordinary and extraordinary. 72. 1.
Sibyls, whether they foretold things by divine inſpiration. 652. 2, &c.
Signs of the Zodaick were by the Greeks called στοιχεῖα, 45. 1.
Silentiarii, who they were, 432. 1.
Simon Magus's death, when it hapned, 22. 1.
Sirmium, three Synods there, and their three Draughts of the Creed, 265. 2.
Sirmium Synods in what years convened, ibid. and 269. 1.
Sitting, the uſual poſture of mourners amongſt the Jews, 20. 2.
Socrates ſeems to have been a *Novatianiſt*, 367. 2. whether he was a *Novatianiſt*, 277. 1.
Son of God, was by ancient Divines termed ἀπατὸς, 645. 2. He is termed The Middle, between the Father and things created. 683. 2.
Σοφία παροιμιῶν, ſo Solomon's Book of Proverbs was called, 64. 1.
Σφραγίζειν, to lay hands on, or ordain, 114. 1.
Σῶμα, or Sepulchral Monuments, 21. 1. 28. 2.
Stephen the Deacon, on what year he ſuffered Martyrdom, 15. 2.
Stephen the Pope. whether he excommunicated thoſe of *Africa*, and of the *Eaſt*, 118. 2.
Stephanus Junior Biſhop of *Antioch*, is ordained at *Conſtantinople* by *Acacius*, 457. 1.
Strategium, what it is, 229. 2.
Στρατηγοὶ, Magiſtrates, or Duumviri, 124. 1. 146. 1.
Στρατιῶται, Officials, Apparitours, 196. 2.
Στρωμαῖς, 97. 2.
Sub-introduced women, who they were, 134. 2.
Succi, ſtreights, or narrow paſſes ſo called, 259. 2.
Symeon the Son of *Cleophas*, how a kin to our Saviour, 38. 1.
Symmachians, Hereticks, 100. 1.
Symplegades, 577. 1.
Συμφωνῶ, I make a bargain, 402. 2. σύμφωνον, a bargain, ibid.
Συναίειν, and συναίρειν, 604. 2.
Synaxis, in how many ſenſes it is uſed, 436. 2.
Sunday termed the firſt day, and the eighth, 678. 2. why this day was ſet apart for the meeting of the faithful, 679. 1.
Syncelli, Officers which the Patriarchs had, 402. 2, &c. The Syncelli were as well of the order of Presbyters, as Deacons, ibid. Not onely Patriarchs, but other Biſhops alſo had their Syncelli, ibid.
Syneſius was not Biſhop of *Cyrenæ*, but of *Ptolemais*, 413. 2. what his belief was concerning the Reſurrection, ibid.
Synnada, a City of *Phrygia*, 102. 1. *Synnadenſes*, the Citizens of that City, two of their Coyns explained, 370. 2. They worſhipped Jupiter under the name of *Pandemos*, ibid.
Synod of *Antioch* againſt *Paul* of *Samoſata*, in what year held, 133. 1.
Σύνοδος, to ſignifie an aſſembly of the Faithful, 572. 2.
Σύνοδος μερικὴ, *a particular Synod*, is oppoſed to *a general one*, 408. 1. σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα, a Synod of Biſhops that made their reſidence for ſome time only at the Imperial City, ibid.
Σύνοψις, a model or delineation of a future work, 588. 1.
Σωταξάμενος, taking leave of, or bidding farewell, 538. 1. 584. 1. σωτακτικὸς λόγος, ibid. σωτακτήριος λόγος, ibid. and 498. 2.
Σωτελεῖς, Tributaries, 474. 2. 504. 2, &c.
Σύνθημα κοινωνίας a ſign of Communion, 573. 1.
Σύνθυρος, what it ſignifies, 511. 2.
Superpoſition, a ſort of Faſt. 88. 1. in Greek termed ὑπέρθεσις, ibid.

T.

Tabularii, who they were, 165. 1.
Τάγματα, companies of Souldiers, 623. 2, &c.
Tatianus was not a Profeſſour of Rhetorick, 60. 2. 67. 1. *Tatianus's* Goſpel διὰ τεσσάρων not the ſame with that termed *The Goſpel according to the Hebrews*, 67. 2.
Taurobolia, and *Criobolia*, 303 1, 2.
Τάξεις, Offices, and τάξις, Office, Body of Apparitours, 548. 2. 566. 2. 281. 1. μεγίστη τάξις. 566. 2.
Taxing, ἀπογραφὴ, What it was; 7. 2. Whether *one* or *two* Taxings, ibid.
Τελείωσις, Martyrdom, 125. 2.
Τελείωσις Baptiſm, 628. 2.
Terebinthus, or Turpentine-tree, a place in *Paleſtine*, 595. 1, 2. That Turpentine-tree worſhipped by the *Pagans*, ibid. At that place there was a Mart or Market yearly, ibid.
Teſtaments of Souldiers in Expedition, 615. 1.
Tetrapla were made by Origen after his Edition of the *Hexapla*, 99. 2.
Thaddæus the Apoſtle, in what year he came to *Edeſſa*, 15. 2.
Thecla, inſtead of *Theoclia*, 453. 1. She was termed the Proto-Martyr. ibid.
Θεῖος λόγος, in what ſenſe uſed by *Euſebius*, 91. 1.
Theodorus Aſcidas, 497. 1.
Theodotion, when he publiſhed his Verſion, 77. 2.
Theodotus Biſhop of *Laodicea* was an *Arian*, 602. 2.
Theodulus the Presbyter, when he wrote, 403. 1.
Theologia, anciently termed Theologicen, 2. 1.
Θεωρία, the Myſtick ſenſe, 354. 1.
Θεοφόρος, the ſur-name of Saint *Ignatius*, 358. 2. 414. 1. His reliques were removed to *Antioch* long before *Theodoſius* Junior's time, ibid.
Therapeutæ were not Eſſenes, 23. 1. nor Chriſtians, 23. 2.
Theſſalonica, whether it was under the government of *Theodoſius* Senior, 337. 1. the Biſhops of *Theſſalonica* were Legates of the *Roman* See, 391. 2.
Tomus, a City of *Auguſtanica*, 319. 1.
Tholus, what it is, 422. 1.
Θολεδόμβοι, 113. 2.
Tiberius Conſtantinus, how long he reigned, 513. 1.
Time twofold, the one Particular, the other general, 671. 2.
Timotheus Salofaciolus, called alſo *Albus*, 433. 1.
Tractates, ſo Homilies or Sermons to the people are termed, 108. 1.
Trajanus the Patricius, an Hiſtorian, when he lived, 506. 2.
Trapezitæ, who they were, 119. 2.
Tribunal of the nineteen Accubita, 507. 1. a place in *Theophylactus Simocatta* concerning that Edifice, is explained, ibid
Tricennalia is taken for the Feſtival, and for the thirtieth year, 622. 1. 667. 2.
Tripolis, a City of *Phœnice Maritima*, wherein was the Sepulchre of the Martyr *Leontius*, 468. 1. 494. 1.
Triſagium, an Hymn in the Church. 476. 1, 2.

Τραϊανὸς. 177. 1.
Venustus brother to *Hilus*, 449. 1. His name is corrupted in *Theophanes*'s Chronicon, ibid.
Troilus the Sophista, 370. 1.
Τυχαῖον, or τυχεῖον, the Temple of the publick Genius, 109. 1. 414. 1.
Τύχη, the publick Genius, 294. 2.

V.

Vacant Bishops, 307. 2.
Valentinianus Placidus, where, and when proclaimed *Augustus*, 383. 2.
Valentinian Junior was the son of *Valens Augustus*, 309. 2. He was also called *Galates*, ibid. In what year he dyed, 322. 1.
Valerian when he began to reign, 121. 1.
Vettius, a *Roman* Name, 69. 2.
Vicarii or Deputies of the Præfects had the title of *Perfectissimi* in *Constantines*'s time, 195. 1.
Victor the Pope, whether he excommunicated the *Asians*, or only threatned it, 87. 2.
Victor Thunonensis, an eminent passage in him is mended, 402. 2, &c.
Victor was taken by *Constantine* as *His Prænomen*, or *fore-name*, 557. 2. And after his death by his sons 632. 1.
Vigilius the Pope gave his consent to the Synod of *Constantinople*, but refused to be present at it, 496. 1.
Vigil of *Easter*, thereon the *Christians* kindled Lights, as well publickly, as in private, 613. 1.
Vindices made by *Anastasius*, 47 : 1.
Vine, the Badge of the Centurion's Office, 125. 1.
Virtues are either πολιτικαὶ, or θεολογικαὶ, 636. 1.
Ὕλη, in what sense used by Divines, 93. 1.
Unio for Unition, is a barbarous, not a Latine word, 502. 2. Unio in Latine signifies *unitatem*, *unity*, ibid.
Ὑπασπιστὴς, Spatharius, *Esquire of the Emperour's Body*, 411. 2.
Ὑπαστεία, what it signifies, 266. 1.
Ὑπερθέσιμοι νηστεῖαι, *Fasts of superposition*, 417. 2. 418. 1.
Ὑποδολεῖς, who they were, 347. 1.

W.

Week before *Easter*, termed by the Greek Fathers *The Great Week*, 24. 1. It begau from the second Feria, or Monday, 88. 1. 678. 2, &c.
Widows, or Deaconnesses, their Examination, 698. 2.

X.

Xanthicus, the name of a month amongst those of *Smyrna*, when it began, 60. 1.
Ξενὼν, a Dialogue of *Methodius* the Bishop, 362. 2.
Ξύλον, a pair of Stocks, 60. 2. 71. 1. sometimes 'tis used to signifie *The Eculeus*, 108. 2. 145. 1.
Xystus, how long Bishop of *Rome*, 132. 2.

Y.

Years of the Edessens, whence they began, 15. 2.
Year of Christ, the first, according to *Eusebius*, 139. 2.

Z.

Zelæ, a City of *Cappadocia*, 303. 2.
Zeno, whether Bishop of *Majuma*, 354. 1, 2.
Zosimus the Historian, did not live in the Times of *Theodosius Junior*, 472. 2, &c.

Καὶ σοι τῷ δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

28 SE 60

THE END.